A Grammar of South Efate
An Oceanic Language of Vanuatu

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Preface

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

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

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

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

My supervisors, chronologically: Peter Austin, Anna Margetts, and Nick Evans for discussion of the data and analysis. Peter Austin encouraged me to produce texts and a dictionary, as well as having a strong interest in the possibility of linking text and audio in a language description. Anna Margetts stepped in for supervision and shaped much of my thinking about presentation of the analysis, even after leaving the University of Melbourne. Finally, Nicholas Evans helped me form a more cohesive overview of the language in the rush to complete. John Lynch and Nikolaus Himmelmann, my PhD examiners, provided very useful feedback. Thanks to fellow students for discussions and cups of coffee, Jeanie Bell, Yusuf Eades, Anthony Jukes, Simon Musgrave, and my
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My mother, Dina Thieberger, for typing transcripts. Both my parents for all of their work in establishing a family in a new country and for providing an environment in which multilingualism was taken for granted, dziękuję, mille grazie, gracis amundi, vielen Dank, a dank aych zeyer.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(?) used to mark data which I am unsure of but which I have some reason for including

 gore the zero expression of 3sgO

Ø indicates where expected material is absent (e.g., subject proclitics absent in clause chains)

= indicates a clitic break

- indicates an affix break. Also used to link two compound verbs.

m$, p$ this is the ASCII representation of the character rendered in this volume by the font IPATimes as tilde m and tilde p, labio-velar nasal and stop respectively. Some datasets produced in the process of writing this volume require plain ASCII and so the dollar symbol <$> appears

' used to indicate primary stress on the following syllable

% used to enclose a hypothesized or underlying form e.g., %na-tok-on% for naikon village

Orthographic conventions followed in the present work are as follows.

g velar nasal

m simultaneous velar and labial nasal stop

p simultaneous velar and labial oral stop
Map 1. Map of placenames around Erakor village. These names were mainly collected by Kalskar Wayane. Their location on this representation is approximate. A closer view of Erakor island (Eraniau) is given in Map 2.
Map 2. Map of placenames on Erakor island (Eraniau). These names were mainly collected by Kalsakar Wayane. Their location on this representation is approximate.
Picture 1: Limas and Kalsarap Namaf outside their house by the lagoon in Erakor village. (1998) (All photos by the author)

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

Picture 4: Tokelau Takau outside her house in Erakor village. (1998)
Manuel Wayane, a good friend and assistant in the village, who subsequently became the Cultural Centre’s fieldworker for Erakor. (1998)

Endis Kalsarap helped with checking and translation. (1998)
Silas Alban, the Cultural Centre's fieldworker for South Efate in the mid-1990s. (1997)

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

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

1.1. Methodology

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

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

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

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

3 Now known as Australian Volunteers International (AVI).

4 A Melanesian pidgin language related to Tok Pisin (PNG) and Solomon Islands Pidgin.
Chapter 1

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

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

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

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

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

6 Reproduced on tape 98008.
longer used in equivalent South Efate forms today (as discussed in Chapter 3). The tape recording was taken back to the village in 1998. The stories were typed and reproduced with a current South Efate and Bislama parallel version.

Table 1.1. Correspondence of forms in Sope’s stories and in current South Efate

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sope</th>
<th>current</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baki</td>
<td>pak</td>
<td>to (preposition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bakutofi</td>
<td>pakofti</td>
<td>to pay for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bereg</td>
<td>preg</td>
<td>to make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bisol</td>
<td>psol</td>
<td>to lay an egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunak</td>
<td>pnak</td>
<td>to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emulatig</td>
<td>emeltig</td>
<td>near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisiei</td>
<td>isiei</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lotu</td>
<td>lot</td>
<td>to pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misal</td>
<td>msal</td>
<td>different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miti</td>
<td>mit</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nafisan</td>
<td>nafsan</td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natokan</td>
<td>naikon</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naulalikes</td>
<td>nalkis</td>
<td>medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisawi</td>
<td>psawi</td>
<td>to thank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toa</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>fowl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

7 Pastor Sope’s stories, both as written by him and in current South Efate and Bislama, were produced as Narrausuen ni Pastor Sope ni nafsan ni ntau 1950 mana for distribution in Erakor village and are on the accompanying DVD.
Figure 1.1. An image of the front page of Pastor Sope's stories from the Capell papers.
1.2. The corpus

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3. Language documentation and the South Efate corpus

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

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

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

6
Emphasizing the documentation means that certain products of our work, such as text collections and dictionaries, become primary rather than incidental. Similarly, our concern with the reusability of our work takes on a primary focus so that the data has a use for others after we have done our analysis. Reusability is a concept from computer programming and from ecology ("Reduce, reuse, recycle") whereby we should do a task once and then be able to address the outputs of that process rather than repeating the work involved.

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

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

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

1) All tapes have been digitized and are stored in the archive established by PARADISEC with copies held at both the University of Sydney and at the Australian Partnership for Advanced Computing.

2) The metadata, or cataloging information associated with the deposited material, conforms to the present standards agreed to by the Open Language Archives Community (OLAC)\(^\text{10}\) and uses their controlled vocabularies for the role of participants, language names, and so on.

\(^{10}\) http://www.language-archives.org/
Chapter 1

3) The metadata can be searched via OLAC, or on the LinguistList pages (http://linguistlist.org/olac/). As the metadata conforms to the Open Archives Initiative (OAI)\(^{11}\) guidelines it can also be searched by any OAI conformant search engine.

4) The transcripts of audio files are in plain text format marked-up to show the timecodes. Glossed texts are in text format and presented via Shoebox output. The dictionary is also a plain text file that is exported via Shoebox. The special characters required for South Efate are described in the metadata, and are rendered as m$ and p$ in ASCII plain text format, the equivalent forms required for representation using the IpaTimes font.

5) Presentation formats for the data derive from its structure (for the texts, transcripts, and dictionary). The grammar is produced in a word-processor and will need to be converted to a more suitable format when one becomes apparent. It is archived in pdf format.

6) Recordings are archived and reference is made to the unsegmented audio file to maintain the context of utterances and to allow other researchers to access the data.

7) Audio files are transcribed to utterance level.

8) Copyright and moral rights of speakers are asserted in the present work, and the archived data can only be accessed by password.

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

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

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

\(^{11}\) http://www.openarchives.org/
Introduction

1.4. Audio-linkage

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

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

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

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

12 "Nor is it possible for linguistics to faithfully represent the speech of living languages even with the help of its arbitrary and totally insufficient transcriptions, made up for want of better and which no agreement has ever made uniform.... all that of which linguistics is incapable, the phonograph from now on makes possible."
Chapter 1

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

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

1.5. Overview of the present study

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

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

I then discuss the phonology of South Efate in Chapter 3. There are fifteen consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes. For English speakers the labio-velar stop $p$ and nasal $\tilde{m}$ are unusual as is the prenasalized trill phoneme $nr$ but otherwise the sounds of South Efate are fairly straightforward. The orthography used in this volume follows that established by early missionaries. As we have seen, the tilde is used over $/m/$ and $/p/$ to indicate co-articulation. The velar nasal is written as $/g/$. It is in the phonotactics that South Efate displays some...
unusual features with a preference for heterorganic over homorganic stop clusters, most likely due to a historical reshaping of words and an ongoing process of medial-vowel deletion.

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

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

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

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

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

2.1. South Efate, the place

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

Fringing reefs circle lagoons and coral islands off the mainland of Efate, islands that provided habitation away from the vector-borne diseases of the mainland. Erakor and Eratap are names shared by mainland villages and coastal islands abandoned in the late 1950s due to the damage caused by a particularly
Map 3. Location of Erakor village and Efate island
Chapter 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

15 The Kuwae eruption was one of the eight great volcanic events in the last 10,000 years and resulted in ash circling the earth for three years. This cloud of ash is credited with contributing to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 (Luders 1996:291).
Teouma River, near Eratap village (Bedford p.c.), the first colocation of skeletal and pottery material from the Lapita period. Kirch (1997) summarizes the archaeological evidence on 'Remote Oceania' (the Pacific to the east and south of the Solomon Islands and PNG) that he says “knew no human footprints until the advent of the Lapita peoples.” Lapita is a pottery style that... is distributed in space from the Bismarcks to New Caledonia and eastwards to Samoa and Tonga [and] has come to be recognized as the ancestral cultural stock from which the modern diversity of Oceanic-speaking peoples and cultures ultimately arose. (Kirch 1997:xxi)

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

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

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

Accounts of the significance of this leader abound, and it is always difficult to extricate historical from ideological positions. The current view of Roy Mata is that he brought the people of Efate under one law, joining the warring villages by use of the naflak or clan system, whereby each villager became a member of one of a number of exogamous matrilineal clans, hence promoting intermarriage between rather than within villages. However, missionary and other records (e.g., Turner 1861; Don 1918:42) describing the inter-village warfare of the mid-nineteenth century indicate that the unity attributed to Roy
Chapter 2

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

2.2.2. Population

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

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

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

\(^{16}\) “In the Efatese villages these are called Naflak; in the villages of Vila and Meli and in Nguna Metrau” (Layard 1915:7). In South Efate both terms are current, but it seems that nametrau refers to the patriline.
than of aquatic life, which may also reflect the comparatively recent movement of Erakor people to the coast from the interior, but also fits with Lynch’s observation that “At some stage after the settlement of at least the central and southern islands of Vanuatu, people turned away from the sea and towards the land as the major source of food” (Lynch 1996:21).

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Efate</td>
<td>1,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Efate (excluding Pango and Erakor)</td>
<td>1,255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erakor</td>
<td>1,387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pango</td>
<td>758</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

There have been no linguistic surveys of the area, and there is no information about transmission of the language to younger people. My experience with
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several families in Erakor is that the children are spoken to and speak in their own language, as well as in Bislama. Conversations with children overheard from neighboring houses or around the village were all in the local language.

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

2.2.3. Kastom

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

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

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17 My host in the village, the late William Wayane, was a member of an extended family whose surname is reported by Dubois (1975) as being a mythical giant from Mare.
grounds are now long abandoned. The fact that they are known and identified by
the present-day population provides a sense of continuity with the kastom past.

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

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

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

However, a great deal of customary knowledge still circulates in Erakor.
There is no doubt a breakdown in the intergenerational transmission of kastom
stories that is common to many parts of Vanuatu, but Christianity and schooling
over the past 160 years have not been entirely successful in ‘bringing light’ to
Erakor. Spirits are widely known about and feared as the cause of mischief or
worse. These spirits vary from sputan, small hairy creatures who eat unattended
food, through to the major marik, mtulep, or natopu who inhabit particular
locations. A few kastom ceremonies continue, notably weddings, that typically
include both a kastom and a church event. Increase sites (the location at which
Chapter 2

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.4. Social organization
Surprisingly little information is available in written sources about pre-missionary times in Efate, especially considering the knowledge the missionaries had of the local language. A story told by Kalsarap of Erakor village (Thieberger 2000:4), apocryphal though it may be, suggests that any written records kept by the
earlier missionaries about the *kastom* or pre-contact life of the people of Efate were destroyed by the missionary Dr. Mackenzie in his struggle against ‘darkness’. The story recounts how Dr. Mackenzie asked Chief Samuel to fill his canoe with papers and books, paddle out to the ocean and throw them over the side. ‘Darkness’ is the term still used by Christians in Vanuatu to talk about pre-Christian times. Philibert (1992:458 fn) observes that Mackenzie stopped warfare and cannibalism and abolished polygamy, the ancestor cult, kava drinking, inter-village feasts, dancing, and the use of the men’s house. Steel quotes Mackenzie proclaiming that

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

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

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

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

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

Macdonald (1892:723) maintains that the chiefly line was handed down by choice of the incumbent, and that there were several chiefs in a village. This varies with the current view that there is a chiefly line from which a unique chief should be drawn. He gives the following description of a typical Efate village: “The Efatese people lived in small communities called *launa*, each occupying a certain territory or district. Each *launa* was independent, and comprised: (*n*)afiti, *afiti*,...
slaves; (n)atatoko, native-born freemen; (n)amanaki, sojourners (admitted from other launa); and the civil and religious heads, (n)uota, and natamole tabu” (Macdonald 1907:xi). These terms are recognized today but their significance has changed as the social structure of the village has changed.

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

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

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

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

Efate clothing of last century is described as follows:...

...a wide yellow belt made of bark or grass matting, with white and black patterns in it. Their hair was tied in a lump behind their head, and formed, as it were, a bundle of wool, surmounted, in some of them by a wooden stick or ornament, in others by the
South Efate, place, people, and language

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Funerals were accompanied by a great wailing and by faces being scratched until streaming with blood. Bodies were buried. Spirits go west and the entrance to the afterworld is guarded by Salatau with a hatchet in his hand (Turner 1861:394). A point on the western side of the island, Tukituki (or Devil’s Point, it is unclear which), is the entrance to the afterworld; everyone dies six times, each time passing to a lower stage in the following sequence, following
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the first death in this world: 1- Bokas, 2- Magapopo, 3- Magaferaera, 4- Maganaponapo, 5- Matika (a similar account in Ngunese is text 22 in Schütz (1969b)). This accords with the fact that graves on Efate were at one stage oriented toward Devil’s Point (Garanger 1997:329).

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

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

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

¹⁹ “Thus let the child’s name be Turi tamate – tamate means peace, and Turi denotes that the father of the child is of the Nakainaga naui (yam tribe). Tamate (a very common name) may be given, and no doubt originally was given, because peace was prevailing at the time of birth.” (Macdonald 1892:722)
their mothers-in-law: if passing where he was she crouched low. A man and his father-in-law did not touch each other, and if they did, they had to kill a pig (Macdonald 1892:723).

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

2.2.5. Economic base of South Efate society

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

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

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

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

...young Erakor men have started to cohabit in the village with women coming from other islands, rather than marrying Erakor
women, while the most socially mobile among the latter now live in town with well-off urban dwellers. Unable to fulfill village social expectations and obligations, the poor are undermining the collective dimension by asserting their social identity as individuals, rather than as members of large social networks based on age, friendship or kinship.

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

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

Contacts increased when sandalwood was discovered, especially on Erromango and Santo, but also Efate. Shineberg (1967) gives a detailed account of the sandalwood trade, beginning with the balance of trade problems with China experienced by Australia, mainly due to an excess of tea consumption, and the need to find an export (sandalwood) that China wanted in return for the tea for which Australians had developed a strong desire. This is the beginnings of the intertwining of the history of Australia with that of the New Hebrides. The other major part of this relationship was the labor trade, also known as blackbirding, in which New Hebrideans were enticed, kidnapped, and contracted to work in the sugar cane fields of Queensland until about 1911 (Corris 1973) (although the labor trade to Fiji and New Caledonia continued for another thirty years (Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta 1996)). Returning laborers introduced new ideas including both Christianity and its converse—disrespect for the missionaries. They had seen the way Europeans lived, and how churches did not have the sort of control in Queensland that they did in the islands. They were often rebellious, either evangelical Christians or pro-kastom, and so, as Spriggs (1997:275) and Corris (1973) point out, they were a destabilizing influence in the indigenous political system.
Corris (1973:33ff) notes the importance of the bush/saltwater distinction in the Solomon Islands in explaining the renewal of blackbirding when, in 1884, the Queensland government banned the use of rifles as payment for ‘returns’ (islanders who had finished their contracts in Queensland). The coastal people, who had previously made up most of the labor trade, and who had by then returned with their rifles and other trade goods, were disinclined to assist in arming their inland potential adversaries. When weapons were no longer used as payment, the saltwater people took on the role of employment brokers for the bush people. This would have been similar to the situation in the New Hebrides, except that the New Caledonian and German (Samoan) recruiters who worked the New Hebrides did not have the same legal constraints as did those operating out of Queensland. Nevertheless the dynamic of the coastal people having privileged access to trade goods would have contributed to depopulation of the interior of Efate. Crowley (1995a:340) notes that, despite their long contact with outsiders, it is the coastal people’s confidence in their use of their own language and their sense of their own identity that prevents them from shifting away from use of their own language (see §2.3.8. below for a discussion of language shift in Vanuatu).

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

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

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

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20 Elkin (1953:129) reports that Sualo had lived “amongst the Efatese for perhaps twenty years” and was the source of Turner’s (1861) description.
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tested the waters sufficiently with Samoan ‘teachers’, Mose or Iaone and Setefano at Erakor in 1845 (Thomas 1886:301), followed by five more in 1846 (Campbell 1974:35). In 1852, the Presbyterian missionary John Geddie visited the Samoan teachers at Erakor and took Setefano to Havannah Harbour, leaving Iaone at Erakor (Miller 1975:129). The Samoans were unpopular with the Efatese (according to Campbell 1974), although Geddie notes (Miller 1975:128) that there were some 100 villagers attending church on Sundays in Erakor. Two Samoan teachers who had settled at Pango in 1853 were killed, together with their wives and a child (and eaten if we are to believe Campbell’s account). In 1854 all the missionaries had left Efate and it was four more years before three Raratongans, Teamara, Teautoa, and Toma, settled at Erakor. Rev. Donald Morrison arrived in August 1864 and was joined by Rev. James Cosh in 1866 (at Pango). Morrison left in 1867 and in 1868 two more Raratongans, Ru and Kakita, came to Erakor until Rev. Dr. James Mackenzie arrived in 1872.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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21 “Il nous accuse de voler les indigènes et de violer leurs femmes. Deux fois, il a envoyé sa bande essayer de construire une école au village de Leleppa. Deux fois Leleppa détruisit les potaux de la case.”
sporadic contacts by blackbirders, whalers, and sandalwood traders. Cultural change and relocation to large coastal villages away from the interior of the island, together with abandonment of many long-standing traditions, marks the history of South Efate in the second half of the nineteenth century.

2.3. The language of South Efate

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

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

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

Formosan languages

Proto Malayo-Polynesian

Western Malayo-Polynesian languages

Proto Central/Eastern Malayo-Polynesian

Central Malayo-Polynesian languages

Proto Eastern Malayo-Polynesian

Proto South Halmahera/Irian Jaya

Proto Oceanic

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

Proto Southern Oceanic

Proto Nuclear Southern Oceanic

Various linkages in central Vanuatu

Proto Erakor-Kwenyji

South Efate

Proto Southern Melanesian

Proto Southern Vanuatu

Proto New Caledonian

Figure 2:2. Southern Oceanic subgrouping (Lynch 2001:165)
Features shared by this language with neighboring languages include: initial consonant alternation in some verbs reflecting aspect (also found in Nakanamanga/Ngunese and Namakir); separate pronoun paradigms reflecting mood and aspect (as in Sye to the south and Nakanamanga/Ngunese to the north, although the South Efate system appears more complex than that of Nakanamanga/Ngunese). A feature shared with southern languages is the lack of a productive system of verb serialization, unlike the northern languages Namakir (Sperlich 1993) and Nakanamanga/Ngunese (in what Schütz calls ‘embedded phrases’ (1969a:57)). A further feature shared with Sye (Crowley 1998) and other southern languages is the use of an echo subject pronoun.

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

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

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

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

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22 Due to variable font representations, the labiovelars may appear as m$ and p$ which is the ASCII representation of the font plus tilde combination in the font IPATimes.
Chapter 2

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

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

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

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

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

...there has been a complete change of the patterns of dialect distribution since Macdonald’s day. His dialect is practically extinct: in fact there is some doubt as to what it represents. Macdonald’s earliest translations (e.g., Luke in 1877) were
remembered in 1957 by only two old men, now living in Moso and Siviri respectively. The latter informed the present writer that it was really a hill dialect whose speakers moved to the coast when the Mission was established.

Leleppa alone retains its own dialect which may be regarded as the present-day form of Macdonald’s Havannah Harbour. (Capell 1962:219)

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

2.3.3. Codrington and Ray

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

Ray (1926) based his work on Bible translations and states that “Of the four main languages²³ [of Efate] the Nguna is undoubtedly the fullest and the best understood. ...the diction and words [are] less abbreviated than in the two Efate dialects. Of these the Erakor is greatly contracted” (ibid:197). He has some examples from Erakor, and notes the consonant alternation (p/f), the loss of word-final vowels, and medial vowel loss (“Sometimes in E. the vowel is omitted, at other times the full vowel appears: msak or masak, sick”) (ibid:199) and then proceeds to present a grammar of Ngunese. His earlier work (Ray 1893) includes a substantial comparative wordlist of languages of the New Hebrides. List number 16 is from Macdonald’s mixed Efate, and list 17 is of Ngunese.

2.3.4. Recent work

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

²³ The four ‘languages’ Ray refers to are Havannah Harbour in the north, Erakor and Pango (which are the same language) in the south, and the Polynesian language of Mele and Fila islands.
Chapter 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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24 Tryon’s wordlists are incorporated into the South Efate lexical database from which the current dictionary is extracted.
South Efate, place, people, and language

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Siviri</th>
<th>Pango</th>
<th>Eranap</th>
<th>Eton</th>
<th>Lelepa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark</td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark</td>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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

26 Lynch’s tables of correspondences between Proto Oceanic and South Efate consonants and vowels are reproduced in §3.4.
set of rules to account for the changes, which he claims are shared with southern Vanuatu languages. He concludes that there is a clear relationship between South Efate and the languages of the south that requires further research.

2.3.5. Publications in South Efate

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


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\(^{27}\) This text is provided on the accompanying DVD.
Figure 2:3. Image of the first page of the 1874 translation of Genesis by the Rev. James Cosh.
Chapter 2

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

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

2.3.7. The linguistic situation in Vanuatu, vernaculars, Bislama, and metropolitan languages
There are over 100 indigenous languages in Vanuatu (Lynch and Crowley 2001; Crowley 2000a). As will be clear from the brief history presented in this chapter, France and Britain (and more recently Australia) have been the dominant and competing colonial interests in Vanuatu. Perhaps because of the geographic isolation of most of the archipelago and certainly because of the inability of either of the colonial powers to fully assert itself, neither of the colonial languages ever achieved the status of a national lingua franca. This role was taken up by the local variety of Melanesian Pidgin known as Bislama (see Crowley 1990 on the development of Bislama). There are speakers of the indigenous languages of Vanuatu who worry that the use of Bislama is encroaching on local languages, especially as people travel more and intermarry between language groups. Hence we can see an inherent ambivalence toward Bislama in which the language provides a source of national identity, but is resisted by many at the local level for the threat it poses to the vernaculars.
Bislama today is the national language and one of the three official languages, but was, until the late 1990s, expressly forbidden from being used in most educational institutions. Government paperwork is likely to be in either or both English and French (or, with the francophone government of the early 1990s, in French only), while most everyday interaction is carried out in Bislama.

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

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

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

In the 1990s so-called Critical Literacy workshops were run throughout Vanuatu by the local non-government organization, the Nasonal Komuniti Developmen Trast (NKDT), emphasizing the use of the vernacular for initial literacy (see Sima 1995). They are typically run in Bislama and accompanying literature is in Bislama. They emphasize the importance of local control and local production of materials. After one such fortnight-long workshop on the southern island of Tanna that I attended in 1995, the 200 participants left with outlines of their curriculum for teaching initial literacy in pre-school, as well as programs for adult literacy. This approach takes advantage of local skills, requiring little external support. It is appropriate for the linguistic diversity of Vanuatu that such small-scale programs can operate with a local focus that is not available to centrally constructed monolithic curricula. Workshops of this kind have also been run in South Efate.
Chapter 2

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

2.3.8. The future for Vanuatu’s vernaculars

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

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

Crowley (1995a) suggests there is no immediate prospect of large-scale language shift despite the very small average size of individual languages in Vanuatu. He acknowledges that Bislama has prestige as a lingua franca (“just about everyone ends up speaking the language [Bislama] by their teenage years”) (ibid:337), but that this has to be understood in relation both to a tradition of multilingualism and a powerful attachment to the village. Vanuatu, an archipelago with the densest number of languages to population in the world, must always have had languages with comparatively few speakers. The ongoing use of these languages must also have been due to the affiliation their speakers felt with them, itself a result of the identity function provided by the home village and
language. Crowley (2000a:125) concludes optimistically that "most of the eighty indigenous languages of Vanuatu will continue to be actively passed on to future generations for a considerable time to come."

2.3.9. The current state of the South Efate language

*Tuta pes taos tiawi ni malpei mau. Mal ni tiawi rupes leg me mes kin akit tupregi ito, imai pi konfius. "We don’t talk like the old people before. In the old people’s time they spoke straight but today when we use the language, it gets confused" Kalsarur Nawen (2000a, 678.0600, 686.5000).

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

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

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

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

Fishman (1991:87ff) provides a graded typology (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale or GIDS) of eight threatened statuses of languages in which the eighth stage is the most threatened. While his typology is aimed at describing
stages in the process of reversing language shift, it is also a useful guide to stages of endangerment. South Efate fits into his sixth stage with the following characteristics: it "is the normal language of informal, spoken interaction between and within all three generations of the family." As in Fishman's stage six, not all families are entirely constituted by South Efate speakers, with marriage outside the language group becoming a vector for the increased use of Bislama in the home. Unlike stage five there is little literacy in South Efate. Teaching oracy or literacy in South Efate is no longer part of the primary or secondary school curriculum (except for sporadic initiatives in primary school). Unlike stage seven, speakers are still to be found at all age levels. To conclude, South Efate is currently at risk but not in the immediate generations of speakers. There is every reason to expect that South Efate will be spoken for the next generation at least and beyond that into the future.
3. Phonology

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

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

\begin{verbatim}
1 pnak to steal p + n ptal to choose p + t ntmat peace t + m msal different m + s
\end{verbatim}

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Labiovelar</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>kp(^{28})((\bar{p}))</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>gm((\bar{m}))</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>g((g))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-nasalized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>n(^{d})r((nr))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>j((y))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

\(^{28}\) The overbar [kp], [gm] is used to indicate phonetic coarticulation.
3.2.1. Stops /p, t, k, ð/

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

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

2  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{p/t/k} & \text{tak} \quad \text{[tak'] to husk a coconut} \\
 & \text{pak} \quad \text{[pak'] to go to} \\
 & \text{kak} \quad \text{[kak'] mesh formed at the base of palmtrees} \\
 & \text{lat} \quad \text{[lat'] a bubble} \\
 & \text{lak} \quad \text{[lak'] to marry} \\
 & \text{lap} \quad \text{[lap'] many} \\
\hline
\text{ñ/p} & \text{nap} \quad \text{[nakp'] tree sp.} \\
 & \text{nap} \quad \text{[nap'] pumice stone} \\
 & \text{pas} \quad \text{[kpas] to chase} \\
 & \text{pas} \quad \text{[pas] dolphin} \\
 & \text{pau} \quad \text{[kpau] head} \\
 & \text{pau} \quad \text{[pau] weave} \\
\hline
\text{t/p} & \text{tuk} \quad \text{[tuk'] 1p.exIRR} \\
 & \text{puk} \quad \text{[puk'] to swell} \\
\hline
\text{t/s} & \text{tap} \quad \text{[tap'] taboo} \\
 & \text{sap} \quad \text{[sap'] where} \\
\hline
\text{p/f} & \text{preg} \quad \text{[preg] make, do (realis)} \\
 & \text{freg} \quad \text{[freg] make, do (irrealis)} \\
 & \text{pat} \quad \text{[pat'] seed} \\
 & \text{fat} \quad \text{[fat'] stone} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

3  

/k/ > [k]  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{narka} \quad \text{tree sp.} & \text{[nar.ka] (98015bz, 1357.66, 1360.92)} \\
\text{gkañik} \quad \text{tree sp.} & \text{[gka.fik'] (98003bz, 18.769, 19.8599)} \\
\text{takuer} \quad \text{sea-snake} & \text{[tak.wer] (98015az, 2757.68, 2761.44)} \\
\end{array}
\]
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paikor to stalk an animal [pai.kor] (98015az, 266.68, 269.8599)
namkanr wild arrowroot [nam.kan^r] (98015az, 1951.2399, 1956.18)
/k/ > [g] ntankep firestick [ndag.gep] (98015az, 897.8401, 901.42)
numpilikap coconut type [num.dabil.gap]
nakiat canoe cross-member [na.giat] (98017b, 2726.801, 2727.7)
/k/ > [y] nakiat canoe cross-member [na.yiat]
/k/ > [h] nafnako theft [naf.na.ho] (98010bz, 604.2481, 605.1)
/u/ > [t] namtagot tree sp. [nam.ta.n01] (98015bz, 1247.64, 1251.5001)
/u/ > [d] namtlen segment (3sgDP) [nam.dlen] (98015az, 2783.76, 2787.8401)
ntai fish sp. [ndai] (98015az, 1608.94, 1612.1199)
/p/ > [b] natopu spirit [na.to.bu] (98015bz, 499.4401, 502.56)
tuput rainbow [t^u.but] (98015az, 2273.4001, 2276.92)
*pu!pog morning [kpu.gbon] (98015az, 1216.6, 1220.98)

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

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

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

5 Go kineu a=skul i=lakor pi, and 1 sg 1 sg RS=school 3 sg RS=maybe be
a=mro-ki-n Erakor skul.
[a.'mroin]
1 sg RS=think-TR-3 sg O p.name school
And I went to school at, I think, Erakor school. (98011a, 95.1805, 98.1341)

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

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

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

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

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

8 ū>[kp] naïpei front
ū>[kp] ūplim ceremony after a death
ū>[k] ūplim ceremony after a death
ū>[p] ūplim ceremony after a death

The labiovelar stop in naïpei ‘slitgong’ in (9) is formed by simultaneous velar and labial closure.

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

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

10 Ruto nak- naïpei ru=pak nakoinrok Morinda.
[nak] ['nak.pe]
3pRS=STAT HESIT in.front 3p.RS=go.to behind p.name
They were at the front, they went to the back of the (ship) Morinda. (004b, 1882.8, 1887.8201)
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While speaker age may be a factor in the variable production of labiovelars, the following example shows that, within one sentence, the labiovelar $\tilde{p}$ in naño is realized first without, then with coarticulation.

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

trau mur ka=fam . tete nafnag nen i=to naño wi.”
really want 1sglRR=eat:IR some food REL 3sgRS=STAT smell good
They made laplap which he smelled. He said “Oh I really want to eat some
that smells so good.” (20001a, 1616.4000, 1624.0400)

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

12 $\tilde{p}$a=fnut tu san tu me neu ka=fa=n
2sglRR=quiet:IR stay here at and 1sg 1sgIRR=go:IR=DST

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

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

13 /f/ $\tilde{f}$ai  [fai]  stingray sp.
 $\tilde{f}$ai  [pai]  to fill
 $\tilde{f}$a$\tilde{f}$ na$fet$  [na.$fet$']  group
 na$p$et  [na.$kp$et']  meaning
 s/f $\tilde{s}$ak  [sa$\tilde{k}$']  to climb
 $\tilde{s}$ak  [sa$\tilde{k}$']  go to (IR)
 s/t $\tilde{s}$raf  [sraf]  to miss
 $\tilde{s}$raf  [traf]  to dig
 s/n $\tilde{n}$aures  [nau.res]  grater
 nauren  [nau.ren]  top of tree or plant

3.2.3. Nasals /m, n, g, nr/ 
Nasals contrast at the labial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation, and also
contrast with the coarticulated labiovelar nasal. /nr/ is a prenasalized alveolar
trill.
Contrastive pairs are given below for the nasals and phonetically similar segments.

14  m/n/g pan [pan] to roast
     pam [pam] to eat
     pag [pag] to climb
m/m mol [mó] live, be alive
     mol [mol] hunt (for coconut crab)
     mas [mas] only
     mas [mas] to saw
k/g lak [lak] marry
     lag [lag] to sing
     malik [ma lik] dark
     malig [ma liq] spill, drop
n/g naton [na ton] dust
     natog [na to] mangrove
     pan [pan] to go
     pag [pag] to climb
nr/n nag [n'rag] a claw
     nag [nag] to say
     konr [kondr] shellfish sp.
     kon [kon] to be stuck

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

15 Yesu i=mur nañer lap.
     [naŋ mer]
Jesus 3sgRS=want people many
Jesus loves us one and all. (98003bz, 1801.1799, 1850.5000)

I analyze /nr/ as a unit phoneme on distributional grounds because it is the first part of what otherwise would be the only permissible four consonant cluster (funr.fnoi), and it would otherwise be the only consonant cluster that can occur syllable finally before another consonant cluster (nr.fn; nr.pr). The phonotactic tables below show that treating /nr/ as separate segments would result in the cluster /n/ + /r/ occurring with disproportionately high frequency.
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The segment /nr/ is produced with an intrusive stop [n^d]r]. This pronunciation is illustrated in the next examples.

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

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

3.2.4. Liquids /l, r/

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

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

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

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

20 Iwelkin ke=fitlak nlagwat pür tefla=n ke=mai.
   [n^d^la^d^w^d^a^t^d]
   thus 3sgIRR=have!R cyclone big like=DST 3sgIRR=come
   So there was a big cyclone that came. (98014az, 2657.9317, 2662.9401)

3.2.5. Semivowels /w, y/

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

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

### 3.2.6. Non-phonemic glottal stop

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

23 I=wel ag ku=to esago.

[ʔag]

3sgRS=thus 2sg 2sgRS=stay there

*Well, you are there.* (98003bz, 843.6382, 845.2799)

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


[ʔaʔa ]

yes day five

*Yes, five days.* (98003bz, 1117.3799, 1118.9440)

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

25 M.m. Kin a=to nrog-o-ø me a=tap

[ʔmʔm]

no COMP 1sgRS=STAT hear-TS-3sgO but 1sgRS=NEG
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lek tete mau. **m.m.**

[?m?m]

see some NEG2 like that

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

3.3. Vowels

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

26 a > [a] preceding another vowel neu [‘neu] I/me (98015az, 587.9400, 591.1401)

e > [e] elsewhere masmes [‘mas.mes] knife (98015az, 682.2800, 686.0001)

i > [i]/[ə] unstressed syllable + adjacent velar negar [na.‘ɡar] theirs (ni+ɡar) nalkis [‘nal.ɡis] medicine (98015az, 1124.2600, 1127.8800)

> [j] syllable initially + vowel napiau [‘nap.jau] sea swell (98015bz, 784.0599, 787.7999)

> [j] following [a] tai [tai] to cut (98003bz, 535.27, 535.6)

> [j] following C preceding VV kalafiei [‘ka.la.ɡei] fish sp. parrotfish

> [i] elsewhere nipu [‘ni pu] palmtree

o > [ɔ] before the rhotic [r] pakor [‘pa.ɡor] to appear (98003bz, 651.1200, 652.4)

> [ɔ] elsewhere pakot [‘pa.ɡot] to pay (20003az, 36.59, 37.4)

> [ɑ] following another vowel tao [tao] give me (20001az, 1745.3, 1745.7)


> [w] syllable initially + vowel takuer [‘tak.wer] sea-snake (98015az, 2757.6800, 2761.4400)

> [w] following [a] tau [taw] to leave (98003bz,
Contrastive pairs for the vowels are given below.

27  par  [kpar]  to be stuck, closed  sar  [sar]  to mix  
    por  [kpør]  to break sthg.  ser  [ser]  every  
    pur  [kpur]  full  sirsir  [’sir.sir]  to drizzle  
    per  [per]  to fart  sor  [sor]  to sell  
    pir  [pir]  to braid  sur  [sur]  to scoop out  

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>South Efate</th>
<th>POc</th>
<th>South Efate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*b w</td>
<td>k p</td>
<td>*m w</td>
<td>@m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>p (k p)</td>
<td>*m</td>
<td>m (n m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*p w</td>
<td>p ?</td>
<td>*n, n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*p</td>
<td>f (m, Ø, w)</td>
<td>*g</td>
<td>g (m, 0 m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>*r</td>
<td>r [n r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>*dr</td>
<td>n r (r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*k, *g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>*R</td>
<td>[r,Ø]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*q</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>*l</td>
<td>l [n r, r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c, *s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>*w</td>
<td>u (Ø)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*j</td>
<td>t? s?</td>
<td>*y</td>
<td>(s, Ø, e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>*o</td>
<td>o (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>*u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>a (e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4. Proto Oceanic and South Efate correspondences

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

*b>*p  POc *b*atu  head  ĕpa
*b>p  POc *bati-  tooth  pat
*b>*p  POc *boqi  night  ĕpog
*pw>p  POc *pr(“)ilak  lightning  na-pil
*p>f  POc *patu  stone  fa
*p>v>m  (POc *p=) PNCV  *v  garavu  clam  kram
*p>Ø  POc *pulu  hair  ululu ‘hairy’
*p>w  POc *pose  a paddle  wes
*t>t  POc *toqa  fowl  to
*k>k  POc *kutu  louse  kūt
*g>k  POc *baga  banyan  m-pak
*q>Ø  POc *qumun  oven  um
*c>s  POc *paluca  paddle  palus
*s>s  POc *siko  kingfisher  sik
*j>t  POc *jila  boom  na-tir ‘mast’
*j>s  POc *tajim  sharpen  tas ‘shave, plane’
*m>*m  POc *m*ata  snake  māt
*m>m  POc *manuk  bird  man
*m>m  POc *molis  citrus  mōl
*n*n  POc *tanoq  ground  n-tan
*n>n  POc *namuk  mosquito  kat/nam
*p>ŋ  POc *lanjt  sky, weather  e-lag ‘above, high’
*p>m  POc *paqan  eat  fam
*p>ŋ  POc *puga  flower  funū
*r>r  POc *saRu  comb  n-ser
*r>nr  POc *raqan-  branch  nra
*dr>nr  POc *draRaq  blood  nra
*dr>r  POc *dra  their  Vr
*R>r  POc *baRa  fence  tēr
*R>Ø  POc *paRa  stingray  fai
*l>l  POc *matolu  thick  matol
*l>nr  POc *kalo  ant  kanr
*l>r  POc *jila  boom  na-tir ‘mast’
*w>ŋ  POc *mawiRi  left (hand)  maur
*w>Ø  POc *waiR  water  nai
*y>s  POc *yum*a  house  na-sumū
*y>Ø  POc *yaRu  Casuarina  n-ar
*y>e (*aya>e)  POc *maya-  tongue  na-me

Vowels

*i>i  POc *kini(t,p)  pinch  kin
*e>e  POc *qeno  sleep  en
*a>a  POc *taqe  excrement  tae-
*a>e  POc *samān  outrigger  nsem
*o>o  POc *boqi  night  pog
*o>e  POc *pose  a paddle  wes
*u>u  POc *sus  breast  sus ‘suckle’
3.5. Phonotactics
In this section I discuss how phonemes can combine and in what positions of
the word and syllable they can occur. First I describe the syllable in South Efate
and then look at consonant and vowel combinations. The current wordlist of
some 2,500 words forms the basis for the discussion of syllable structure and
phonotactics.

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

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

In the following sections I will discuss the constraints on which consonants
and vowels can fill the syllable schema given in (31), but first I illustrate and
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enumerate possible syllable types more generally than in the monosyllabic stems given above. Of the following syllable types, just four (CV, CVC, CVV, CCVC) out of a possible sixteen syllable patterns account for 82 percent of the tokens.

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

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

30  nkra.ful  ['nkra.ful']  vine sp.
    nsfen  [nsfen]  ‘something like that’
    nskauf  [nskauf]  reef
    nsla.wos  ['nsla.wos']  channel
    ntmat  [ntmat']  peace

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

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

The segments that can fill these positions are as follows:

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

C2 — in a word–initial syllable can be any consonant except /nr/
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- in a medial syllable can only be /k, l, m, n, r, s, t/

C3
- only in initial syllable
- can only be /r/ following /k/
- can only be /f, k, l/ following /s/
- can only be */m/ following */t/

C4
- can only be /l, r/ if C5 is present
- can be /f, g, k, l, m, m, n, nr, p, p, r, s, t/ otherwise

C5
- can not occur if C2 and C3 are present
- can be any V

V1
- can be any V

V2
- can be any V except /e/ if V1 is /o/

3.5.2. Consonant distribution

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

The forms used in this analysis are a subset of the headwords in the current dictionary. Only monomorphemic stems were used, which brought the number of stems down to 1,830. No reduplicated forms, and no borrowed forms were included for the purposes of analyzing these consonant clusters.
### Table 3.3: Examples of consonant distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word initial</th>
<th>final</th>
<th>syllable initial</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>freg</td>
<td>sef</td>
<td>melfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to make (IR)</td>
<td>to escape</td>
<td>charcoal</td>
<td>diarrhea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gag</td>
<td>ka.frag</td>
<td>nam.ta.got</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgPOS</td>
<td>scab</td>
<td>tree sp.</td>
<td>tree p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>ker.krai</td>
<td>pi.tlak</td>
<td>nap.kor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard</td>
<td>to have</td>
<td>bush nut</td>
<td>tree sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>lag</td>
<td>naur</td>
<td>npa.lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to sing</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>cliff</td>
<td>darkness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mol</td>
<td>na.sunr</td>
<td>met.m.a.kur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alive</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>selfish</td>
<td>dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mun.wei</td>
<td>ftom</td>
<td>at.mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>healer</td>
<td>to grow</td>
<td>plus</td>
<td>every</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>naot</td>
<td>ftin</td>
<td>ka.no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chief</td>
<td>to be hot</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>ring finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nrom</td>
<td>smanr</td>
<td>na.nrur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to love</td>
<td>to slap</td>
<td>earth tremor</td>
<td>yolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>paf.pof</td>
<td>sap</td>
<td>fra.po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adult</td>
<td>mistake</td>
<td>beetle</td>
<td>to not recognise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pag</td>
<td>so.klep</td>
<td>ta.met.pel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to climb</td>
<td>rich</td>
<td>k.o. damselfish</td>
<td>k.o. shellfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>ra.ru</td>
<td>tar</td>
<td>ta.ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>k.o. bird</td>
<td>to anchor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>sao.tog</td>
<td>ta.pes</td>
<td>sai.sei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to exchange</td>
<td>swamphen</td>
<td>to meet</td>
<td>caterpillar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>ta.kel</td>
<td>ma.lo.put</td>
<td>ta.gi.ter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crooked</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>k.o.moray eel</td>
<td>to be wise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the following three tables the black cells represent prohibited geminate consonants and grey cells show where homorganic clusters are represented. /nr/ is included in Tables 3:4 and 3:5 as a sequence of /n+/r/ to show its aberrant distribution if treated as two segments, and is not counted in the totals. There are four examples of word-initial clusters beginning with /nr/.

Table 3:4. Word-initial 2-consonant clusters
Heterorganic 54 types, 272 tokens.
Homorganic clusters 19 types, 112 tokens.
Table 3:5. Medial syllable initial 2-consonant clusters
Heterorganic 25 types, 77 tokens. Homorganic clusters 4 types, 9 tokens (excluding /nr/).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>k</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>θ</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>nr</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3:6. Heterosyllabic 2-consonant clusters
Heterorganic 87 types, 511 tokens. Homorganic clusters 34 types, 146 tokens.

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<tr>
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<th>θ</th>
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<th>s</th>
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<th>r</th>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>nr</strong></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phonology

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>32</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3:7. Heterosyllabic C.CC clusters
25 types, 33 tokens

| k | lk, sk, sm |
| l | nk, pt, pl, pr, sl, sm |
| n | fn, pt |
| nr | pr |
| r | kr, ntr, mr, pr, sm |
| s | pl, pr, pr, pt |
| t | sf |

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

33  *ker.krei* strong, hard  *pat.sfir* clitoris
    *kel.sman* drive  *pus.pta.ki* arrange
    *kur.smanr* slip  *sek.ska* shake
    *na.sel.slam* Sterculia tannensis  *sok.lkau* jump over
    *nam.tlen* segment  *sul.prog* lizard
    *npat.nka.fik* adam’s apple  *sul.sli* soften sthg. in the fire
    *nsul.nkanr.pram* fish sp. Emperor  *sur.fun.fnoi* erase, obliterate
    *pa.pol.plo* walk, legs apart  *tem.tmen* father and his child
Chapter 3

3.5.3. Vowel distribution

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

Table 3:8. Examples of vowel pairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>fiet</td>
<td>nakit</td>
<td>pios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to be fierce</td>
<td>canoe cross-member</td>
<td>to call out</td>
<td>coconut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>nanwei</td>
<td></td>
<td>nreapis</td>
<td>misleo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man, male</td>
<td></td>
<td>somersault</td>
<td>voice, tune</td>
<td>to be thirsty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>tai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cut</td>
<td>to know</td>
<td></td>
<td>to give me</td>
<td>tau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>naroi</td>
<td></td>
<td>namroan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plot of land</td>
<td></td>
<td>thought</td>
<td></td>
<td>1sgO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>rui=</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3plPS</td>
<td>be absent</td>
<td></td>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>k.o.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>49</td>
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<td>e</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As we saw in §3.2.5., phonetic semivowels can occur in one of three categories. They could be regarded as always being phonemic but the analysis here regards them as being phonemic just when they are not predictable from their environment. They are phonetic variants of the vowel phonemes /u/ and /i/ in a falling vowel sequence or when they are the first vowel in a two-vowel sequence immediately following a consonant. The semivowels may also be intrusive, as, for example, in the second phonetic form in (34). In other words, phonetic semivowels may be: (a) phonemic semivowels in which case they are invariant; (b) allophones of /u/ or /i/ before another vowel, in which case they may vary with the full vocalic pronunciation; (c) intrusive glides between /u/ and /a/ or between /i/ and /a/.

3.5.4. Stress

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

34  aliat  ['al.jat']  [a.li.jat]  day
da.ftou.ri. en  [na.‘ftour.jen]  [na.ftou.ri.jen]  wedding
na.nro.mien  [na.‘nro.mjen]  [na.nro.mi.jen]  gift
na.sieg  ['na.si[jen]  [na.si,jen]  skirt
na.ki.at  ['nak.yat']  [na.ki.yat]  cross-member of a canoe
nakau kofua  ['ko.fu.wa]  [ko.fu.wa]  tree sp.
sa.lia  ['sa.1ia]  [sa.li.ja]  to make sthg. float
twei  ['twei]  [tu.wei]  before, olden days

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

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

36a  ’ki.neu  I, me  (98015az, 458.5401, 462.7800)
’mis.leo  echo  (98015bz, 1692.9601, 1696.5800)
’nrer.nrer  to shine  (98015bz, 198.9999, 202.5999)
’met.ma.tur  to be sleepy  (98015bz, 13.8599, 17.5001)
’mro.per.kat  to remember  (98009b, 1794.3, 1795.1)
’tfa.le  how  (98015az, 400.6200, 404.0600)
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'nræ.na.tu  shin, shinbone  (98015bz, 194.66, 198.66)
'pal.kau  to step over  (98015bz, 1119.52, 1123.28)
'konr.kai  sow, no piglets  (98015az, 1756.28, 1760.88)
'krak.smanr  to miss (target)  (98015az, 1187.34, 1191.38)

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

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

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

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

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

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

29 John Lynch (pers. com.) suggests that the earlier form of both natamol and natopu was *na 'qata- 'person' which lost *q. The resulting na'ata- then degeminated, resulting in a predictably stressed 'nata- .
3.6. Morphophonemic processes
Several morphophonemic processes occur when morphemes combine, for example, when a transitivizing suffix and object suffix is suffixed to verbs, or when direct possessive suffixes attach to eligible nouns. These processes are discussed under three headings: Medial vowel reduction (MVR); nasal assimilation; and degemination. Examples of all processes are given in (37).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>nep</th>
<th>min</th>
<th>'na.met</th>
<th>ku=pus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>drink</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>you put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process</td>
<td>- a-ø</td>
<td>+ nrog</td>
<td>- e-ø</td>
<td>- i-ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derived form</td>
<td>ne.pa</td>
<td>min.nrog</td>
<td>'na.me.ten</td>
<td>'ku.pu.si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MVR</td>
<td>npa</td>
<td>'na.mten</td>
<td>'ku.psi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degemination</td>
<td>'mi.nrog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>mpa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.6.1. Medial vowel reduction (MVR)
There are two processes by which vowels in unstressed syllables can be reduced. The first is highly restricted and centralizes /i/ in ni ‘of’, or ki ‘PREP’ to [a]. The second is more general and deletes unstressed vowels entirely. In some cases both rules apply, as we will see in the following discussion.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>2sgPOS</th>
<th>3sgPOS</th>
<th>3p.POS</th>
<th>2p.POS</th>
<th>1p.inPOS</th>
<th>1p.exPOS</th>
<th>Reduced Vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nig-ag</td>
<td>negag</td>
<td>nega</td>
<td>negar</td>
<td>negamus</td>
<td>negakit</td>
<td>*negneu</td>
<td>[na. gaaj]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nig-ga</td>
<td>nrog</td>
<td>nega</td>
<td>negar</td>
<td>negam</td>
<td>*negmam</td>
<td>*negmam</td>
<td>[na. ga]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nig-gar</td>
<td>nrog</td>
<td>nega</td>
<td>negar</td>
<td>negmus</td>
<td>*negkit</td>
<td>*negmam</td>
<td>[na. gar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nig-gamus</td>
<td>nrog</td>
<td>nega</td>
<td>negar</td>
<td>*negneu</td>
<td>*negmam</td>
<td>*negmam</td>
<td>[na. ga.mus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nig-akit</td>
<td>nrog</td>
<td>nega</td>
<td>negar</td>
<td>*negneu</td>
<td>*negmam</td>
<td>*negmam</td>
<td>[na. ga.kit]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| ki-nen | to, of that | kenen, knen |
3.6.1.2. Medial vowel deletion (MVD)

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

\[
V \text{-[low]} \rightarrow \emptyset/C \_\_\_ CV
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{North Efate or Namakir} & \quad \text{South Efate} \\
emeromen & \quad \text{emerem} & \text{earth} \\
marmac & \quad \text{marmar} & \text{rest} \\
masimas & \quad \text{masmes} & \text{knife} \\
mataku & \quad \text{mtak} & \text{fear (v)} \\
mmitir & \quad \text{mtir} & \text{write, draw} \\
nafinaga & \quad \text{nafnag} & \text{food} \\
napokasi & \quad \text{napkas} & \text{meat, flesh} \\
pilak & \quad \text{plak} & \text{with} \\
piragi & \quad \text{preg} & \text{make} \\
takau & \quad \text{tkau} & \text{hook (n)} \\
tama & \quad \text{tma} & \text{father}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Careful speech} & \quad \text{Fast speech} \\
natokon & \quad \text{natkon} & \text{village} \\
mukal & \quad \text{mkal} & \text{ant} \\
fakfikal & \quad \text{fakfkal} & \text{comfort} \\
puserek & \quad \text{pusrek} & \text{talk} \\
sera & \quad \text{sra} & \text{hang} \\
tesa & \quad \text{tsa} & \text{child}
\end{align*}
\]
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Examples of careful and casual usage follow. However, the description of careful and casual is not entirely accurate as the distinction in usage also reflects the age of speakers, with older speakers, as we would expect, using more archaic forms that contain more vowels. In (43a) the speaker is speaking slowly and reading from notes and we see a full form of the word natokon ‘village’. In (43b) the same speaker, still reading, uses the contracted and much more commonly heard form, natkon.

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

i=nrir ur elag.
3sgRS=fly follow high

*When they were at their village, the white bird flew up high. (004b, 536.3400, 545.3599)*

43b Go u=sak pak Tanmaru, natkon ni nañer malik.
and 1p.exS=climb to p.name village of people dark

*And we climbed up to Tanmaru, the village of heathens. (005a, 283.9799, 300.0401)*

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

44 'fa.kis to decorate + i TS
'a.sel friend + ak 2sgDP
'na.lof track + en 3sgDP
'na.men tongue + em 2sgDP
'nta.lig ear + ek 1sgDP
'pes talk + na...an NMLS
'mro.pir dislike + ik 2sgO

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

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

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

---

30 It is possible that the rule did not apply when it would have resulted in a homophonous form, e.g., tmen—her/his father.
cannot apply when there is a consonant cluster following the target vowel (as per Clark’s rule in 40), or when identical consonants occur on either side of the target vowel (which would create a prohibited geminate; see §3.6.3.).

46  
\[ \begin{align*}
  & \text{feitkasu} \quad \text{*fikasu} \quad \text{be jealous} \\
  & \text{kokon} \quad \text{*kkon} \quad \text{bitter} \\
  & \text{mankotik} \quad \text{*manktik} \quad \text{wounded}
\end{align*} \]

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

47  \[ \text{serakor-o} \rightarrow \text{serakro} \rightarrow \text{srakro} \quad \text{to hide it} \]

3.6.2. Nasal assimilation

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

48  \[ \begin{align*}
  & \text{nkal} \quad \text{clothes} \quad [ŋkal] \\
  & \text{npat} \quad \text{tooth} \quad [ŋpat] \\
  & \text{nŋat} \quad \text{club} \quad [ŋŋat/ŋŋat]
\end{align*} \]

In some cases the assimilated form is now taken as basic, as in mpak ‘banyan tree’ and mpakur ‘Tamanu tree’. That ntuaŋ ‘devil’ is occasionally heard as [mtnwam], or even as [mtmtnwam], suggests that its current form has an assimilated initial nasal.

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

49  \[ \text{Malnen} \, \text{ra=tigpiel} \, \text{i=nom.} \quad [ˈtim.pjel] \]
\[ \text{when} \quad 3\text{d} \text{RS=exchange} \, 3\text{sgRS=finish} \]
\[ \text{When they had finished their exchange.} \, (004b, 1041.0601, 1044.4944) \]

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

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

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

\[ C1 C1 \rightarrow C1 \]

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

52 Ser natañol ni Erakor ru=nomser mtak-ki natopu.
\[ ['mta.ki] \]
every person of p.name 3p.RS=everyone fear-TR spirit

Everyone in Erakor is scared of the natopu (spirit). (98007az, 575.7600, 579.3730)

53 Tu= tik-ki mane nen tu=fuet ntan ke=ler.
\[ ['ti.ki] \]
1p.inRS= not-TR money that 1p.incRS=take:IR ground 3sglRR=return

We don’t have the money to get the land back. (98017bz, 511.0199, 513.3)

54 Ke= kraksok-ki, nen kin i=mur-i-n.
\[ ['krak.so.ki] \]
3sglRR= grab-TR that COMP 3sgRS=want-TS-3sgO

He grabbed the one that he wanted. (20003bz, 747.4199, 750.4452)

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

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

mai nrak katol.
\[ ['nra.ka.tol] \]
come time third

He came again to see me a second time, he came again to see me a third time. (98017az, 187.3111, 190.8000)

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

56 I=tao nawen ne.
\[ ['na.we.ne] \]
3sgRS=left sand this

She left this sand bank. (98017bz, 278.6574, 281.0161)
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Compound verb forms undergo degemination when the final consonant of the first verb is identical to the initial consonant of the second. Thus *pes sa ki* ‘to swear at, to speak badly to’ → [‘pe.sa.ki].

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

57 I=to me, *gar ru=to lot.*

[‘ga.ru]

3sgRS=stay but 3p. 3p.RS=STAT pray

He (the local spirit) is there but they pray. (98011a, 1083.8799, 1086.3254)

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

58 *Wak  p̥ur i=skei i=m*ai.

[‘waK15’u r]

pig big 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=come

The big pig came. (004a, 50, 52.1200)

Example (59) illustrates degeminated sequential *g + m̥* in *leg m̥as* ‘correct only’ that does not occur here as [η + ηm].

59 *Ru=leg m̥as.*

[ru.’leg, mas]

3p.RS=correct only

They are just correct. (98018az, 1166.3, 1167.7601)

The initial /n/ of /n̥l/ is eligible for degemination so that the compound verb *min+nrog* ‘to taste by drinking’ (made up of *min* ‘to drink’ and *nrog* ‘to taste’), is realized as [‘mi.n̥4 ro̩], as in the audio provided in (60).

60 *minrog* to taste by drinking (98015az, 1020.7000, 1024.3400)
Similarly, in (61) when -n ‘3sgO’ precedes the initial phoneme of nre ‘to turn’ degemination occurs.

61 Malen tm-e-n i=tme-n nre-a-0.31

[tm.e.n[ri].ja]

then father-V-3sgDP 3sgRS=RR-3sgDP turn-TS-3sgO

Then his father turned himself around. (98009b, 222.8, 225.0176)

3.7. Whispering and ingressive voice

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

62 Ga i=ta pi agel kia mau, me nataŋol kia.

3sg 3sgRS=NEG be angel PR NEG2 but man PR

He wasn’t an angel, but he was a man. (20003b, 1085.3600, 1088.8599)

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

63 Me kineu ka=fo pan ga ps-i-0, me and 1sg 1sgIRR=PSP:IR go 2sgBEN put-TS-3sgO and

ka=fo plak-e-k ler. Tefla.

1sgIRR-PSP:IR with-TS-2sgO return like.that

I will go and put it there for him and I will return with you. Like that. (98009bx, 1099.7, 1105)

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

64 Go pakor na, nasum n hen kin rowat, sum rowat.

and cover HESIT house that REL sago.leaf house sago.leaf

And cover the house with thatch, a thatch house. (98003b, 1098.4999, 1104.23)

31 This speaker pronounces nre ‘to turn’ as [nri] rather than [nre].
4. Word classes

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

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

4.1. Zero conversion and word class

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

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

4.2. Nominals
Nominals are distinguished by being able to head a noun phrase. In this section I describe the characteristics of the subclasses of nominals in the order set out in Table 4:1.
Table 4.1. Subclasses of nominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal nouns</td>
<td>Demonstrative pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placenames</td>
<td>S/O focal pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship address nouns</td>
<td>Focal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal nouns</td>
<td>Oblique (possessive/benefactive) pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common nouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directly possessed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirectly possessed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

Many nouns (some 40 percent of the nouns in the current lexicon) are n-initial, reflecting an article of the shape n(a)- that is fused to the stem in some cases today. The article is still analyzable to some extent, especially if the stem undergoes a morphological process such as reduplication, in which only the stem and not the article reduplicate (e.g., nanāpñāp ‘Looking-glass tree’ which
Chapter 4

is not *naŋapnaŋap). The article can also be dropped when there is prefixation, for example, with a locative (nasum house, esum ‘at the house’).

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

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

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

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

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

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

The same numeral ilates ‘six’ in (2) acts as the subject NP.

2 A=pitlak tesa ru=pi nain. Me i=lates ru=mat.
   1 sgRS=have child 3p.RS=be nine and 3 sgRS=six 3p.RS=die
   I had nine children. But six died. (98011a, 714.3800, 727.3400)
Nevertheless, the subject proclitic can appear in either the realis or irrealis form, as we see in (3) which is from a story about working on a plantation, and how the owners would increase the size of their land by getting the workers to move the fence posts out by a foot whenever they were being replaced. The numeral ke=skei ‘one’ has the irrealis subject form in this example that is all set in the irrealis mood.

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

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

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

4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-skei</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-nru; nran; nru</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-tol</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-pat</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-lim</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-lates</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-laru</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-latol</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-lfot</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ralim iskei</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ralim iskei atmat iskei</td>
<td>eleven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ralim inru</td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tifli iskei</td>
<td>one hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñon iskei</td>
<td>one thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñonti iskei</td>
<td>one million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>uncountable, many</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

6 Tete nrak ntau ralim iskei atmat inru, ko ntau ilaru tefla.
some time year ten one and two or year seven thus
Some times twelve years or seven years, like that. (From a discussion of the age at which a boy could be circumcised). (98003b, 1533.6, 1540.8797)
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Most counting today is done in Bislama and higher South Efate numbers in particular are not widely known, especially by younger speakers. During my stay in Erakor, a church elder decided to announce hymn numbers in South Efate (rather than the more usual Bislama numbers), which caused problems of comprehension for the congregation.

4.5. Verbs

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

Table 4.2. Summary of verb classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Subclass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semitransitive</td>
<td>Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitransitive</td>
<td>A-type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U-type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>A-type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U-type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Semitransitive verbs take suffixes from the oblique bound pronoun paradigm, typically with a locational sense. Ambitransitive verbs can take an object suffix and also distinguish A- and U-type subclasses. There is a small group of eleven verbs that have distinct stems when acting transitively and so are classed as transitive verbs. Finally, the small group of ditransitive verbs can occur with two following objects.
A separate subclass of thirteen auxiliary verbs can be identified based on their ability to precede the benefactive phrase. There is internal ordering between the auxiliary verbs that constrains their function and provides evidence of their reduced verbal status. The copula is in a class of its own; it is used to link a subject to a predicate nominal or adjective.

4.6. Prepositions

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kat/kati</td>
<td>because of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maloput</td>
<td>in the middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakpei</td>
<td>in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nal</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanre</td>
<td>beside, at the side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natik</td>
<td>at the edge, at the side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni/nig</td>
<td>from, for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nmaota, nmaoto between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pan, panpan until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pak to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>patio be at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tkal until, reach a point in time or space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>totur through, by means of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tup until</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

8 reki for, as for

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>to, for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plak</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skot</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taos</td>
<td>like, similar to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toklos</td>
<td>towards, in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accompany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>be with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>be like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>be in front of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{32}\) The locative prefix e- could be considered to be a preposition, but its unique distribution is more like a locative case marker and so it is discussed further in the section on placenames in §5.2.2.
Chapter 4

Examples of the use of some of these follow.

10 Ra=tok wat-pun namer nig Erakor kat ntan negar.

They would kill Erakor people because of their land. (98009b, 1701.7001, 1712.4800)

11 Ale i=pato maloput Egis go naur.

Okay, he was in the middle of Egis and the island. (98003bz, 2122.35, 2125.8800)

12 I=tap tu loia nen ru=to nakpei-wer

He didn't give the lawyers who stood in front of them the chance to talk well. (TK 98004)

13 Tu=mai mes reki nen tu=lek nanre ni damij
go nanre ni ntan.
and side of land

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

14 Ku=su ur natik PWMU, suñ ni nmatu.

You go down along the edge of the PWMU, the women’s house. (98017az, 1081.2001, 1088.6148)

15 Go totur Roy Mata kin i=po pitlak nmat

And through Roy Mata there would be peace between individual families and family lines. (053:82)

33 Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Union.
Word classes

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

Example (17) shows the preposition toklos ‘facing’ with a 3p.O suffix.
17 Reki nen welkia, ru=kens-ki-r, gawanki go
    as.for that HESIT 3p.RS=be.against-TR-3p.O thus and
ru=po stat preg nafkal toklos-i-r.
    3p.RS=PSP start make war facing-TS-3p.O
As for them being against them, that’s the way, and they would then start
to make a war with them. (98011a, 959.3599, 965.1933)

Tkal ‘to touch’ appears as a preposition meaning ‘until’ and can be used to
indicate a point of time reached, as in the next example, in which the speaker
uses tkal when talking of the amount of time he worked as an orderly for the
British government.
18 A=po weswes, kai=pe metpakor atlag ipi kin
    1sgRS=PSP work 1sgPS=PF forget month how.many REL
a=weswes ko i=lakor tkal ntau iskei plak tete atlag.
    1sgRS=work or 3sgRS=maybe until year one with some month
I would have worked, oh, I forget how many months I worked, or maybe it
got to a year and some months. (98002az, 2120.5200, 2133.4400)

In (19) tup functions as a preposition meaning ‘until’ in a narrative in
which a natopu ‘spirit’ promises to look after kastom ‘until today’. The same
form tup also means ‘to hit’.
19 Me kineu ka=fo gakit to nanre ni kastom.
    but 1sg 1sgIRR=PSP:IR 1p.inBEN stay side of kastom
Tu:p mes ne.
    until today this
But I will be a custodian of kastom for you. Until today. (98007az,
    705.9599, 718.2799)

4.7. Adjectives
Adjectives modify nouns. In South Efate, adjectives are a subclass of intransitive
verbs that can function attributively with no verbal morphology (such as subject
or TMA marking). When used predicatively adjectives are preceded by subject
proclitics and modality marking that do not occur when they are used attributively.
In the current data there are 115 stative verbs that can function as nominal modifiers, following their noun heads, and examples are given in Table 4:3. For example, the following sentences show adjectival forms occurring predicatively (pram ‘to be long’, mít ‘to be short’) and attributively (pram ‘long’, topt ‘too much’).

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

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

Examples of adjectives as nominal modifiers follow.

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

23 Go pña=traem ad-ki mane ne go naor ne,  
and 2sgRS=try add-TR money this and place this  
mane sespal top.  
money small much  
And you try to add more money, but here, the money is too little. (98016bz, 573.8873, 575.9800)

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

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34 By elicitation of individual verb forms it was determined that at least 115 of the 212 stative verbs can modify nouns.
Adjectives in Oceanic languages are often considered to be a subclass of intransitive verb. This is the case, for example, in the Vanuatu languages Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001), and Lamen (Early 2002). In South Efate, adjectives are distinguished by being able to occur in certain environments best characterized as being at the least verbal end of a continuum of possible verbs. Thus the same form may appear at one end of the continuum fully marked for its verbal status, including deriving a transitive verb with the transitivizing suffix (-*ki*) with an object, bearing aspectual and other pre-verbal particles, and at the other end it appears as a nominal modifier with none of those verbal characteristics and being eligible for nominalization with the *te-* prefix. Those forms that can only appear at the attributive end of this continuum (that is those that do not occur in typically verbal constructions) can be considered most adjectival. There is no

**Table 4.3. Examples of adjectives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>fiet</em></td>
<td>fierce, good fighter</td>
<td><em>mnan</em></td>
<td>yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fket</em></td>
<td>sour spicy</td>
<td><em>mailum</em></td>
<td>quiet, slow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>flos</em></td>
<td>twisted, crooked</td>
<td><em>mam</em></td>
<td>ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>foum</em></td>
<td>new</td>
<td><em>matol</em></td>
<td>thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fserser</em></td>
<td>different</td>
<td><em>met</em></td>
<td>raw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fsofus</em></td>
<td>young</td>
<td><em>miel</em></td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ftin</em></td>
<td>hot</td>
<td><em>mil</em></td>
<td>wild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gar</em></td>
<td>dry</td>
<td><em>mlates</em></td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>got</em></td>
<td>black</td>
<td><em>mlanr</em></td>
<td>cold, cool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kakas</em></td>
<td>sweet</td>
<td><em>msal</em></td>
<td>different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kar</em></td>
<td>grey</td>
<td><em>pasf</em></td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>karu</em></td>
<td>other, two</td>
<td><em>paru</em></td>
<td>fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kerkerai</em></td>
<td>strong</td>
<td><em>pram</em></td>
<td>long, tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kokon</em></td>
<td>bitter</td>
<td><em>ptin</em></td>
<td>sore, pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kos</em></td>
<td>dense</td>
<td><em>pu</em></td>
<td>naked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ksakes</em></td>
<td>green</td>
<td><em>sa</em></td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lap</em></td>
<td>many, more</td>
<td><em>ses</em></td>
<td>small, narrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lep</em></td>
<td>big</td>
<td><em>soklep</em></td>
<td>rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lom</em></td>
<td>wet</td>
<td><em>tap</em></td>
<td>taboo, forbidden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mrar</em></td>
<td>clever</td>
<td><em>tar</em></td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mt</em></td>
<td>dirty</td>
<td><em>was</em></td>
<td>burned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
reason to suggest that these forms represent different lexemes when they act as adjectives or as verbs; they are the same forms performing different functions. Examples of verbs that occur in each of these categories are given in Table 4:4., where we see the typical distribution of the forms that can function as adjectives and as intransitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERBAL</th>
<th>NON-VERBAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Take O with -ki</td>
<td>Subject proclitic (no TMA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect marking</td>
<td>Nominal modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicative</td>
<td>Attributive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

25 Go komam u=na i=wi-ki komam.
and 1p.ex 1p.exRS=say 3sgRS=good-TR 1p.ex
And we say it is good for us. (98010bz, 795.5, 797.8869)

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

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

   go i=po wi.
and 3sgRS=PSP.R good
I will give you it. Your money, and it will be good. (98017az, 432.2, 436.2320)
Table 4:4. Examples of verbs and adjectives

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

In (27) wi ‘good’ has a subject proclitic, but no other part of the PVC (3 on the continuum).
27 Natus nen \(i=\text{wi}\).
book that \(3\text{sgRS}=\text{good}\)
That book is good. (98001a, 2618.68, 2619.7)

In (28) wi ‘good’ is modifying the nominal nañolien ‘life’ attributively and has no verbal characteristics (4 on the continuum).
28 Atua \(i=\text{tao}^{35}\) nañolien \(\text{wi}\).
God \(3\text{sgRS}=\text{give.me life good}\)
God has given me a good life. (82:16)(98010az, 469.1199, 471.13)

As a subclass of intransitive verbs, adjectives can further be distinguished by taking the nominalizing prefix \(te-\) (see §5.4.3.) as we see in (29), where the prefixed adjective is \(te-\text{wi} ‘\text{a good thing’ rather than ‘good’ as it would be without the prefix.\)
29 A=\text{mur-i-n nrik-mus kin na}
1\text{sgRS}=\text{want-TS-3sgO tell-2p.O COMP ART}
\text{nfaketanwen } i=\text{pi te-wi}.
respect \(3\text{sgRS}=\text{be DET-good}\)
I want to tell you that respect is a good thing. (98007bz, 940.8000, 951.7)

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

There is a predictable difference between the attributive reading of the adjective and the predicative reading of the verb, as outlined in (30).
30 \begin{align*}
\text{Attributive} & \quad \text{Predicative} \\
\text{miel} & \quad \text{red} \\
\text{nagmoru} & \quad \text{deep} \\
\text{nrotik} & \quad \text{silly} \\
\text{pur} & \quad \text{full}
\end{align*}

According to Dixon (2002:17), ordering of adjectives following a noun can be predicted to be as in (31).
31 color, age, human propensity, speed, physical property, dimension, value

---

\(^{35}\) The verb \(tu ‘\text{to give’ has a suppletive 1sgO form tao.}\)

\(^{36}\) Also Wetzer’s (1996:77) “prototypical property concepts.”
However, due to a strong dispreference in South Efate for strings of adjectives it is not possible to make any generalizations about internal ordering of adjectives. The following is the only example of more than one adjective involving āpur ‘big’ or got ‘black’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Temporal adverbs**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>35</th>
<th>malfane</th>
<th>now, at the time of</th>
<th>sernrak</th>
<th>always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>malnen</td>
<td>that time</td>
<td>tetemal</td>
<td>sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>malpei</td>
<td>long ago, ‘first time’</td>
<td>tetenrak</td>
<td>on some occasions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>selwan</td>
<td>while, at the time that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Word classes

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

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

In (38) the modifier pelpel ‘quickly’ follows the verb it modifies, ansa ‘to answer’.

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

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

39 Go i=wi na ... ruk=freg, ruk=sik
   and 3sgRS=good COMP 3p.IRR=make:IR 3p.IRR=raise
   naot faum pelpel.
   chief new quickly
   And it is good if they make, they raise a new chief quickly. (20003az, 1956.0400, 1963)

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

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

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

41 kotkot really   pók half
   nías only  top much
   perkat(i) really (emphasis)
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In (42) ūnas ‘only’ modifies the verb pakor ‘to appear’ to mean ‘only or just appear’.
42 Pan pan namrun i=na i=pakor ūnas.
go go something 3sgRS=INCH 3sgRS=appear only
Until this thing began to just appear. (98009az, 921.7399, 924.25)

In (43) ūnas ‘only’ modifies the verb marmar ‘to rest’ to mean ‘only or just rest’.
43 Ru=marmar ūnas.
3p.RS=rest only
They just rest. (98001az, 2634.6, 2635.5000)

The adverb ūpok ‘half, partway’ is used to express something that is not fully done,37 e.g., mam ūpok, literally ‘ripe half’ means ‘unripe’. In (44) it is used when talking about schooling that was half done.
44 A=tu, a=ta weswes mau. Me u=skul, 1sgRS=stay 1sgRS=NEG work NEG2 but 1p.exRS=school

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

The adverb ūtop ‘much’ modifies the verb matur ‘to sleep’ in (45).
45 Ku=tae i=matur ūtop a?
2sgRS=know 3sgRS=sleep much INT
You know he slept too much eh? (20001az, 1316.8201, 1321.7600)

The adverb ūtop ‘much’ modifies the verb lek ‘to see’ in (46).
46 Akit tu=lek ūtop ki stael ni westen kaontri.
1p.ln 1p.RS=see much PREP style of western country
We see too much of the style of western countries. (20003az, 1714.3000, 1719.4801)

The adverb ūperkat(i) intensifies the meaning of the form it follows. As a post-verbal modifier it often acts as the second part of a compound verb (see §9.1.1.).
47 Neu a=ta tae ūperkati mau.
1sg 1sgRS=NEG know really NEG2
I don’t really know. (98014az, 660.3600, 662.0400)

---

37 The equivalent adjective is kotfak ‘half’.
Or nañolien ni tetwei i=wi. I=wi perkati.  
Yes, life of long.ago 3sgRS=good 3sgRS=good really
Yes, life in the olden days was good. It was really good. (98007az, 2312, 2316.2)

**Direction/location**

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

- *ektem* outside
- *elag* above
- *eñæ* distant
- *enïrom* inside

Examples of some directional adverbs follow.

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

50 Ka=fau tefkau ke=nom, go ka=fo
1sgIRR=weave:IR mat 3sgIRR=end and 1sgIRR=PSP:IR
pakor nakir enïrom, i=nom.
cover coral inside 3sgRS=end
I weave a mat, and I will cover the coral floor inside, that's all. (20001az, 214.3599, 221.1600)

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

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

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

In (51) we see the addressee deictic *go* with the demonstrative *sa* ‘here’ forming a directional adverb meaning ‘here, nearer to the addressee than to the speaker’.
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51 Ag ku=totan sa-go me kineu a=mur-i-n
   2sg 2sgRS=sit here-AD and 1sg 1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO

na ka=taf
   COMP 1sg!RR=leave

You sit down here, but me, I want to leave. (98003bz, 845.2599, 849.7999)

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

52 Ko=fak-tan-ki tem-mus go rait-mus.
   2p.exRS=go.to:IR-down-TR father-2p.POS and mother-2p.POS

You respect your father and your mother. (lit: go down to your father and your mother) (98007bz, 953, 957.5200)

The adverb nieltig ‘close’ can also have a temporal meaning as seen in (53).

53 Mes ne ki=pe lakor tkal nieltig ki ntau 80.
   today this 3sg!RR=PF maybe touch near PREP year 80

Me ga go i=tal nol to.
   but 3sg AD 3sgRS=DUR alive stay

Today, he might be near to eighty years old. But he is still alive/healthy. (98017bz, 1042.0737, 1047.8000)

4.8.1. Pre-modifiers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The adverb mailum ‘slowly’, ‘softly’ precedes the verb it is modifying. 38

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

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

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

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

Trau can mean ‘really’, ‘just’, or ‘like, looks like’: 

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

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

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

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

38 By elicitation it was possible to get speakers to agree to mailum occurring both before and after the verb, e.g., ku mailum siwer/siwer mailum ‘you slowly walk/ walk slowly’, but all the textual examples show mailum occurring pre-verbally.
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60 Ga i=trau mro-sa pe mrosa-ki D.
3sg 3sgRS=really think-bad IF think.bad-TR D
And he really but really thought badly of D. (98004)

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

Example (62) shows traui modifying the auxiliary verb to.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fei</th>
<th>who</th>
<th>sef</th>
<th>which</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gas</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>sefmal</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iku</td>
<td>why</td>
<td>swa</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipi</td>
<td>how much</td>
<td>tfale</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nafte</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>tkanwan</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Textual examples of some interrogatives follow.

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

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

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

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

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

67 U=tap tae fei kin ke=fo mos-mam
   1p.exRS=NEG know who REL 3sgIRR=PSP:IR carry-1p.exO
   pak Ist Hog Haba mau.
   to p.name NEG2
   We didn’t know who would take us to East Hog Harbor. (004b, 1272.4601, 1281.1599)

68 Me i=tfale kin mal i=to preg-sa-kit,
   but 3sgRS=how REL hawk 3sgRS=HABIT make-bad-1p.inO
   i=to
   3sgRS=HABIT eat-1p.inO
   But how does it come that the hawk harms us and eats us? (98001b, 733.1459, 737.4460)

4.10. Quantifiers

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

**Post-nominal quantifiers**

*karu* other, next (e.g., *natrauswen karu* ‘another story’)

*lap* many (e.g., *nañer lap* ‘many people’)

*mana* associated group (e.g., *Apu mana* ‘grandfather and them’, *fei mana* ‘who all?’)

*nenpa* last, past (e.g., *wik nenpa* ‘last week’)

*nentu* next (e.g., *atlag nentu* ‘next month’)

*nrfal* few (e.g., *tiawi nrfal* ‘a few old people’)

*pur* full, big (e.g., *napu pur* ‘the big road’)

*warik* few (e.g., *naniu warik* ‘few coconuts’)

**Pre-nominal quantifiers (discussed in §5.5.1)**

*kotfak* half, small amount (e.g., *kotfak nafnag* ‘leftover food’)

*nafet* group of (e.g., *nafet tiawi* ‘a group of old people’)

*ser* every (e.g., *ser naor* ‘every place’)

*silu* all (e.g., *silu nafnag* ‘all the food’)

*tete* some (e.g., *tete nrak* ‘some time’)

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Chapter 4

Pre-verbal complex

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

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

70 A=na ka=fan, neu a=ta skei
1sgRS=want 1sgIRR=go:IR 1sg 1sgRS=NEG one
plak-e-Ø pa=n mau.
accompany-TS-3sgO go=DST NEG2
I wanted to go, I didn’t go with them myself. (98018az, 374.3, 376)

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

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

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

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

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

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

ale okay itik no
gawan/ikanwan thus ore yes
The particle *ale* ‘okay, so, then’ is from French via Bislama and commonly occurs as both a conjunction and an interjection. It is used mostly to start a new sentence, as in (72).

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

```
Ale ru=lao-ki-∅.
okay 3p.RS=plant-TS-3sgO
```

They took everything for him and went and put it there, until it was over. Okay, they put it there (lit: planted it). (98009b, 498.4201, 504.5201)

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

73 Ale i=sel kai pan i=na i=nom mer okay 3sgRS=take shellfish until 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=finish again
ta-po-ki fat. Ale i=mer pak e-suñī pa. turn-TR rock okay 3sgRS=again go.to LOC-house go
Okay she took shellfish until she’d had enough and turned the rock cover over again. Okay she went back home. (98003bz, 2064.6799, 2070.6399)

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

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

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

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

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

75 Tkanwan napu ni nafet apu nen ru=mai. thus road of group g.father that 3p.RS=come

```
That’s the path by which all the old people came. (98002az, 457.7600, 460.7162)
```

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

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

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

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

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

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

80 Gawan-kia, kano nen i=nrik-i-n ki-n
thus-PR man that 3sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO PREP-3sgO
me i=po psig.
but 3sgRS=PSP disobey
That’s the way, that man said it to him, but he disobeyed. (20001az, 1277.2, 1280.9200)

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

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

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

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

83 <Nick> Me ag ku=skul franis? <DW> Itik.
but 2sg 2sgRS=school French no
<Nick> But did you go to a French school? <DW> No. (98010bz, 1089.7600, 1093.2599)

4.11.1.1. Greetings, leavetakings

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

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

   letae-k mau.
   recognize-2sgO NEG2
   <Speaker 1> Good day. <Speaker 2> Good day, I didn’t recognize you!
   (98007az, 2287.8399, 2294.4000)

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

85 Pogwi. aliat wi.
   good.morning good.day
   Good morning, good day. (98001az, 2568.3000, 2577.1000)

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

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

86 I=pato lameri e? Ale nta.
   3sgRS=be.at townhall eh ok CONC
   He’s at the town hall is he? Okay, bye. (98017a, 1409.9600, 1414.4799)
A different use of the conversation concluder, *nta* ‘CONC’, is seen in (87), where it signals that the previous part of the story is over.

87 Malfanen *ra=to* wi. *Nta* *ka=fo*

*now* 3d.RS=STAT *good* CONC 1sgIRR=PSP:IR

tu-o-k gag mıt.
give-TR-2sgO 2sgPOS mat

*Now they are good. OK, I will give you your mat.* \(^{39}\) (98003b, 1223.0599, 1227.3307)

### 4.11.1.2. Hesitation markers

Hesitation markers include the following:

88 *nana*  ‘the.the’, thingamy, whatchamacallit

*nafte-mena, nafte-kia*  whatsit

*ena*  LOC-the

*kalo*  ?

Examples of hesitation markers follow.

89 Go ru=wat *nafte-mena, nafte-mena, nana*, i=skei,

*and* 3p.RS=hit what-HESIT what-HESIT HESIT 3sgRS=one

mis  Australia.

missionary  p.name

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

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

90 Ru=pato e-na, elag sanpe.

3p.RS=stay LOC-ART *above there*

*They stay, um, up there.* (20003b, 1147.5800, 1149.9802)

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

91 Runa,  “E”, *kalo*. *Nafteme, nana*, ki=pe to *na*,

3p.RS=say eh HESIT HESIT HESIT 3sgPS=PF stay HESIT

*til nana*  “Tu=kraksoksok nasun.”

*say* HESIT 1p.exRS=make.ready house

*They said, “Hey”, like, whatsit, um, he said, like, “We should prepare the house”* (for a cyclone). (98002bz, 1255.3000, 1264.3399)

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\(^{39}\) The position of the possessive pronoun *gag* ‘2sgPOS’ is unusual here. Normally it would be expected to follow the possessed item but here it precedes.
4.11.2. Non-lexical interjections

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

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

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

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

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

94 I=tme-n preg-i-o i=pi natamōl wi 3sgRS=RR-3sgDP make-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=be person good me i=pi ntuam, a.a. but 3sgRS=be devil " He made himself out to be a good person, but he was a devil, aha. (20001az, 1064.7, 1070.08)

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

95 Kin a=to nrog-o-o me a=tap REL 1sgRS=STAT hear-TS-3sgO but 1sgRS=NEG1 lek tete mau. m.m. see some NEG2 m.m. I heard about it, but I haven’t seen any at all m.m. (20001a, 1787.4400, 1792.4000)

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

96 <MJ> Lisan nen i=pi lisan pur, me i=pi lisan nen clam that 3sgRS=be clam big but 3sgRS=be clam that kin i=pi lisan tap. <NT> Ore <MJ> m.m. REL 3sgRS=be clam sacred yes m.m. <MJ> That clam is a big clam, but it is a clam which is a sacred clam. <NT> Yes. <MJ> m.m. (20003bz, 782.3800, 791.4399)
The same form *m.m* is used with question intonation to form a question in (97), meaning something like ‘you know?’

97  Ru=f tae tilusus-i-k ko
3p.RS=CND know talk.badly-TS-2sgO or
ru=ftil-ki-k, ko. m.m.?  
3p.RS=gossip-TR-2sgO or m.m.

_They can spread rumors about you or gossip about you (you know?)._ (98009a, 450.1600, 457.2600)

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

98a <I> Me ke=fo mer traus skot akam.
3sgIRR=PSP:IR again talk with 2p.

_But he will then talk with you._ (98007az, 1011.8200, 1014.6200)

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

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

99  Ya ioraet. Yuwi.
3sg okay "
[Bislama] Yes, it’s okay. Yuwi. (98014a, 853.5600, 859.6400)

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

100 O Miss McRae, ooo!
3sgerver oh p.name oh
_Oh. Miss McRae, ooo!_ (98010bz, 924.5206, 926.8863)
5. Nominals and the noun phrase

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

5.1. Pronouns

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

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

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

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

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

1b Ruk=fo wat kineu.
    3p.RS=PSP:IR hit 1sg
    They will hit me. (98002b, 357.87, 358.8400)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bound pronouns</th>
<th>Subject Realis Proclitic (RS)</th>
<th>Subject Irrealis Proclitic (IRR)</th>
<th>Subject Perfect Proclitic (PS)</th>
<th>Object (O)</th>
<th>Oblique Object (OBL)</th>
<th>Direct Poss (DP)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>a=</td>
<td>ka=</td>
<td>kai=</td>
<td>-wou</td>
<td>-wou</td>
<td>-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>ku=</td>
<td>pa=</td>
<td>kui=</td>
<td>(TS)-k</td>
<td>-wok</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>i=</td>
<td>ke=</td>
<td>ki=</td>
<td>(TS)-Ø / -n</td>
<td>-wes</td>
<td>-n</td>
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<tr>
<td>1d. (in)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ta=</td>
<td>tak=</td>
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<td>1d. (ex)</td>
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<td>2d.</td>
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<td>rakai=</td>
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<td>3d.</td>
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<td>rakai=/ rai=</td>
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<td>1p. (in)</td>
<td></td>
<td>tu=</td>
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<td>tu=/ (tukoi=)</td>
<td>-kit</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p. (ex)</td>
<td></td>
<td>u=</td>
<td>ko=</td>
<td>ui=/ koi=</td>
<td>-mam / -mom / -m</td>
<td>-mam</td>
<td>-mam / -mom / -m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p.</td>
<td></td>
<td>u=</td>
<td>ko=</td>
<td>koi=</td>
<td>-mus</td>
<td>-mus</td>
<td>-mus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ru=</td>
<td>ruk=</td>
<td>(rukui=)</td>
<td>(TS)-r</td>
<td>-wer</td>
<td>-r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Similarly, (2a) and (2b) show the 2sg focal pronoun as subject and object respectively.
2a Me ag ku=ñol to go tak=ler.
   but 2sg 2sgRS=alive STAT and 1d.IRR=return
   But you are alive and we will return. (98017b, 667.2599, 676.4600)

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

5.1.2. Oblique free pronouns

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

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

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

5.1.2.1. nakte ‘my’ ‘1sgPOS’

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

3 Ka=fo puetsok nakte nkal wel,
   1sglRR-PSP:IR hold my clothes thus
   a=tuleg me a-na ka=taf.
   1sgRS-stand and 1sgRS-want 1sglRR-leave
   I will hold my skirt like this, I will stand up to leave. (65:13)(98003bz, 849.7999, 856.8200)

4 Nakte nasum kin hotel i-to-wes tu.
   my house REL hotel 3sgRS=STAT-3sgOBL stay
   It is my house that the hotel stands on. (76:12)(98009b, 651.8, 654.9200)
5.1.3. Bound pronouns
Bound pronouns include subject proclitics (§5.1.3.2.); object suffixes (§5.1.3.3.); and direct possessives (§5.1.3.6.). Each is discussed in turn below. The pronominal suffixes use plural forms for numbers greater than one. There is no separate set of dual object or oblique forms as there is for the subject proclitics. I regard obligatory subject proclitic pronouns as being arguments of the verb, and the optional presence of a lexical noun cross-references the clitic.

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

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

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

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

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

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

When higher animates are not involved, number marking may not reflect the number of the cross-referenced subject or object as we can see in (8) where both the marked subject and object are singular, while the referents (all the listed sea life) are described as being lap ‘many’. This treats the referents as a collective noun, as in the English translation where each type of sea animal is a collective noun. The difference is that the grouping of all of these animals is treated as a plural in English, but not in this South Efate sentence. Animacy is a precondition for number agreement, with lower animate and inanimate plural nouns more likely to be treated as collective nouns and so cross-referenced by singular proclitics.
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8 Ke=piatlak kai go ke=fo piatlak wit go 3sglRR=have shellfish and 3sglRR=PSP:IR have octopus and
ke=fo piatlak naik go ke=fo piatlak 3sglRR=PSP:IR have fish and 3sglRR=PSP:IR have
te-fserser i=lap nen i=to slat-i-o DET-different 3sgRS=many REL 3sgRS=HAB carry-TS-3sgO
elau ntas.
sea seawater
There were shellfish, octopus, fish, and there were many different others that she would take from the sea. (029:7)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12 temol animal tesa child
natañol person naot chief
nmatu woman

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

40 When lower animates behave as human characters in a story they have plural reference as an attribute of being human.
As we would expect, the same tendency to treat nouns with inanimate referents as collective can be seen in cross-referencing of the object, as in (14) where the plural fish (it seems unlikely that the net would catch only one fish) only have singular agreement on the verbs mai ‘come’, sor ‘to sell’, slat ‘to take’, and fam ‘to eat’.

5.1.3.2. Bound subject pronouns (proclitics)

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

5.1.3.2.1. Realis/irrealis pronominals

Proclitic subjects distinguish realis and irrealis forms. The realis is the unmarked form, and the irrealis form is used in marking subjects of actions that have yet to be realized, including many (but not all) future events and all imperatives and hortatives (see Chapter 6 on Mood and Aspect). Thus, in (16) we see the realis forms of pronouns in all cases except the subject of the verb mai ‘to come’, which is inside a desiderative complement. As noted in §12.2 there is a strong preference for subjects of certain complement types (e.g., desideratives, achievement
predicates) to be in the irrealis form. While we may expect that the conditional in the final clause, encoding a possibility as it does, would take an irrealis, it nevertheless has a realis subject form, as do most conditionals in the data.

16 A=nrik-i-n ki na “He a=muri-n
1sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO PREP COMP hey 1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO
na ūa=mai ni Kaltog preg nalkis,
COMP 2sglRR=come BEN p.name make medicine
i=wel ku=f tae preg-i-0.”
3sgRS=thus 2sgRS=CND know make-TS-3sgO
I said to him, “Hey, I want you to bring some medicine for Kaltog, if you can do that.” (20001b, 1216.5199, 1227.0800)

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

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

17 I=piatlak tete nen kin ru=weswes skot-i-r. Go,
3sgRS=have some that REL 3p.RS=work with-TS-3p.O and
ru=lap te-þur rui=pe mat. Rukoi=pe mat.
3p.RS=many DET-big 3p.PS=PF dead 3p.RS=PF dead
There are some who worked with them (the Americans). And very many died. They died. (98003az, 436.8400, 455.2799)

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

18 Kai=pe til-sori-ki=r, ui=pe pes ki=pe nom.
1sgPS=PF tell-sorry -TR-3p.O 1p.exPS=PF talk 3sgPS=PF end
I said sorry to them, we talked, it is over. (98016az, 1819.2346, 1823.3000)
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Traditional (also called kastom ‘custom’) stories set in the past often use perfect proclitic forms as in (19).

19 Kaltog i=kel ntak Selwin tefla=n go rakai=ler
Kaltog 3sgRS=hold back Selwin thus=DST and 3d.PS=return
mai pak esunũ
come to LOC-house
Kaltog rubbed Selwin’s back like that and they returned to the house.
(20001b, 1372.6, 1378.6800)

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

5.1.3.2.3. kai echo-subject marker
In South Efate the echo-subject proclitic kaι⁴¹ can act as the subject of second and subsequent clauses where the verb of the first clause is inflected and the subject is identical to each of the following echo-subject-marked clauses, as shown in the schema in (20).

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

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

In South Efate kai occupies the position that would otherwise be filled by a subject proclitic, but it is invariant in form regardless of the person or number of the subject referent. In this way it shares features with both a subject proclitic

⁴¹ Lynch, Ross, and Crowley. 2002:85 reconstruct POc *ka as a conjoiner meaning ‘and then’ which could, by combining with the 3sg subject i=, be a historical source for kai.
(by position and paradigmatic relation) and a conjunction such as *go* ‘and’. Overall it is closer in function to a subject marker than a conjoiner. Elements of the PVC rarely follow *kai* as they would with other subject proclitics, though, as noted above, there are examples of the perfect aspect marker *pe* occurring after *kai*. Example (21a) shows a sequence of verbs conjoined by *go* ‘and’ which requires subject marking on both verbs. In (21b) the same sequence is conjoined by *kai* which takes the place of the second subject proclitic, lending support to the interpretation of *kai* as an echo-subject marker rather than purely a verbal conjoiner. While the subject of both clauses linked by *kai* must be the same, there is no such restriction on clauses linked by *go* which can link clauses with the same or with different subjects.

21a Me marik nen i=na i=tok go i=preg
   but man that 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=stay and 3sgRS=make
   pta\-ki semale.
   ready-TR everything

21b Me marik nen i=na i=tok *kai* preg
   but man that 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=stay ES make
   pta\-ki semale.
   ready-TR everything
   *Then the man began to get everything ready.* (lit: *The man was there and he got everything ready.*) (elicited)

Similarly, in the following description of a journey, *kai* is used to link clauses in a pattern in which it is interchangeable with the sequence of the conjoiner *go* followed by the subject pronoun *i= ‘3sgRS’.*

22a Ale pak etan esan ru=SOS-O-0 ki Em\-lemasei
   okay go.to down place 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP p.name
   *kai* pak Em\-lepata.
   ES go.to p.name
   *Okay, down to the place they call \-Em\-lemasei then to Em\-lepata.* (090:46)
   (98017bz, 402.0800, 413.8599)

22b ØPak\(^{42}\) Em\-lepata *kai* pak Elak\-nunimal go i=pak
   to p.name ES go.to p.name and 3sgRS=go.to

\(^{42}\) The null symbol ‘Ø’ is used to indicate a missing subject marker here, indicating that this clause is part of a clause chain, as discussed in §12.3.2.
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Erkau go i=pak Etkoraf Øpak e-sap me ...
p.name and 3sgRS=go.top.name go.to LOC-place. thingamy but
To Ermelpat then Elakmunimal, then to Erkau then Etkoraf, to... (090:47).
(98017bz, 413.9599, 422.1999)

22c Urpa kai pak elag esan ru=sos-o-ø ki
p.name ES go.to above place 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP
Ermelpokas. Ermelpokas kai su pak Ernasin Øsu
p.name p.name ES descend to p.name descend
pak Ernasin Øsu pak clau Emer.
to p.name descend to saltwater p.name
Urpa, then up to the place called Ermelpokas, then down to Ernasin, then
we go down to the sea at Emer. (090:48) (98017b, 422.5999, 438.3599)

While the preceding examples have 3sg subjects, kai can reference any
person or number as shown in the next examples where kai references 1sg in
(23), 2sg in (24), 3d. in (25), and 3p. in (26).

23 Go a=na a=tok kai sos “Jemis”.
and 1sgRS=want 1sgRS=stay ES call Jemis
And I stayed and called out “James.” (015:16)(004a, 1628.8400,
1632.9943)

24 Ku=pan lelu teflan pan pa raru gag
2sg=go avoid thus go drive canoe 2sgPOS
kai pak namos pan.
ES go ocean go
You avoid (a rock) like this, take your canoe and go to the ocean. (015:43)
(004a, 1801.69, 1806.5)

25 Ra=slat sernale ni talñat kai pa.
3d.RS=carry everything of garden ES go
They(2) carried everything from the garden and they went. (019:4)(004a,
30.3200, 33.2801)

26 Ru=pa=n raru kai pe pa.
3p.RS=go=DST canoe ES PF go
They went in the canoe and were gone. (98017bz, 871.4151, 872.9914)

More than two clauses can be joined by kai, as shown in (27) where three
sequential actions are joined in this way.

27 Ale, ntuam i=na i=to kai slat-lu nua-nait
then devil 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=stay ES take-out fruit-fig
Chapter 5

iskei kai pam-i-ø.
one ES eat-TS-3sgO

Then the devil stayed and took a fig and ate it. (19:37) (004a, 343.7600, 348.2000)

The following example (from Text 4 in the Appendix) shows three clauses concatenated, with no subject marking on the second verb and kai on the third (numbers indicate the beginning of each clause). (The lack of subject marking on the auxiliary verb mer ‘do again’ in the second clause is an example of clause chaining which is discussed in §12.3.2.)

28 I=tok panpan Ømer pak emat nig tem-e-n
3sgRS=stay until do.again go.to grave of father-V-3sgDP
1 2
pan kai lek nkas.
go ES look tree
3

He stayed until (he) returned to his father’s grave and saw a tree. (014:13) (004b, 849.6400, 857.4801)

The subject referenced by kai must include in its denotation the subject of the preceding clause, but it is also possible that its denotational range merges with both the subject and object of the first verb, in what we can call an inclusive echo-subject (following Lynch 1983:214). An inclusive echo-subject is most likely to occur when the subject referent of the preceding clause accompanies or takes the object referent and they then act together as the subject of the subsequent verb.

29 Go spun i=tir plet kai sef pan.
and spoon 3sgRS=put plate ES escape go

And the spoon took the plate and (they) ran away. (98003b, 1954.9932, 1958.7228)

In (30) the subject of the first verb (plak ‘be with’) is the man (who took his woman), but the subject of the second verb (pak ‘go to’) includes both the man and his wife, again illustrating an inclusory echo-subject construction.

30 Karu i=plak nmatu ga, nmatu ni wak ne,
other 3sgRS=be.with woman 3sg woman of pig this

kai pak e-suñ ga pa.
ES to LOC-home 3sg go

But the other one took his woman, the woman pig, and they went to his house. (013:17) (004b, 1034.4, 1039.9800)

Echo-subject marking has been described as a shared feature (whether an innovation or independent development) of Southern Vanuatu languages (see for example, Crowley’s 2002:181 discussion of echo-verbs and switch-reference). It
is clear that the shared function, if not the form, of echo-subject marking extends at least as far north as South Efate.\(^{43}\)

### 5.1.3.3. Bound object pronouns

There are separate paradigms of object suffixes for direct objects (O) and obliques (OBL) (listed in Table 5:3. and discussed in the following sections) that can be distinguished by the roles they encode and the type of hosts they attach to. The O suffixes encode the object of the predicator to which they attach. The OBL suffixes encode oblique objects, typically locations. In the case of semitransitive verbs, only OBL suffixes are available, based on the semantics of the relevant verbs which typically include reference to movement to, at, or from a location. The O and OBL suffixes do not co-occur with the lexical NP with which they share a role.

#### Table 5:3. Form of the object and oblique object suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>1pl (excl)</th>
<th>1pl (incl)</th>
<th>2pl</th>
<th>3pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Object suffix</strong></td>
<td>-wou</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-Ø / -n</td>
<td>-mam</td>
<td>-kit</td>
<td>-mus</td>
<td>-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oblique object suffix</strong></td>
<td>-wou</td>
<td>-wok</td>
<td>-wes</td>
<td>-mam</td>
<td>-kit</td>
<td>-mus</td>
<td>-wer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm of object suffixes has recruited forms from the oblique suffix paradigm in 1sg, 1p., and 2p. to fill gaps in the paradigm which apparently reflect the partial Proto Oceanic object enclitic inventory as reconstructed by B. Evans (1995:137), and shown in Table 5:4. Ross (1998:20–21 fn) suggests the focal pronoun was used in the remaining positions, that is, those positions for which South Efate uses the OBL forms. South Efate reflects the distribution of the Proto Oceanic paradigm, but has lost the 1sg form.

#### 5.1.3.3.1. The object suffix paradigm

Object suffixes encode the objects of derived transitive verbs (31), ambitransitive verbs (32), ditransitive verbs (33) (where they represent the recipient), and of the preposition *ki* (34).

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\(^{43}\) Schütz’s 1969b Ngunese texts include a form *poo* which functions as a clause-linker but may, with further analysis, also prove to be an echo-subject marker (see also Stevens 2001).
Table 5:4. Reconstructed POc object enclitics (after B. Evans 1995:137) compared with South Efate object suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>3pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*-au</td>
<td>*-ko</td>
<td>*-a</td>
<td>*-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Efate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-ø/-n</td>
<td>-r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reference to an object can be encoded either by an object suffix or by a lexical NP. In South Efate the object suffix cannot co-occur within the Verb Complex with a co-referential lexical NP which I take to be evidence for both the object suffix and the object lexical NP being the expression of the O argument in South Efate.

An example is (31) in which the intransitive verb pes-kerkerai ‘talk harshly’ takes the transitivizing suffix -ki and an O suffix in its first use, but if the O is emphasized, as in the last clause, then the focal pronoun ag ‘you (sg)’ is used instead of the O suffix.

31 Ke=fo pes-kerai-ki-k tete nrak, tete nrak, 3sgIRR=PSP:IR talk-strong-TR-2sgO some time some time, mastₐ nen kin i=wi, i=pes-kerkerai-ki ag məs. boss that REL 3sgRS=good 3sgRS=talk-strong-TR 2sg only
He will speak harshly to you, some times, some times a good boss will just speak harshly to you. (as opposed to beating you) (98017az, 2334.2400, 2342.4200)

An ambitransitive verb typically requires a transitive suffix (TS) of variable shape (illustrated in §8.1.3.1) to facilitate the addition of the O suffix, as in (32) where the 3p.O suffix -r refers to a participant mentioned earlier in the discourse.

32 I=f weI ku=f tae trok-wes go 3sgRS=CND thus 2sgRS=CND know agree-3sg0BL and
ka=of plak-e-r ler. 1sgIRR=PSP:IR with-TS-3p.O return
If you agree with it, then I will go back with them. (20001 b, 1303.9200, 1306.25)

With a ditransitive verb (see §7.1.7.) the O suffix encodes the recipient, as in (33) where the speaker says he is now going to tell ‘them’ one (story), where the suffix -r 3p.O encodes the addressees.

33 Or ka=fo mer nrik-i-r ki i=skei.
yes 1sgIRR=PSP:IR in.turn tell-TS-3p.O PREP 3sgRS=one
Yes, I will now tell them one (story). (004a, 1509.9401, 1516.6600)
In (34) the preposition *ki* follows the lexical O *ntuam* ‘devil’ and the theme is referenced by the 2sgO suffix on the preposition.

34 Ga kin i=tu natopu ki-k.
3sg COMP 3sgRS=give devil PREP-2sgO

*He is the one who gave you to the devil.* (98009bz, 1086.04, 1092.74)

5.1.3.3.1.1. The problem of 3sgO, zero marking, and the ‘distant’ clitic

In general the 3sgO suffix has zero representation. There are, however, instances in the data where the 3sgO appears as -n. In §5.3.2. we see that -n is the 3sg direct possessive suffix. A small group of verbs take a 3sgO of the form -n which stands in a paradigmatic relationship with other object suffixes, as shown in (35).

35 *fra* to beg  
    *fra-n* to beg him/her/it  
    *fra-k, fra-r*  
    2sgO, 3sgO

*ma* to grate  
*ma-n* to grate it  
*ma-k, ma-r*  
2sgO, 3sgO

*paumra* to slaughter  
*paumra-n* to slaughter (animal)  
*paumra-r 3sgO*

*tak* to husk  
*tak-a-n (tkan)* to husk a coconut  
*tk-a-r 3sgO*

*tok* to burn  
*tok-o-n (tkon)* to burn it  
*tk-o-r 3sgO*

*mur* to want  
*mur-i-n* to want it  
*mur-u-k, mur-u-r*  
2sgO, 3sgO

The same form -n ‘3sgO’ also appears as a suffix on both the transitivizing -ki, as in (36) and on the preposition *ki* (37).

36 Go kano ga i=pios, i=safeu-ki-n.
    and man 3sgS 3sgRS=call 3sgRS=whistle-TR-3sgO

*And the man, he called out, he whistled to him.* (20001az, 1368.5200, 1383.7200)

37 Nanromien ses ru=mer negar wes-i-0
    present small 3p.RS=again 3p.BEN take-TS-3sgO

    *pan tu-e-r ki-n.*
    go give-TS-3p.O PREP-3sgO

*They will take them a small present and give it to them.* (005a, 935.8, 940.6600)

---

44 In Sye, Crowley (1998:191) observes that the construct suffix takes the form -n for a small number of verbs and can occur variably with a lexical object. When the construct suffix is absent, the preceding verb root behaves as if the following noun were morphologically bound to it.
Consider examples (38a) and (38b) which show how the zero 3sgO contrasts with the 3p.O of the verb skot ‘to be with’ in the same position.

38a A=po weswes skot-i-r.
1sgRS=PSP work with-TS-3p.O
*I would work with them.* (98002az, 1421.6, 1423.0600)

38b Naustap i=pi te-ne=n na tiawi [ru]
sacred.bone 3g=be DET-this=DST REL old.people 3p.RS
ru=ple skot-i-o.
3p.RS=argue with-TS-3sgO
*The sacred bone is what the old people argue with.*

While there are no textual examples of the 2sgO occurring in this position, we know from elicitation that skoti-k ‘with’ and the 2sgO suffix is the form we would expect for ‘with you’, completing the paradigm (of 2sg, 3sg, and 3p.) for O suffixes that can occur with the transitive suffix.

In addition to the zero 3sgO, there is a clitic =n which encodes what I call distance (DST) on demonstratives (e.g., ne ‘this’, nen ‘that’), prepositions (reki ‘for’, rekin ‘for that’), and some verbs (pa ‘go’, pan ‘go there’; pitlak ‘have’, pitlaken ‘to have it’). Further examples are given below.

39 esa here esa=n there
eswa where eswa=n where (distant)
ne this ne=n that
tene this one tene=n that one
tefla like this tefla=n like that
reki for reki=n for that

We need to distinguish the distant clitic from the object suffixes since the former has no paradigmatic relationship with the latter. That is, the distant clitic occurs on forms from several word classes for which there is no comparable 2sg or 3p. suffix, as there would be if it were a 3sgO suffix. Thus in (40) we see two verbs and a preposition with the distant suffix and the accompanying ungrammatical forms with 2sgO and 3p.O.

40 pa=n go=DST *pa-k (2sg) *pa-r (3p.)
  pitlak-e=n have=DST *pitlak-e-k, (2sg) *pitlak-e-r (3p.)
  reki=n for=DST *reki-k (2sg), *reki-r (3p.)

---

*45* The bone is a weapon produced in a ritual, as the speaker goes on to say in Bislama: *They sing over it to make it tabu, then they tie it to shoot a man, in the way of kastom, now they must fight.*
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The distant clitic also has a deictic function of referring to earlier parts of the discourse as in (41) where it refers to the subject of the clause.

41 Go nafiaselwen ni tiawi gakit, tu=tae
and friendship of old.people 1p.in 1p.inRS=know

pitlak-e=n mes.
have-V=DST today

And the friendship of our old people, we can have that today. (98014az, 1991.0599, 2001.1600)

5.1.3.3.2. The OBL object paradigm
We saw examples of focal pronouns acting as objects in §5.1.1. above. The next example shows the OBL form wou ‘1sgO’ acting as object. In the position following the preposition ki and acting as the object, the focal pronoun kineu occurs more often in the data than does the oblique form wou.

42 Ru putkau-ki-wou i=top.
3p.RS against-TR-1sgOBL 3sgRS-big

They were against me too much. (095:2) (98017az, 77.0399, 82.6599)

The oblique (OBL) pronominals have an inherent locational meaning similar to the ablative pronoun paradigm described by Schütz (1969a:39) for Ngunese.

43 Go mit nen ru=matur-wes...
and mat REL 3p.RS=sleep-3sgOBL

And mats that they sleep on... (98007a, 2742.3801, 2760.6400)

The location specified by an OBL pronominal can be temporal as well as spatial, for example, encoding the day that a race was held in (44).

44 Naliati nen rak=fo res-wes me
day this 3d.IRR=PSP:IR race-3sgOBL but

katom i=pei usrek-ki ser nagis.
hermit.crab 3sgRS=first go.round-TR every point

That day they would race, but the hermit crab was first around every point. (036:7) (98009a, 57.4200, 67.4600)

Wes can also express location in a more abstract sense, for example, it can refer to the place or time where an agreement between two parties is reached, as in (45), where the semitransitive verb trok ‘to agree’ requires the oblique object form.

In the Australian language Pintupi (Heffernan and Heffernan 1999:70) the O suffix has an additional (and now archaic) locative function, exemplified by a sentence translated ‘The dog urinated on me!’ in which the 1sgO suffix is glossed ‘on me’ rather than simply 1sgO.
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45 Go kai= preg natus neu pak provins reki nen and 1sgPS= take paper 1sgPOS to province so that

\[ \text{ka=mai pi sekreteri go ru=mer trok-wes.} \]
\[ \text{1sgIRR=come be secretary and 3p.RS=in.turn agree-3sgOBL} \]

And I took my paper to the province so that I could be secretary and they then agreed to it (my becoming secretary). (067:26)

5.1.3.4. Inclusory construction
Following Lichtenberk (2000) we identify an inclusory construction\(^{47}\) in which the referent of a pronoun is further specified directly by an NP: thus komam Silas ‘1p.ex Silas’ meaning ‘we, Silas and I’. In some languages such relations are morphologically marked, as in Sye’s ‘coordinate pronouns’ (Crowley 1998:44), but there is no morphological marking of this construction in South Efate. The pronoun is typically followed by a personal name as in (46), here expressing the name of the other person making up the dual subject. Similarly, in the following examples we see a pronoun further specified by a following NP.

46 Me u=tol Janweri go komam Limas and 1p.exRS=pass January and 1p.ex p.name

\[ \text{ra=mer nag, "Rak=fα=n saof-i-r".} \]
\[ \text{1d.RS=again say 1d.IRR=go=DST visit-TS-3p.O} \]

We passed January, and Limas and I said, “Let’s go visit them.” (005az, 954.1599, 964.3600)

47 Gar mtulep rak=fo nru mai. 3p. wife 3d.IRR=PSP:IR two come

They (he and his wife) will both come. (lit: They wife they [2] will come.) (20001az, 2215, 2218.3600)

48 Tuk=mer ler lek nafet desison nen kin 1p.inIRR=again return look group decision that REL

\[ \text{akit kaonsil tu=pe slat-i-ø.} \]
\[ \text{1p.in council 1p.inPS=PF take-TS-3sgO} \]

We should go back over the decisions we, the council, have taken. (98016bz, 1771.68, 1775.8600)

5.1.3.5. Impersonal reference
Impersonal reference, as in ‘You’d like to think that...’ or ‘They say that...’ can also, as in English, be encoded by second singular and third singular forms in South Efate. So in (49) the subject is a 2sg form, but the reference is to a

\[^{47}\] Singer (2001) provides an extensive overview of inclusory constructions with reference to Australian languages.
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generic subject. The direct possessive form in this example, n̄pauum ‘your head’ also has generic reference here (‘one’s head’).

49 Selwan ku=min nai kokon nen i=preg
when 2sgRS=drink water bitter that 3sg-RS=make

n̄pau-m i=fif.
head- 2sgDP 3sgRS=spin

When you drink that bitter water it makes your head spin/When one drinks that bitter water it makes one’s head spin. (017:64)

The impersonal object in (50) is encoded by the 2sgO suffix (-k).

50 Ru=f tae tilusus-i-k ko ru=f til-ki-k, ko.
3p.RS=CND know tell.off-TS-2sgO or 3p.RS=CND tell-TR-2sgO or
They could tell you off, or they might talk to you, or something. (98009az, 452.0800, 468.8400)

A non-referential subject, or one that refers to a whole proposition rather than to a single participant in it, as in the general statement ‘It’s good’ in English, is similarly encoded by a 3sg pronoun in South Efate. In (51) the 3sg subject is used for the generic statement, ‘today it is the same’.

51 Mes i=pitkaskei, naflak ru=ta tme-r taulu-e-r.
today 3sgRS=be.same clan 3p.RS=DUR RR-3p.DP marry-V-3p.O
Today it is the same, the clans still marry each other. (9801 Oaz, 1362.8146, 1364.8586)

In (52) the speaker is talking about how close a relative can be to be a suitable marriage partner. The anaphoric referent of the 3sg subject of wi ‘to be good’ is the whole preceding proposition, ‘if the relationship is distant’.

52 Me i=f wel i=nrus pi emae, go i=wi,
but 3sgRS=CND thus 3sgRS=just be far and 3sgRS=good

me i=welkin m̄eltig top, rak=fo kano trok.
but 3sgRS=thus close.much 3d.IRR=PSP:IR unable agree
But if it (the relationship) is distant, it is good, but if it is too close, they won’t be able to agree. (98009a, 1381.2201, 1386.8400)

5.1.3.6. Bound direct possession pronouns
The direct possessive (DP) suffix only attaches to the class of directly possessed nouns (see §5.3.2.) and the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme and so is not analyzed as a clitic. For singular and 3p. forms a synchronically unpredictable vowel (V) may be inserted to facilitate suffixation of the DP suffix. The 3sg is the most
common form of the DP found in the data, and for many directly possessed nouns only 3sgDP forms are attested. Examples of these suffixes follow.\(^{48}\)

53 Gar nen ru=lek-a-o ki namt-e-r.
3p. REL 3p.RS=see-TS-3sgO PREP eye-V-3p.DP
*It was they who saw it with their own eyes.* (98018az, 1647.7000, 1649.7)

54 Komam u=weswes-ki nar-mom u=farfar-ki naniol-mam.
1p.Ex 1p.=work-TR hand-1p.exDP 1p.exRS=move-TR body-1p.exDP
*We worked with our hands, we moved our bodies.* (064:25) (98003bz, 525.0000, 529.4)

55 Me tm-e-r go rait-e-r nreas
but father-V-3p.DP and mother-V-3p.DP only
ruk=to gar preg semale.
3p.IRR=HAB 3p.BEN make everything
*Only their fathers and mothers would do everything for them.* (070:37) (98009a, 667.5400, 671.2)

The reflexive/reciprocal morpheme \textit{tme-/tmo}\(^{49}\) is followed by the direct possessive pronoun in the second part of the pre-verbal complex (PVC2), discussed in §10.1.6. In the 1p.ex the only form of the DP suffix that can occur with a reflexive is \textit{-m}, thus \textit{tmo-m} ‘1p.exc (also dual)’ and not \textit{*tmo-mom}.

Examples (56 a–c) show that \textit{-m} is the same form for 1p.ex, 1d., and 2sg subjects. DP pronominal suffixes underspecify the dual/plural distinction so reference to dual subjects is provided through the subject proclitics, which, as shown in example (56b) below, do differentiate a dual category.

56a Ale u=tmo-m welu komam nawesien.
ok 1p.exRS=RR-1p.DP help 1p.ex work
Okay, we helped each other with work. (DW 98010b, 1395.2805, 1397.32)

56b Komam ra=trau tmo-m fes-ki komam.
1p.ex 1d.RS=just RR-1p.DP face-TR 1p.ex
*Us, we (2) just faced each other.* (98003bz, 1353.79, 1355.8799)

\(^{48}\) In the discussion of a similar epenthetic element, the transitive suffix, in §8.1.3. I conclude that it still has some function, but note that in other languages it is classed as an empty morph (e.g., Lichtenberk’s [2001:146] analysis of Manam and To’aba’ita). The vowel inserted between a noun and the direct possessive suffix is considered to be an empty (and unpredictable) morph whose shape is a result of diachronic processes.

\(^{49}\) \textit{tme} is the third person form and \textit{tmo} is used for 1st and 2nd person subjects.
The first person plural reflexive has the same form (kit) for dual (57a) and plural (57b). Sentence (57a) is part of a discussion about traditional behavior between girls and boys. The speaker says that in her youth they could not look at each other, they could not literally ‘make to ourselves look at our faces’, using the dual subject form tak=′1d.IRR′.

In (57b) the subject is plural, tu= ‘1p.inRS’ and -kit marks the reflexive object, showing that it marks both dual and plural.

5.2. Nouns
Lexical nouns account for some 1,360 headwords in the current lexicon of South Efate. They do not inflect for person, number or role. Common nouns make up most of the class of lexical nouns, with the remainder being proper nouns (including kinterms and placenames). Proper nouns cannot be marked by the article na- while many common nouns can. While it is generally the case that names of people and places are not prefixed by the article na- only some 40 percent of all nouns in the dictionary are n- initial, so it is a sufficient but not necessary condition of common noun status.

At this point it is useful to describe the status of the article in South Efate. In the absence of any detailed work on the language, and in a broader typological study, Crowley (1985:161) classed the use of the article in South Efate as a “residual, non-productive system, involving a morphologically fused reflex of *na or *a, which is attached only before some nouns, and is possibly separable with some nouns, and is used only in some marginal constructions.” He proposed the following Proto Oceanic noun class system (1985:184) in which na was prefixed primarily to nouns encoding lower animates and inanimates, as in (58):

58  
human  *na  *∅  
animate non-human  some  most  
inanimate  most  some

Clark (1985:31), with the benefit of more data, says that Proto-Efate *na- "is a prefix rather than simply part of the noun: (1) some morphemes occur as
Chapter 5

nouns with *na- and in other contexts without it.[...]; (2) *na- is productively used, along with the suffix *-ana, to nominalize verbs [...]; (3) the Polynesian languages Mele-Fila and Emae have borrowed hundreds of Efate nouns, but almost never with *na- incorporated [...]; (4) Epau and Eton have lost *na- before bases of three syllables or more.”

Of the 1,360 nouns in the current South Efate sample, 530 begin with n-. Nouns which are not n-initial typically refer to the following semantic fields (conforming largely with Crowley’s Proto Oceanic system above):

- kin terms (gka, apap, tem, ‘father’)
- names of places, days of the week, animals (afsak ‘turtle’) and fish (fai ‘stingray’), natural features (orfale ‘cave’, al ‘sun’)
- certain body parts (e.g., fingers, teeth). Of 103 body parts or products, 34 do not begin with n-.

As an indication of the productivity of article affixation, the article is still used in the process of nominalization, described in §5.4. Further, the second noun in a compound noun, which would occur with the article in isolation, may not have the article in the compound, as can be seen in kortas ‘washstrake, canoe rail’ (made up of kor ‘fence’ and ntas ‘sea’), or nafumkas ‘flower’ (made up of nafum ‘flower’ and nkas ‘tree’). And finally, the article is used productively with loanwords, as we see in (59) where sifil wo ‘civil war’ is prefixed by the article. In sum, the article in South Efate is still analyzable as a productive prefix in many cases.

59 Ale ru=pan preg nafkal skot te-ni Emlakul malnen okay 3p.RS= go make war with DET-of p.name as

\[i=piatlak \quad na \quad \text{sifil wo.}\]

3sgRS= have ART civil war

Okay, they went to fight with those from Malakula when there was a civil war. (98002az, 345.7199, 352.5400)

5.2.1. Kinship nouns

Kinship nouns are a small group of address terms for relations which in general are distinct from directly possessed kin terms (an exception is ati ‘grandmother’ which is both an address term and directly possessed). Like proper nouns, personal nouns cannot take the article na.

60 \begin{align*}
apu & \quad \text{grandfather}^{50} \\
at & \quad \text{grandmother} \\
awo & \quad \text{uncle} \\
iak & \quad \text{mother, mother’s sister} \\
ta & \quad \text{father’s sister} \\
\end{align*}

---

50 A common form of naming is to take the last syllable of a personal name and append it to an address term, thus apu Srap ‘grandfather Kalsarap/Kalsrap’, ati Skau ‘grandmother Kaskau’.

124
Speakers note that terms for ‘father’ depend on the speaker’s naflak ‘clan’ membership, so that using one of the three available terms identifies the speaker as belonging to a particular naflak as outlined below. This is the only example of clan-specific vocabulary encountered in the data.

61 **apap** father, general address term, used by those in naflak other than kram ‘clam’ and namkanr ‘wild arrowroot’

**gka** father address term used by members of naflak namkanr ‘wild arrowroot’

**tata** father, address term used by members of naflak kram ‘clam’

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, gender is not marked morphologically in South Efate, but a current reflex of an earlier gender distinction is found in personal names. Names beginning with Li are female (e.g., Limas, Litapurog, Lias), and those beginning with Kal are male (e.g., Kalsarap, Kaltađau, Kaloros).

5.2.2. Placenames and the locative affix e-

Placenames are identified by being prefixed by the locative e- as in the list below. Of 114 placenames recorded in the data, only four do not begin with the locative e- as can be seen from the maps of placenames around Erakor (Maps 1 and 2).

62 **Efīl** Vila

**Emlakul** Malakula

**Epag** Pango

**Erakor** Erakor

**Ermag** Erromango

**Esanr** Santo

The locative affix e- is used more generally to form a location with the following nominal. The locative can also mark a location in time as we see in (63) where matol ‘tomorow’ has the locative prefix. In this example the word for sea, elau, has a fused locative prefix, as do a number of locational terms in the current lexicon.

63 Komam ko=fo matur esan, e-matol āulāpog,

1p.ex 1p.exRS=PSP:IR sleep there LOC-tomorrow morning

ko=fo sel naot negar pak elau.

1p.exRS=PSP:IR take chief 3p.POS to sea

We will sleep there, the next morning we will take their chief to the sea.

(005a, 346.1600, 354.4800)

It appears from a few examples that the locative (e-) can also act as a directional particle following the locational NP, hence it is regarded as an affix rather than a prefix. It is attested in the data with the verb en ‘to be at, to lay’, occurring after the location specified by the object of en.
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64 I=en naṃlas-e / e-sum-e.
   3sgRS=lay bush- LOC LOC-house-LOC
   It is in the bush/the house. (elicited)

   Another example of the locative directional particle is with the verb měltig
   ‘to be close’ as in (65).

65 I=pi e-měltig-e, kin ag ku=su ntaf tefla.
   3sgRS=be LOC-near-LOC COMP 2sg 2sgRS=down hill thus
   It is close, that you go down the hill like that. (20001az, 1838.9400, 1842.5)

   A final example comes from a song where the locative directional particle is
   in a position that needs to be filled by the meter of the song.

66 ða=taf eñnae-e.
   2sglRR=leave far-LOC
   You go a long way. (98009b, 1322.4896, 1326.3599)

5.2.3. Temporal nouns

There is a class of temporal nouns (listed in 67) which can act as the head of a
 temporal adverbial phrase (see §12.2.5.), to establish the timeframe for the
 following clause. As can be seen, this group of nouns includes reference to
 non-specific time long ago, to the names of days of the week (based around
 aliat ‘day’), to parts of the day, and to days relative to today (tomorrow,
 yesterday, the day before yesterday, the day after tomorrow). The noun mal
 ‘time’ does not occur as a temporal noun on its own, but features in several of
 these forms in (67). It also means ‘hour’, although the usual way of talking
 about time within a day is by using Bislama or English (wan klok ‘one
 o’clock’). Nouns that cannot act as temporal nouns can become the head of an
 adverbial clause by the addition of the adjectival expressions karu ‘other’,
 ‘second’, nentu ‘next’, or nenpa ‘past’, thus nrak karu ‘another time’, wik nenpa
 ‘last week’, ntau nentu ‘next year’.

67 aliat fnau Wednesday malnen as, at the time when
aliat foumlap Thursday malpei before, a long time ago
aliat karu Tuesday matol evening, tomorrow, the
future
aliat pei Monday mes today
aliat pot Friday nanom yesterday
aliat tap Sunday nas day before yesterday
aliat toknak Saturday nrakpei long ago
as day after tomorrow ðog night
inrok after, behind, later ʻulʻog morning, dawn
kotfan afternoon, evening selwan while, at the time that
malfa short time tetwei before
malfane then, at that time

126
While not strictly a subclass on distributional grounds, these nouns form adjunct NPs by themselves which can function to establish a temporal frame for a sentence as in (68) and (69).

68 Nanom ānōg u=mai praktis. U=praktis ser
yesterday night 1p.exRS=come practice 1p.exRS=practice every
mal, suņi ni Ben.
time house of p.name
Yesterday night we came and practised. We practise every time, at Ben’s
house. (98010bz, 687.4, 697.3972)

69 Aliatfnau nentu ru=totan sa, nlaken kes ne
Wednesday next 3p.RS=sit here because case this
ke=fo mer pakor
3sgIRR=PSP:IR again appear
Next Wednesday they’ll sit here, because the case will be on again.
(98018az, 2296.6000, 2301.3000)

70 āfō paos-ki asl-a-m ki raru mes,
2slIRR=PSP:IR ask-TR friend-V-2sgDP PREP boat today
me ku=kano paos-ki-n matol.
but 2sgRS=can’t ask-TR-3sg0 tomorrow
You will ask your friend for a canoe today, but can’t ask for it tomorrow.
(98002b, 2373.6800, 2377.9599)

5.3. Possession
As is the case for other Oceanic languages, there are two ways of marking possession in South Efate, by means of a possessive pronoun, or directly on the noun, commonly called indirect and direct possession respectively. The first is used for general possession and the second for possession of closely associated items, like body parts, family members, and so on, as discussed in the following sections.

5.3.1. Indirect or general possession
General possession refers to the form of possession entered into by most nouns and is encoded morphosyntactically by means of a possessive pronoun (§5.3.1.1.); the preposition ni ‘of’ (§5.3.1.2.); the form knen ‘of it’ (§5.3.1.3.); or by simply juxtaposing the possessor and the possessed (§5.3.2.). The juxtaposition of a possessed and possessor NP is limited to nouns that would otherwise be directly possessed as seen in example (85) discussed in §5.3.2. The idiosyncratic possessive pronoun nakte ‘my’, ‘mine’ was discussed earlier in §5.1.2.1.
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5.3.1.1. Possession marked by a possessive pronoun
Possessive pronouns follow the possessed NP.
71 Nasuuitap ʒur nigmam nen i=tarpek.
   church big 1.p.exPOS REL 3sgRS=fall.down
   *It was our church that fell down. (98010az, 1591.3156, 1594.3000)

72 A=pes nawesien neu, nañolien neu kineu
   lsgRS=start work 1sgPOS life 1sgPOS 1sg
   a=tap taf pak nawesien tete naor mau.
   1sgRS=not leave to work some place NEG2
   *I started my work, my life, I didn’t leave to work somewhere else. (45:3)
   (98003az, 145.1600, 151.5799)

5.3.1.2. ni possession
Possession is marked by the preposition ni ‘of’ when the possessum is a noun, and has the form ‘possessed ni possessor’.
73 Me i=mailum pnak-lu kom ni tapes.
   and 3sgRS=slow steal-completely comb of moorhen
   *And he slowly stole the moorhen’s comb. (98009b, 1585.3, 1588.5)

74 I=pi nawesien ni Atua.
   3sgRS=be work of god
   *It is God’s work. (005a, 1977, 1978.7600)

The preposition ni ‘of’ can also have an ablative meaning (like ‘coming from’ or ‘denizen of’) which is not always possible to distinguish from a possessive reading.
75 Plisman ni natkon ru=kerkrai, naot i=kerkrai,
   policeman of village 3p.RS=strong chief 3sgRS=strong
   i=pitlak namtakwen.
   3sgRS=have fear
   *The village’s police (the police from the village) are strong, the chief is strong, there is fear (among the populace). (98011a, 2615.9201, 2622.5000)

76 Famli ni nafet tiawi ni Emar nen ru=tu
   family of group old.people of p.name that 3p.RS=stay
   san ru=lap.
   here 3p.RS=many
   *The family of many of the old people from Mare are here. (98002az, 467.0819, 472.0800)
5.3.1.3. knen ‘of it’
A further type of possession marking involves the form knen ‘of it’ (presumably from ki+nen = ‘to that’) used of an inanimate referent which cannot be referred to by nega ‘3sgPOS’. Knen is often used to refer back to a previously mentioned discourse participant, as in (77) where David knen ‘David of it’, refers to the story told about David.

77 Natrauswen a=gag traus-i-ø. Ga kin
story 1sgRS-2sgBEN tell-TS-3sgO 3sg REL

i=pakor to esa. Me kineu a=lek-a-ø ki
3sgRS=appear stay here and 1sg 1sgRS=look-TS-3sgO PREP

namt-a-k. David knen i=tu tu.

The story I told you. It came out of here. And I saw it with my own eyes. David of it (the story) is still around. (98001bz, 158.2600, 172.7)

78 Tetwei perkati i=piatlak nafkal toklos name side
long.ago really 3sgRS=have fight about side of land
go natrauswen knen i=tepla=n.
and story of.it 3sgRS=thus=DST

A very long time ago there was a fight about ground and the story of it is like that. (98009b, 1685.7801, 1685.4400)

79 Natrauswen karu, i=pitlak nalag knen.
story next 3sgRS=have song of.it

The next story, it has its song. (98009b, 1158.6600, 1167.7999)

5.3.2. Direct possession
There are 124 nouns in the current sample that take direct possession marking. Similar groups of nouns in other languages of the region are called bound nouns (Hyslop 2001:79) or obligatorily possessed (Lynch 2000b:42) as they require a possessive suffix. They are also generally known as inalienably possessed nouns (Payne 1997:104) and in Paamese (Crowley 1996). In South Efate these nouns only take possessive marking to show possession by a pronominal possessor; that is, they also occur without possessive marking when the possessor is encoded by a noun (as we will see later in this section) and so I prefer to use the term ‘direct possession’ to indicate that they take directly suffixed possession markers. As in other languages of the region, directly possessed nouns typically refer to relationships of part/whole or close association as can be seen by the sample in Table 5:5. Examples of deverbal nouns taking direct possession are given in (91) below.
Table 5:5. Examples of directly possessed nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin/associated human terms</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asel</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>āpāl</td>
<td>brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ati</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
<td>rait</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor</td>
<td>sister</td>
<td>ātem</td>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body parts</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mpāag</td>
<td>buttocks</td>
<td>natu</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nafinr</td>
<td>ribs</td>
<td>ntalig</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namet</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ntawot</td>
<td>bone, skeleton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nas</td>
<td>jaw</td>
<td>nua</td>
<td>vein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body products</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mar</td>
<td>breath</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>urine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nalof</td>
<td>tracks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Associated parts</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kut</td>
<td>louse</td>
<td>napirkīt</td>
<td>coconut stalk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagi</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>ntapukor</td>
<td>shell cover, operculum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of directly possessed nouns in context follow.

80 Go ra=pao-ki-n  ki, “Gag tm-a-m
and 3d.RS=ask-TR-3sgO  PREP 2sgPOS father-V-2sgDP

go rait-o-m  wa?”
and mother-V-3sgDP  where
And they asked, “You, where are your father and mother?” (98009b, 58.3600, 63.9000)

81 Gar nen ru=lek-a-ø  ki namt-e-r.
3p. REL 3p.RS=see-TS-ø  PREP eye-V-3p.DP
It is they who saw it with their own eyes. (98018az, 1647.7000, 1652.9801)

If a directly possessed noun occurs without a possessive suffix it indicates that the referent is unowned or disembodied. Thus a photograph of me is nanik ‘my photo’ (directly possessed), but a photograph owned by me is nan neu ‘my photo’ (indirectly possessed). Blood that has sprayed onto one’s clothes, for example, is no longer possessed, and so appears with no possession markers. Similarly, in (82) the blood that is no longer part of the body has no direct possession markers.

82 Me ru-kraksok  disentri  me ru-taf-ki  nra.
Then 3p.RS=catch dysentry and 3p.RS=shit-TR blood
Then they got dysentry and they shat blood. (56:25) (98002bz, 962.1800, 972.2200)
In contrast to (82), example (83) shows nra ‘blood’ with a direct possessive marker.

83 I=tap mai leg nra-n nig nafinaotan

3sgRS=not come straight blood-3sgDP of chiefly.line

leg mau.
straight NEG2

_He doesn’t come straight from the blood of the chiefly line._ (053:52)

When the owner of a directly possessed noun needs to be specified more fully than by pronominal reference then possession is indicated by juxtaposing the possessed and possessor. In (84) nar ‘hand’ appears first directly possessed (‘her hand’) and then possessed by the proper noun ‘Walter Lini’, referring to the fact that the subject’s hand was limp like the hand of the former Prime Minister who had suffered a stroke.

84 Me nar-u-n ga i=taos nar, kalo, Walter Lini.

but hand-V-3sgDP 3sg 3sgRS=like hand HESIT p.name

_But her hand was like, um, Walter Lini’s._ (98017bz, 573.3999, 580.6599)

The otherwise directly possessed noun rait ‘mother’ is possessed by the noun tesa ‘child’ in (85) which is from a narrative about childbirth. The speaker has just said that the mother should stay quiet for five days following the birth, but that after five days she can get up and do light work.

85 Go rait tesa ke=fo tae toleg preg

and mother child 3sgIR=IR able stand.up make

tete namrun ses.
some thing ‘small

_And the child’s mother can stand up and do some small things._ (98003bz, 1169.9399, 1175.5000)

A possessed noun may further possess a second noun, as in (86) where nagien ‘his name’ is directly possessed and the juxtaposed possessor is a lexical noun that itself is directly possessed (tmen ‘his father’).

86 Tme-n nagi-e-n Thomas, gar kin ru=pa=n

father-3sgDP name-V-3sgDP p.name 3p. REL 3p.RS=go=DST

weswes-ki nāprai sanpe.
work-TR cane there

_His father’s name was Thomas, they are the ones who went and worked on the sugarcane._ (98011az, 2164.8600, 2170.5200)

5.3.2.1. Dyadic kinterm construction

Groups of kinterms can be linked in a construction which I call a dyadic kinterm construction (Merlan and Heath 1982), which has a very limited distribution in the data. The only examples found so far are given in (87) and involve a prefix
Chapter 5

tem which indicates that there is a group of kin.

87 tem-ŋal-un/tem-ŋalal-un tem+brother+un a group of brothers
	tem-tm-en tem+father+en father and child
	tma-kor-en tem +sister+en sisters, group of sisters

According to Evans (2003) dyadic morphemes are commonly either identical
to or clearly related to reciprocals, and the South Efate prefix tem looks like the
reflexive/reciprocal morpheme tem/to specifically if we take into account that the
dyadic form only occurs before consonants in the three examples in (87) and so
does not undergo medial vowel reduction (see §3.6.1.). The reflexive/reciprocal
particle could be analyzed as being reduced from tem following the addition of a
vowel which serves as the base for the reflexive pronominal suffix, e.g., tem+en>
tme-n ‘RR-3sgDP’.

With only these examples it is not possible to generalize about the meaning
of tem as shown in (87). The first form appears in textual data and examples are
given below. The second, temtmen, was elicited from Rivierre’s (1965) wordlist
and remembered by older speakers only.

88 I=piatlak tem-ŋal-u-n i=tol.
	3sgRS=have DK-brother-V-3sgDP 3sgRS=three

He had three brothers. (030)

89 Tu=anmor i tem-ŋalal-u-n, ru=nom to
1p.incRS=find COMP DK-brother:RED-V-3DP 3p.RS=all STAT


tme-r ple-ki-r.

RR-3p.DP argue-TR-3sgO

We find that all of these brothers are arguing with each other. (98014a,
2080.7201, 2084.2200)

5.4. Nominalization
Nominalization is highly productive, both in terms of the number of stems that
can undergo the process (there are some 170 deverbal nouns in the data formed
by the process discussed in §5.4.2.), and in the frequency with which nominalized
forms occur in the data. There are three nominalizing processes. The first simply
prefixes the article na- to the verb stem (§5.4.1.), the second involves prefixing
with the article na and suffixing -wen/-ien /-an/-n to the verb stem (§5.4.2.),
and the third employs the prefix te- (§5.4.3.). They are discussed in turn below.
Nominalization of other word classes is not as common but some examples are
also given in the following sections.

5.4.1. na- nominalization
Some verbs can be nominalized simply by prefixing the article na- (or n-). There
is no correlation between verbs which can be nominalized in this way and the
classes established in Chapter 7, that is, we find intransitive (90b, c, d, f, g, ),
and ambitransitive (90a, e, h, i) verbs both being nominalized by prefixing na-.
Nominals and the noun phrase

90 a atlak to own natlak owner
b fsuũ to be peaked nafsuũ the peak (e.g., of a roof)
c funũ to flower nafunũ flower
d kal to dress nkal clothes
e lag to sing nalag song
f msak to be sick namsaki sickness
g milo to be dirty namilo dirt
h nre to turn nanre the side
i ūrai to cut naūrai sugarcane

Depending on the semantics of the deverbal noun, it may further be eligible for direct possession (e.g., 90c nafumũ-e-n ‘its flower’), as in (91).

91 a gor to grunt nagor-in his/her/its nose
b lu to vomit nalu-en his/her/its vomit
c miol to be alive namioł-in his/her/its body
d tanu to spit nta̱nu-en his/her/its spit

5.4.2. Nominalization of verbs using na-...-wen/ien/-an

The second type of nominalization involves prefixing the verb with the article na- and following it with -wen (and its variant -uen)/-ien/-an. This type of nominalization operates on intransitive stems, but also on compound forms which are ambitransitive. If the verb undergoes initial consonant alternation (cf. §6.4.5.1.) then the /f/-initial stem is used in the nominalized form, as in the following examples.

92 a pakelag be proud nafakelagwen pride
b paos to ask nafauswen the question
c psir to lie nafsirwen the lie
d puserek to discuss nafuserekwen discussion

The result of this process is an abstract noun, as found in nouns ending in -ing or -ness in English. Examples are given below, but first we will contrast the meaning of a verb nominalized with this process (on the right in 93) with one nominalized with just an article (as described in §5.4.1.) (in the middle in 93).

93 a lag to sing nalag song nlagwen the singing
b miol to be alive namioł body namiołien life
c mten to be heavy namten weight namtenwen heaviness

Examples (94a) and (94b) illustrate the two nominalized forms of miol ‘to be alive’, and show that it takes direct possession in (94a) when nominalized with just the article. Contrast (94b) with the -ien form where possession is indicated by the indirect possessive form neu ‘1sgPOS’.

133
Chapter 5

94a Komam u=weswes-ki nar-mam, u=farfar-ki
1p.ex 1p.exRS=work-TR arm-1p.exDP 1p.exRS=move-TR

**nañol-mam.**
body-1p.exDP

Us, we worked with our hands, we moved our bodies. (98003bz, 525.0000, 529.4590)

94b Ale, **nañolien** neu, a=skul naur.
ok life 1sgPOS 1sgRS=school island

Okay, my life, I went to school on the island. (98003az, 999.2400, 1007.6399)

Some deverbal nouns like those in (95) have such high frequency that I regard them as being fused (and thus they occur as headwords in the lexicon), despite being recognizably derived from verbs. The forms in (95) enclosed with % are underlying and do not necessarily appear in everyday speech.

95a **natkon** village %na- tok-on% ART - stay - NMLS
b **nafsan** language %na- pes - an% ART - talk - NMLS
c **nawesien** work %na - wes - ien% ART - work - NMLS

There are four forms of the suffix associated with this type of nominalization: -n, -(i)en,-wen, or -(i)an. The -n suffix occurs on vowel-final stems, e.g., nafregnrogo-n ‘the attempt’. There is a tendency for ambitransitive verbs to take the -ien suffix when the transitive form of the ambitransitive verb ends in -i, (thus **nrom-i-o** ‘to love it’, **nanromien** ‘love’; **pam-i-o** ‘to eat it’, **nfamien** ‘feast’) but it is also the case that some of these verb stems take the -wen suffix (**nfamwen** ‘feast’ occurs about as many times in the data as does **nfamien** ‘feast’). While some verbs occur with only the -ien ending (e.g., **nawesien** ‘work’; **nañolien** ‘life’; **nanromien** ‘love’) there are also a number of stems for which more than one suffix may be used, as can be seen from the attested forms in (96) which occur with varying suffixes.

96 nakarwen/nakarien
nakerkraian/nakerkeraien
namroperkatwen/namroperkatien
nsaiseiwen/nsaiseien
ntaewen/ntaeien

itchiness
difficulty, hardness
keepsake
meeting
knowledge

Some textual examples of this variation in the form of nominalizing suffixes follow. Kerkerai ‘hard’, is nominalized with the suffix -an (97a) and with -en (97b).

97a Pan nmatu i=piatlak na-kerkerai-an.
go woman 3sgRS=have ART-hard-NMLS

Until the woman has her quickening. (98003bz, 1192.6199, 1195.6459)
Nominals and the noun phrase

97b Na-kerkrai-en ni kafman i=piatlak-e-n.
ART-hard-NMLS of government 3sgRS=have-TS-3sgO
It had the power of the government. (MK 98012)

The variation in endings with the nominalized form of *flour* ‘to marry’ is shown in (98a and b).

98a Ru=preg nafnag ñur, taos, e, na-flour-iën.
3p.RS=make food big like HESIT ART-marry-NMLS
They make a big feast, like a, um, wedding. (98011az, 1581.9200, 1593.5199)

98b Ru=gamus preg na na-flour-wen gamus.
3p.RS=2p.BEN make HESIT ART-marry-NMLS 2p.POS
They will make your wedding for you. (98009a, 1406.6279, 1410.1200)

Candidates for this form of nominalization are (i) simple verb stems, (ii) compound verbs, (iii) reduplicated verb stems, and (very rarely) (iv) verbs and incorporated nouns. Each is illustrated below.

i) Nominalization of simple verb stems

Simple verb stems are the most common source for deverbal nouns.

- *frak* to be slow *nafrukwen* slowness
- *fsofus* to be young *nafsofuswen* youth
- *ftil* to gossip *naftilwen* gossip
- *ftour* to marry *naftourwen* wedding
- *ftuŋ* to hit *naftuŋwen* a blow
- *kil* to dig *nakilwen, nakilien* the digging
- *pnut* to close *nafnutwen* the end
- *preg* to make *nafregwen* making
- *psir* to lie *nafpsirwen* a lie
- *ptin* to be hot *naftinwen* heat
- *ptom* to grow *naftomwen* growth
- *puk* to cough *nafukwen* cough

ii) Nominalization of compound verb stems

Compound verbs (as discussed in §9.1.1) are nominalized in the same way as simple verb stems.

- *krak-pun* to crawl-kill *nakrakpunwen* killing
- *mro-perkat* to think-really *namroperkatwen* remembrance
- *preg-nrog* to make-try *nafregnrogon* attempt
- *puet-sok* to grab-jump *nafuetsokwen* grabbing
iii) Nominalization of reduplicated verb stems
Verb reduplication (as discussed in §7.3) can provide base forms for nominalization. In one case in the data it is the non-reduplicated intransitive form wes ‘to work’ and not the transitive weswes ‘to work’ that undergoes nominalization (> nawesien).

le to look nalelewwen opinion
lum to be moist nalumlumwen moisture
tur to sew naturturwen the sewing

iv) Nominalization of verb + noun (incorporated nouns)
A handful of verb + incorporated noun combinations occur in the data (cf. §9.1.1.2.). All examples in the data are presented below.

pi asel to be friends nafiaselwen friendship (being friends)
pi atlak to be the owner nafitlaken ownership (the owning)
pi naot to be chief nafinaotan the chiefly line
pi soklep to be rich nafisoklepan wealth (being rich)
pi tiawi to be old nafitiawian old age (being old)
preg nafnag to make food nafregnafnagwen the food making

The noun in this construction has to be generic, as we would expect from what we know of noun incorporation (e.g., Mithun 1984; de Reuse 1999). There are no examples of a noun encoding a specific food type being incorporated (e.g., *nafregkapuen ‘the laplap making’). Some textual examples of nominalized incorporated nouns follow.

99 Me na-freg-nafnag-wen ser-nrak i=pi nmatu kin
but ART-make:IR-food-NMLS every-time 3sgRS=be woman REL
i=preg nafnag.
3sgRS=make.R food
But food preparation is always women’s work. (065:30) (98003bz, 957.0399, 963.1799)

100 Natarñol ñet ke=sat na-fi-naot-an.
man different 3sglRR=take ART-be:IR-chief-NMLS
Some other man would take the chiefly line. (98014az, 1282.55, 1284.2)

101 Na-fi-asel-wen ni tiawi gakit, tu=tae
ART-be:IR-friend-NMLS of old.people 1p.inclPOS 1p.incRS=be.able
pitlak-e-n mes.
have-TS-3sgO today
And the friendship of the old people, we can still have that today. (98014az, 1991.0599, 2001.1600)
Nominals and the noun phrase

102 Ru=pi namer wi. Na-fi-soklep-wen gar i-top.
3p.RS=be men good ART-be:IR-rich-NMLS 3p.POS 3sgRS=much

Ku=tae America.
2sgRS=know p.name
They were good men. Their wealth was great. You know, America.
(98003az, 1793.0399, 1799.0799)

5.4.3. te nominalization
There is a productive process in which the determiner prefix te-combines with demonstratives, verbs, possessives, ordinal numbers, quantifiers, and nouns, that results in a large class of indefinite but specific demonstrative pronouns. Some forms prefixed with te are now treated as lexical items and appear as headwords in the dictionary, thus teñoL ‘animal’ (from nol ‘be alive’), telekor ‘guard’ (from lekor ‘to look after’), temat ‘corpse’ (from mat ‘to die’). Forms prefixed with te- are presented below.

**te + demonstratives**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ne</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nen</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>near addressee (AD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tene this one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tenen that one (distant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tego that one (near addressee)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Addressee deixis is encoded in three demonstratives, ne ‘this’, nen ‘that’, and go ‘location closer to the addressee than to the speaker’. In (103) from a court hearing, the chief is asking the secretary about some people standing near the secretary to whom he refers as tego ‘that/those near you’.

103 Te-go ru=to, fei kin i=repot?
DET-AD 3p.RS=stay who REL 3sgRS=report
Those (near you) here, who will report? (98016az, 1306.0800, 1313.6601)

104 I=pi nser ni tápes, te-ne, i=pi te-ni tápes.
3sgRS=be comb of swamphen DET-this 3sgRS=be DET=of swamphen
It is the swamphen’s comb, this one, it is the swamphen’s. (98009b, 1557.6849, 1561.8800)

**te + verb**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fsofus</td>
<td>young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>got</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerkerai</td>
<td>strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miel</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>msak</td>
<td>sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plaksok</td>
<td>teach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psir</td>
<td>lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tefsofus the young one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tegot the black one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tekerkerai the strong one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temiel the red one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temsak the sick one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teplaksok the teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tepsir the lie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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51 te- is the article in Ifira-Mele (Clark 2002:684).
Chapter 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ñpur</th>
<th>big</th>
<th>teñpur</th>
<th>the big one</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pei</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>tepei</td>
<td>the first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>tewi</td>
<td>the good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

105 Te-ni te-fsosus, ga i=to to ser aliat fetaumlap.
DET-of DET-young 3sg 3sgRS=STAT stay every Thursday
The young people's one, it is always on every Thursday. (98009a, 1516.9249, 1520.6)

**te + possessive pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>neu</th>
<th>mine</th>
<th>temeu</th>
<th>the one that is mine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gag</td>
<td>yours (sg)</td>
<td>tegag</td>
<td>the one that is yours (sg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga</td>
<td>his/hers</td>
<td>tega</td>
<td>the one that is his/hers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gakit</td>
<td>ours (inclusive)</td>
<td>tegakit</td>
<td>the one that is ours (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nigmam</td>
<td>ours (exclusive)</td>
<td>tenigmam</td>
<td>the one that is ours (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamus</td>
<td>yours (pl)</td>
<td>tegamus</td>
<td>the one that is yours (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gar</td>
<td>theirs</td>
<td>tegar</td>
<td>that which is theirs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

106 I=f-wel kin ku=mur ña=ñrai
3sgRS=CND=thus REL 2sgRS=want 2sglRR=break

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>natus gag me i=pi te-gamus.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paper 2sgPOS then 3sgRS=be DET-2p.POS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you want to break your paper (marriage vows) then it is up to you. (98009a, 1329.3599, 1333.6800)

Example (107) shows a number of uses of the *te* determiner combining with possessive forms (*ni* 'of' and possessive pronouns) to form demonstrative pronouns, in a discussion about the relative wisdom of the people of yesterday and those of tomorrow.

107 Go te-ni matol ke=fo mer na
and DET-of tomorrow 3sglRR=PSP:IR again say

"I=wi-ki matol"). Ale komam ko=fo psawi-ki
3sgRS=be.good-TR tomorrow then 1p.ex 1p.exlRR=PSP:IR thank-TR

te-nigmam. Ale ni tiawi ni tetwei ke=fo
DET-1p.exPOS then of old.people of long.ago 3sglRR=PSP:IR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>psawi-ki te-ga.</th>
<th>I=na te-ga</th>
<th>i=wi,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thank-TR DET-3sgPOS 3sgRS=say DET-3sgPOS 3sgRS=good</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nominals and the noun phrase

me komam ko=fo psawi-ki te-nigmam.
but 1p.ex 1p.exIRR=PSP:IR thank-TR DET-1p.exPOS
And those of tomorrow will say, “It is right for tomorrow.” And we will thank ours (our old people). And the old people from before thank theirs. They say their (old people) are good, but we will be grateful for ours. (98010bz, 799.6399, 814.8599)

te + ordinal number
Ordinal numbers greater than one are formed from numerals with the prefix ka and are further specified by the prefix te to form demonstratives.
pei first tepei the first one
karu second tekaru the second one
katol third tekatol the third one
kafat fourth tekafat the fourth one

108 Tag i=pi te-karu, te-katol i=pi Andre.
p.name 3sgRS=be DET-second DET-third 3sgRS=be p.name
Tag is the second, the third is Andre. (98014az, 621.0600, 626.8799)

te + quantifier
lap many telap the many
karu other tekaru the other
nrfal few tenrfal the few
skei one teskei the same

109 I=pi nlaken ru=prai sto lap. Te-lap
3sgRS because3p.RS=break store many DET-many
ru=pak klapus.
3p.RS=go.to jail
It is because they broke many shops. Many of them went to jail.
(98014az, 1913.7400, 1918.6380)

110 Me tu=pi naflak i=skei, tu=pi te-skei.
but 1p.inRS=be clan 3sgRS=one 1p.inRS=be DET-one
We are of the same clan, we are the same. (98017a, 370.9, 373.9200)

te + noun
There are some examples of te- combining with nouns to form non-specific nouns. In (111) nmatu ‘woman’ and nanwei ‘man’ become indefinite when prefixed by te.

111 Gar kin ru=to lekor-wou. Te-nmatu i=skei,
3p. REL 3p.RS=HAB look.after-1sgO DET-woman 3sgRS=one
They looked after me. One woman and two men. (98011a, 753.0600, 758.4999)

In (112) the verb *mes* ‘to play’ has been nominalized to form *nameswen* ‘game’, which then takes *te-* to form an indefinite noun, ‘a game’.

They make the law into a game. (98011a, 2366.8726, 2369.0600)

5.5. The noun phrase

The noun phrase (NP), as shown in the schema in (113), consists minimally of a clitic pronoun. NPs that do not consist solely of a clitic pronoun can function as O or as an NP in apposition to the clitic S, or in an oblique role as an adjunct.

Lexical nouns and focal pronouns can co-occur with demonstratives and the limiting determiner and relative clause (RC), and lexical nouns can further have premodifiers drawn from a small closed set and post-modifiers drawn from an open set. Clitic pronouns can only occur by themselves in an NP. Each of these elements will be discussed in turn below with the exception of the relative clause (RC) which is discussed in § 12.2.4.

Before moving on to a discussion of the parts of the NP we need to identify forms that can occupy the slot of lexical noun. Directly or indirectly possessed nouns, as described earlier in this chapter, can act as a lexical noun in an NP.

Because his house, it is up there somewhere. (98009b, 476.5800, 487.9401)

Compounds can be made up of a pair of lexical nouns or a lexical noun and verb as shown in Table 5:6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nfalfat</th>
<th>cave</th>
<th>nfal</th>
<th>hole</th>
<th>fat</th>
<th>stone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nlak namsaki</td>
<td>cause of sickness</td>
<td>nlak</td>
<td>trunk</td>
<td>namsaki</td>
<td>sickness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tesa nanwei</td>
<td>boy</td>
<td>tesa</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>nanwei</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tesa nmatu</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>tesa</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>nmatu</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nlagwat</td>
<td>cyclone</td>
<td>nlag</td>
<td>wind</td>
<td>wat</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.5.1. Noun modification, premodifiers

A small group of modifiers, listed in (115) and mainly consisting of quantifiers, occurs immediately before the lexical noun. The possessive nakte ‘my’ occurs in this position and as it is discussed in §5.1.2.1. it is not further dealt with here.

None of these four modifiers can occur in the postmodifier position. Textual examples of each in turn are given below.

115 \( nafet \) group of
\( ser \) every
\( silu \) all
\( tete \) some

116 A=to e-suñ me a=to lekor \( nafet \)
1sgRS=stay LOC-house and 1sgRS=HAB look.after group

tiawi, tiawi lap nen kin ru=pi tiawi
old.people old.people many that REL 3p.RS=be old.people

neu, a=lekor-wer.
1sgPOS 1sgRS=look.after-3p.O

I stayed at home and I looked after all the old people, those that were my relatives, I looked after them. (98003az, 404.7198, 413.1199)

117 Me mes i=pi teni \( ser \) matol, nmalok i=pi
but today 3sgRS=be of every afternoon kava 3sgRS

teni \( ser \) matol.
of every afternoon

But now it is (something) for every afternoon, kava is for every afternoon. (98007bz, 663.3401, 670.3400)

118 Rak=fo krakpun \( silu \) nañer nig Erakor.
3d.IRR=PSP:IR kill all man of p.name

They will kill all the people of Erakor. (98009b, 1736.5265, 1739.8800)

119 Tete kano tar i=mu na ke=ius-ki
some men white 3sgRS=want COMP 3sgIRR=use-TR

tete raru e-sa.
some boat LOC-here

Some white man wanted to use some boats here. (98002az, 1296.1201, 1302.1000)

5.5.2. Noun modification, postmodifiers

Postmodifiers are drawn from a large set of adjectives and quantifiers with no apparent internal ordering between them, although this lack of internal ordering could be an artefact of so few examples of them co-occurring in the data. As
discussed in §4.7. there are very few examples of more than one adjective occurring together in the data, and this is also the case for adjectives and quantifiers. Some of the very few available examples are given below. In (120) the adjective perkati ‘really’ follows the quantifier lap ‘many’.

120 Ru=lap ru=lap perkati kin ru=preg nawesien nen.
3p.RS=many 3p.RS=many really REL 3p.RS=make work that

They were many, very many, who did that (kind of) work. (98017bz, 982.3799, 985.7254)

Example (121) is from a song translated from English and sung by a young child. It shows the adjective ses ‘small’, followed by the quantifier itol ‘three’ and then the limiting determiner ñas ‘only’

121 Me to ses i=itol ñas ru=ler mai.
but fowl small 3sgRS=three only 3p.RS=return hither

But only three little chicks came back. (98003bz, 1906.1, 1909.4362)

5.5.2.1. Adjectives and stative verbs
The adjective position is filled by a subclass of stative verbs that can function attributively (see §4.7), as in (122) and (123).

122 1=pitlak namkanr tar go te-miel, me kineu
3sgRS=have wild.arrowroot white and DET-red and 1sg

a=pi naflak namkanr miel.
1sgRS=be clan wild.arrowroot red

There is a white wild arrowroot and a red one and I am of the red wild arrowroot clan. (20003az, 917.7999, 922.4800)

123 Nlaken katom ptae kin i=to nagis karu.
because hermit.crab different REL 3sgRS=stay point other

Because a different hermit crab was at the next point. (98009a, 159.1157, 161.6)

5.5.2.2. Quantifiers
Post nominal quantifiers include numerals as well as the following set of quantifiers.

124 karu other, next nentu next
lap many nrfal few
mana associated group þur full
nenpa last, past

125 Go kineu a=ses a=lek tiawi nrfal ñas.
and 1sg 1sgRS=small 1sgRS=see old.people few only

And when I was small, I would see a few old people only. (PW 98019)
Nominals and the noun phrase

126 Ntau nenpakia a=traus, natrauswen ses i=skei kia.
year last here 1sgRS=tell story small 3sgRS=one PR
Last year now, I told that small story. (98007az, 1122.8600, 1133.3600)

Example (127) shows the numeral iskei ‘one’ following the modified noun fat āpur ‘big rock’.

127 Ale i=po pa=n pi fat āpur i=skei.
ok 3sgRS=PSP go=DST be rock big 3sgRS=one
Then she would become a big rock. (98003bz, 2125.9000, 2128.3974)

The form iskei ‘one’ has a role in determining the specificity of the noun it modifies. Iskei ‘one’, which in other positions is a quantifier, functions here to indicate that the noun is specific but indefinite (as shown by François (2002:56) for the translation equivalent mo hese in Araki). It is typically used at the beginning of a story in the formulaic pattern nrak iskei ‘one time’ (‘once upon a time’) and to mark new participants, as in (128), where we are told tāpes ‘moorhen’ is man iskei ‘a (specific) bird’, as opposed to simply man ‘a bird’.

128 Tāpes i=pi man i=skei nen kin nrak lap moorhen 3sgRS=be bird 3sgRS=one that REL time many
u=tl-i-0 na i=to preg-sa-ki
1p.exRS=tell-TS-3sgO COMP 3sgRS=HAB make-bad-TR
nanr gakit.
banana 1p.inPOS
The moorhen is a bird that, we have said many times, he spoils our bananas. (98001b, 700.7201, 706.7000)

The form iskei is made up of the 3sgRS, i=, and the numeral skei ‘one’. However, when iskei functions as a demonstrative it behaves as a fused form and the erstwhile proclitic i= ‘3sgRS’ has no referential value. The two functions of skei ‘one’ can be seen in (129) where the demonstrative marks a specific, but indefinite ‘Saturday’ while the later form, occurring with a referential 1sgRS, acts as a verb meaning ‘to be one’ or ‘alone’.

129 Me mal-ne aliat toknak i=skei me a=skei
but time-thisSaturday 3sgRS=one but 1sglRR=one
pak sto aliat.
go.to store day
But that time, a Saturday, I went to the shop alone in the daytime. (063:90)

5.5.3. Demonstratives go, nen, ne, and the presentative kia
Demonstratives are go ‘that, near addressee’, ne ‘this’, and nen ‘that’. These forms serve both spatio-temporal and discourse deictic functions as we see in the
Chapter 5

following examples. These demonstratives can either modify the head of an NP, or follow directional adverbs as shown in example (130) below. They cannot be used alone as the only exponent of an NP; for this they must be prefixed by the nominalizer te- (e.g., tene ‘this one’) as in example (134) below.

The demonstrative go ‘that, near addressee’ refers to a location nearer the addressee than the speaker, or to something the addressee has said. The spatial location encoded by go ‘AD’ (Addressee Deictic) can be close to the addressee, or it could be some distance away, but the crucial factor in the choice of this term is that, from the speaker’s perspective, the location is further from them than from the addressee. Thus ga-go ‘3sg AD’ means ‘the one near you’. In example (130) the speaker is asking the addressee to sit down where they are, using sa-go ‘here-AD.’

130 Ag ku=totan sa-go me kineu a=mur-i-n
   2sg 2sgRS=sit here-AD but 1sg 1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO
   na ka=taf.
   COMP 1sgIRR=leave
   You sit down here (near addressee) but I want to leave. (98003bz, 845.2599, 849.7999)

In (131) go ‘AD’ is used first to indicate the place, sago ‘here, where you are’, and then to specify that the pig is near the addressee, wak go ‘pig AD’.

131 Pa=to sa-go me pa=tao wak go.
   2sglIRR=stay here-AD and 2sglIRR=give.me pig AD
   You stay here, and give me the pig (near you). (20001az, 1743.1268, 1746.4000)

In (132) go ‘AD’ is used with the noun kal ‘digging stick’ and can mean either ‘the digging stick near you’ or ‘the digging stick you talked about’, the first with a spatial sense and the second with a discourse sense.

132 Me kal go i=na i=mailumlum.
   but digging.stick AD 3sgRS=INCH 3sgRS=soft:RED
   But this digging stick (near you) is soft. (98003az, 2532.8, 2534.6800)

Speaker <2> in (133) uses gawan go ‘like that’ adverbially, to agree with my immediately preceding question, illustrating the use of go as a discourse deictic to refer to what the addressee has said.

133 <1> Ntau ni condominium? <2> Ore, Gawan go.
   year of condominium yes that AD
   <Speaker 1> At the time of the condominium? <Speaker 2> Yes. like you said. (98014az, 2437.7600, 2441.5001)
Nominals and the noun phrase

In (134) the speaker uses the addressee deictic go with the determiner te- to form a demonstrative pronoun (tego) referring to my earlier question (see §5.4.3. on nominalization with te-).

134 E i=tik, i=ta pi te-go mau.
   eh 3sgRS=not 3sgRS=NEG be DET-AD NEG2
   Ah, no, it is not like you said. (98014az, 1837.6200, 1840.5399)

Similarly, the proximal and distal demonstratives ne ‘this’ and nen ‘that’ are used to indicate a location which can be spatio-temporal or discourse related. In (135) tesa ses ‘small child’ is previously mentioned and referred to in this sentence by means of the demonstrative ne ‘this’.

135 Ale tesa ses ne i=to kai.
   okay child small this 3sgRS=STAT cry
   Okay, this small child was crying. (98003az, 2458.4999, 2460.0674)

Looking at a book of stories in South Efate the speaker says (136), using the demonstrative nen ‘that’ to refer to the book. This shows the use of nen ‘that’ as a spatial demonstrative, referring to an object observable to both the speaker and the addressee.

136 Kala me natus nen iwi, a?
   EXCL but book that 3sgRS=good eh
   Gee, but that’s a nice book eh? (98001az, 2616.0599, 2618.7442)

In (137) the focal pronoun komam ‘1p.ex’ is further specified by the demonstrative ne ‘this’.

137 Me komam ne, u=ta pi traeb ni esan mau, komam
   but 1p.ex this 1p.exRS=NEG be tribe of here NEG2 1p.ex
   u=pi te-ni E.
   1p.exRS=be DET=of E.
   But us, we aren’t a tribe from here at all, we are from E. (98017b, 748.5799, 757.2999)

Finally, example (138) shows the use of ne ‘this’ following and referring to the NP tesa nmatu ‘girl’, which is mentioned earlier in the discourse.

138 Tesa nmatu ne, ga kin i=po pi mama neu.
   child female this 3sg REL 3sgRS=PSP be mother 1sgPOS
   This girl, she would be my mother. (98017bz, 596.1000, 599.4799)

139 Go nafet famle ga nen mas kin ru=pitlak raet
   and group family 3sgPOS that only REL 3p.RS=have right
   nanre ni nafinaotan.
   side of chiefly.line
   And only all his family have rights to the chiefly line. (98006)
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Both *ne* ‘this’ and *nen* ‘that’ occur in a common collocation with *mal* ‘time’: *malne* ‘this time’, *malnen* ‘that time’, as we see in (140–141).

140 Ga me i=po saen mal ne.  
3sg and 3sgRS=PSP sign time this  
*He would sign it this time.* (98002az, 954.9400, 957.2116)

141 Kineu ka=fo gag traus te-ni natowen ni  
1sg 1sgRS=PSP.IR 2sgBEN tell DET-of being of  
tiawi mal nen u=to naur ses.  
old.people time that 1plexRS=stay island small  
*I will tell you about the old people’s life when we stayed on the small island.* (98003bz, 275.3400, 288.6600)

The presentative morpheme *kia* ‘PR’ patterns rather differently to the other demonstratives and is used to draw attention to the preceding nominal or whole utterance. It functions as a demonstrative but is not in a paradigmatic relationship with the two demonstratives discussed above. It is glossed as a ‘presentative’ (PR) following Hyslop (2001:97) and can also mean ‘here’ or ‘this one’. In (142) *kia* emphasizes the nominal it follows, *kineu* ‘I’, to mean ‘it is I’.

142 I=tae mai nrik naot ki-n na,  
3sgRS=can come tell chief PREP-3sgO say  
"Ore kineu kia, a=preg problem."  
yes 1sg PR 1sgRS=make problem  
*He can come and tell the chief, “Yes, it is I who caused the problem.”*  
(98018az, 2139.68, 2143.5600)

The presentative often occurs in collocation with interrogatives, such as *fei kia* ‘who here’, *nafte kia* ‘what here’. It can also occur with fillers like *iwel, gawan, tkanwan* which are all used to mean ‘thus’, ‘that’s the way’, or ‘like that’. *Gawankia* is used as a comment at the end of a story meaning ‘like that’, or ‘that’s the story’, as in (143).

143 Me apu neu kineu a=mat pato Erueti naur to.  
and g.father 1sgPOS PR 3sgRS=die be.at p.name island at  
Me kineu a=to Efat. Naur ñur.  
but 1sg 1sgRS=stay p.name island big  
m.m *Gawan kia. Gawan kia.*  
"like.that like.that  
*And my grandfather died at Erueti island. But I stay on Efate. The big island. m.m. Like that. Like that.* (98017bz, 1369.1399, 1379.7800)
Nominals and the noun phrase

_Tkanwan kia_ ‘like that’ also functions to emphasize the preceding utterance, as we see in (144).

144 Ku=pan tkau, ko ku=pan nruŋ, ko ku=pan pan
2sgRS=go fish or 2sgRS=go dive or 2sgRS=go

pan elau. _Tkanwan kia._
cook beach like.that
You go fishing, or you go diving, or you cook on the beach. Like that.
(004a, 673.9401, 686.5999)

_Welkia_ ‘thus’ is often used as a filler as in (145).

145 Ore I=welkia nmatu kin ru=tkal-i-o.
yes 3sgRS=thus woman REL 3p.RS=touch-TS-3sgO
Yes, well it is women who do that work. (lit: women who touch it.)
(98010az, 398.5800, 401.7599)

In (146) the 3sg ga is specified by the presentative _kia_ which also shows that the demonstrative can follow the focal pronoun, as per the schema in (113) above.

146 Ga _kia_ ku=nrog na tawi nen
3sg PR 2sgRS=hear COMP brother.in.law that

pato i=tl-i-o.
stay 3sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO
That now, you hear what tawi over there says? (Tawi is a borrowing from Bislama) (98016bz, 995.7599, 999.6400)

147 I=pitlak natanol i=skei _kia_, kai=pe traus-i-o
3sgRS=have person 3sgRS=one PR 1sgPS=PF tell-TS-3sgO
tete mal pei.
some time first
There is this man here, I talked about him once before. (98017bz, 255.6999, 259.8881)

5.5.4. Limiting determiner

The limiting determiner, _ñeas_ ‘only’, has scope over the whole NP which it follows. In (148) the NP is the noun and modifier _kaonsil iskei_ ‘council itself’.

148 U=pan pakor lamerie me naot go kaonisil i=skei
1sgRS=go appear townhall but chief and council 3sgRS=one

ñeas kin ra=to.
only REL 3d.RS=stay
We went to the town hall but only the chief and the council were there.
(98014az, 1312.4, 1316)
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In (149) *mas* ‘only’ follows the focal pronoun *kineu* ‘I/me’.

149 Go *telap ru*=tefla. *A=mro-ki=n i=ta pi* and *DET=many 3p.RS=thus 1sgRS=believe=DST 3sgRS=not be*

*kineu *mas mau.*

1sg only NEG2

*And many are like that. I think it isn’t just me. (20003az, 1133.1, 1134.9999)*

*Mas* also acts as a verbal modifier as shown in §4.8.
6. Mood and aspect

South Efate has a productive and obligatory system of marking the cross-cutting categories of mood and aspect. The pronominal subject system has complete paradigms for the categories of realis, irrealis, and perfect (Table 6:2.) and as the subject proclitic is an obligatory element in any sentence speakers are always required to make the distinction between these three categories.

For a small set of verbs and particles a further strategy for encoding mood is that the initial consonant alternates between /p/, marking realis, and /f/, marking irrealis (§6.4.5.1.). Particles in the pre-verbal complex distinguish prospective and perfect aspect, together with alternating initial consonants for realis and irrealis. These particles are listed in Table 6:1. Sentences with no such morphological temporal markers usually have a non-future reading and realis pronominal forms, which I take as indicating that realis is the unmarked category, not just for stem-initial forms but generally for all forms. This means that the realis form is only glossed with ‘:R’ when there is a particular point to be made in that example.

Table 6:1. Particles encoding temporal information in the pre-verbal complex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pe</td>
<td>Perfect (PF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po</td>
<td>Prospective, realis (PSP:R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo</td>
<td>Prospective, irrealis (PSP:IR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>Habitual/Static/Progressive (HABIT/STAT/PROG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>Durative (DUR)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two aspects grammatically encoded in South Efate are perfect and prospective. I use the term perfect rather than perfective, following Comrie (1976) to refer to a past situation that is completed and over. Thus the perfect statement *I have lost my penknife* encodes a completed action in which there is an implication that the penknife continues to be lost, as opposed to a perfective *I lost my penknife* which indicates a complete action, but not necessarily one that is over (Comrie 1976:52). Another reason for using the label ‘perfect’ for this aspect in South Efate is that it is in opposition with ‘prospective’ aspect. In contrast, the category ‘perfective’ would be in opposition to imperfective which does not reflect the facts of South Efate. The prospective aspect is a type of relative future used to encode events that are prospective from the time established within the utterance, or the ‘temporal frame’.
Table 6:2. Proclitic pronominals which display an aspect/mood distinction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>a=</td>
<td>ka=</td>
<td>kai=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>ku=</td>
<td>pa=!</td>
<td>kui=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>i=</td>
<td>ke=</td>
<td>ki=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d. (in)</td>
<td>ta=</td>
<td>tak=</td>
<td>takai=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d. (ex)</td>
<td>ra=</td>
<td>rak=</td>
<td>rakai=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d.</td>
<td>ra=</td>
<td>rak=</td>
<td>rakai=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d.</td>
<td>ra=</td>
<td>rak=</td>
<td>rakai=/ rai=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p. (in)</td>
<td>tu=</td>
<td>tuk=</td>
<td>tu=, tui=/ (tukoi=)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p. (ex)</td>
<td>u=</td>
<td>ko=</td>
<td>ui=/ koi=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p.</td>
<td>u=</td>
<td>ko=</td>
<td>koi=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p.</td>
<td>ru=</td>
<td>ruk=</td>
<td>rui=/ (rukui=)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I use Dahl’s terminology in discussing the encoding of time. Dahl (1985:30) discusses the importance of the notion of the ‘temporal frame’ of an utterance which he distinguishes from the point of speech, the point of the event, and the point of reference. Thus, for example, in the sentence, When I arrived, Peter had tried to phone me twice during the preceding week, the temporal frame is during the preceding week, the point of reference is when I arrived, and the points of events are Peter trying to phone me twice.

Table 6:4. tabulates mood and aspect interaction and shows that the primary distinction is one of mood. This is further exemplified by the correlation of proclitics and TMA markers in Table 6:5. I then present an overview of the encoding of time using data obtained through Dahl’s (1985) ‘TMA questionnaire’. I use Dahl’s analysis to show that temporal relations are grammatically expressed as aspect and mood. I then proceed to discuss mood (§6.4.) and then aspect (§6.5.) in more detail.
6.1. Lexical framing of time
In this section we will see that there is no grammatical marking of tense in sentences even when the temporal frame is in the past or the future. It is by the use of words encoding temporal notions that we can identify the temporal frame of the sentence. Grammatical marking to encode events that have occurred in the past is not obligatory, but the marking of realis mood is obligatory, thus in example (1), while the timeframe is nanom ‘yesterday’, there is no morphological encoding of past time in the sentence and the realis form of the proclitic is used.

1 Nanom ūg, u=mai praktis.
yesterday night 1p.exRS=come practice
Yesterday evening we came to practice. (98010bz, 687.5, 691.2017)

Similarly, in (2) there is no tense or aspect marking associated with the verb tae ‘to know’ even though the temporal frame is nanom ‘yesterday’. In the second clause of this example the prospective aspect is marked by an irrealis form of the subject proclitic and the irrealis form of the prospective marker fo.

2 Űal-u-k i=tae nanom na nai
brother-V-1sgDP 3sgRS=know yesterday COMP water
ke=fo mlanr mes.
3sgIRR=PSP:IR cold today
My brother knew yesterday that the water would be cold today. (elicited, Dahl questionnaire #118)

Again, in (3) the timeframe is established by tetwei ‘long ago’ but there is no morphological encoding of past time in the sentence.

3 Go tetwei gar ru=ta pakot-ki mani, go ru=ta
and long.ago3p. 3p:RS=NEG pay-TR money and 3p:RS=NEG
pakot-ki tete namrun ūpet mau. Gar mĭt ñas kin
pay-TR some thing different NEG2 3p. mat only REL
ru=to ptu-ki-ø.
3p:RS=HAB give-TR-3sgO
And, long ago, they didn’t pay with money or with anything else. They only gave mats. (98002bz, 436.1599, 444.3200)

Another method of encoding the timeframe of a sentence is by fronting a temporal noun phrase and linking it to the rest of the clause with go ‘and’, typically with a rising intonation on the temporal noun.

4 Atlag ne namba 18 go u=pan witnes-ki, na, taetel,
month this number18 and 1p.exRS=go witness-TR HESIT title
hand-over taetel.
handover title

That month, number 18, and we went and witnessed the hand-over of the title. (98002az, 1055.4401, 1073.4399)

Similarly, in (5) we see that the temporal framing information is fronted and the subsequent sentence is introduced by go ‘and’.

5 Jun 77 go a=mer stat wok polis ni munisipal, taon.
June 77 and 1sgRS=in.turn start work police of municipal town
And in June 1977, I started to work at the municipal police in town. (98014az, 301.0400, 308.9401)

Words (drawn from various classes: temporal nouns, adverbs, and prepositions) that are commonly used to frame temporal events in South Efate are listed in Table 6:3. Examples of those which have more idiosyncratic usage follow.

Table 6:3. Words whose meaning includes temporal reference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>as</th>
<th>day after tomorrow</th>
<th>nas</th>
<th>day before yesterday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inrok</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>nrakpei</td>
<td>‘time-first’, formerly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>to come</td>
<td>ntau/atlag/wik nen pa</td>
<td>last year/month/week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mafanen</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>ntau/atlag/wik nen tu</td>
<td>next year/month/week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malnen</td>
<td>at that time</td>
<td>panpan</td>
<td>until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malpe i</td>
<td>before</td>
<td>pei</td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matol</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>tetwei</td>
<td>long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mes</td>
<td>today</td>
<td>tkal</td>
<td>to reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanom</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>tol</td>
<td>to go past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Panpan ‘until’ is formed by reduplication of the verb pan ‘to go’, which sometimes is found in several iterations correlating to the length of time the speaker wants to portray, as we see in (6).

6 Kai=pe nom, kai=pe mai tu.
1sgPS=PF finish 1sgPS=PF come stay

Panpanpanpanpanpan tu=preg nawesien seserik.
until:RED 1p.inRS=make work small
I finished, I came and stayed here. Until ... we did a little work. (98003az, 1022.6800, 1040.8199)

Past events, such as the coming of Christianity (7) nmalko tetwei ‘in the time of darkness long ago’, frame a sentence that has a realis subject marker but no grammatical marker of time.

7 Nmalko tetwei, i=pitlak nafal kenen.
darkness long.ago 3sgRS=have fight of.it
Long ago in the time of darkness, there was a fight for it (for Christianity). (98011a, 909.4528, 914.3399)
The relative order of events can be encoded using the verbs *pei* ‘first’, and *inrok* ‘later’. In (8) the speaker emphasizes the importance of hard work, and that, if one wants to live well, one must first get tired through hard work. She uses the prospective marker with *pei* ‘first’ to mean ‘we would first get tired’, to indicate the order of events which are stated in non-iconic order (the event marked by the prospective [being tired] precedes the state expressed as its consequence [being well] temporally but not iconically).

8 Komam u=weswes u=maos u=mur-i-n na
1p.ex 1p:RS=work 1p:RS=tired 1p:RS=want-TS-3sg COMP

ko=to wi ko=fo pei maos.
1p.exIRR=stay good 1p.exIRR=PSP:IR first tired

We worked and we got tired, if we wanted to stay healthy, we would (have to) get tired first. (98003bz, 561.4801, 568.3599) (064:32)

In a discussion about the missionary teachers of the 1950s the speaker in (9) says that Shirley McRae would come later, *ipo inrok mai*, using *inrok*, literally ‘behind’, as ‘later’, that is, after the temporal frame of the 1950s established in the discourse. The expression *malfanen kia* ‘now here’ is a reference to the temporal frame, where ‘here’ is the 1950s.

9 Shirley McRae nag i=po inrok mai malfanen kia.
p.name REL 3sgRS=PSP after come now PR
Shirley McRae was to come later than that. (98002bz, 1493.86, 1503.44)

6.2. Clause combination and TMA marking
In our discussion of clause linkage in Chapter 12 we see that irrealis mood marking is often found in complement clauses (§12.2.3) expressing unrealized events such as desideratives, achievement predicates, and negative predicates. Other forms of clause linkage have less predictable mood implications. Besides complementation, clause coordination and juxtaposition are two means by which clauses can be linked and we will see that both of these forms of linkage can be used to express temporal meanings.

Coordinate clauses (§12.1) allow iconic ordering, with the coordinating particle overtly marking the sequential order of events. The general coordinator *me* (§12.1.2) has several meanings, including ‘then’, encoding an activity sequential to that of the preceding clause, as shown in (10).

10 Me ntuam i=lek-a-0 me i=na ke=sok.
but devil 3sgRS=look-TR-3sgO and 3sgRS=want 3sglRR=jump

Me i=sok, me i=frak.
and 3sgRS=jump but 3sgRS=slow
But the devil saw it and he wanted to jump. Then he jumped, but he was slow. (98017bz, 2775.5, 2779.9200)
The iconic order of juxtaposed clauses (§12.3.1) can express the relative
ordering of events, as in (11), where a succession of events is given as a list of clauses with no clause-linkers indicating sequential action.

11 Namba wan Oktober, go u=tao Ajen, raki number one October and 1p.exRS=leave Atchin for

nort-wes.of.Malakula. U=pan torwak Tontar, naor ni Malapar north-west Malakula 1p.exRS=go anchor p.name place of p.name

namba 1. Namba 2 Janwari raru. Namba 2 Janwari number one number 2 January boat number 2 January

u=pak u=pa=n tan, u=pak Tanmaru. 1p.exRS=go.to 1p.exRS=go=DST down 1p.exRS=go.to p.name

Namba 6, Espigel Bei, Emlakul go Malua Bei.

number 6 p.name Malakula and p.name

The first of October we left Atchin for the north-west of Malakula. We went and anchored at Tontar, Malapar's place on the first. On the second of January, on the boat. Second of January we went to Tanmaru. On the sixth to Espiegel Bay, Malakula, and Malua Bay. (005az, 200.8800, 253.7200)

6.3. The morphological expression of mood and aspect

Examples of the interaction of mood and aspect are given in Table 6:4. where it is shown that the primary choice for speakers of South Efate is one of mood, namely between expressing events that have been realized (realis) and those which have not yet been realized (irrealis). The use of aspect marking is secondary, so that the prospective marker only marks future time when it is in the irrealis form fo, and marks a relative future or incipient future when it is in the realis form po.

There is a strong correlation between the mood marking of subject proclitics and the TMA particles of the pre-verbal complex, as seen from a tabulation of attested forms in Table 6:5. The rows in Table 6:5. list the pre-verbal particles and the environments in which the subject proclitics display some variation, in imperatives (including hortatives) and conditionals. Numbers indicate the number of occurrences. Negation is not included in this table as all three subject forms can occur with the negative ta. The negative complementizer (tap 'to not do sthg.') takes an irrealis complement just as do similar complements discussed in §6.2. Conditionals formed with the particle f always have realis subjects in the protasis, but the subject of the apodosis is attested with both realis and irrealis forms. Similarly the subject of fla 'may' clauses is always in the realis but there is no apodosis (cf. §10.1.4. in the VC chapter) with fla clauses. Numbers in the columns refer to example sentences in this chapter.
6.3.1. The Dahl ‘TMA questionnaire’ in South Efate
In Table 6:6, we see the correlation between categories established in Dahl’s (1985) *TMA questionnaire* and the responses for South Efate. The completed questionnaire is provided with an interlinear gloss on the accompanying DVD. Dahl identifies a number of TMA categories in his cross-linguistic survey which he then associates with particular sentences in the questionnaire. In the first column in the table is Dahl’s category name, and in the next column is the page on which he correlates that category to sentence examples. In the third column we see the form that expresses the category in the South Efate examples. The Dahl questionnaire example numbers are given in column four. If a form other than that indicated in column three was used in the translation then it is listed in column five. Column six discusses any examples that do not fit the dominant pattern.

**Table 6:4. Examples of mood and aspect interaction**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood marking of S proclitic</th>
<th>Aspect marking using particles in the PVC</th>
<th>Time reference</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Example numbers in this chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>realis</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>past</td>
<td><em>kai=pe lek-e-r</em> 1sg.PS=PF look-TS-3p.O ‘I saw them’</td>
<td>6, 44, 45, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prospective</td>
<td>past / present incipient; relative future</td>
<td><em>a=po lek-e-r</em> 1sg.RS=PSP.R look-TS-3p.O ‘I will see them (and have done )’</td>
<td>9, 14, 47, 48, 50, 51, 58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>past / present</td>
<td><em>a=lek-e-r</em> 1sg.RS=look-TS-3p.O ‘I see/saw them’</td>
<td>1, 3, 4, 5, 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unrealis</td>
<td>prospective</td>
<td>future / past unrealised</td>
<td><em>ka=fo lek-e-r</em> 1sg.IRS=PSP.IR look-TS-3p.O ‘I will see them’</td>
<td>8, 12, 18, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>imperatives, negated clauses, and possible/ likely outcomes in complement clauses</td>
<td><em>ka=lek-e-r</em> 1sg.IRS=look-TS-3p.O (I want) ‘That I see them’</td>
<td>22, 23, 24, 25, 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

52 This data was elicited with a 20-year-old woman, Endis Kalsarap, in April 2003.
Table 6:5. Subject proclitics and mood and aspect interaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject proclitic</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future realis</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>+9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future irrealis</td>
<td>fo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+33</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional $f$</td>
<td>Protasis</td>
<td>+27</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Apodosis</td>
<td>+27</td>
<td>+30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional $f$la</td>
<td></td>
<td>+27</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To summarize the results, Future\(^{53}\) is always marked with $fo$ ‘irrealis prospective’. Past and Perfect are mainly marked by $pe$ ‘PF’ (perfect), and less commonly are unmarked. All Past forms are marked by realis forms of the TMA particles (thus $po$ rather than $fo$) except in past expressions of unrealized or generic events, as in (12), where the irrealis form is used with a desired outcome, one that isn’t considered ‘real’.

12 Me malpei i=tik nmatu, malen tiawi i=toreki
   but formerly 3sgRS=not woman when old.people 3sgRS=wait
   nmatu i=skei i=slat tesa, ke=fo mas pnut
   woman 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=take child 3sgIR=PSP:IR must quiet
   to i=kano farfar.
   stay 3sgRS=be.unable move.around

But before, no, when the old people waited for a woman to have a baby,
   she has to sit quiet, she can’t move around. (98003bz, 1135.0200,
   1147.0000)

---

\(^{53}\) I use capitalized forms to reflect Dahl’s categories.
Table 6.6. Correlation of results of Dahl’s questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>fo Future</td>
<td>15, 23, 27, 36, 103, 104, 152</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predictive</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>fo Predictive</td>
<td>16, 17, 31 (81 not translated)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>pe Perfect</td>
<td>10, 11, 12 (20 not translated)</td>
<td>26 to, progressive 171 uses =n 'DST'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>pe Perfect</td>
<td>42, 53, 54, 56 (64, 136, not translated)</td>
<td>67, 139, unmarked for aspect. 134 go/po</td>
<td>134 immediate past is marked with the realis future po, and with go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual (and Habitual G)</td>
<td>97, 99</td>
<td>to Static, habitual</td>
<td>18, 19, 20, 21, 31, 40, 71, 191</td>
<td>193 uses fo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>to Static, habitual</td>
<td>5, 6, 9 (83 not translated)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>pe Perfect</td>
<td>11, 12</td>
<td>Past progressive expressed by the perfect marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>91, 92, 100, 101, 162, 165, 175 (99 not translated)</td>
<td>No marking used at all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The realis form of the prospective marker po is used in (13) to talk about a group of people in the distant past who escaped being eaten by Eratap people, and then (in the relative future), returned to Erakor.

13 Te-ni Ertap ru=pam tete natamol kenen. Me tete det-of p.name 3p.RS=go some people of.it but some

ru=po ler mai.
3p.RS=PSP:R return hither
(talking about an earlier narrative) Those from Eratap ate some of the people from that story. But some (of those people) would return again.

(98001b, 218.8201, 223.7201)
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6.4. Mood

Mood and modality, which can be broadly defined as “the grammaticalization of speakers’ (subjective) attitudes and opinions” (Bybee et al. 1994:176), can take in varying subtopics, including those discussed in this section, but also negation which is discussed in §11.6. Of the categories of modality outlined by Bybee et al. (1994) only those represented in the South Efate data are discussed below, that is (i) obligation, (ii) ability, (iii) imperatives/hortatives, (iv) possibility, and (v) realis/irrealis, which overlaps with the previous categories but needs to be discussed separately from them. I take these semantic categories as the organizing principle for the following discussion.

6.4.1. Obligation

Obligation is concerned with conditions which compel the agent to complete the predicate action (Bybee et al. 1994:177). Obligation is expressed by the auxiliary verb mas ‘must’ which has been recruited into South Efate from Bislama as there is no indigenous equivalent. Thus, in (14) mas expresses the necessity for the teacher to speak the correct language, and in (15) mas expresses an order that the young person at a court hearing must know that the village council is his council. Both irrealis (ke= ‘3sgIRR’) and realis (tu= ‘1p.inRS’) subjects can be used with mas as illustrated in these examples.

14 Tija i=kano pan pes prakot, ke=mas pes taos nafsan leg. teacher 3sgRS=can’t go speak anyhow 3sgIRR=must speak like language right

The teacher can’t talk any old how, he must speak the correct language.
(20001b, 648.3, 651.8786)

15 Go, tu=mas tae na council i=pi council gag. and 1p.inRS=must know that council 3sgRS=be council 2sgPOS And we must know that council is your council. (98016az, 550.2999, 554.7902)

6.4.2. Ability

The ability of the agent to undertake the activity encoded in the predicate is expressed by use of an auxiliary verb tae ‘to be able to’, which means ‘to know’ when acting as a main verb. The semantic range of ‘know’ and ‘be able’ mirrors that of the Bislama term save ‘to know, be able to’.

16 Ku=pakot pis nkal ses nen me ku=tae paktof-i-ø 2sgRS=pay piece cloth small that but 2sgRS=be.able pay-TS-ø

ki wan vatu. PREP one vatu

You buy a small piece of cloth but you can buy it for one vatu. (98017az, 2151.8000, 2162.2799)
Mood and aspect

17 Go malpei komam ko=fo tae welu tiawi.
    and formerly 1p.in 1p.inIRR=PSP:IR be.able help old.people
    And, before, we would be able to look after the old people. (98003bz, 735.0200, 740.6799)

6.4.3. Imperative

I take the notion of imperative to include hortatives in South Efate as they are expressed by the same construction, which we will simply call the imperative. The only difference between them is that hortatives have non-second person subjects. They both encode an order or strong desire on the part of the speaker. The subject of an imperative is always in the irrealis form and no other element of the PVC except the negative particle ta can intervene between the subject proclitic and the auxiliary or main verb, both of which may also have irrealis forms if eligible, that is if they can undergo stem-initial mutation (as discussed in §6.4.5.1.). So, the verb preg ‘to make:R’ appears in the irrealis form freg ‘to make:IR’ in the imperative in (18). There is no other grammatical marker of the imperative.

18 Pa=freg.pun te-ne me tak=fo to mailum traus.
    2sgIRR=make:IR.dead det-this and 1p.inIRR=PSP:IR STAT
    slow speak
    Turn off this (tape recorder) and we will have a little talk. (98007bz, 1900.4, 1906.2400)

The only indication of the imperative status of (19) is the irrealis form of the subject proclitic.

19 Pa=to sa.go me Pa=tao wak go.
    2sgIRR=stay there.AD and 2sgIRR=give.me pig and
    You stay over there and give me a pig. (20001az, 1743.5892, 1746.4000)

In (20) the irrealis form of the pronominal subject is used, together with the irrealis form of both verbs which in this example are both eligible for stem-initial mutation (pnut ‘to be quiet’, pes ‘to talk’). This example is from a court hearing where the council is telling a young defendant to shut up.

20 Ore Pa=fnut! Pa=ta fes mau!
    yes 2sgIRR=quiet:IR 2sgIRR=NEG1 talk:IR NEG2
    Okay, you shut up! Don’t you talk! (98016az, 1132.4999, 1135.4400)

In example (21) the speaker is asking his wife to go and fetch a book that has been previously discussed. Again we see the irrealis form of the pronominal subject and the irrealis form of the auxiliary verb pa ‘go’.
Chapter 6

21 ła=fa=n
    lel=es
    slat-i-ø
    a?
    2sgIRR=go:IR=DST look.for-3sgO carry-TS-3sgO INT
    You go and look for it and bring it eh? (98001b, 412.8600, 418.9600)

As we would expect, the plural imperative uses ko, the 2p. irrealis subject proclitic, and the verb is in the irrealis form.

22 Tesa, ko=fam nanrmem!
    child 2p.IRR=eat:IR banana
    Children, eat the bananas! (98017bz, 646.9200, 648.2)

The hortative example in (23) shows a 3sg.IRR subject with an irrealis verb showing stem-initial mutation. In (24) a 1d.IRR subject occurs with a verb sef ‘to escape’ that is not eligible for stem-initial mutation.

23 Ke=fa=n
    pato eñaе.
    3sgIRR=go:IR=DST stay far
    Let him go and stay a long way away. (lit: That he go.) (98001b, 853.1220, 854.4504)

24 1=nrik kori ses ga nen kin na, “Tak=sef.”
    3sgRS=tell dog small 3sgPOS that COMP say 1d.IRR=escape
    He said to his small dog, “Let’s go.” (98017bz, 2491.4000, 2503.1399)

Example (25) is from a story about a chicken and a moorhen talking to each other, who together make up the 3rd person dual subject. The hortative “Let us go swim” uses an irrealis subject proclitic and irrealis form of the verb, pa ‘to go’.

25 Nrak iskei go ra=t1-i-ø na, “Rak=fa=n los.”
    time one and d.RS=say-TS-3sgO say 1d.IRR=go:IR=DST swim
    But one time they said, “Let us go swim.” (98009b, 1531.0401, 1535.9600)

The subject of a dual imperative is expressed by the dual pronoun which is not specified for person (cf. §5.1), as in the first sentence in (26). We know the subject is second person because of the focal pronoun akam ‘2p.’. These two sentences also illustrate the use of an irrealis subject proclitic form in the imperative and a realis proclitic form in the indicative sentence.

26 Akam rak=fa! Akam ra=west-ki mal.
    2p. d.IRR=go:IR 2p. d.RS=waste-TR time
    Go away! You waste time. (98007az, 1283.18, 1285.2239)

6.4.4. Possibility
The possibility of an event occurring is encoded by means of one of two particles in the pre-verbal complex, a conditional particle f, and fla ‘may’ (both discussed further in §10.1.4.) which are illustrated in example (27).
Mood and aspect

27 I=f wel kin taos nametrau lap ru=fla to 3sgRS=CND thus REL like family many 3p.RS=may STAT

weswes te-naor welkia ru=lap, ru=f tae work some-place thus 3p.RS=many 3p.RS=CND be.able

tilusus-i-k.
gossip-TS-2sgO

If, like, lots of the family might work someplace, well there are lots of them, then (others) could gossip about you. (98009az, 446.3600, 457.2600)

28 Me ag nen ku=to méliti-ki tiawi, ku=fla psir but 2sg REL 2sgRS=HAB be.close-TR old.people 2sgRS=may lie

ko ku=fla tilmori, me ku=f nrog natrauswen. or 2sgRS=may tell.truth but 2sgRS=CND hear story

But you who are close to the old people, you might lie or you might tell the truth, but you might hear stories. (98009a, 1851.9, 1858.8999)

In Table 6:4. above, the interaction of subject proclitics and conditionals shows that the protasis of conditionals always takes a realis proclitic. This is exemplified in (29) where the realis is used in the protasis, setting up the condition, and the irrealis in the apodosis, the unrealized but desired outcome.

29 I=f wel ag ku=f mur-i-n go 3sgRS=CND thus 2sg 2sgRS=CND want-TS-3sgO and

ka=tu-o-k nmatu neu me ag ṭa=tao 1sgIRR=give-TS-2sgO woman 1sgPOS but 2sg 2sgIRR=give.me

nmatu gag.
woman 2sgPOS

If you want, I’ll give you my woman but you give me your woman. (013:12)
(004b, 987.8000, 995.6600)

6.4.5. Realis/irrealis

The categories of realis and irrealis are central to most utterances in South Efate. As discussed above, pronominal proclitics have separate paradigms for realis and irrealis (as well as perfect) (§5.1.3.2.), which largely correlate with encoding events that are realized or unrealized, but also with broader notions of transitivity such as specificity of the object (§6.4.6.below). A further process that bears on the discussion of aspect is stem-initial mutation (§6.4.5.1.), which distinguishes realis and irrealis forms only for a small group of p initial verbs. I use the terms realis and irrealis (despite Bybee’s [1998] conclusion that “the term ‘irrealis’ is
simply too general to be useful") both to conform to other descriptions of languages of the region (e.g., Lynch 2000b; Hyslop 2001; François 2002; 2003), and because they are suitable labels for the features outlined in this section.

6.4.5.1. Stem-initial mutation
A number of verbs and one particle in South Efate alternate initial /p/ and /f/ in correlation with the realis/irrealis mood status (respectively) of the frame in which the verb occurs. No other initial consonants are involved in this alternation in South Efate, unlike in other languages of Vanuatu, as we will see below. A set of example verb stems is given in (30a), and the particle is given in (30b).

30a  
pai/fai fill up, pack  
pak/fak go to  
pam/fam eat  
pamor/famor discover  
pei/fei first  
preg/freg make  

30b  
po/fo prospective PVC particle  

Mutation also applies to some borrowed terms as shown in (31):

31  
pas/fas pass  
paptais/faptais baptize  

A similar process, but typically involving a larger inventory of phonemes, has been described for other Vanuatu languages (e.g., Paamese [Crowley 1982], Epi [Tryon 1986], Nguna [Schütz 1968], Ura [Crowley 1999]) whereby the initial consonant has two forms, called oral and nasal grade (Lynch 1975), primary and secondary (Crowley 1982; 1991), or base and secondary (Schütz 1969a), among others.

---

54 There is one anomalous form in the data for which p/f-initial alternation corresponds to an alternation between an Actor-oriented verb (plos 'to go around, to avoid') and an Undergoer-oriented verb (flos 'to be twisted, crooked') and does not reflect a difference in mood.

55 Macdonald (1889:10) notes the presence of stem-initial mutation at the end of the nineteenth century: "b and f are changed constantly, and often the one or the other is used according to the caprice of the speaker, or as to his idea of euphony.”

56 Clark (1985) suggests that verb-initial mutation is a feature of Central and Northern Vanuatu languages that could be used to define a subgroup, but Crowley (1991:218) concludes it actually reflects “an almost remarkable number of cases of independent parallel development in most of the languages of the same subgroup.”
Crowley (1991) comprehensively describes this phenomenon, which he calls verb-initial mutation. With the limited data available to him at the time, he speculated that South Efate “possibly does not exhibit any pattern of verb-initial mutation” (1991:200).

Lynch (1975:91) suggests that the oral/nasal alternation resulted from the diachronic fusion of the pre-verbal prefix (*ma- realis, *na- irrealis) and the verb. Languages prefixed either the realis or the irrealis but whichever was marked in this way became the ‘nasal grade’. Thus the ‘nasal’ grade can correspond to realis or irrealis in different languages of the region, depending on which prefix was employed. In South Efate this alternation only involves /p/ so I will not use the labels ‘oral’ and ‘nasal’ grade, but simply refer to the realis /p/-initial form, and the irrealis /fl/- initial form.

Despite diachronic evidence that the irrealis /fl/- initial form of the stem is historically basic (Crowley 1991), in South Efate the realis /p/-initial form is synchronically basic. It occurs in unmarked environments, unlike the irrealis (/fl/-initial) form which occurs in the following restricted environments:

i) following an irrealis pronominal proclitic. (If the /fl/-initial form were basic we would have to specify that it mutates to /p/ when it does not follow an irrealis pronominal proclitic.)

ii) in reduplicated forms. There are very few examples of reduplicated forms involving stems eligible for stem-initial consonant mutation, but any that do occur have a lenited initial consonant in the reduplicated form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pes</th>
<th>to speak</th>
<th>fesfes</th>
<th>to cheep (of a bird)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pol</td>
<td>to behave</td>
<td>folfol</td>
<td>to behave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pul</td>
<td>to sling</td>
<td>fulful</td>
<td>to twirl, spin (e.g., rope)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a reduplicated form is derived from a stem form that is /p/-initial, it is preferable to see the /p/-initial form as being more basic rather than trying to establish a rule of fortition in unreduplicated forms.

iii) in nominalized forms. The general process of nominalizing verbs is discussed in §5.4. Several examples will illustrate the fact that it is the lenited form of the stem-initial consonant that occurs in the nominalized form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>paptais</th>
<th>to baptize</th>
<th>nfaptaiswen</th>
<th>baptism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paos</td>
<td>to ask</td>
<td>nfaoswen</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pes</td>
<td>to speak</td>
<td>naf(e)san</td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is more elegant to explain the morphological process of nominalization that lenites an initial consonant than it is to claim fortition of nominalizable stems in citation form.
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There are thus convincing synchronic reasons for selecting /p/ as the basic initial consonant for this set of verbs in South Efate, and so /p/-initial citation forms are used in the dictionary and cross-reference the /f/-initial form.

Before proceeding, however, we need to state a rule that governs the use of irrealis forms within the pre-verbal complex. When an auxiliary and main verb are both eligible for stem-initial mutation only the auxiliary uses the irrealis f-initial form, as seen in example (32), where the verb preg ‘make’ would appear in the irrealis form freg were it not for the presence of the auxiliary fa ‘go:IR’.

32  Pa=fa=n preg.ptak-ki pano.
    2sgIRR=go:IR=DST make.ready-TR panel
    You go and prepare the panel. (98018az, 2254.9400, 2257.8800)

In (33a) pes ‘talk’ follows the modifier mailum ‘quiet’ and not the proclitic subject, unlike in (33b) where the verb directly follows the irrealis proclitic and is in the irrealis form. An explanation could be that there is assimilation of the irrealis feature from the proclitic to the verb stem, but only if no other lexical item intervenes. The first part of the pre-verbal complex (PVC1) contains particles and not lexical items and so does not prevent stem-initial mutation.

33a Radio ke=mailum pes.
    " 3sgIRR=slow talk:R
    The radio spoke quietly. (elicited)

33b Radio ke=fes mailum.
    " 3sgIRR=talk:IR slow
    The radio spoke quietly. (elicited)

The irrealis form of the prospective marker does not block the appearance of an irrealis form of the following verb, as seen in (34).

34 Ke=fo fam.
    3sgIRS=PSP:IR eat:IR
    He will eat. (98007bz, 69.4800, 70.24)

The only other items permitted between the irrealis subject proclitic and the stem-initial mutated verb stem in the data are the negative marker ta(p), as seen in a hortative example in (35), and the perfect marker pe, which only occurs with the irrealis form of the verb in several examples, as in (36).

35 Komam rak=tap fam mau me rak=to.
    1p.ex 1d.IRR=NEG eat:IR NEG2 but 1d.IRR=stay
    We won’t eat, but we’ll stay. (Let us not eat but let us stay.) (20001az, 1656.3471, 1659.5748)

36 Me ag kui=pe fam ko i=tik?
    but 2sg 2sgPS=PF eat:IR or 3sgRS=not
    But have you eaten or not? (004a, 279.7322, 281.3149)
We can further generalize that if an element of the second part of the pre-verbal complex (PVC2) follows the proclitic it blocks stem-initial mutation, as can be seen in (37a), where the verb is not contiguous with the proclitic and so is in the realis form, unlike (37b) where the verb directly follows the proclitic and is in the irrealis form.

37 (a) Tuk=nomser pak elau. (b) Tuk=fak elau.
1p.inIRR=all go.to sea 1p.inIRR=go.to.IR sea
(a) We all go to the sea. (b) We go to the sea. (elicited)

6.4.6. Correlation of mood and transitivity

There is evidence in the data that realis/irrealis stem mutation correlates with features of transitivity. All else being equal, the realis form of the verb occurs in clauses which have an overt expression of an object while the irrealis form occurs when there is no object in the clause. The set of sentences in (38) illustrate this correspondence, with the main verb in each case being eligible for stem-initial mutation. Other possible triggers for stem-initial mutation, such as an irrealis form of the proclitic, have been excluded from these elicited sentences to allow us to illustrate the effect of the type of object.

If there is no expression of an object in a clause then the verb occurs in the irrealis $f$-initial form as in (38a).57

38a Ag kui=pe fam mes pulpog.
2sg 2sgPS=PF eat:R today morning
You ate this morning. (elicited)

The lack of an object in (38b) means that the realis form is ungrammatical as it is the irrealis that is used when there is no object.

38b *Ag kui=pe pam mes pulpog.
2sg 2sgPS=PF eat:R today morning
*You ate this morning. (elicited)

When the object is salient and individuated, having been mentioned in the previous discourse, it can be referenced by the transitive suffix and object suffix, as in (38c), using the realis form of the stem. Example (38d) shows that the irrealis form of the stem is ungrammatical when there is a highly individuated object.

38c Ag kui=pe pam-i-r mes pulpog.
2sg 2sgPS=PF eat:R-V-3p.O today morning
You ate them this morning. (elicited)

57 The same structure was tested using other eligible verb stems (pes ‘talk’; paos ‘ask’; pakot ‘pay’; preg ‘make’; pnut ‘close’) with the same result.
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38d *Ag kui=pe fam-i-r mes plevelog.
2sg 2sgPS=PF eat:IR-TS-3p.O today morning
*You ate them this morning. (elicited)

The same holds for (38e) where there is a lexical object and the realis form
is used.
38e Ag kui=pe pam ntal mes plevelog.
2sg 2sgPS=PF eat:R taro today morning
You ate taro this morning. (elicited)

A textual example of this correlation is given in (39) where the first use of
the verb pam ‘to eat’ is in the irrealis form with no object, and the second is in
the realis form with an object that is not highly individuated (‘some of this
food’).
39 Ra=fam su tefla=n, ra=pam tete nafnag ne,
3d.RS=eat:IR PF thus=DST 3dRS=eat:R some food this
ra=slat-i-ø pa.
3d.RS=take-TS-3sgO thither
They finished eating, they ate some of this food, they took it and went.
(20001az, 1289.9800, 1294.7600)

The correlation of mood and transitivity is not unexpected following the
observations of Hopper and Thompson (1980) that transitivity correlates with
mood distinctions and individuation of the object, among other features. In the
Mayan language Jacaltec, Frawley (1992:389) finds similarly that “nonspecific
entities are more likely associated with irrealis modalities.” The interplay of the
various factors involved in determining mood marking in South Efate requires
further investigation.

6.5. Aspect
The morphological encoding of time is mainly carried out by particles in the
pre-verbal complex (po ‘prospective:realis’, fo ‘prospective:irrealis’, pe ‘perfect’)
that are covered in more detail in the discussion of the Verb Complex in
Chapter 10. Past time is also encoded in one of the proclitic paradigms that are
discussed in §5.1.3. In this section I will first demonstrate the grammatical
encoding of aspect and then show how this grammatical encoding interacts with
lexical temporal framing and other discourse strategies for talking about the
past, present, and future.

Basic unmarked clauses in South Efate can have a past or present reading. A
sentence with past time reference, established by context or by the use of lexical
items with temporal meaning, can have the same morphological marking as a
sentence with present time reference as can be seen in the following examples.
Example (40) discusses the number of villages that made up Erakor in the early
days (*nrakpei* ‘long ago’) and the copula in this past timeframe is in the same form as in sentence (41) where the time reference is the present, indicated by the framing with *mes* ‘today’.

40 *Nrakpei natkon ni Erakor Efat ru=pi natkon i=laru.*

formerly village of p.name 3p.RS=be village 3sgRS=seven

*Long ago the village of Erakor on Efate was seven villages. (98002bz, 835.1800, 841.5200)*

41 *Mes i=pi nalelewem neu kin i=tefla.*

today 3sgRS=be opinion 1sgPOS REL 3sgRS=thus

*Today it is my opinion that it is like this. (98007bz, 259.55, 264.2200)*

Similarly, in example (42) the verb *min* ‘to drink’ has no morphological marking to indicate that it encodes an event that occurred in the past, as indicated by *tetwei* ‘long ago’.

42 *Tetwei ga apu neu i=min nmalok tefla kai=pe long.ago 3sg grandfather 1 sgPOS 3sgRS=drink kava thus ES=PF pa=n matur. go=DST sleep

*Long ago, my grandfather drank kava like that and went to sleep. (98007bz, 730.1914, 734.8599)*

In (43) there is no aspect marking or temporal expression and both a past and present reading are possible. The narrative context suggests a past interpretation, but out of context an equally valid translation could be “The owl (*mlapuas*) stays and drinks the owl (*sokfal*)’s medicine.”

43 *Me mlapuas i=na i=to kai min nalkis ni sokfal.*

but owl 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=stay ES drink medicine of owl

*The owl (mlapuas) stayed and drank the owl (sokfal)’s medicine. (005a, 1579.7001, 1591.6781)*

### 6.5.1. Aspect in the pre-verbal complex

Table 6:1. (page 149) listed the particles in the pre-verbal complex that encode temporal information, and Table 6:6. (page 157) showed how they are used to express various TMA categories. Examples of each of these particles can be found in Chapter 10, where the discussion focuses on their function within the pre-verbal complex. Examples below illustrate the temporal relations encoded by each of these particles in turn. I take the realis as the basic or unmarked category (as discussed in §6.4.5.1.). As we see in Table 6:4. (page 155), realis can be used to encode a wider range of timeframes than irrealis.

The perfect marker *pe* encodes events that are completed, as in (44), in which the action of breaking the houses has occurred in the past, and as a result the houses are now broken.
Chapter 6

44 Nlaken nasunë rui=pe maui saprek.
  because house 3p.PS=PF everyone broken
  Because the houses, they have broken all of them. (081:75) (98010az, 1586.3, 1589.4000)

Similarly, in (45) pe is used to mark that the event (both the parents dying) is completed.
45 Me apap me iak rai=pe mat.
  and father and mother 3d.Ps=PF die
  And their father and mother were dead. (98002bz, 646.8599, 650.8400)

The particle pe can also encode an ongoing state that has been achieved. Example (46) comes from a discussion of the speaker’s family who went to Queensland and ‘became white’ through intermarriage. Now, he says, using the perfect marker together with the perfect form of the proclitic, they are white (ruipe tar).
46 Me famle neu rui=pe tar taos ago Ga
  but family 1sgPOS 3p.PS=PF white like 2sg 3sg
  in.turn NEG take skin-V-1sgDP NEG2 3p.PS=PF white.RED
  But my family are white like you. He didn’t get my skin, they are really white. (98017bz, 935.5668, 942.6999)

I call po/fo the prospective marker since it functions to encode events taking place after the utterence in which they occur, or after the timeframe established by the sentence or the discourse context. The irrealis prospective fo is used for all unrealized future events. The realis prospective marker po is used for future events that have been realized, that is, those that have occurred but are in the future in relation to the timeframe of the utterance. In encoding a prospective event that is known to have occurred po often acts as a sequential marker, as we also see in its use as a sequential clause marker in clause chaining in §12.3.2.
47 Go a=po pi steward, steward gar.
  and 1sgRS=PSP:R be " " 3p.PS=PF
  And I was to become their steward. (98002az, 2028.1, 2030.5600)

Similarly, in (48), the event of passing a sixth grade exam, now over, is described from the perspective of the preceding three years, and the realis future marks the passing of the exam.
Mood and aspect

48 Go ntau katol nen a=to klas sikx, go and year third that 3sgRS=stay class six and

\[ a=po \] pas examination.
1sgRS=PSP:R pass "
And the third year that I was in class six I was to pass the examination.
(20003az, 964.3200, 970.7200)

Example (49) shows \( fo \) encoding a possible future event, the making of leaf medicine. The irrealis form of both the particle \( fo \) rather than \( po \) and the proclitic \( (ke= rather than \( i=) \) are used in this statement about a hypothetical situation.

49 Me i=piatłak natañol nen kin ke=fo mer but 3sgRS=have person that REL 3sgIRR=PSP:IR in.turn

gag preg naulnkas nen ke=tu-o-k
2sgBEN make leaf REL 3sgIRR=give-TS-2sgO

\[ p\a=min-gi-o, \] go \( p\a=f \) mer nñol.
2sgIRR=drink-TS-3sgO and 2sgIRR=CND again healthy
There is a man who will make leaf medicine for you to drink and you might get better. (98007az, 596.1400, 604.7600)

The realis form of the prospective marker \( po \) often has a subjunctive sense as does ‘would’ in English rather than ‘will’, as shown in (50).

50 I=ptal tesa.nmatu na ruk=tu-a-Ø tesa.nmatu 3sgRS=choose girl PURP 3p.IRR=give-TS-3sgO girl

ke=skei. Go ru=po tu-a-Ø tesa.nmatu i=skei.
3sgIRR=one and 3p.RS=PSP give-TS-3sgO girl 3sg=one
He (the spirit) chose a girl so that they would give him a girl. And they would give him a girl. (98009b, 381.4999, 398.4001)

The realis form of the prospective marker \( po \) also encodes a kind of epistemic modality, reflecting the speaker’s opinion of the possibility of an event occurring. Thus in (51) the speaker uses \( po \) when talking of the possibility of seeing black people on the High Court today, which could be interpreted as a future event, but has more of a sense of the possibility of seeing black people on the Court.

51 Mes ne, a=po lek nanler got ru=po to today this 1sgRS=PSP:R see man black 3p.RS=PSP:R stay
The Joint Court,58 Me tetwei ga i=tik, te-tar mñas. DET joint court but before 3sg 3sgRS=not det-white only
But today I could see black people on the Joint Court. But before, no, white people only. (98011a, 2324.5800, 2331.0200)

The particle to encodes a state or habitual action, as in (52) where the habitual action is gardening and praying.

52 Or selawan nalotwen ke=mai top, tiawi yes when prayer 3sglRR=come big old.people

ru=to preg talmat, ko ru=to preg

3p.RS=HABIT make garden or 3p.RS=HABIT make

nalotwen mñas. Ru=mal-ki nafkal. prayer only 3p.RS=don't.want-TR fight

Yes, when Christianity became big, the old people would only work in their garden or pray. They didn’t want to fight. (98011az, 1029.5000, 1039.9599)

The durative particle ta is used for an activity that keeps on going, as in (53), from a council meeting in which the speaker makes a plea for the provincial government to keep providing tools for the Erakor council.

53 Gakit kaonsil tu=fla rekwes totur provins nen 1p.inc council 1p.incRS=CND request through province that

ru=ta gakit sat krupa me safel me 3p.RS=DUR 1p.incBEN get crowbar and shovel and

serale fserser ne. everything different this

We, council, we could request through the province that they keep getting us crowbars, shovels, and all that sort of thing. (98016bz, 1712.0600, 1724.8200)

58 The Joint Court (jointly presided over by France and England) is the pre-independence name for what is now the High Court.
7. Verbs and verb classes

In this chapter I describe the subclasses of verbs in South Efate. Verb stems can be distinguished at the morphological level from other form classes because they are prefixed by subject pronouns directly or else either (1) the subject clitic attaches to the first element of the pre-verbal complex, or (2) the verb is part of a compound (§9.1.1) in which only the first verb bears any subject or TMA marking. Verbs may take bound object suffixes (if they are not intransitive verb stems) and can be marked for mood and polarity in a pre-verbal complex. A verb (with its obligatory subject proclitic) can serve as a minimal sentence in South Efate.

Previous research on languages of the region suggests that verb classes could include: a morphological distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs; a distinction between intransitive verbs with experiencer subjects (U-verbs) and with actor subjects (A-verbs) (Ross 1998). See (1) below where the two types of A- and U- verbs are shown together with the two subtypes of U-verbs, that is, U-type for which the intransitive subject (S or Patient) becomes the O in a derived transitive form, and A-type verbs.

1 A-verbs
   Actor subject

U-verbs
   Experiencer subject

U-type
   S>O when transitivized

A-Type
   S>A when transitivized

Further we could look for a subclass of U-verbs called stative (Ross 1998:22), or stative-inchoative (Hyslop 2001:82) which have no corresponding transitive equivalent (but do have a corresponding causative). Finally, there is often a lack of clear distinction between adjectives and verbs, so that adjectives are a subset of stative verbs. All of these features have reflexes in South Efate. Verb classes also show the historical development of a small group of distinct transitive and intransitive forms based on reanalysis of earlier transitive suffixes as part of the root (§7.1.6.). A key consideration in the description of Oceanic languages is the interplay between semantic features of transitivity and their morphosyntactic expression, and it is in the analysis of verbs that this is brought into focus.

7.1. Morphosyntactic classes of verbs in South Efate
Verbs can be classed morphologically on the basis of those that can and cannot take an O suffix (see the discussion of the form of the suffix in §8.1.3.1). Intransitive verbs cannot take an O suffix. Of the 820 verbs in the current data 320 can take an O suffix and as underived verbs can appear in both transitive

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59 Verbs are assigned to a class using the criteria outlined above. If a verb is attested once or only a few times and is observed to not take O suffixes it is treated as intransitive. Further work will clarify these marginal examples.
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and intransitive constructions\(^{60}\) so these are grouped together in a class that is morphosyntactically ambitransitive. A small group of eleven verbs can only appear in transitive constructions and a further small group of four underived verb stems can appear in ditransitive constructions. A further two small verb classes are auxiliary verbs (§7.1.1.) and the copula (§7.1.2.). Traditionally the verb is considered the locus for transitivity, and in some analyzes it is the sole part of speech considered in a discussion of transitivity (e.g., Tallerman 1998:35 ff). However, as we will see, in South Efate we need to consider the morphosyntactic context to determine the transitivity status of a verb.

Underived verb stems in South Efate fall into five morphosyntactic classes: intransitive, semitransitive, ambitransitive, transitive, and ditransitive. The basis for this classification follows. Underived verb stems occur in the slots outlined in Table 7:1. An NP following a verb stem is the object of that verb if it can be substituted by an O suffix.

Table 7:1. Constructions in which each of the four major verb classes occurs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slot</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Semitransitive</th>
<th>Ambitransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Ditransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) S V</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) S V=OBL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) S V O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) S V O1 O2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If an underived verb stem occurs only in slot 1 then it is intransitive (§7.1.3.); if it occurs in slot 2 then it is semitransitive (§7.1.4.), if it occurs in both slots 1 and 3 then it is ambitransitive (§7.1.5.); if it only occurs in slot 3 it is transitive (§7.1.6.), and finally, if it can occur in slot 4 it is ditransitive (§7.1.7.). The O in slot 3, and the O1 in slot 4 can be specified by either a suffix or by a lexeme.

7.1.1. Auxiliary verbs
A closed set of auxiliary verbs can appear before the main verb in the pre-verbal complex. While the same forms can function as both auxiliary and main verbs, a distinction can be made such that auxiliary verbs can occur before the benefactive phrase within the pre-verbal complex, which shows their grammaticalized status as auxiliary verbs. They are ordered in four groups, as shown in §10.1.5, where the reader will find a list of auxiliary verbs together with a discussion of their status as a distinct class.

\(^{60}\) Unlike, for example, Tamambo (Jauncey 1997) where most verb stems are clearly transitive or intransitive.
Table 7.2. Verb classes in South Efate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliary</td>
<td>cf. §10.1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
<td><em>pi</em> ‘be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>cannot derive transitives with the transitivizing suffix -ki. Do not require the stative particle <em>to</em> to encode states. Cannot form imperatives. Adjectives: 115 of the 212 stative verbs in the data can act as nominal modifiers (adjectives). U-verbs: <em>fit</em> ‘to be hot, <em>mas</em> ‘to be cooked’, <em>sa</em> ‘to be bad’. Active: require the stative particle <em>to</em> to encode states. Cannot derive transitives with the transitivizing suffix -ki. <em>fit</em> ‘to run’, <em>krak</em> ‘to crawl’, <em>pul</em> ‘to dance’, <em>sak</em> ‘to come ashore’. Active: can derive transitives with the transitivizing suffix -ki. A-type: <em>siwer</em> ‘to walk’, <em>tapsik</em> ‘to clean’. U-type: <em>ler</em> ‘to return’, <em>nom</em> ‘to be finished’, <em>siwer-ki</em> ‘to walk on’, <em>tapsik-ki</em> ‘to clean sthg.’, <em>ler-ki</em> ‘to return sthg.’, <em>nom-ki</em> ‘to finish sthg.’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semitransitive</td>
<td>Active, unable to derive transitives with the transitivizing suffix -ki. Most take the OBL pronominal object. <em>fafat</em> ‘to have faith in’, <em>nrokot</em> ‘to cross’, <em>sralesok</em> ‘to believe’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitransitive</td>
<td>Stem can occur in both intransitive and transitive constructions. Take a transitive suffix and O clitic. A-type: <em>smanr</em> ‘to slap’, <em>pus</em> ‘to put’, <em>tai</em> ‘to cut’. U-type: <em>mul</em> ‘to slough skin’, <em>plag</em> ‘to open, be open’, <em>smanr-i-∅</em> ‘to slap it’, <em>ps-i-∅</em> ‘to put it’, <em>tai-r</em> ‘to cut them’, <em>mulis-i-∅</em> ‘to peel it’, <em>plagti-i-∅</em> ‘to open sthg.’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Only occur in transitive constructions. Couplets of transitive and intransitive stems. <em>fe</em> ‘to read’ <em>kait</em> ‘to cry for’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
<td>Underived verb takes two objects. <em>nep</em> ‘to throw’, <em>nrik</em> ‘to tell’, <em>sos</em> ‘to call’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.1.2. The copular *pi*
The copula in South Efate, *pi*/*fi* (realis and irrealis forms), functions to introduce a predicate nominal as in (2) or adjective as in (3). It is like an intransitive verb stem in that it can take temporal or modal particles in the pre-verbal complex (PVC) as in (2), and undergoes stem-initial mutation as in (5); however, unlike intransitive verbs, it never occurs without a following NP or adjective.

2 Kai=pe mai pi afsak.
ES=PF come be turtle
Then she became a turtle. (071:40) (98009a, 1816.8846, 1817.77)
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3 I=trau mai pi boring a?
   3sgRS=really come be boring INT
   It really got boring, eh? (20003az, 1536.4, 1538.5000)

4 Nafnag nen i=ta pi nafnag wi mau, a?
   food that 3sgRS=NEG be food good NEG2 INT
   That food wasn’t good food, eh? (98002bz, 931.1, 932.9)

5 Ke=fi mes ke=fi mes.
   3sglRR=be:IR today 3sglRR=be:IR today
   That it be today, that it be today. (045:42) (98003az, 586.36, 588.1056)

   The copula pi occurs in the expression pi atlak ‘be owner’ which has become fused to pitlak and now means ‘to own’ or ‘to exist’ as in the following examples.

6 Go malfane ru=po pitlak mani.
   and now 3p.RS=PSP have money
   And now they will have money. (095:33)

7 Erontpau i=piatlak natiel i=skei i=tok.
   " 3sgRS=have vine 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=stay
   At Rentapau there is a vine there. (032:11) (98001az, 1772.7400, 1777.2001)

8 I=piatlak nfal ses i=skei, i=to san kin
   3sgRS=have cave small 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=stay place COMP
   ru=soso-∅ ki Epunsal.
   3p.RS=call-3sgO PREP p.name
   There is a small cave, it is at the place that they call Epunsal. (98007bz, 1935.5601, 1941.4201)

7.1.3. Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are those which cannot host an O suffix underived by the transitivizing suffix -ki (described in §8.1.1). There are some 590 intransitive stems in the current lexicon. Active intransitive verbs (about a third of the intransitive stems in the data) are divided into those that can and those that cannot derive transitive verbs with the transitivizing suffix -ki. Active intransitive verbs can co-occur with the habitual/continuous to to encode states. Stative intransitive verbs cannot derive a transitive form with -ki and cannot participate in imperative constructions. Some stative intransitive verbs can function as nominal modifiers (adjectives).
Verbs and verb classes

There is a negative intransitive verb, \( \textit{tik} \) ‘to not be’, that functions as a verb, and further examples of its use are given in §11.6 on negation. In the following two examples \( \textit{tik} \) occurs preceded by parts of the pre-verbal complex, showing it behaving predicatively. In (9) \( \textit{tik} \) is preceded by the durative marker \( \textit{ta} \) ‘DUR’.

\[
9 \text{ Me } \text{i}=\text{ta } \text{ta nom mau. Ofisal opening } \text{i}=\text{ta } \text{tik.}
\]

\[
\text{but 3sgRS=DUR NEG finish NEG2 official opening 3sgRS=DUR not}
\]

\( \text{But it still isn’t over. The official opening has not yet happened.} \text{ (98002az, 1101.2400, 1104.1776)} \)

In (10) \( \textit{tik} \) occurs following the perfect marker \( \textit{pe} \) ‘PF’ which can only be used with verbs.

\[
10 \text{ Mes Erakor respek ki=}\text{pe } \text{tik.}
\]

\[
\text{today p.name respect 3sgPS=PF not.be}
\]

\( \text{Today there is no respect in Erakor. (98010az, 2087.3199, 2092.9600)} \)

\( \text{Tik} \) can be transitivized to mean ‘not have’ as in (11).

\[
11 \text{ Ru=}\text{tik-ki kram. Ru=}\text{tik-ki semale fserser}
\]

\[
\text{3p.RS=not.have-TR axe 3p.RS=not.have-TR everything different}
\]

\( \text{They had no axes. They didn’t have all the different things. (076:35)} \text{ (98009b, 812.0800, 819.3400)} \)

7.1.3.1. Object incorporation

There are examples in the data of intransitive verbs that appear to take objects. Sugita (1973) observes that apparently intransitive verbs (which he calls semitransitive) in Micronesian languages can nevertheless occur with lexical objects, when the object is an indeterminate noun phrase. Margetts (1999a:255) uses the term ‘discord’ to describe transitive clauses with intransitive verbs as their heads. These objects are also non-specific and unindividuated which is shown by a strong preference for discord objects of intransitive verbs to be less modified than objects of transitive verbs (ibid: 277). Following Lichtenberk (1997:308) and Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002: 46), I call this object incorporation (see the related discussion of the transitive suffix and its role in marking increased transitivity in §8.1.3.2.).

In South Efate there is no cross-referencing within the clause as arguments are represented by either verbal clitics or suffixes, or lexical items, so testing for object status and distinguishing adjuncts from objects is not always straightforward as adjuncts can also appear paratactically with no adposition. Semantics can provide a clue to adjunct status in the absence of morphosyntactic clues as locatives are typically adjuncts in South Efate, even when they appear unmarked by locational morphology.

In (12), \( \textit{sak} \) ‘to ascend, to raise’ is an intransitive verb which has an object, \( \textit{mani} \) ‘money’. The object in this example corresponds to the subject of the intransitive verb but it is not derived by \(-ki\) as we would expect. The object,
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‘money’, is not highly individuated and therefore it is regarded as being incorporated.

12 Kano man white 3sgRS=STAT wok RED 3sgRS=STAT raise money

The white man works, he works, he works. He piles up money. (98017bz, 498, 502.4599)

In the few examples where there is an incorporated object of an intransitive verb it is typically generic and non-specific. In example (13) the intransitive verb mes ‘to play’ occurs with the incorporated object ‘music’.

13 A=risain nlaken a=mur ka=mes music.

I resigned because I wanted to play music. (98004a, 1631.881, 1635.433)

In (14) the verb lek, ‘to see’, has no transitive suffix as its object taligter ‘eel sp.’ is incorporated. The following verb mtak takes a zero 3sg0 coreferential with the incorporated object.

14 (tagiter) Ga i=pi naik me malran kin akit

I resigned because I wanted to play music. (98004a, 1631.881, 1635.433)

In (15) pu ‘to pull’ is followed by the incorporated object flaik ‘flag’, and then from the same text example (16) shows the transitive stem puet occurring with the same object, but in this case the object is possessed, suggesting that a possessed object is more individuated than a generic object and requires a more highly transitive form of the verb.

15 Nasonal Pati ruk=ta pu flaik mau.

The National Party didn’t pull down the flag. (98014az, 1507.6199, 1509.8801)

16 Ko=flok-ki NP ru=ta puet flaik gar mau.

We blocked the National Party, they didn’t pull down their flag. (98014az, 1659.1400, 1665.9400)

7.1.3.2. Undergoer/Actor -type intransitive verbs

A group of U(ndergoer)-type (following Ross 1998:21), also known as O-type (Dixon 1988) verbs must be distinguished from A ctor)-type intransitive verbs (as outlined in the chart in [1] above). U-type verbs are those for which the subject is in the role of undergoer or experiencer, and their corresponding

61 Negative verbs are widespread in Oceanic languages, cf. Mosel (1999:7).
Verbs and verb classes

derived transitive form has an undergoer corresponding to the subject of the intransitive. The additional role introduced when a U-type verb is transitivized is the Actor (the causer of the action encoded in the verb). U-type verbs need to be distinguished from U-verbs for which the subject is in the role of undergoer. Thus all intransitive forms of U-type verbs are U-verbs, but all derived transitive forms of U-type verbs are A-verbs, or Actor subject verbs.

17  | U-type Intransitive | Derived transitive |
----|---------------------|--------------------|
  fif | to be twisted, curly  | fif-ki to twist sthg. |
  ler | to return           | ler-ki to return sthg. |
  tapo | to capsize         | tapo-ki to capsize sthg. |
  tare | to turn            | tare-ki to turn sthg. |
  tarpek | to fall          | tarpek-ki to drop sthg. |
  tut | to drown           | tut-ki to drown sthg. |

In example (18) ler ‘to return’ is transitivized and so means ‘to return something’, in this case the speaker in a court case is saying he will present (i.e., ‘return’) his version of events to the hearing.

18  Me neu ka=fo  mer ler-ki nafsan neu.
    but 1sg 1sgIRR=PSP:IR again return-TR story 1sgPOS
    And I will give them my side of the story. (98018az, 645.2400, 647.1672)

In example (19) the verb tapo ‘to capsize’ is transitivized and so means ‘to tip something over’

19  Ale i=sel kai pan i=na i=nom
    OK 3sgRS=take cockles until 3sgRS=say 3sgRS=finish
    mer tapo-ki fat.
    in.turn capsize-TR stone
    Okay, she took the cockles until she was finished, then she put the rock in the water. (98003bz, 2065.9303, 2068.7178)

A-type intransitive verbs are those for which the subject is in the role of actor and the transitivizing suffix -ki adds a patient (see the discussion in §8.1.2.4.). Three examples of A-type intransitives found in the data are presented in (20).

20  | A-type Intransitive | Derived transitive |
----|---------------------|--------------------|
  lefek | to spin           | lefek-ki to go around sthg. |
  siwer | to walk           | siwer-ki to walk on (e.g., ground) |
  tapsik | to clean         | tapsik-ki to clean sthg. |
Table 7:3. Examples of stative intransitive verbs (that are not adjectives)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel(s)</th>
<th>Lexeme</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Vowel(s)</th>
<th>Lexeme</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arleg</td>
<td>skilful</td>
<td>maŋor</td>
<td>broken</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armatu</td>
<td>right handed, be right handed</td>
<td>masek</td>
<td>undercooked</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arum</td>
<td>nearly ripe</td>
<td>masrot</td>
<td>slip</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arworksu</td>
<td>ambidextrous</td>
<td>mat</td>
<td>die</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fanei</td>
<td>dissolve, be consumed</td>
<td>matuktuk</td>
<td>withered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fkofoi</td>
<td>marked, scarred</td>
<td>mer</td>
<td>numb, cramped, to be</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flak</td>
<td>pregnant</td>
<td>mlag</td>
<td>break, like a wave in the ocean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fum</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>mrer</td>
<td>die down (of fire)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>funfnoi</td>
<td>fade, disappear</td>
<td>msak</td>
<td>sick, be</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanin</td>
<td>mad</td>
<td>mtastes</td>
<td>scratched</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kano</td>
<td>cannot, to be unable</td>
<td>mukalkal</td>
<td>itch, be itchy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ring, of ears</td>
<td>pawer</td>
<td>stand, hands held behind the back</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>latlat</td>
<td>froth, as of water boiling</td>
<td>pier</td>
<td>noisy, to make a lot of noise</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liksal</td>
<td>hang, like a bat</td>
<td>pilo</td>
<td>wake up, to be awake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liu</td>
<td>piled, to be heaped</td>
<td>pkal</td>
<td>care for child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mẽl</td>
<td>escape, slip out of one's hands, fall off</td>
<td>pkot</td>
<td>spoiled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mẽl</td>
<td>live, alive</td>
<td>pnut</td>
<td>quiet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maf</td>
<td>open, as of a flower</td>
<td>ptol</td>
<td>hungry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malier</td>
<td>shame, be ashamed</td>
<td>semsem</td>
<td>happy, be happy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malig</td>
<td>spilled, to be spilled</td>
<td>sin</td>
<td>finish (only of rain)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manreu</td>
<td>thirsty, be thirsty</td>
<td>sirsir</td>
<td>drizzle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7:4. Examples of active intransitive verbs that cannot derive transitive forms with -ki

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fit</th>
<th>run</th>
<th>pkasus</th>
<th>breastfeed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frafer</td>
<td>scatter</td>
<td>psai</td>
<td>clap hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fu</td>
<td>blow hard</td>
<td>ptom</td>
<td>grow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fusuier</td>
<td>growl</td>
<td>puk</td>
<td>cough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gor</td>
<td>snore</td>
<td>pul</td>
<td>dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai</td>
<td>cry, children's crying</td>
<td>sak</td>
<td>land, come ashore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karkar</td>
<td>be itchy</td>
<td>sal</td>
<td>drift, float, swing, hang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>row a boat</td>
<td>sari</td>
<td>wander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krak</td>
<td>crawl</td>
<td>ser</td>
<td>flow, melt, circulate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>los</td>
<td>bathe, wash oneself</td>
<td>sok</td>
<td>jump, leap (once)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>suar</td>
<td>paddle against the tide or wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matur</td>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>sus</td>
<td>suck at the breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mla</td>
<td>yawn</td>
<td>taf</td>
<td>exit, leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mlil</td>
<td>roll</td>
<td>taaatel</td>
<td>squat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mra</td>
<td>bleed</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>lean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>tfarer</td>
<td>break, of waves breaking on the shore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>net</td>
<td>come and meet</td>
<td>tiei</td>
<td>start weaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrig</td>
<td>groan; growl</td>
<td>tiel</td>
<td>laugh loudly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrir</td>
<td>fly</td>
<td>tigtig</td>
<td>hop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papolplo</td>
<td>walk with legs apart</td>
<td>waser</td>
<td>cough, clear one’s throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pil</td>
<td>blink</td>
<td>wes</td>
<td>reply</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7:5. Active intransitive verbs that derive transitive forms with -ki

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Transitive Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fainte</td>
<td>show something you are proud of</td>
<td>řelpel</td>
<td>tack on, baste on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fakfukal</td>
<td>comfort</td>
<td>pes</td>
<td>talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farfar</td>
<td>shake, start to move</td>
<td>pšir</td>
<td>scream, yell, shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fekfek</td>
<td>show something you are proud of</td>
<td>pško</td>
<td>interested, be interested in something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folfol</td>
<td>move</td>
<td>safeu</td>
<td>whistle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folfolmak</td>
<td>rub</td>
<td>sak</td>
<td>ascend (a hill)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ftīl</td>
<td>gossip</td>
<td>salia</td>
<td>throw into the water, to make float</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaimes</td>
<td>create, invent</td>
<td>satso</td>
<td>hold firmly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal</td>
<td>dress</td>
<td>sef</td>
<td>escape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitsa</td>
<td>against, to be against</td>
<td>siwer</td>
<td>walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lot</td>
<td>pray</td>
<td>tapi</td>
<td>capsize, tip over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mal</td>
<td>refuse, not want to</td>
<td>tarup</td>
<td>fall, drop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mermer</td>
<td>rule, as of a chief ruling a village</td>
<td>tau</td>
<td>bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mes</td>
<td>play, as in play a game, or play music</td>
<td>tauso</td>
<td>commit adultery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mro</td>
<td>think</td>
<td>tefra</td>
<td>line up, put things in a line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtak</td>
<td>fear</td>
<td>tigpiel</td>
<td>exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mur</td>
<td>smile, laugh</td>
<td>tik</td>
<td>no, nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td>finish</td>
<td>tit</td>
<td>dry by sunlight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrus</td>
<td>move a little</td>
<td>tmalu</td>
<td>depart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pag</td>
<td>climb</td>
<td>tut</td>
<td>drown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paketan</td>
<td>low, below</td>
<td>userek</td>
<td>go around</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs and verb classes

In example (21) the verb lefek ‘to spin’ appears with its derived transitive meaning of ‘to go around (something)’. The sentence is an extract from a *kastom* story about a whale, and explains why a certain type of rock is found at the end of points on the coast of Efate.

21 Selwan ku=lefek-ki
when 2sgRS=around-TR
Efat negakit 1p.name 1p.inclPOS
pa=fo 2sgIRR=PSP:IR
lek nasi tafra.
look shit whale
*When you go around our Efate, you will see whale shit. (005a, 1136.3401, 1155.5200)*

The remaining two verbs are presented in examples where they occur as derived transitive verbs.

22 I=tototo panpan malnen ru=pes tapsik-ki Erontėpau.
3sgRS=stay-RED until that.time 3p.RS=start clean-TR p.name
*It stayed until the time they started to clear Rentapau. (032: 17)*

23 Me natopu ne ga i=siwer-ki mŋag-o-n.
but spirit this 3sg 3sgRS=walk-TR end-V-3sgDP
*But this natopu, he walks around on his bottom. (073: 19) (98009a, 2181.2401, 2190.4599)*

7.1.3.3. Stative intransitive verbs

Stative verbs cannot derive a transitive form with -ki and do not participate in imperative constructions. As they typically encode ongoing states they do not require the stative particle *to* (see section §10.1.5.10.) to express habitual activities or states. For example, mel ‘to float’ encodes a state and does not use the stative *to* in (24). Further examples of stative intransitive verbs are given in Table 7:5. (above).

24 Go selwan elau i=mu go raru i=mel ...
and when saltwater 3sgRS=hightide and boat 3sgRS=float
*And when the high tide came in, and the boat floated... (021: 9)*

A subgroup of stative verbs can act as nominal modifiers or adjectives as discussed in §4.7.

7.1.3.4. Active intransitive verbs

Active intransitive verb stems are those which require the stative particle *to* to encode habitual activity. In (25) we see the active intransitive verb sari ‘to wander’ with the preceding habitual particle *to*, as sari on its own would not include a stative meaning.

25 Ru=to sari pan ru=preg tent gar.
3p.RS=HAB wander go 3p.RS=take tent 3p.POS
*They would wander around, they take their tent. (TK, 98013)*
Chapter 7

Contrast (25) with (26) in which *sari* occurs with no stative particle as the action encoded is not habitual.

26 U=na ko=pa=n sari, u=pa=n sari.
   1p.exRS=want 1p.exIRR=go=DST wander 1p.exRS=go=DST wander
   If we wanted to go wandering we would go wandering. (98003az, 1811.3, 1815.0799)

Similarly, in (27) the habitual action of walking around the country can be encoded for the verb *siwer* ‘walk’ by use of the habitual marker.

27 Gar ra=to siwer userek-ki nlaun ni Vanuatu.
   3p. 3d.RS=HAB walk around-TR land of p.name
   They(2) would walk around the country of Vanuatu. (98007az, 340.0800, 347.5600)

Active intransitive verbs can further be divided into those which cannot (Table 7:4.) derive transitive verbs with -*ki* and those which can (Table 7:5.).

7.1.3.5. Cognate subject verbs
There are two intransitive verbs that can only occur with cognate subjects. Crowley (1982:72) calls these ‘required subjects’: “some nominal phrase that refers to the thing most typically associated with the ambient state or action.” I prefer the term ‘cognate subject’ because of its resonance with the generally used term ‘cognate object’ (e.g., Austin 1982). In South Efate these verbs, which both require the subject *us* ‘rain’, are *wo* ‘to fall, of rain’, and *sin* ‘to stop falling, of rain’. There are no textual examples of *sin* in the data.

28 I=nag wik faum go us ke=fo wo.
   3sgRS=say week new and rain 3sgIRR=PSP:IR fall
   He said next week the rain would fall. (053:50)

7.1.4. Semitransitive verbs
A small group of active verbs take neither the transitivizing suffix -*ki*, associated with intransitive verbs, nor the other transitive suffix associated with ambitransitive verbs discussed in §7.1.5. below.62 As they are neither intransitive nor ambitransitive I call them semitransitive. These verbs, all listed in (29), take O suffixes only from the OBL suffix paradigm.

---

62 These verbs are distinguished from those ambitransitive verbs whose 3sgO form is -TS+s on the basis that these ambitransitive verbs can also have a 2sg and 3p. form from the Object enclitic paradigm, unlike semitransitive verbs for which the OBL paradigm is the only option.
Verbs and verb classes

29  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>en</em></td>
<td>to lay</td>
<td><em>mag</em></td>
<td>to stare at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fafat</em></td>
<td>to believe</td>
<td><em>nrokot</em></td>
<td>to cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>faitau</em></td>
<td>to learn</td>
<td><em>pak</em></td>
<td>to go to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kon</em></td>
<td>to be stuck</td>
<td><em>pan</em></td>
<td>to cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>krakpel</em></td>
<td>to miss (when throwing)</td>
<td><em>sak</em></td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>krokur</em></td>
<td>to shake, fear</td>
<td><em>toknak</em></td>
<td>to tempt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kursmanr</em></td>
<td>to slip</td>
<td><em>trok</em></td>
<td>to agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lekor</em></td>
<td>to look after</td>
<td><em>tuk</em></td>
<td>to carry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lel</em></td>
<td>to look</td>
<td><em>ur</em></td>
<td>to follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mok</em></td>
<td>to pull</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evidence for these verbs taking only an OBL suffix is mainly from elicitation, as most occurrences in the data do not have OBL suffixes. Examples of the few that do occur are presented below.

30  
Ru=fafat-wes  mal  ses  me  ki=mer  tik  pa.  
3p.RS=believe-3sgOBL  time  small  but  3p.IRR=again  not  go  
*They believed him for a little while, but he didn’t go again.* (98009a, 924.4200, 934.4800)

31  
Nlaken  ru=kano  lekor-wer ...  
because  3p.RS=unable  look.after-3p.OBL  
*Because they couldn’t look after them ...* (98017az, 733.8800, 735.8572)

32  
Namër  lap  ru=maui  mag-wes.  
peopl  many  3p.RS=all  stare-3sgOBL  
*Many people were astonished. (lit: Many people stared at it.)* (20001az, 1061.2801, 1063.36)

33  
Akam  kaonsil  ko=trok-wes  nen  ke=mai.  
2p.  council  2p.IRR=agree-3sgOBL  REL  3sgIRR=come  
*You, council, agree with him that he should come.* (98016bz, 1201.5, 1203.3401)

Four semitransitive verbs appear only with the 3sgO from the OBL paradigm encoding location, and they occur with no other person object marker. They are presented below together with the suffix 3sgO, which, in each of these cases is -es. As observed in the discussion of pronominal forms in §5.1.3.3.2., oblique suffixes usually encode a locational meaning.

- *en* to lay  
- *en-es* to lay on it  
- *pak* to go to  
- *pak-es* to go there  
- *sak* to sit  
- *sak-es* to sit on it  
- *ur* to follow  
- *ur-es* to follow it
7.1.5. Ambitransitive verbs

Ambitransitive verbs are those which can, as underived stems, appear in both transitive and intransitive constructions. They further differ from intransitive verbs in that most can take a transitive suffix (the form of which is described in §8.1.3.1.) and O suffix.

Table 7:6 lists examples of ambitransitive verb stems, and textual examples of ambitransitive verbs in both intransitive and transitive constructions follow. In (34) the ambitransitive stem *taulu* ‘to marry’ occurs first with an object *ag* ‘you’, thus acting as a transitive verb and then intransitively without an object.

34 I=tae taulu ag, ko ku=tae mur-i-n taulu.
He can marry you, or you may want to marry. (98009az, 1417.3599, 1422.2060)

In (35) the stem *welu* ‘to help’ acts intransitively.

35 Tuk=mas klia-ki senale, ke=welu.
We must be clear about everything, that it helps it will help. (98018az, 1049.2563, 1050.8079)

Example (36) shows the same stem *welu* ‘to help’ acting transitively followed by a lexical object.

36 Go malpei komam ko=fo tae welu tiawi.
And long ago we would help the old people. (98003bz, 736.5, 740.6799)

Contrast (36) with (37) in which *welu* ‘to help’ acts transitively with a transitive suffix and object suffix.

37 Tenen ru=to meltig ki tete ale ru=tae
Those that were close to some then
welu-e-r, tu-e-r nafnag.
Those that were close to some (of them), they could help them, give them food. (JC 98012)

In the following examples the underived ambitransitive stem *pam* ‘to eat’ functions first as an intransitive verb (38), then as a transitive verb with a lexical object (*natañoil ilatol* ‘eight men’) (39), then as a transitive verb with an O suffix (40).

38 A=pam skot=ir.
I eat with them. (EW 98005)
Verbs and verb classes

39 Kineu kai=pe pam natañol ki=pe pi eit ki
1sg lsgPS=PF eat man 3sgPS=PF be eight TOP
I have eaten eight men. (019:42) (004a, 396.4764, 398.2599)

40 Tak=to panpanpan na ŋa=matur go
1d:IRR=stay until-RED COMP 2sglRR=sleep and
ka=fo pam-i-k.
1sglRR=PSP:IR eat-TS-2sgO
We (2) will wait until you are asleep and then I will eat you. (019:26)
(004a, 251.34, 253.9800)

The following three examples show the ambitransitive stem mtir ‘to write’ acting first as an intransitive verb and then as a transitive verb with both lexical and pronominal objects.

41 I=pa i=kano mtir ko i=kano preg nagi-e-n.
3sgRS=go 3sgRS=cannot write or 3sgRS=cannot make name-V-3sg
He went, he couldn’t write, he couldn’t sign his name. (087:83) (98017az, 2610.7401, 2614.6673)

42 Ka=fo mtir natus.
1sg=PSP:IR write paper
I would write a letter. (066:90) (98003bz, 1325.87, 1327.0596)

43 Ag ku=pitlak ntaewen, ag ŋa=fo
2sg 2sgRS=have knowledge 2sg 2sglRR=PSP:IR
tmo-m mtir-i-ø.
RR-2sgDP write-TS-3sgO
You have knowledge, you will write it yourself. (98009az, 1937.6490, 1940.3600)

These examples all show that ambitransitive stems can occur in both transitive and intransitive constructions, thus distinguishing them from both intransitive and transitive stems.
7.1.6. Transitive verbs

There is a small set of verbs that have different stems when acting as intransitive and transitive verbs. This alternation identifies the small group of transitive verbs, which would otherwise be classified as ambitransitive verbs with the ability to act in both transtitive and intransitive constructions. Each of these stems is part of a couplet, related in form, but by irregular means, made up of a transitive and intransitive form. This is similar to the situation in Anejomf, where Lynch (2000b:68) notes “a number of intransitive/transitive pairs of verbs, the members of each pair being formally different from each other.” In South Efate, unlike Anejomf, there are only a handful of verbs in this set and all examples in the data are listed below (there are two ditransitive verbs that also have intransitive counterparts and they are discussed in §7.1.7.1.)
## Verbs and verb classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fe</td>
<td>to read (tr)</td>
<td>fef</td>
<td>to read (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fis</td>
<td>to whip (tr)</td>
<td>fisfis</td>
<td>to masturbate (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kait</td>
<td>to cry for (tr)</td>
<td>kai</td>
<td>to cry (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kop</td>
<td>to chase (game) (tr)</td>
<td>fkop</td>
<td>to chase (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lek</td>
<td>to look (tr)</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>to look (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>to urinate (tr)</td>
<td>mem</td>
<td>to urinate (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pnut</td>
<td>to close something (tr)</td>
<td>pön</td>
<td>to be closed (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>blow something (tr)</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>to blow (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>til</td>
<td>to tell (tr/ditr)</td>
<td>fiil</td>
<td>to gossip (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuõp</td>
<td>to hit (tr)</td>
<td>ftuõp</td>
<td>to hit (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wes</td>
<td>to work (tr)</td>
<td>weswes</td>
<td>to work (intr)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While there is no overall pattern to the relationship between these forms, several intransitive forms are f initial, suggesting a relic detransitivizing prefix. Reduplication derives three intransitive stems: fis/fisfis, si/sisi, and wes/weswes (these are the only examples in the data of reduplication reducing the valency of a verb). I give examples of these transitive/intransitive pairs below. As we would expect, since there is a transitive form of these verbs, the intransitive form cannot derive a transitive with -ki, so that ki is a preposition introducing a peripheral role when following an intransitive stem from this set. As we will see in §7.1.7.1., -ki can derive a transitive verb from an intransitive form of a ditransitive stem.

**fe/fef ‘to read’**

The first set of examples illustrate the difference between fe ‘to read sthg.’ and fef ‘to read’. In (45) fef acts as an intransitive verb (‘just read’).

45 Ke=fas pano, ke=feñ añas, ki=pe tae.
3sglRR=face noticeboard 3sglRR=read only 3sgPS=PF know
*He should look at the noticeboard, just read, then he would know.*

(98016az, 638, 643.6401)

In (46) the intransitive stem fef is followed by ki, which, as we will see in the next chapter (§8.1.2.), is, in this position, a preposition introducing the oblique argument (the language in which the read item is written) and not the object (which would be the book read) which cannot occur with the intransitive form of the verb.

---

63 *pnut* appears suspect as the intransitive form has a labio-velar stop initially and the transitive form allows stem-initial consonant alternation (§6.4.5.1.), only permissible between the labial stop and labio-dental fricative. This suggests that the labio-velar may have been reanalyzed as a labial stop which is then eligible to undergo mutation.

64 This, *fis* / fisfis, and *si* / sisi are the only examples of reduplication reducing the valency of a verb.
Chapter 7

46 Kineu malran a=ef ki Bislama, e-sa=n
1sg when 1sgRS=read PREP B. LOC-place=DST

i=pitlak konfiusen.
3sgRS=have confusion

Me, when I read Bislama, that's where there is confusion. (98012 MK)

Example (47) shows the transitive stem fe ‘to read’ with an object suffix encoding the text read, contrasting with the previous example in which the object of the derived transitive is the language of the text.

47 I=pitlak natus iskei, nen kin kineu a=ius-ki-n
3sgRS=have book one that REL 1sg 1sgRS=use-TR-3sgO

skul malpei, kineu a=to fe-a-ø nen i=pi
school once 1sg 1sgRS-HAB read-TS-3sgO that 3sgRS-be

nafsan ni Erakor ñas.
story of Erakor only

There is this book which I used at school long ago, I would read it, it was in Erakor language only. (98012 MK)

kop/fkop ‘to chase’

Since fkop ‘to chase’ is intransitive it cannot take an O as kop does in (48a), hence (48b) is ungrammatical.

48a Pa=fa=n kop wak.
2sgIRR=go=DST chase pig

You chase the pig. (elicited)

48b *Pa=fa=n fkop wak (elicited)

However, in (49) a noun (ntas ‘sea’) acting as adjunct following the intransitive stem is permitted.

49 Pa=fa=n fkop ntas.
2sgIRR=go=DST chase sea

You go and chase (fish) at the sea. (elicited)

tup/ftup ‘to fight’

In (50) ftup naitklab cannot be ‘hit the nightclub’, which it would be with the transitive version tup. As the verb ftup is intransitive, this sentence means that some men went to fight at the nightclub.

50 Tete nanwei ru=fla pan ru=fla pnak te-naor ko
some man 3p.RS=CND go 3p.RS=CND steal DET-place or
Verbs and verb classes

ru=fla pan ftuŋ naitklab.
3p.RS=CND go fight night.club

Some men might go and might steal someplace, or they might fight at the night club, that’s bad work. (086:22)

pon/ŋnut ‘to close’

In (51) the intransitive stem pon ‘closed’ occurs in the intransitive construction, followed by the transitive stem ŋnut ‘to close sthg.’ in a transitive construction in (52).

51 Sto ki=pe pon.
shop 3sgPS=PF shut

The shop was shut. (elicited)

52 Natamol ki=pe ŋnut sto.
man 3sgPS=PF shut shop

The man shut the shop. (elicited)

7.1.7. Ditransitive verbs

The following small group of four underived verb stems all occur in ditransitive constructions. These verbs can all function as transitive verbs but are distinguished from transitive verbs by allowing two objects to follow them.

nep to throw
nriŋ to tell

Two ditransitive verbs have a related intransitive as we saw was the case for transitive verbs in the preceding section. They are discussed in § 7.1.7.1. below.

tu/tao65 to give (tr/ditr) ptu to give (intr)
sos to call someone (tr/ditr) pios to call (intr)

A ditransitive verb in South Efate encodes the recipient (including the goal and addressee) either as a pronominal or lexical O. The theme or instrument may be encoded as a pronominal suffix on the preposition ki, as we will see below. Only ditransitive verbs allow the following preposition ki to take an O suffix. Ditransitive verbs occur in the following frame.

53 VO1 (ki) O2
Recipient/Goal/Addressee Theme/Instrument

Both O1 and O2 may be encoded either by a lexical or suffix O. As both objects can be encoded by suffixes, they are considered (following Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:26) to be core arguments, distinguishing the direct core argument which is encoded directly on the verb stem, and the oblique core argument which is encoded on the adposition ki.

65 tao is the suppletive 1sgO form of the verb tu ‘to give’.
Chapter 7

O1 can appear directly following the verb with no adposition intervening as in (54), which further suggests that it functions as a core argument, as discussed in §11.1.

54  1=tu  ag  ntaewen  i=tu  kineu  ntaewen.
    3sgRS=give  2sg  knowledge  3sgRS=give  1sg  knowledge
    O1  O2  O1  O2

*He gave you knowledge, he gave me knowledge. (087:64) (98017az, 2466.8106, 2470.7801)*

Example (55) shows the two objects of the verb tu ‘to give’, directly following the verb with no adpositions.

55 Iwelkia  ru=min  top  go  ru=tu  chief  problem.
    thus  3p.RS=drink  big  and  3p.RS=give  chief  problem
    V  O1  O2

*So they drink too much and they give the chief problems. (059:15)*

In (56) O1 is referenced by the 3sgO suffix on the verb stem, and O2 follows the preposition -ki.

56 Go  i=mer  np-a-Ø  ki  fnagot  pan  pan  pan.
    and  3sgRS=in.turn  throw-TS-3sgO  PREP  shellfish  until:RED
    *And he then kept on throwing shellfish. (20003bz, 437.8200, 440.8681)*

In (57) we see nrik ‘to tell’ with O1 following the verb and O2 following the preposition ki.

57 Ke=fo  nrik-mam  ki  naÆet  naÆsan
    3sgIRR=PSP:IR  tell-1p.O  PREP  meaning  language
    nag  i=tîl-i-Ø.
    COMP  3sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO

*He will tell us the meaning of this story that he told us. (023:12) (005Ax, 1036.9242, 1043.1429)*

In example (58) the theme is referred to by the 3sgO in the second clause.

58 Ga  ke=fo  pei  nrik  naÆer  lap  ki-Ø.
    3sg  3sgIRR=PSP:IR  first  tell  people  many  PREP-3sgO
    *He will first tell everyone about it. (051:20) (98007az, 678.5, 681.7200)*

In (59) both objects are referenced by a zero 3sgO following the verb nrik ‘to tell’ and the preposition ki.

59 Imag  raki  natrauswen  gakit  nen  a=mur-i-n
    3sgRS=open  for  story  1p.inPOS  REL  1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO
Verbs and verb classes

Verbs and verb classes

7.1.7.1. Ditransitive verbs with intransitive counterparts

As noted in the previous section, transitive verb stems are defined by the existence of a corresponding intransitive stem. There are two ditransitive verbs (tu ‘to give’ and sos ‘to call’) which also have an intransitive counterpart. The following examples show the intransitive stem ptu ‘to give’ with -ki introducing its object. The two intransitive forms of these verbs can derive a transitive verb with -ki which does not compete with the ditransitive form of the verb.

That the intransitive and ditransitive stems are to be analyzed as separate forms is further shown by the unacceptable *a-ptu-o-k (‘I give (intr) you’) which, as an intransitive stem, cannot take an O suffix, but a-tu-o-k (‘I give (tr) you’), the ditransitive stem, does take an O suffix.

60 Gar mit rais kin ru=to ptu-ki-ø.
3sg mat only REL 3p.RS=HAB give-TR-3sgØ
They gave mats only. (058:24) (98002bz, 441.98, 444.3200)

61 I=mur-i-n na ka=traus, ko ka=tae
3sgRS=want-TS-3sgO COMP 1sgIRR=speak or 1sgIRR=know

ptu-ki evidens kot.
give-TR evidence court
He wanted me to talk, or to give evidence in court. (98006 TK)

The only example of ptu occurring without the transitivizing suffix -ki was elicited as part of a discussion of the role of the intransitive form and its potential use in a habitual as in (62).

62 I=pi natañol nen i=to ptu.
3sgRS=be man REL 3sgRS=HAB give
He is a man who gives. (elicited)

Contrast the above intransitive forms with the ditransitive tu which takes an O suffix as in (63) and (64) or lexical objects as in (65).

63 P=tu-mam tete nat ke=fei-ki-mam pak L.
2sgIRR=give-1p.exO some man 3sgIRR=lead:IR-TR-1p.exO to L.
You give us some men to guide us to L. (022)
Chapter 7

64 Ka=fo tu-o-k nalkis ṃa=fo
1sgIRR=PSP:IR give-TS-2sg0 grass 2sgIRR=PSP:IR

min-gi-ō.
drink-TS-3sgO
I will give you medicine, you will drink it. (024:7)(005Ax, 1548.6200, 1563.6400)

65 Nafet naot nig Maniuro ru=po tu Roy Mata

group chief of p.name 3p.RS=PSP:R give Roy Mata

kastom nagi.
kastom name
A group of chiefs at Maniuro gave a kastom name to Roy Mata. (58:78)

Comrie (n.d.) observes that the verb ‘give’ has a cross-linguistic propensity
to include suppletive forms. While his examples are mainly of suppletion of
second and third person recipients, he does include some examples of first
person recipients. In South Efate there is a suppletive form (tao ‘give me’) for
1sgO, as shown in the following examples.

66 Te-pei na ku=tao ki-n ki=pe ṃur.
det-first REL 2sgRS=give me PREP-3sgO 3sgPS=PF big
The first one that you gave me is full. (EK handwritten note)

67 Dokta i=po nrik-wou ki spray,
doctor 3sgRS=PSP tell-1sgO PREP spray

I=po tao-ki-ō.
3sgRS=PSP give me-TR-3sgO
The doctor told me to use a spray. He gave it to me. (040:82) (98003az, 1468.959, 1472.5799)

The transitive sos ‘to name, to call out for’ takes a transitive suffix -o and
O suffix and can also take a lexical O directly, as in example (68) where the O is
the NP tesa nanwei ga ‘his son’.

68 Ke=fo mer ler pa=n ke=fo
3sgIRR=PSP:IR again return go=DST 3sgIRR=PSP:IR

sos tesa nanwei ga.
call child man 3sgPOS
He will go back, he will call his son. (98003bz, 1441.1799, 1445.2000)
Example (69) shows the transitive form with an O suffix.

69 \( Pa=sos-o-r \) ru=mai.
\( 2sglRR=call-TS-3p.O \ 3p.RS=come \)

*Call them to come.* (98016az, 1040.9200, 1043.5)

In the next example we see *sos* with a 3p.O suffix encoding the people named and the name appearing as a following NP.

70 I=piatlak natañol kerkerai nig nafkal i=nr
\( 3sgRS=have \) man strong of fight \( 3sgRS=two \) REL

ru=sos-o-r \( ki \) ňau.
\( 3p.RS=call-TS-3p.O \) PREP giant

*There are two strong fighting men whom they call giants.* (98009b, 1685.7801, 1695.6401)

Example (71) shows the intransitive verb *pios* ‘to call out’ which can never take an O.

71 Me tiawi ru=pato eut me ru=pios.
but old.people 3p.RS=be.at shore and 3p.RS=call.out

*The old people were on the shore and they called out.* (98011a, 1664.6473, 1667.7400)

One example in the data, spoken by a woman in her eighties, suggests that the verb stem may originally have been *piosos* (cf. *pioso* in Ngunese, Facey 1988:336), and has been reanalyzed as *sos* for the ditransitive and *pios* for the intransitive form.

72 Naot nen kin i=tk=os i=piosos nañer
\( 3sgRS=stay-3sgOBL \) 3sgRS=call people

ni ser natkon.
of every village

*The chief who was there called people from each village.* (20001az, 985.2805, 989.2231)

7.2. Inherent O verbs

Inherent object verbs are those for which an O is implied in the semantics of the verb. For example, the verbs *far* ‘to pick pandanus leaves’, or *mol* ‘to hunt for coconut crabs’\(^{66}\) both entail an O, but none is overtly mentioned (but this is not the same as O incorporation (see below, §8.1.3.2.) where the form of the nominal O is combined with the verb and is still apparent in the incorporated form). Inherent O verbs could be considered to have an inherent argument (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:123) rather than an explicit O. While the inherent object is unstated, it can in some cases be made more specific, so, for example, the

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\(^{66}\) Sperlich (1991:149) calls a similar verb type ‘selectional’ in Namakir.
inherent object of the verb *kof* ‘to cook meat’ can be narrowed as in *kof fnagot* ‘cook-meat shellfish’ where the type of meat being cooked is explicitly mentioned. Furthermore, two ambitransitive inherent O verbs can take O suffixes where the suffix cross-references the inherent O, thus *lei-r* ‘to pick fruit (plural)’, *safei-r* ‘to pick bananas’ (plural). Typically, however, these are intransitive verbs, requiring only a subject.

73 List of inherent O verbs

Those for which an object cannot be added are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive verb</th>
<th>Transitive suffix</th>
<th>Transitive example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fanfan</td>
<td>wash one’s face</td>
<td>pak delouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>pick pandanus leaves</td>
<td>pankot burn garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fkop</em></td>
<td>to hunt for fish by chasing</td>
<td><em>plakori</em> hunt animal(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kamti</em></td>
<td>take rocks from the fire</td>
<td><em>sul</em> fish by torchlight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kot</em></td>
<td>cut laplap</td>
<td><em>tir</em> hunt for fish from a boat with a hook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>liglig</em></td>
<td>shake one’s head</td>
<td><em>tkau</em> hunt for fish, go fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mol</em></td>
<td>hunt for coconut crab</td>
<td><em>tlei</em> steer canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nrafi</em></td>
<td>blow one’s nose</td>
<td><em>torwak</em> to anchor a boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oraik</em></td>
<td>to go fishing</td>
<td><em>uñ</em> clear a garden patch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those for which an O suffix can be added to indicate definiteness of the object are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive verb</th>
<th>Transitive suffix</th>
<th>Transitive example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>lei</em></td>
<td>to pick fruit (e.g., <em>lei-r</em> ‘pick fruit [plural]’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>safei</em></td>
<td>pull or twist a banana from a bunch (<em>safei-r</em> ‘twist off bananas’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is one inherent object verb in the data for which an object can be added to specify the kind of noun that is inherent in the verb.

* *kof* cook meat

7.3. Verb reduplication

Reduplication of verb stems serves several functions in South Efate. These are summarized under the following headings and examples are given below. There are two semantic processes reflected in reduplication:

i Diminution

ii Iteration/intensification

If a stem is eligible for stem-initial consonant alternation (§6.4.5.1.) then both parts of the reduplicated form will have the *f-* initial form.

(i) Diminution. The reduplicated form seems to express a smaller or reduced version of the non-reduplicated form, as shown in the following examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive verb</th>
<th>Transitive suffix</th>
<th>Transitive example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pes</em></td>
<td>speak</td>
<td><em>fesfes</em> cheep (of a bird)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lom</em></td>
<td>wet</td>
<td><em>lomlom</em> moist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pon</em></td>
<td>stuck to, fast</td>
<td><em>ponpon</em> to be together (not stuck)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs and verb classes

(ii) Iteration/intensification. The reduplicated form emphasizes the activity of the base form. If the base involves an activity that is punctual, then the reduplicated form is iterative.

- fek to show fekfek to show off
- fis to whip fisfis to masturbate
- liu to heap up liuliu to be choppy (of the sea)
- mai to come mainai to keep coming/an ongoing activity
- mar to breathe marmar to have a break, rest
- mat to die matmat to die and die (of many dying)
- nrer to shine nrenrer to really shine
- ñor to break ñorñor to break everything
- pan to go panpan to go and go, until
- pul to twirl pufu to spin
- ser to flow serser to flow and flow
- sog to hug sogso to encircle fish

In addition to the above groupings there are reduplicated forms for which there appears to be no difference in meaning to the stem (iii), or the semantic relationship to the stem is unclear (iv).

(iii) Reduplicated forms for which there appears to be no difference in meaning to the stem.

- pol to behave folfol to behave
- kus to hide kuskus to hide
- sef to escape sefsef to escape

(iv) The semantic relationship of the reduplicated form to the stem is unclear.

- skar to add skarskar to scratch (of a chicken)
- sok to jump sokosok emphasizes a verb
- to to stay, be at toto to grope around
- lig to pour liglig to shake

There are also some derivational implications for reduplication which can result in detransitivizing (i), or nominalizing (ii) of a stem.

(i) Detransitivizing

- fis to whip (tr) fisfis to masturbate (intr)
- wes to work (tr) weswes to work (intr)
- si to blow (tr) sisi to blow (intr)

(ii) Nominalizing

- si to blow/shoot sisi rifle
- sup to stab, stick supsup horn/spine of sea urchin
- sif to sling sifsif slingshot
8. Valency changing processes

In Chapter 7 we saw that verb-class membership in South Efate is determined by both morphological and morphosyntactic criteria. One of these criteria is the kind of transitivizing strategies that the verb stem can enter into, and that is the subject of this chapter. South Efate transitivizing processes are discussed in §8.1. The few detransitivizing strategies in South Efate, all of which appear to be unproductive relics of earlier processes, are discussed in §8.2. followed by a comparison of Proto Oceanic forms *-i/*-akini with present South Efate forms in §8.3.

8.1. Transitivizing strategies in South Efate

There are two transitivizing strategies in South Efate. Intransitive stems are transitivized by means of the suffix -ki (the transitivizing suffix, glossed as ‘TR’).\(^{67}\) Ambitransitive stems take a different transitive suffix which has a number of shapes (see §8.1.3.). This transitive suffix (glossed as ‘TS’) is a reflex of the POc ‘close’ transitive *-i. Its main function is facilitating expression of an O suffix pronoun, although we will see examples where there is still a transitivizing function associated with this suffix (§8.1.3.2.). Both the transitive suffix (TS) and the transitivizing -ki can be followed by an O suffix, and so can occur in one of the following patterns.

1. Vintr-ki (-O)
   Vintr-ki O lexical
   Vambi-TS (-O)
   Vambi O lexical
   Vambi-TS O lexical

8.1.1. The transitivizing suffix -ki

The transitivizing suffix -ki derives transitive verbs from intransitive verb stems. Intransitive verb stems are those which cannot take an object without -ki (as discussed in §7.1.3.). Objects introduced by -ki typically have the role of patient, theme, or stimulus (see §8.1.2.1.).

In example (2a) the intransitive verb mtak ‘to fear’ can only take the O marik nen ‘this man’ after being derived by the transitivizing -ki, with the transitive meaning ‘to be scared of’. Contrast this with the intransitive use of mtak in (2b).

2a I=mtak-ki marik nen ki.\(^{68}\)
   3sgRS=fear-TR man this TOP
   He was scared of that man. (019:47)

\(^{67}\) Ki is also a preposition that introduces peripheral roles; see §8.1.2.

\(^{68}\) Note the use of ki here as an emphatic or topic marker.
Valency changing processes

2b Me nmatu nen ki=pe mtak.
   but woman that 3sgPS=PF scared
   *But that woman was scared.* (20001az, 1246.6401, 1250.7200)

Bislama or English derived verbs are treated as intransitive verb stems requiring the transitivizing suffix to form transitive verbs as the following examples show.\(^6\)

3 Government i=rilis-ki mani ni kastom ona i=taf.
   government 3sgRS=release-TR money of kastom owner 3sgRS=exit
   *The government released the custom owners’ money, it came out.* (98017a, 321.4, 324.23)

4 Ru=to misius-ki propeti nig nasinaotan.
   3p.RS=STAT misuse-TR property of chiefly.line
   *They misuse the chiefly property.* (053:76)

   In (5) the verb *salem* appears with the Bislama transitive suffix (-em), but nevertheless functions as an intransitive verb stem in South Efate, requiring the transitivizing -ki when in a transitive construction.

5 Ru=mai salam-ki kopra gar.
   3p.RS=come sell-TR copra 3p.POS
   *They came and sold their copra.* (JC:98012)

   In (6) we see -ki transitivizing the loan verb *lan* ‘to learn’ and taking the 3p.O suffix representing the patient of the learning. As *lan* ‘to learn’ is a U-type verb its S becomes an O in the derived transitive form (see §8.1.2.5.). The preposition *ki* then introduces the theme (the language learned).

6 A=lan-ki-r ki nafsan gag.
   1sgRS=teach (learn)-TR-3p.O PREP language 2sgPOS
   *I taught them your language.* (98012 MK)

   Finally, in (7) we see the same O argument, first with the intransitive loan verb *kens* ‘to be against’ and the transitivizing suffix -ki, and second with the ambitransitive verb *mur* ‘to want’ which requires no transitivizing suffix to take the O, *independen* ‘independence’.

Chapter 8

7 Go karu i=kens-ki independen, karu
and other 3sgRS=against-TR independence other

i=mur independen.
3sgRS=want independence

And one was against independence, the other wanted independence.
(98003az, 527.9399, 538.2599)

8.1.2. Distinguishing transtivizer -ki from preposition ki

Ki is a preposition homophonous with the transitivizing suffix -ki, and they can occur in similar contexts. They both appear to derive from the same historical source (see §8.3.) but to have become reanalyzed into two distinct morphemes. We can distinguish them using the following morphosyntactic criteria:

Transitivizing -ki:
- is suffixed directly to the intransitive verb stem
- can never follow an object

Preposition ki:
- can follow an object
- can occur without a preceding verb

They reflect a semantic distinction such that:

Transitivizing -ki:
- serves to add an Undergoer (or Actor with U-verbs, see §8.1.2.5.)

Preposition ki:
- introduces an instrument
- introduces the second object of ditransitive verbs

A diagnostic for distinguishing the preposition ki from the transitivizer -ki is the presence of an O suffix. In (8) the environments in which ki can take an O suffix are set out.

8a Vintr-ki(-O)
8b V-N[compound] ki(-O)
8c Vditrans O[Recipient] ki(-O[Theme])

Of all tokens of the type ki-O suffix in the corpus, almost all represent the transitivizing -ki, suffixed to an intransitive verb, as in (8a).

There are very few examples of the construction given in (8b) of the form ki+O suffix following verb-noun combinations based on preg ‘to make’ plus a noun. This context is highly restricted and as it represents an intransitive verb formed by a verb + noun compound (discussed as an asymmetrical verb compound in §9.1.1.2) it is regarded as a variant of an intransitive verb as in (8a) and hence the form ki in this context is an instance of the transitivizing -ki. Two examples of verb + noun compounds follow.
9 I=pitlak natkon nen ru=preg-nafkal tme-r
3sgRS=have village that 3p.RS=make-war RR-3p.DP
preg-nafkal-ki-r.
make-war-TR-3p.O
There are villages that make war, make war on each other. (98017az, 749, 752.8400)

10 I=fla til tete preg-suker-ki-r.
3sgRS=CND tell some make-sugar-TR-3p.O
He might tell someone to take sugar to them. (091:45) (98017bz, 868.7011, 871.1)

In (8c) the O suffix attaches to ki introducing the second object of a ditransitive verb. The role of the O so encoded is the theme, not the recipient or patient of the verb. So, in (11) the addressee of the verb nrik ‘say’ is referenced by a 3sgO suffix directly on the verb stem. The theme is referenced by the 3sgO suffixed to the preposition ki.

11 Me ntuam i=ta nrik-i-n ki-n mau.
3sg BUT devil 3sgRS=NEG say-TS-3sgO PREP-3sgO NEG2
But the devil didn’t tell him about it at all. (004a, 257.3888, 259.3318)

In (12) the preposition ki follows the lexical O natopu ‘spirit’ and the theme is referenced by the 2sgO suffix on the preposition.

12 Ga kin i=tu natopu ki-k.
3sg COMP 3sgRS=give spirit PREP-2sgO
He is the one who gave you to the nature spirit. (98009bz, 1086.04, 1092.74)

Having distinguished these three contexts for ki+O suffix, and shown that (8a) is the typical context for the transitivizing -ki, I will establish the semantics associated with the object in constructions of the type shown in (8a) and use that information in distinguishing the prepositional ki from the transitivizing -ki in structurally ambiguous contexts. This will be relevant, in particular, for cases where an intransitive verb is followed by ki without a following O suffix, as discussed in §8.1.2.3. below.

8.1.2.1. Object roles with the transitivizer -ki
Listed below are the semantic roles of objects introduced by the transitivizer -ki. From these examples we can see that -ki selects objects with the roles of Patient, Theme, and Stimulus. In the next section we will see that the roles introduced by the preposition ki do not overlap with those of -ki and so semantics can be used as a diagnostic for distinguishing the two forms.

70 Verbs sourced from English and Bislama are excluded.
Chapter 8

1. Patient/Theme (Agentive verb)

13 I=pitlak namor e-maloput ale ru=po
   3sgRS=have hole LOC-middle okay 3p.RS=PSP
   sai-ki nmarit-wes.
   push-TR string-3sgOBL
   There is a hole in the middle so they would push string through it.
   (076:41) (98009b, 860, 863.6262)

14 I=tarţek-ki napor.
   3sgRS=drop-TR handle
   She dropped the handle. (98002bz, 525.6, 528.23)

15 Me malnen kin i=na ke=lao-ki tţer faum.
   and then REL 3sgRS.want 3sgIRR=plant-TR fence new
   And then he wanted to build a new fence. (087:70) (98017az, 2532, 2539.4600)

2. Stimulus (verb of perception and cognition)

16 I=siwer raki elau ga i=mro-ki esan
   3sgRS=walk for saltwater 3sg 3sgRS=think-TR place
   ga i=pakor-wes.
   3sg 3sgRS=born-3sgOBL
   He walked to the sea, he thought about the place where he was born.
   (074:15) (98009b, 126.0401, 130.7000)

17 To ki=pe lewi-ki kom ni taţes.
   fowl 3sgPS=PF covet-TR comb of swamphen
   The chicken coveted the swamphen’s comb. (078:10) (98009b, 1570.5, 1574.7201)

18 U=mal-ki independen.
   1p.exRS=not.want-TR independence
   We didn’t want independence. (068:13) (98004a, 1051.868, 1052.835)

19 Ru=putkau-ki-wou i=top.
   3p.RS=-be.against-TR-1sgO 3sgRS=big
   They were against me a great deal. (095:2)(98017az, 77.9, 79.1854)

20 Nlaken i=paketan-ki nanwei.
   because 3sgRS=respect-TR man
   Because she respects men. (065:23) (98003bz, 896.9400, 900.8200)
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8.1.2.2. Roles introduced by the preposition *ki*

In this section we will determine what roles are introduced by the preposition *ki*. As there are some contexts in which it is unclear if *ki* is acting as a preposition or a transitivizing suffix I will begin by listing examples with *ki* in the unambiguously prepositional slot following the object, as in (22).

Examples of roles introduced by the preposition follow:

1. Instrument

   23 Te-nrak i=smanr-i-0 ki stokwip
       some-time 3sgRS=whip-TS-3sgO PREP stockwhip

       me te-nrak i=pes-kerkrai-ki-k mñas.
       but some-time 3sgRS=talk-hard-TR-2sgO only

       Sometimes he hits with a stockwhip, but sometimes he just shouts at you. (98017az, 2370.7801, 2379.6400)

   24 A=lek-a-0 ki namt-a-k.
       1sgRS=look-TS-3sgO PREP eye-V-1sgDP

       I saw it with my own eyes. (98001az, 1775.6639, 1777.2001)

   25 I=paktof-i-0 ki mani ses.
       3sgRS=buy-TS-3sgO PREP money small

       He sold it for very little. (087:84) (98017az, 2623.3219, 2625.6752)

   26 I=fla nrog-0-0 ki radio.
       3sgRS=CND hear-TS-3sgO PREP radio

       Maybe they heard it on the radio. (072:20)(98009a, 1977.5800, 1983.7600)

2. Location

   A location introduced by the preposition *ki* typically follows adjectives like *meltig* ‘near’, *emae* ‘far’, or *leg* ‘straight’.

   27 Ra=preg nasuñ gar i=tok emña ki talñañat.
       3d.RS=make house 3p.POS 3sgRS=stap longwayPREP garden

       They made their house a long way from the garden. (019:2) (004a, 15.4800, 21.6599)
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28 Meltig ki wan milion kin a=pakot.
near PREP one million COMP 1sgRS=pay
(It’s) nearly a million that I paid. (lit: near to one million.) (98016bz, 508.4, 510.68)

29 Ru=pam̈or-i-0 na a=lag leg ki mal.
3p.RS=find-TS-3sgO say 1sgRS=sing straight PREP time
They found that I sing in time. (063:81)(98004a.mp3, 2266.863, 2269.779)

8.1.2.3. Ambiguous contexts: ki as preposition or transitivizer
Not all instances of ki following an intransitive verb stem are the transitivizing -ki. As stated above, we can use semantic evidence to distinguish the transitivizer from the prepositional use of ki in cases where the morphosyntactic evidence is ambiguous, i.e., when a form ki directly follows an intransitive verb stem but without a following object suffix.

When the nominal introduced by ki is not acting as the object of the verb, but rather as a peripheral (e.g., the instrument) then ki is acting as a preposition. For example, siwer ‘to walk’ with transitivizing -ki means ‘to walk on’, e.g., the ground, but with the preposition ki it means the instrument used to walk, e.g., shoes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Transitivizing -ki</th>
<th>+ Preposition ki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>siwer to walk</td>
<td>siwer-ki to walk on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weswes to work</td>
<td>weswes-ki to work with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siwer ki to walk with (e.g., shoes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In example (30) the intransitive verb siwer ‘to walk’ is followed by the preposition and the added participant is an instrument. The intransitive stem tik ‘to not be’ with -ki becomes a transitive verb meaning to ‘not have something’ and the added object is the theme. Finally the sentence ends with the preposition ki and the zero 3sgO referring back to the buttocks on which the natopu walks.

30 Me natopu ne, ga i=siwer ki mpag-o-n.
but spirit this 3sgS 3sgRS=walk PREP buttock-V-3sgDP

Nlaken i=tik-ki natu-e-n ga i=siwer ki-0.
because 3sgRS=no-TR leg-V-3sgDP 3sg 3sgRS=walk PREP-3sgO
But that natopu (spirit), he walks around on/with his bottom. Because he has no legs, he walks on/with it. (98009az, 2181.24,2190.46)

Similarly, in (31) the instrument is introduced by the preposition ki.

31 U=weswes ki nar-mom u=weswes ki masmespur.
1p.exS=work PREP hand-1p.exDP 1p.exS=work PREP knife big
We worked with our hands, we worked with big knives. (98003bz, 500.8200, 509.0200)
However, as established in the preceding section, when the nominal introduced by \( ki \) is the object of the verb then \(-ki\) is the transitivizing suffix, as in (32), where the noun \( n\text{awesien} \) ‘work’ is the object of the transitive verb \( \text{weswes} \) ‘to work’.

32 Go \( a\text{=}\text{weswes-ki} \) \( n\text{awesien} \) ni \( \text{e} \text{m} \text{r} \text{o} \text{m} \) sur\( \text{n} \text{t} \text{a} \text{p} \).
and 1sgRS=work-TR work of inside church

\text{And I worked the job inside the church. (MK 98012)}

8.1.2.4. \(-ki\) and A-type intransitives
With A(ctor)-type intransitives (§7.1.3.2), \(-ki\) adds the theme as the O, so that, for example, in (33), \( \text{maet} \) ‘to be angry’, has \( \text{kineu} \) ‘1sg’ as O, introduced by \(-ki\).

33 Go \( \text{tete} \text{=} \text{maet-ki} \) \( \text{kineu} \text{.}
and sometime mother my 3sgRS=STAT angry-TR 1sg

\text{And sometimes my mother would get angry with me. (20003az, 2059, 2065)}

In (34) \(-ki\) adds \( \text{atol} \) ‘egg’ as the theme of the verb \( \text{psol} \), ‘to lay’.

34 (Mantu nen) \( i\text{=}\text{psol-ki} \) \( \text{atol} \text{ inru.}
(flyingfox that 3sgRS=lay-TR egg two

\text{(That flying fox) it laid two eggs. (048:3)(98007az, 259.8, 261.34)}

8.1.2.5. \(-ki\) and U-type intransitives
With U(ndergoer)-type intransitive verb stems (those for which the subject is the undergoer rather than the actor, §7.1.3.2), \(-ki\) adds the Agent, while the O corresponds to the S of the intransitive form, as shown in Table 8:1. In these cases \(-ki\) is acting in the same way as a causativizer, which generally adds an A argument.

Table 8:1. Intransitive and corresponding derived transitivized verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Derived (causativized) transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lan</td>
<td>to learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ler</td>
<td>to return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar(\text{pek})</td>
<td>to sink (e.g., the boat sank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar(\text{pek})</td>
<td>to fall (e.g., it fell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tut</td>
<td>to drown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lan-ki</td>
<td>to teach sthg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ler-ki</td>
<td>to return sthg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar(\text{pek})-ki</td>
<td>to sink sthg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar(\text{pek})-ki</td>
<td>to drop sthg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tut-ki</td>
<td>to drown sthg.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In example (35) we see \(-ki\) transitivizing the verb \( \text{pei} \), ‘to be first’, with the new meaning ‘to lead’.

35 Natopu kin \( i\text{=}\text{pei-ki-r} \) pak nafkal.
spirit COMP 3sgRS=first-TR-3p.O to fight

\text{It is the natopu which will lead them into battle. (98009az, 2531.5400, 2535.8200)}
In (36) the intransitive stem tarpek, ‘to fall’ is transitivized by -ki with the derived meaning ‘to drop’.

36 I=ttau gag tarpek-ki natus pur etan.
3sgRS=just 2sgBEN fall-TR book big down
He just dropped the big book down for you. (98002az, 2189.3, 2191.2399)

8.1.3. Transitive derivation of ambitransitive verb stems

Ambitransitive verbs in South Efate (§7.1.5) can take either a lexical O or a suffix O (for 2sg, 3sg, and 3p., see §8.1.3.1.). When they take a suffix O most ambitransitive verbs require a transitive suffix. The suffix varies considerably in form as shown in Table 8:2a and Table 8:2b below. Like epenthetic elements in other languages (cf. Lichtenberk 1983:123 on Manam) or thematic consonants (cf. Lichtenberk 2001), and similar in function to the ‘construct suffix’ in Sye (Crowley 1998:35) and Anejom (Lynch 2000b), the transitive suffix in South Efate is mainly required to facilitate the affixation of an O suffix but also has a role in indicating increased transitivity as we will see in §8.1.3.2. below.

The transitive suffix only occurs in a restricted environment with an object suffix encoding 2sg, 3sg, and 3p. (this limited distribution apparently conforms to a pattern extending back to Proto-Oceanic; see §5.1.3.3.1.).

There are three rules governing the distribution of the transitive suffix and object suffix, given in (37). Examples justifying these rules follow.

37a The object pronoun cannot co-occur with a coreferential lexical object in the same clause.
37b The transitive suffix occurs as a base for the object suffix which, in 3sg, is typically expressed by a zero except for some cases where it may be referenced by the suffix -n (also discussed with pronominal suffixes in §5.1.3.3.1.1.).
37c The transitive suffix may appear on its own (that is, without a pronominal suffix) with a lexical object when the object is referential.

Following these rules, the object in South Efate can be expressed either as a pronominal suffix or as a lexical O, but not both in the same phrase, as in (38).

38 S V-(TS)-O
   S V-(TS)-O1 *O1 (lexical) (where the objects are coreferential)
   S V-(TS) O (lexical) (discussed in §8.1.3.2.)
   S V O (lexical)
   Topicalized O1 S V-(TS)-O1 (where the objects are coreferential)

Examples of these types are given below.

In (39) -k is the 2sgO pronoun and when it occurs, as we would expect from (37a), there is no coreferential lexical O.
Valency changing processes

39 Ka=fo wat-gi-k tete nrak.
   1sgRS=PSP:IR hit-TS-2sgO some time
   I am going to hit you sometime. (13:21) (004b, 1111.9, 1114.1200)

In (40) the 3p.O suffix (-r) is present on the verb tae ‘to know’ in the subordinate clause referring back to the O (‘many old people’) in the main clause, again showing that reference to the same object occurs only once in the clause.

40 Go tiawi lap nen kin i=tae-r
   and old people many that REL 3sgRS=know-3p.O
   And the old people that he knew (98003bz, 335.9800, 339.5800)

In (41a) nmalok ‘kava’ is topicalized and so the verb bears a cross-referencing 3sgO as there is no coreferential object in the same clause. Where nmalok follows the verb as in (41b) there is no cross-referencing or transitive suffix on the verb as the object is present as a lexical noun, as discussed in §8.1.3.2. below, on object incorporation.

41a Nmalok a=to min-gi-Ø.
   kava 1sgRS=HAB drink-TS-3sgO
   Kava, I drink it (habitually). (98003a, 1391.7152, 1392.9824)

41b A=to min nmalok.
   1sgRS=HAB drink kava
   I drink kava/I am drinking kava. (constructed)

In (42) we see welu ‘to help’ with a lexical object and no transitive suffix, and in (43) with a transitive suffix and 3sgO referring back to nmatu ‘wife’.

42 Go malpei komam ko=fo tae welu tiawi.
   and long ago 1p.ex 1p.exIRR=PSP:IR know help old people
   And long ago we would know to help the old people. (98003bz, 737.1, 740.6799)

43 I=lek-a-Ø nmatu i=maos go nanwei
   3sgRS=look-TS-3sgO woman 3sgRS=tired and man
   i=po welu-a-Ø.
   3sgRS=FUT help-TS-3sgO
   He sees that the wife is tired and the husband will help her. (98003bz, 952.895, 957.0200)

8.1.3.1. Forms of the transitive suffix
The current form of the transitive suffix is due to a historical process, similar to that seen in other Oceanic languages (Ross 1998:24) whereby the stem-final consonant of verbs was lost in word-final position but retained in non-final position and reanalyzed as part of the transitive suffix. Due to the unpredictable
form of the suffix, the relic consonant is often called the thematic consonant.\footnote{Lynch (1998:140) outlines a similar argument for the appearance of the thematic consonant in Fijian transitive suffixes. He notes that the form of the suffix is unpredictable. Lichtenberk's (2001:146) conclusion is that the thematic consonants in Manam and To'aba'ita are best analyzed as empty morphs.} Hence South Efate tag, 'to cry' (intr) has the transitive form tag-isi 'to cry for s/one', from an earlier form of *tagis plus transitive suffix *-i (see Table 8:3. below). These former verb endings and suffixes have been reanalyzed as part of the transitive suffix which is required to facilitate the further suffixation of the O suffix in South Efate today.

Table 8:2.a and Table 8:2. b list most forms of the transitive suffix in the data. Recall from §5.1.3.3.1. that there are O suffixes only for 2sg, 3sg, and 3p. and they are typically of the form -k, -@/-n, -r respectively. Objects representing any other person/number have been recruited from the OBL paradigm (see Table 8:4. below). As can be seen from these tables, the transitive suffix following a consonant-final stem is predominantly a single vowel, and of those, it is predominantly -i. The majority of vowel-final ambitransitive verbs do not take a transitive suffix, since the O suffix attaches directly to the stem. The vowel in the transitive suffix is not predictable, as seen in the following examples which illustrate the lack of phonological conditioning for the transitive suffix. A number of variant forms of the transitive suffix occur in phonologically similar environments, suggesting that the variation is not conditioned by phonological factors.

\begin{verbatim}
44 lag  lag-a-k, lag-a-@, lag-a-r to sing (you, it, them)
plag plag-ti-k, plag-ti-@, plag-ti-r to open (you, it, them)
tag tag-isi-k, tag-isi-@, tag-isi-r to cry for (you, it, them)
tfag tfag-i-k, tfag-i-@, tfag-i-r to build (you, it, them)
\end{verbatim}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With 2sg</th>
<th>With 3sg</th>
<th>With 3p.</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>128</td>
<td><em>slat-i-k</em> take you, <em>slat-i-ø</em> take him, <em>slat-i-r</em> take them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>29</td>
<td><em>sos-o-k</em> call you, <em>sos-o-ø</em> call her, <em>sos-o-r</em> call them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>20</td>
<td><em>of-a-k</em> bear you, <em>of-a-ø</em> bear him, <em>of-e-r</em> bear them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>piatlak-e-k</em> own you, <em>piatlak-e-ø</em> own her, <em>piatlak-e-r</em> own them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>kin-ti-k</em> pinch you, <em>kin-ti-ø</em> pinch him, <em>kin-ti-r</em> pinch them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>mok-u-k</em> pull you, <em>mok-u-ø</em> pull her, <em>mok-u-r</em> pull them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>tanre-a-k</em> turn you, <em>tanre-a-ø</em> turn him, <em>tanre-a-r</em> turn them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>sk-a-ø</em> throw it, <em>sok-i-r</em> throw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>mur-u-k</em> want you, <em>mur-i-ø</em> want him, <em>mur-i-r</em> want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>tanu-ei-k</em> spit on you, <em>tanu-ei-ø</em> spit on her, <em>tanu-ei-r</em> spit on them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isi</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>tag-isi-k</em> cry for you, <em>tag-isi-ø</em> cry for him, <em>tag-isi-r</em> cry for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>nul-si-ø</em> peel it, <em>nul-si-r</em> peel them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>pkal-ie-k</em> care for you, <em>pkal-e-ø</em> care for her, <em>pkal-e-r</em> care for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>suer-ai-k</em> shit on you, <em>suer-ai-ø</em> shit on him, <em>suer-ai-r</em> shit on them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>min-gi-ø</em> drink it, <em>min-gi-r</em> drink them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8:2.b Allomorphs of the TS with vowel-final stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With 2sg</th>
<th>With 3sg</th>
<th>With 3p.</th>
<th>Number of occurrences</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>(\text{psi-k, psi-(\text{a}), psi-}\text{r}) to put you, put her, put them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(\text{lelu-o-k, lelu-}\text{a-}\text{(\text{a}), lelu-}\text{e-}\text{r}) to avoid you, avoid him, avoid them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(\text{tia-k, tia-}\text{(\text{a}), tia-}\text{e-}\text{r}) to turn you, turn her, turn them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(\text{palkau-k, palkau-}\text{a-}\text{(\text{a}), palkau-}\text{r}) to step over you, step over her, step over them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A further example of the lack of phonological conditioning for the transitive suffix can be seen in the homophonous stems \(\text{sor}\) ‘to sell’, and \(\text{sor}\) ‘to scrub’. Despite their identical phonological shapes they take distinct suffixed forms: \(\text{sor-}\text{i-}\text{k\(\text{, sor-}\text{i-}\text{\(\text{a}\), sor-}\text{i-}\text{r\) (‘to sell you, it, them’) and sor-}\text{o-}\text{k, sor-}\text{o, sor-}\text{o-}\text{r\) (‘to scrub you, it, them’) reflecting different historical sources. By combining the stem and transitive suffix we can observe the similarity of their form to the reconstructed POc verb stems and transitive suffixes (from Ross, Pawley, and Osmond 1998) listed in Table 8:3. This strong similarity supports the diachronic explanation for the variability in forms of the transitive suffix.

Table 8:3. Comparison of verb stems + TS with POc\(^\text{72}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive stem</th>
<th>Stem + TS / 3sgO</th>
<th>POc stem + transitive</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{kin})</td>
<td>(\text{kin-}\text{ti}=\text{(\text{o})})</td>
<td>*kinit-\text{i}</td>
<td>to pinch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{min})</td>
<td>(\text{min-}\text{gi}=\text{(\text{o})})</td>
<td>*m\text{w}\text{inum}(\text{W})-\text{i}</td>
<td>to drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{pnak})</td>
<td>(\text{pnak-}\text{(\text{o}}=\text{(\text{o})})</td>
<td>*\text{panako-}</td>
<td>to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{tag})</td>
<td>(\text{tag-}\text{isi}=\text{(\text{o})})</td>
<td>*\text{tagis-}\text{i}</td>
<td>to cry, mourn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{tef})</td>
<td>(\text{tf-}\text{ei}=\text{(\text{o})})</td>
<td>*\text{tepa-}\text{i}</td>
<td>to circumcise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{wat})</td>
<td>(\text{wat-}\text{gi}=\text{(\text{o})})</td>
<td>*\text{qatug-}\text{i}</td>
<td>to hit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{72}\) In some forms the medial vowel is lost by a regular process (§3.6.1.2.) when stress is reassigned in the word following affixation of a new word-ending, e.g., \(\text{tur} > \text{tr-usu, tef} > \text{tf-ei}\).
Valency changing processes

The dominant pattern of transitive suffixes has a fixed form regardless of the person or number referenced by the O suffix. For a group of exceptions this does not hold and the form of the transitive suffix is not the same in all person forms for the same stem, for example, alternating between o, a, and e with lelu ‘to avoid’, and between i and e in ñasel ‘to soften’, as shown in (45). The gaps in the list reflect the absence of examples in the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>45</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>3p.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lelu</td>
<td>lelu-o-k</td>
<td>lelu-a-Ø</td>
<td>lelu-e-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñasel</td>
<td>ñasel-i-Ø</td>
<td>ñasel-e-r</td>
<td>to soften (it, them) in the fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtaul</td>
<td>mtaul-o-k</td>
<td>mtaul-a-Ø</td>
<td>mtaul-e-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñofu</td>
<td>ñofu-a-Ø</td>
<td>ñofu-e-r</td>
<td>to puncture (it, them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sok</td>
<td>s(o)k-o-k</td>
<td>s(o)k-a-Ø</td>
<td>s(o)k-e-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sraletu</td>
<td>sraletu-o-k</td>
<td>sraletu-a-Ø</td>
<td>sraletu-e-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanu</td>
<td>tanu-e-Ø</td>
<td>tanu-e-r</td>
<td>to spit on (it, them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taulu</td>
<td>taulu-o-k</td>
<td>taulu-a-Ø</td>
<td>taulu-e-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tem</td>
<td>(t(e)m)-a-Ø</td>
<td>(t(e)m)-a-r</td>
<td>to point at (it, them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tia</td>
<td>tia-Ø</td>
<td>t-e-r</td>
<td>to stretch (it, them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tpolu</td>
<td>tpolu-o-k</td>
<td>tpolu-a-Ø</td>
<td>tpolu-e-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tu-o-k</td>
<td>tu-a-Ø</td>
<td>tu-e-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welu</td>
<td>welu-o-k</td>
<td>welu-a-Ø</td>
<td>welu-e-r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A second set of verbs (all listed below) have completely idiosyncratic transitive forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>46</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>3p.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu</td>
<td>lu-tu-o-k</td>
<td>lu-tu-er</td>
<td>to vomit on you, them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per</td>
<td>pra-tu-o-k</td>
<td>pra-tua-Ø</td>
<td>pra-tu-e-r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When lu is transitivized with -ki the transitive suffix -e is used, e.g., lu-e-ki ‘I vomit them’ (e.g., all the prawns I ate), as illustrated in (47). This is idiosyncratic, as no other verb stem takes a transitive suffix together with the transitivizing suffix -ki.

47 Kai=pe lu-e-ki nmalok.
1sgPS=PF vomit-TS-TR kava
I vomited the kava. (elicited)

It is not totally unexpected that this group of verbs patterns differently to the rest; as in Paamese (Crowley 1982) several verbs of bodily function, including ‘to fart’, have anomalous transitive forms.
8.1.3.2. Relic transitivizing function of the transitive suffix

We have seen that the main function of the transitive suffix (TS) is to host an O suffix. We have also established the rules governing the use of the transitive suffix and O suffix, in (37) above. Since the transitive suffix generally occurs with an object suffix, and the object suffix and lexical object cannot co-occur, we would not expect to find the transitive suffix and lexical object co-occurring. There are, however, a few examples in the data where the transitive suffix co-occurs with a lexical O. Examples below display this co-occurrence and suggest that there is a correlation with degrees of transitivity (as discussed by Hopper and Thompson 1980).

First, let us recap on the normal pattern. In the next two examples the verb tpi̱il ‘to bum’ appears in (48) with a non-specific O (nasum ni namer tar ‘white people’s house’) and no O suffix, and then, in (49) with a previously mentioned specific O (serpal ni naniu ‘coconut flower pod’), in which case it takes the transitive and object suffix.

48 Ru=tpi̱il nasum ni namer tar nlaken
   3p.RS=burn house of men white because

SDA   i=tok-es.
SDA   3sgRS=stay-3sgOBL
They burned the houses of the white people because the SDA were there.
(022)

49 Napu nen ku=pa. Ku=pu na serpal ni naniu.
   road that 2sgRS=go 2sgRS=pull ART coc.flower of coconut

Nen  āa=fa=n.  Ke=malik  āa=tpi̱il-i-o,
   that 2sgIRR=go=DST 3sgIRR=dark 2sgIRR=light-TS-3sgO

lel-e-∅     ki-n.
see-TS-3sgO   PREP-3sgO
On this road you must carry a torch made from a coconut flower pod.
When it is dark, you light it and you can see with it. (043)(98003a,
1714.0600, 1722.8399)

The issue that concerns us in this section is that the transitive suffix can also appear with an object, as we see in (50a) contrasting with (50b) in which there is no transitive suffix on the verb and the object is present. The distinction is that the object in (50a) is individuated, unlike (50b) where the object is generic and is incorporated into the verb (see §7.1.3.1).

50a A=mtir-i natus nen.
   1sgRS=write-TS book that
   I’m writing that book/I wrote that book. (elicited)
Valency changing processes

50b A=mtir natus i=skei.
   1sgRS=write 3sgRS=one
   I'm writing a book/I write a book. (elicited)

The distinction between nre-a ‘turn-TS’ (51) and nre in (52) also appears to relate to the affectedness of the object. In (51) the action is achieved and has the transitive suffix, unlike in (52) in which the turning of the rock has not yet been achieved, and is part of a desiderative complement, which, as we note in §12.2.3.6 is usually marked by irrealis mood marking correlating with low transitivity.

51 I=fa=n i=nre-a fat.
   3sgRS=go:IR=DST 3sgRS=turn-TS stone
   She went and turned the stone. (071:18) (98009az, 1735.9800, 1744.4800)

52 I=na i=pak e-luk ses nen i=nre fat.
   3sg=want 3sgRS=go LOC-hole small that 3sgRS=turn stone
   He wanted to go to that small well and turn the stone. (lit: to stone-turn.) (029:17)

A further example of the use of the transitive suffix with a specific object can be seen in (53) where nrog-o ‘hear-TS’ co-occurs with a specific object (ntuam ‘devil’).

53 Go i=nrog-o ntuam nen i=mer mila.
   and 3sgRS=hear-TS devil that 3sgRS=again howl
   And she heard the devil howl again. (094:22) (98017b, 2664.1600, 2676.1000)

Contrast (53) with (54) in which the hearing is a habitual action and the object is non-specific (‘stories from long ago’), encoded by the verb having no transitive suffix.

54 Neu a=to nrog natrauswen ni mal pei.
   1sg 1sgRS=HAB hear story of time first
   I used to hear the old stories./I hear the old stories. (083:22)(98010az, 2034.4698, 2037.0916)

In the following example the object kai ‘shellfish’ is first mentioned as a generic object incorporated into the intransitive form of the stem sol ‘to take’. In the next clause the transitive form of the stem sat ‘to take’ has a transitive and 3sgO suffix, as its referent kai ‘shellfish’ is already mentioned in the immediate discourse and so is salient.

55 I=sol kai. I=sat-i-o pan.
   3sgRS=take shellfish 3sgRS=take-TS-3sgO go
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i=nom. Mer tau fat ga. I=sol kai pa.
3sg=finish again leave stone 3sg 3sgRS=carry shellfish go
She went and turned the stone, she took shellfish, she took it until she was finished, then she turned her stone over, she took the shellfish and went.

(98009az, 1727.2599, 1735.7800)

In example (56) fat āpur ‘big stone’ is established and highly individuated in the discourse prior to its mention following the transitive suffix. Thus lelu-a ‘to avoid-TS’ contrasts with the later use of lelu which has no object and describes the general act of avoiding, rather than the specific avoidance of a rock.

56 Ku=lelu-a fat āpur nen ku=pan lelu teflan pan.
2sg=go.round-TS rock big that 2sgRS=go go.round thus go
You go around that big rock, you go around like that and go. (015:42)

From all of the preceding examples we can see that an object can be incorporated into the verb if it is non-referential or non-individuated. This kind of object incorporation conforms to Mithun’s (1984) Type 1 incorporation and her ‘Incorporation by juxtaposition’, in which a verb and noun combine to form a new verb. The few lexicalized examples of incorporated nouns are discussed with reference to their role in nominalization in §5.4.2., and see also §7.1.3.1. on incorporation.

Lichtenberk (1997:308) observes that backgrounded and usually, but not necessarily, non-referential objects are incorporated in To’aba’ita. Further, if the object is not incorporated then the verb carries the suffix -a, which appears cognate with the transitive suffix in South Efate. In Sye (Crowley 1998: 191) older speakers distinguish generic objects in a way that looks similar to the South Efate system, that is, they use the ‘construct suffix’ (which appears to be cognate with the South Efate transitive suffix) when an object is referential, but do not use it when the object is generic.

Clark (1973:564) suggests that the Proto Eastern Oceanic verb only took a transitive affix when the object was specific, but not when the object was generic or incorporated into the verb. In South Efate there is a small (perhaps residual) functional load for the transitive suffix which correlates with increased salience of the object. With 2sg and 3p. the transitive suffix functions solely to host the O suffix.

8.1.3.3. Verbs taking only the OBL suffix paradigm
Semitransitive verbs, like kon ‘to be stuck’, krokur ‘to be scared’, faitau ‘to learn’ (§7.1.4.), exclusively take OBL pronominals (which are set out in Table 8:4.) for objects of all person/number combinations rather than the regular object suffixes discussed above. Of interest in the current discussion of valency-changing processes is the fact that, unlike ambitransitive verbs, this group does not take a transitive suffix but rather the OBL suffix attaches directly to the stem.
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In (57) the 3sgO wes is from the OBL paradigm, unlike the pattern we have seen previously, where 3sgO is -ø/-n from the O paradigm. There is no transitive suffix on the verb stem.

57 Ru=fafat-wes mal ses.
   3p.S=believe-3sgOBL time small
   They believe him for a little while. (98009az, 939.4, 941.2)

In (58) the 2sgO wok is from the OBL paradigm and again there is no transitive suffix on the verb.

58 Mailum siwer nrokot-wok.
   slowly walk cross-2sgOBL
   Slowly walk in front of you. (98003bz, 859.4399, 861.3)

Table 8:4. Forms of O and OBL suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 sg</th>
<th>2 sg</th>
<th>3 sg</th>
<th>1p. (excl)</th>
<th>1p. (incl)</th>
<th>2p.</th>
<th>3p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Object suffix used with ambitransitive verbs</td>
<td>-wou</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-ø / n</td>
<td>-mam</td>
<td>-kit</td>
<td>-mus</td>
<td>-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique (OBL) suffix used with semitransitive verbs</td>
<td>-wou</td>
<td>-wok</td>
<td>-wes</td>
<td>-mam</td>
<td>-kit</td>
<td>-mus</td>
<td>-wer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As discussed in §5.1.3.3.2., the OBL paradigm includes a locational sense (especially in 3sg). When a non-semitransitive verb takes an OBL in contrast to an O suffix (that is with a 2sg, 3sg, or 3p. O) then the OBL pronoun typically has a locational meaning, regardless of whether the root has a locational meaning itself. The following two examples show verbs which can contrast a 3sgO with 3sgOBL, unlike semitransitive verbs. In (59) the ambitransitive verb traus ‘to tell’ takes the OBL wes ‘3sgOBL’, indicating the location of the speaking, rather than the topic talked about, which would be traus-i-ø ‘tell-TS-3sgO’ (‘to tell it’).

59 Nasara i=pi naor nen kin ru=to
    d.ground 3sgRS=be place this REL 3p.RS=STAT
    pan traus-wes.
    go talk-3sgOBL
    The dancing ground, it is the place where they went to talk (at it).
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In (60) we see *pam wes* ‘to eat there’ which contrasts with the object form which would be *pam-i* ‘eat-TS-3sgO’, ‘to eat it’.

60 Napkas i=nom mes ka=fo pam-wes.

The meat is finished, today I will eat there. (98017bz, 2620.83, 2622.4)

Finally, the use of the oblique pronoun *wes* ‘3sgOBL’ in (61) indicates that the fronted *aplikesen neu* ‘my application’ is the location on which the signing occurred rather than the object of the signing, which would be encoded with the transitivser -*ki* ‘TR’.

61 Aplikesen neu, nas kin

application 1sgPOS day.before.yesterday COMP

a=po saen-wes.

My application, I signed it the day before yesterday. (98017az, 307.0599, 309.4337)

8.2. Relic detransitivizing processes in South Efate

8.2.1. Relic anti-causatives

Ross (1998:25) discusses the anti-causative as a detransitivizing strategy in POc. This took the form *ma*- prefixed to a transitive root and resulted in the transitive O becoming the intransitive S. Pawley (1969:38) refers to POc *ma-* as a prefix deriving stative from non-stative verbs. Both Schütz (1969a:33) on Ngunese and Early (1994:142) on Lewo note that the current reflex of POc *ma-* in those two languages has only relic status. Similarly there are very few relic reflexes of POc *ma-* in South Efate today. The following examples show the verbs derived with *m(a)-* having a subject corresponding to the O of the undervived verb. Several of the forms detransitivized by *ma-* can reduplicate, but only on the stem, showing that the *ma-* prefix is not fused to the stem. In most cases the derived form is a stative verb encoding the expected result of the undervived verb’s action (e.g., ‘be sharp’, ‘be broken’).

62 lig to pour malig to flow

lil to roll sthg. mlil to roll

pel to bend maapel to be bent

praï (praï) to break maпор/ma-прапор to be broken

pkal to sharpen mkal to be sharp

sulsli to soften in the fire masulsli to be softened

The fifth example in (62) shows an alternation between a *p-initial form and an m-initial form which suggests that, in addition to the relic anti-causative that is the topic of this section, there is also a *p-initial relic causative derived from POc *pa(ka)-*.

73 This form of the causative is given in a discussion of Proto Oceanic in Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:83.
Valency changing processes

Example (63) shows the underived form (63a), and the derived form (63b).

63a Welkia respek i=tik ru=prai pano.
   thus respect 3sgRS=none 3sgRS=break board
   As there is no respect, they break the noticeboard. (98016az, 542.58, 544.5)

63b Akam u=mai me pano ki=pe ma-þor.
   2p.in 2p.inRS=come but board 3sgIRR=PF MA-break
   You come along but the noticeboard is broken. (98016az, 684.3199, 686.0875)

There are several further examples of verbs marked by a prefix m- but these verbs do not have a subject corresponding to the O of the underived verb, rather the subject of the m-initial form is the same as the subject of the underived form. If we assume that the anti-causative function of the m(a)- prefix ceased being productive some time ago then it is not unexpected that there are variously grammaticalized relics of this prefix today.

64 pkot to be spoiled makot/makotkot to be broken
pta1 to ask for mtal to choose
sal/salsal to drift msal/msalsal to be different

In the absence of textual examples of the pairs under discussion, example (65a) is included here with the caveat that it is unclear that it includes a reflex of *paka, but that (65b) does seem to be formed by the reflex of the anti-causative *ma.

65a I=pul-ki narm-e-n tefla i=þa-kot
   3sgRS=throw-TR tail-V-3sgDP similar 3sgRS=þA-break
   naur i=skei.
   island 3sgRS=one
   Then she threw her tail like this and cut an island. (055:22)(98002b, 739.3, 742.47)

65b A=tap tae natu-e-n maur ko matu mau me
   1sgRS=not know leg-V-3sgDP left or right NEG2 but
   natu-e-n i=ma-þor.
   leg-V-3sgDP 3sgRS=MA-break
   I don't know if it was his left or right leg, but his leg was broken. (030)

66a Ku=po pañor naplel ses ne ...ga i=to
   2sgRS=PSP:R find wood sp. small this 3sg 3sgRS=STAT
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Sal ur elau.
Drift follow sea
You will find this piece of wood, it floats around the sea. (98007bz, 1969.8600, 1979.9200)

66b Natopu, natap, go potut go ru=msal.
Spirit spirit and sacred stone and 3p.RS=different
Natopu (spirit of place), natap (spirit), and potut (stone arrangement) are different. (98017bz, 1818.4399, 1826.8799)

There are also m-initial stative forms for which there are no transitive equivalents in the data, that is, the corresponding non-stative forms of these verbs are no longer in current use.

67 mankotik to be wounded
manopnop to be round, filled out
matuktuk to be withered, dry
mlag to stand (a wave at sea)
mra to bleed (note nra ‘blood’) mukalkal to be itchy

8.2.2. The detransitivizing prefix ta-
The prefix ta- occurs on only a few verbs, and is not productive. Hyslop (2001:319) notes similarly that ta- is no longer a productive prefix in Lolovoli on Ambae. In the small group of verbs to which it applies in South Efate it is best characterized as a detransitivizing prefix, with some exceptions. While in some pairs there is a difference in the meaning of the derived and underived form (although the semantic relationship between them is unclear) in others there appears to be no difference in meaning. In one verb (pas ‘to adopt’) ta- derives a stative from an active verb, as shown in (68) and (69) where the S of the derived form corresponds to the O of the underived form (A->O, O->S).

68 pas to adopt (ambi/active) ta pas to be adopted (intr/stative)

69 l=pi tesa tapas neu.
3sgRS=be child adopted 1sg
He is my adopted child. (017)

It appears that what may have been a detransitivizing prefix has been reanalyzed as part of some stems. At least two other apparently derived forms appear in the data with no corresponding underived form: tapas ‘to wave’ and talag ‘to shine’.

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74 POc *ta- was an 'anticausative intransitive' marker (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley, 2002:83).
Valency changing processes

In (70) the Actor subject becomes the Undergoer subject of the derived form (S [Actor] -> S [Undergoer]).

70a mel to fall (ambi/active) to crouch, squat (intr/stative)

70f to spin, twist (ambi/active) to be boiling, to be twisted (intr/stative)

70sak to land, ascend (ambi/active) to land on the shore (of inanimate things, e.g., a canoe) (intr/stative)

70b Ki=ler mai kai tasak nagis ni Elakatatapel.
3sgRS=return come ES land point of "She died and was thrown ashore at Elakatatapel. (029:26)

70b Ki=tl-i-ə na ke=fo sak mai.
3sgIRR=tell-TS-3sgO say 3sgIRR=PSP:IR ascend come
He said he would come up. (094:23) (98017b, 2676.1400, 2677.6563)

In (71) the arguments of the derived forms have no different roles to those of the unDerived forms (A->A).

71 nre to turn (ambi/active) tanre to stir (ambi/active)

71fnau to teach (ambi/active) tafnau to teach (ambi/active)

71sok to collide (ambi/active) tasok to hug (ambi/active)

The verbs nre ‘to turn’, and fnau ‘to teach/preach’ appear to have the same meaning as their respective ta- prefixed forms, but tanre is more specific in the type of turning, that is, stirring. The derived forms of all three verbs in (71) are ambitransitive verbs capable of taking a suffix O. They show that the ta- initial form has been reanalyzed as an ambitransitive verb in at least three cases, as there appears to be no difference in the function of the ta prefixed and unprefix forms. Example (72) illustrates the use of the ta- prefixed form tafnau ‘to teach’.

72 Ki=pe tafnau kori i=na “Mal-en ke=mai
3sgPS=PF teach dog 3sgRS=say time-this 3sglRR=come

ag kin ʻpa=kat-i-ə.”
2sg REL 2sglRR=bite-TS-3sgO
He taught his dog, he said, “When he comes you will bite him.” (094:24)

8.3. POc *-i/-akini semantic roles compared with South Efate
Transitivizing strategies in South Efate reflect the well-known POc close and remote transitives *-i/-akini, but with significant differences to the pattern exemplified by Pawley and Reid (1980). Intransitive verb stems can derive transitive verbs by means of the transitivizing suffix -ki (§8.1.1.). Ambitransitive verb stems can act as transitive verbs either alone, or by taking the transitive suffix (TS) and an O suffix (§8.1.3.).
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The functions associated with POc *-i and -akini have spread in South Efate so that those functions associated with POc *-i (patients, stimuli, locations) are now shared by reflexes of both *-i and *-akini (that is, by current transitivizing and prepositional forms). Further, those functions associated with *-akini are now shared by the preposition *ki and other prepositions. Examples illustrating (i)–(vi) in Table 8:4. follow.

i) patients or products (of agentive verbs):
73 I=lao-ki ṑpau-n pak nta tefla. 3sgR=plant-TR head-3sgDP to sea thus
*He put his head into the sea. (98007az, 489.8, 491.7200)

74 Selwan raru i=pur-ki nai ku=saulu-a-0. when canoe 3sgRS=full-TR water 2sgRS=bail-TS-3sgO
*When water fills up the canoe you bail it out. (002a, elicited)

Table 8:5. Comparison of POc *-i/-akini semantic roles with South Efate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>South Efate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-TS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) patients or products of agentive verbs</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) stimuli/targets of psychological verbs</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii) location/goal of verbs of motion and posture</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-akini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv) instrument with agentive verbs</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v) concomitant (with posture and motion verbs)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi) cause or concomitant (with psychological verbs)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) stimuli/targets (of psychological verbs):
75 Ku=fla maet-ki nat. 2sgRS=CND be.angry-TR man
*You may be angry with someone. (98009az, 2292.6, 2295.3481)
Valency changing processes

76 Nat i=gag traus-i-∅?
man 3sgRS-2sgBEN tell-TS-3sgO
Someone has told you about it? (20001az, 1942.4, 1944.1827)

iii) location/goal (of verbs of motion and posture):
77 Go malfanen kai=pe tap siwer pak talmat mau.
and now 1sgPS=PF NEG walk to garden NEG2
And now I don’t walk to the garden. (98010az, 426, 433.8399)

78 I=pan-lfck-ki Franis.
3sgRS=go-around-TR France
He went around France. (061:15)

iv) instrument (with agentive verbs):
79 Me masta nen i=sa tete nrak i=fs-ei-∅
but masta that 3sgRS=bad some time 3sgRS=whip-3sgO
ki stokwip.
PREP stockwhip
But the master who was no good would sometimes whip you with a
stockwhip. (087:49) (98017a, 2342.5001, 2347.8401)

80 Komam u=ta weswes skot loto mau.
1p.ex 1p.exRS=NEG work with car NEG2
We didn’t work with cars. (064:19) (98003bz, 492.5200, 496.7001)

v) concomitant (with posture and motion verbs):
81 Go kineu kin a=po to plak America
and 1sg COMP 1sgRS=PSP:R HAB with America
ur ser naor.
follow every place
I took the Americans around all over the place. (040:13)(98003a, 1067.5101, 1072.59)

82 Ru=lek kineu a=pag skot nañer ne.
3p.S=look 1sg 1sgRS=climb with man this
They saw me climb (into a car) with this man. (063:95)

vi) cause or concomitant (with psychological verbs):
83 Me ke=fo mer traus skot akam.
but 3sgIRR=PSP:IR again speak with 2p.
But he will talk with you again. (98007az, 1011.8200, 1014.6200)
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The cause or concomitant of a psychological verb can also be expressed by a benefactive phrase (see §11.4.2.)

84 A=semsem ni natkon preg te-namrun.
1sgRS=happy BEN village make DET-something

*I am happy to do something for the village.* (98009az, 987.1600, 996.6800)

The literature on POc *-i/-akini clearly distinguishes the semantics of objects introduced by each of these suffixes. In South Efate the POc close transitive suffix is reflected by the transitive suffix which only occurs on ambitransitive verbs. The reflex of the remote transitive (-ki) acts to transitivize intransitive verbs. In South Efate there has clearly been a shift away from the typical functions associated with the POc suffixes, as illustrated in Table 8:6. The semantics associated with POc *-akini (introducing peripheral arguments) now include adpositionals in South Efate.

**Table 8:6. Change in function of the POc close and remote suffixes in South Efate**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions associated with POc</th>
<th>Functions currently carried out in South Efate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc *-i</td>
<td>South Efate TS+O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ki (TR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki (PREP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other prepositions (e.g., plak, skot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POc *-akini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki (PREP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other prepositions (e.g., plak, skot, ni)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verb combining in Oceanic languages is the subject of an extensive literature, and is usually analyzed as verb serialization within a theoretical framework based on nuclear, core, and clause-layer predication. As we will see in this chapter, South Efate has relics of serial verb constructions with traces of what may once have been serial verbs but are now auxiliary verbs, adverbs, or directional particles.

Work on serial verbs of languages of Vanuatu includes that on Paamese (Crowley 1987), Lewo (Early 1993; 1994), Namakir (Sperlich 1991; 1993), Tamambo (Jauncey 1997), Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001), Araki (François 2002), and Mwotlap (François 2004). Crowley’s (2002) general survey of serial verbs in Oceanic languages also focuses on several languages of Vanuatu. These studies all reflect the need to deal with multi-predicate structures but there is no single approach that satisfies each of these authors.

Essentially, all of these approaches reveal a distinction between contiguous verbs which, for South Efate, are called compound verbs, and less tightly bound structures (illustrated in [1]) which are usually called core-layer serial verbs by the authors listed above. François (2002; 2004) is the exception as he treats contiguous verb stems as serialized, but then regards any combination of verbs that each bear subject marking as being a clause chain rather than a core-layer verb series. This is an attractive approach as it dispenses with the need to distinguish clause chains from the sequence of structures as schematized in (1), in which any number of sequential inflected verbs can occur with subjects and, optionally, objects.

In South Efate I regard any structure of the type outlined in (1) as representing two or more clauses. I analyze a predicate (made up of a simple or compound verb) as being the head of a verb complex which makes up a clause. In general, the presence of the subject argument in the form of a subject proclitic is diagnostic of a clause boundary. However, its absence does not necessarily preclude the presence of a clause boundary, as, in the absence of a subject argument (by what I call subject omission), there is a further diagnostic for clause boundaries in the pre-verbal complex (PVC) (see §9.1.2.1.) which initiates a new clause. Sequential clauses with subject omission (which I call clause-chains) have a structure like (2) because we can identify a new clause starting when a new preverbal complex begins.

The reason that other studies have included core-layer serial verbs in their analysis rather than regarding them as sequences of clauses is that these structures are regarded as having commonalities that would be missed by treating them as
Chapter 9

Features of verb series include that they:

a) encode sub-parts of a single overall event.
b) share at least one core argument.
c) share the same TMA and polarity value.
d) have the intonational properties of a mono-verbal clause.
e) can be distinguished from complex predicates and other Verb+Verb sequences, neither verb of which can be a predicate on its own (e.g., compound verbs).

None of these criteria have provided a diagnostic tool for the structures under discussion in South Efate, as Aikhenvald (1999:470) points out: “no one of these characteristics is defining per se, since exceptions can be found to each of them.”

It is unclear how we can define an ‘event’ (a above) that is described differently by mono-clausal or multi-clausal elements. Crowley (2002:263) discusses the problem of equating events with individual predicates and Foley (2003), in a careful analysis of the notion of ‘event’ in a cross-linguistic survey of SVCs, suggests that SVCs (however defined) cannot be considered to express a single event. His example of the verb ‘kill’ in four languages shows that it is encoded as a lexicalized root, a serial verb construction, and as coordinated clauses, and he concludes that these formal differences cannot be equated to the number of events encoded. In none of these languages, he argues, is the semantic structure of ‘kill’ a single event.

Distinct clauses can also share core arguments and TMA and polarity values (features b and c above), so this criterion does not distinguish sub-clausal verb linkage unless the arguments are obligatorily shared.

Intonation (d) is notoriously fickle as a correlate of syntactic structure (cf. Himmelmann 2000). Even with an accessible audio-corpus, as developed for this data, it has not been possible to state that there is an intonation contour associated with what could be considered to be core-layer SVCs that is distinct from that found with separate clauses, although the shorter the concatenated clauses are the more they appear to be identifiable intonationally as core-layer SVCs. Nevertheless, in the present analysis they are regarded as particular types of clause chains, as will be seen in §12.3.2.

Crowley (2002) observes that there is great variation in the way serial verb constructions are expressed within particular languages. He contrasts a language like Kalam (PNG), in which serial verbs are highly productive and very common in discourse, with Paamese, which he characterizes as being in the middle ground between having no serialization at all, and expressing pervasive serialization. Within Vanuatu he points to the difference between northern languages (including
Verb combinations

Paamese) which display comparatively rich serialization, and the southern languages of Tanna and Erromango where serialization plays a relatively minor role. Between these lies South Efate, in central Vanuatu, in which functions associated with SVCs in other languages are carried out by non-SVC constructions. For example, South Efate has developed a set of auxiliary verbs (§9.1.2.1.) that performs functions associated with SVCs in other languages (including modality and directionality), but which is now in a syntactically distinct slot that cannot be regarded as participating in a verb series.

The frequency of use of types of verb combinations, compared to simple verbs, is presented in §9.2. where we find that predicates occur most often as simple verb stems (around 94 percent), with compound verbs accounting for just under 6 percent of occurrences. There were 544 predicate positions in this dataset, and there were an additional 107 occurrences of auxiliary verbs, which, together with the low counts for anything other than simple or compound verbs, supports the observation in our discussion of pseudo-serialization below (§9.1.2.1.) that auxiliary verbs perform functions associated with SVCs in other languages. Compare the South Efate results with Crowley’s figures for Paamese where about 25 percent of verbs appear in a serial verb construction (Crowley 2002:22).

Crowley’s discussion of the ‘dissolution’ of SVCs in Oceanic (2002:169) points to several means by which historical SVCs have become grammaticalized into other constructions. We are not in a position to posit diachronic evidence for the current state of South Efate verbal constructions, but it is significant that features Crowley cites as being indicative of the move away from verb serialization are reflected in South Efate today. These specific features are: the development of compound verb forms (§9.1.1.) which exhibit morphological grammaticalization (Crowley 2002:176); the use of auxiliary verbs (§9.1.2.1.) to encode modality, direction, and other features associated with serial verb constructions in other languages; the use of an echo-subject marker (cf. §5.1.3.2.3.) which is a means of concatenating verbs and clauses (Crowley 2002:201–208); and the use of directional particles that occur after locational nouns rather than in verb sequences (§9.1.2.4.). Lynch's (2004) discussion of Anejom clauses reflects similar facts to the South Efate data, including the reliance on verb compounding, an echo-subject construction, and the use of directional particles or suffixes. A major difference is that a class of auxiliary verbs in South Efate encodes mood and temporal functions that are performed by verb series in the languages to the north for which descriptions are available (as discussed above).

9.1. Types of verb combinations in South Efate
Before proceeding we need to outline what kinds of verb combinations occur in South Efate. By doing this we can eliminate a number of candidates for serial verb constructions, which we will see are not a feature in the South Efate corpus. Table 9:1. lists types of verb combinations to be addressed, starting from compound verbs (1), which are formed by two contiguous verb stems.
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Auxiliary verbs (2) can also form contiguous verb sequences, but with a structural boundary between them and the main verb that prevents them being treated as serial verbs. Adverbial modification of verbs (3) can also be distinguished from verb+verb combinations as adverbs form a distinct class (cf. §4.8). Prepositions and directional particles (4) have collocational and distributional characteristics which make it clear that they are not serial verbs. Categories (2) to (4) are discussed below under the heading ‘Pseudo serial verbs’ (§9.1.2.); each plausibly originated as serial verb constructions, but now involve distinct categories.

The final two categories (5) and (6) are types of clause-level linkage which are included here for comparison, but are discussed in the chapter on complex sentences (§12.3).

Table 9.1. Types of verb combinations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compounds</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + Verb</td>
<td>Asymmetrical compound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + Adverb</td>
<td>Symmetrical compound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + Noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + Preposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pseudo-serial verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modifier + Verb</td>
<td>Adverbial modification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb+modifier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S=V de-verbal adjunct</td>
<td>V+Directional particles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V+Preposition/ prepositional verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Auxiliary Verb)n+Verb</td>
<td>Auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S=(PVC)V(NP) ES=V</td>
<td>Echo-subject construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clause linkage</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S=V(O) V O</td>
<td>Clause chain (see §12.3.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S=V(O) (S=V(O))n</td>
<td>Juxtaposed clause (see §12.3.1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.1.1. Verb compounds
Verb compounds consist of two stems in sequence (verb1+stem2), occupying the same slot as a single verb stem and with a single PVC and O suffix as in the following schema:

4 S=PVC V X -(TS =O)
I use X for the second part of a compound, as that slot is not restricted to verbs but may be a noun (preg-nafnag ‘make food’) or a preposition (e.g., to-reki ‘wait for’) or an adverb (mro-perkat ‘really think > remember’). The word class of the resulting compound is a verb. This level of verb combining is similar to that called nuclear-layer in descriptions of other Oceanic languages (see Crowley 2002 and others discussed above).

As examples of compound verbs fis-ktof ‘to break by whipping’, and preg-sa ‘to do bad’ in (5) have one subject marker and take a single object suffix.

5 Me tewan i=fis-ktof-i-ø boy.
and so 3sgRS=whip-break-TS-3sgO boy

I=kano preg-sa-ki-ø.
3sgRS=can’t make-bad-TS-3sgO
And so he whipped the boy, he (the boy) can’t make trouble for him (the boss). (98017az, 2397.6601, 2402.3879)

A defining characteristic of compound verbs is that no TMA or polarity item can intervene between the verb stems. A corollary is that both verbs in these constructions share TMA and polarity. Thus the compound verb pes-top ‘talk-big’ in (6a) cannot be separated by the second part of the discontinuous negation as in (6b).

6a Ssst. Ku=ta pes-top mau. Nlaken kin
Shh 2sgRS=NEG talk-big NEG2 because REL

i=min nmalok.
3sgRS=drink kava
Shh. Don’t talk loudly! Because he is drinking kava. (98007bz, 719.8, 724.3)

6b *Ku=ta pes mau top
2sgRS=NEG talk NEG2 big

We can further divide the group of compound verbs on the basis of syntactic symmetry, that is, what kinds of verbs can fill each verb slot. I define symmetrical compounds as those in which both parts of the compound come from an open class of verbs and so both verbs can operate in other contexts as verbs on their own (following Aikhenvald 1999:472). Asymmetrical compounds are made up of a verb plus a second morpheme which cannot function as a verb on its own. These second parts of asymmetrical compounds can include nouns and adverbs as we will see in §9.1.1.2. below.
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Compounds function as single phonological words. An illustration of this degree of compounding is that medial vowel reduction (see §3.6.1.), which only functions word-internally, applies to eligible compounds when the second verb has a transitive suffix and O suffix. The addition of these suffixes creates new syllable boundaries which indicates that the compound is acting as a single word for stress assignment purposes. For example, the destressed medial vowel /o/ is elided in (7a), where the compound form *kul-kor* takes the 3p.O suffix -or and thus becomes resyllabified as *kul.ko.ror*, undergoing MVR to become *kul-kror*.

7 a) *kul* to blanket + *kor* to enclose + -o-r 3p.O 'kul-kor-o-r > kulkror
b) *mro* to think + *pir* dis-, negative + -i-k 2sgO 'mro-pir-i-k > mroprik
c) *wat* to hit + *pun* to kill + -i-0 3sgO 'wat-pun-i-0 > watpni

This diagnostic only works occasionally since not all of the V2 stems in Table 9:2. are eligible environments for MVR. Thus the compounds in (8) form phonological words which take a single object suffix, but do not provide an eligible environment for MVR. For example, in (8a) MVR is blocked by the presence of a consonant cluster /gt/, in (8b) MVR does not apply as the unstressed syllable contains a low vowel (ta), and in (8c) MVR is blocked by the presence of a consonant cluster /mnr/.

8 a) *nrog* to hear + *tae* to know + -r 3p.O 'nrog-tae-r
b) *ta* to hug + *sok* to collide + -i-0 3sgO 'ta-sok-i
c) *pam* to eat + *nrog* to hear + -o-0 3sgO 'pam-nrog-o

9.1.1.1. Symmetrical compounds

Symmetrical compounds are those for which both verbs are attested as occurring as main verbs. A list of some common types of symmetrical compounds is given in Table 9:2. The first verb in these compounds can be intransitive (*mro* ‘to think’, *kal* ‘to dress’), semitransitive (*sak* ‘to ascend’) or ambitransitive (*kat* ‘to bite’, *nrog* ‘to hear’). The second verb in the present data is always ambitransitive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb1</th>
<th>Verb2</th>
<th>Compound form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kal</em></td>
<td>to dress</td>
<td>+<em>nrog</em> to feel, <em>kalnrog</em> to try clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kam</em></td>
<td>to step on hear</td>
<td><em>kamnrog</em> to feel by stepping on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kat</em></td>
<td>to bite</td>
<td><em>katnrog</em> to try by biting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>min</em></td>
<td>to drink</td>
<td><em>minnrog</em> to taste by drinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pam</em></td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td><em>pamnrog</em> to taste by eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>preg</em></td>
<td>to make, do</td>
<td><em>pregnrog</em> to try</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kat</em></td>
<td>to bite +<em>sok</em> to jump, <em>katsok</em> to bite hard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kel</em></td>
<td>to hold tight to collide</td>
<td><em>kelsok</em> to hold tight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mot</em></td>
<td>to tie</td>
<td><em>motsk</em> to tie well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mro</em></td>
<td>to think</td>
<td><em>mrosok</em> to think carefully</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verb combinations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nep</td>
<td>to throw</td>
<td>nepsok</td>
<td>to weigh sthg. down with stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pes-a (psa)</td>
<td>to talk +TS</td>
<td>psasok</td>
<td>to encourage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>to hug</td>
<td>tasok</td>
<td>to hug tightly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>til</td>
<td>to tell</td>
<td>tilskok</td>
<td>to promise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wes</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td>wesok</td>
<td>to take and hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>to look +tae to know</td>
<td>letae</td>
<td>to recognize by seeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mro</td>
<td>to think</td>
<td>mrotae</td>
<td>to recognize by smelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrog</td>
<td>to feel, smell</td>
<td>nrotae</td>
<td>to recognize by smelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kis</td>
<td>to pinch +prai to break</td>
<td>kisprai</td>
<td>to pinch-break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas</td>
<td>to cut</td>
<td>masprai</td>
<td>to cut in pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sak</td>
<td>to climb</td>
<td>sakprai</td>
<td>to climb and break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kul</td>
<td>to blanket +kor to cover,</td>
<td>kulprai</td>
<td>to cover with blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kus</td>
<td>to hide +kour to block</td>
<td>kuspri</td>
<td>to cover-hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lao</td>
<td>to stand up</td>
<td>laokor</td>
<td>to obstruct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pai</td>
<td>to lie in wait</td>
<td>pikor</td>
<td>to hide in wait for game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pal</td>
<td>to be empty</td>
<td>palkor</td>
<td>to mourn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sra</td>
<td>to hang (?)</td>
<td>slrkor</td>
<td>to hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suek</td>
<td>to put wood in a fire</td>
<td>suerkor</td>
<td>to smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam</td>
<td>to step +por to break</td>
<td>kampor</td>
<td>to step on and break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lao</td>
<td>to leave</td>
<td>laopor</td>
<td>to leave and break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñor</td>
<td>to break</td>
<td>ñorpor</td>
<td>to break everything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prei</td>
<td>to wash +tao to leave</td>
<td>preitao</td>
<td>to wash clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñol</td>
<td>to squeeze</td>
<td>ñoltao</td>
<td>to rinse clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naonao</td>
<td>to scrape vegetables</td>
<td>naonaoao</td>
<td>to clean vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ser</td>
<td>to sweep</td>
<td>serto</td>
<td>to sweep and clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sur</td>
<td>to weed</td>
<td>surto</td>
<td>to weed and clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wat</td>
<td>to hit +sraf to miss</td>
<td>watsraf</td>
<td>to hit at but miss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñi</td>
<td>to kick</td>
<td>ñisraf</td>
<td>to kick at but miss</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of some of these compound verbs are given below, but first, to show that the second verb can act as a main verb in its own right, I give examples of the second verb in Table 9:2. acting as a main verb.


2sglRR=hear-TS-3sgO 2sglRR=hear voice-V-3sgDP 3sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO

na mes ke=fo pam-kit.

COMP today 3sglRR=PSP:IR eat-2p.O

Do you hear? Do you hear his voice? He says he will eat you today.

(98017bz, 2627.3, 2631.0800)
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10 Ntuam i=lek-a-ø me i=na ke=sok.
   devil 3sgRS=look-TS-3sgO and 3sgRS=begin.to 3sglRR=jump
   The devil looked at him and began to jump. (98017bz, 2775.9241, 2777.9496)

11 Go ku=tae na i=pi naflak gag.
   and 2sgRS=know COMP 3sgRS=be clan 2sgPOS
   And you know that it is your clan (naflak). (98007bz, 1681.5731, 1683.9200)

12 Ale te-nen ku= prái i=seserik ru=sos-o-ø
   ok det-that 2sgRS=break 3sgRS=small 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO
   ki patrik.
   PREP p.name
   Okay, the one that you break into small pieces they call it patrik (a kind of mat). (98010az, 506.0999, 511.6199)

13 Fat i=skei i=tu kor namt-e-n.
   stone 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=STAT block eye-V-3sgDP
   A stone blocked his eye. (20001b, 773.7600, 779.8401)

   Examples of symmetrical compound forms follow.

14 I=ta pi cost ni nta mau, te-nen
   3sgRS=NEG be cost of land NEG2 DET-that
   tuk=mas mro-tae.
   1p.inRS=must think-know
   It is not the cost of the land, that is what we must recognize. (98016bz, 424.2799, 430.7801)

15 Nala, ku=slat-i-ø. Ku=mai, ku=mot-sok
   vine 2sgRS=take-TS-3sgO 2sgRS=come 2sgRS=tie-jump
   lak ki-n.
   pin PREP-3sgO
   The vine, you take it. You come, you tie the lak (pin holding the canoe's outrigger to the cross-member) with it. (004a, 650.5200, 658.2600)

16 Go ntawot-in ne ra=mer kul-kr-o-ø
   and bone-3sgDP this 3dRS=again blanket-cover-TS-3sgO

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Verb combinations

ki nkal.
PREP blanket
And his bones, they covered them with a blanket. (98009b, 722.3600, 731.5400)

There are two distinct compounds which are made up of the same two verb stems: pes wi ‘to talk well’, and psawi (pes-a wi ‘talk-TS good’) ‘thankyou’, in which the latter has a transitive suffix on the first stem and has become the conventionalized way of saying ‘thankyou’. It is the only example in the data in which a transitive suffix occurs on the first stem in a compound.

17 A=psawi awo Waia, pulpog-wi akam kaonsil.
1 sgRS=thank uncle p.name day-good 2p. council
Thank you, Uncle Waia, good day to you, Council. (98016az, 1419.0400, 1423.3999)

18 A=mrokin neu nafsan ses, a=tae nen
1 sgRS=think 1 sgPOS story small 1 sgRS=know COMP
a=kontribiut-ki-n mñas, me, a=psawi-ki akam,
1 sgRS=contribute-TR-3sgO only but 1 sgRS=thank-TR 2p
nafsan gamus.
story 2p.POS
I think that my small story is my contribution but I thank you for your stories. (98018a, 1084.7, 1088.9399)

9.1.1.2. Asymmetrical compounds
The second stem in an asymmetrical compound cannot occur independently as a verb, but combines productively with a number of verbs, often with a predictable meaning, as can be seen in Table 9:3. Some of these compounds occur frequently and are conventionalized so that they behave as lexical items in their own right (and should be treated, for example, as headwords in the lexicon). Others are less conventionalized and allow for a certain amount of speaker creativity. The resulting compound verb is ambitransitive, regardless of whether the first verb is intransitive or ambitransitive. In some cases the second stem is an adverb (perkat ‘really’), or a preposition (reki ‘for’) and in a small sample the second part can be a noun, as we will see below.

In some cases we can call the second part of these compounds a verb because of the distributional pattern they share with known verbs, and because some have relic verbal status. For example, the form pun does not occur as a main verb in the data, but it is found (as fun) in the deverbal noun nafunwen
‘killing fish by poisoning’, suggesting either that it may still function as a verb, but not in the current data, or that the earlier verbal function is now only evident in compounds and this deverbal noun.\textsuperscript{75}

Table 9:3. Asymmetrical verb compounds
(As the meaning of the individual parts of the compound verb is not always transparent, a gloss can not always be provided.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem 1</th>
<th>Stem 2</th>
<th>Compound form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mro</td>
<td>to think</td>
<td>+pir negative (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrog</td>
<td>to hear</td>
<td>nrogpir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fis</td>
<td>to whip</td>
<td>+ktot to break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sak</td>
<td>to jump</td>
<td>saktof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam</td>
<td>to step</td>
<td>kamktot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kat</td>
<td>to bite</td>
<td>kaktot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kis</td>
<td>to press</td>
<td>+pun to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>to kick</td>
<td>piphun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan</td>
<td>to burn</td>
<td>panpun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sif</td>
<td>to club</td>
<td>sifpun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sok</td>
<td>to spear</td>
<td>sokpun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tai</td>
<td>to cut</td>
<td>taipun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wat</td>
<td>to hit</td>
<td>watpun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lup</td>
<td>to pour</td>
<td>+lu completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wes</td>
<td>to take out</td>
<td>weslu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+fu through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preg</td>
<td>to make</td>
<td>pregju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sup</td>
<td>to pierce</td>
<td>supju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mro</td>
<td>to think</td>
<td>+perkat really</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>to look</td>
<td>leperkat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrog</td>
<td>to hear</td>
<td>nroperkat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>to stay</td>
<td>toreki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>to go</td>
<td>pareki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>to look</td>
<td>lereki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lelu</td>
<td>to avoid</td>
<td>+kau over (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{75} The verb \textit{pun} has widespread cognates in Austronesian and is reconstructed as *punuq for Proto Malayo-Polynesian (Blust 1993).
Verb combinations

There are some compounds, listed below, for which the first stem is not attested in the data and hence has no independent meaning.

nril +kau over (?) nrilkau to jump over
pal palkau to step over
ta takau to trip over
lu + pir negative (?) lupir to unroll
tka tkapir to untangle, comb
sig sigpir to ignore

Some examples of these compound verbs follow.

19 I=lelu-kau kori me kori i=tap leg-ki
3sgRS=avoid-cover dog but dog 3sgRS=NEG be.straight-TR

napu mau.
road NEG2
He avoided the dog, but the dog was not right on the road. (98017b, 2766.1187, 2769.0691)

20 Ku=kano lek tesa i=sigpir. 76
2sgRS=be.unable see child 3sgRS=ignore
You couldn’t see a child ignore (its parent’s voice). (98007bz, 527.2600, 532.3201)

21 Go naur nra nen, me mat i=na
and island two that and snake 3sgRS=begin.to

i=fis-ktof-i-r.
3sgRS=whip-break-TS-3p.O
And those two islands, the snake began to split them. (98002az, 1833.92, 1838.08)

22 Pa=freg-pun te-ne me tak=fo to
2sglRR=make:IR-kill DET-this and 1p.inclRR=PSP:IR STAT

mailum traus.
slow talk
You turn off (=make dead) this (tape recorder) and we will talk a little.
(KN 98007b, 1900.1459, 1903.0896)

76 As the meaning of both parts of this compound are unknown it is provided here unsegmented.
Chapter 9

23 Ra=tok wat-pun na'ner nig Erakor kat
   3d.RS=STAT hit-kill people of p.name due.to
tan negar.
ground 3p.POS
They kill Erakor people because of their land. (98009b, 1701.7001, 1712.4800)

The verb *lu* encodes increased affectedness of the object, typically its relocation, consumption or destruction, and so it is glossed as ‘completely’.

24 Katom i=po to eut po=mai pam-lu
   h.crab 3sgRS=PSP:R STAT shore PSP:R=come eat-completely
   namt-e-n.
eye-V-3sgDP
The hermit crab would be at the beach, would come and eat its eye (the fish’s eye) right up. (98010az, 262.2362, 267.2000)

25 P'a=wes-lu polet, p'a=fai nal.
   2sglRR=take-completely bullet 2sglRR=fill basket
You take out bullets, you fill the bag. (98003a, 1625.0199, 1628.1303)

26 I=mai pkafu naniu panpan i=nom
   3sgRS=come split coconut until 3sgRS=finish
   i=sur-a-ø.
   3sgRS=scoop-TS-3sgO
He split the coconut completely. (20003bz, 757.1599, 759.7065)

27 Ale a=mer mro-perkat na century ķur i=skei kin
then 1sRS=again think-really DET century big 3sgRS=one REL

   I=mer tu naur tetwei 1954.
   3sgRS=again stay island long.ago
   Then I remembered the centennial that was at the island in 1954.
   (98007az, 1627.9200, 1638.7000)

The semantic relationship between a stem and its compounded form is not always clear, as shown by the following examples with *krak*. While *krak* occurs as an independent verb stem meaning ‘to crawl’, this is not transparent from most of the following compound forms.

28 *krak* + ķrai break  *krakkrai* to break by crawling
   + fu through *krakfu* to mash
   + funfnoi fade, disappear *krakfunfnoi* to erase, rub out
   + mal ? *krakmal* to clean a grave
Verb combinations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb combination</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ pel</td>
<td>?? krakpel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ pes</td>
<td>speak krakpes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ puel</td>
<td>be absent krakpuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ pun</td>
<td>kill krakpun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ sa</td>
<td>bad kraksa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ smanr</td>
<td>to whip kraksmanr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ sok</td>
<td>collide, jump kraksok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ ktof</td>
<td>to break kraktof</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noted above, the second member of a compound can also be a noun, as seen in the examples in (29).

29 oraik to fish (by spear or bow and arrow) (or or77 'to follow' aik78 'fish')

pakmalep to mourn (pak 'go to' malep 'widow')

plakori to hunt for wild animals (plak 'with' kori 'dog')

30 U=panpan patu oraik ur elau panpan ṭpil 46
 1p.RS=until stay fishing follow saltwater until blow.up 46

kaitau ru=mat.
fish.sp. 3p.RS=die

They went fishing in the sea until we had dynamited 46 karong. (021:27)

31 Komam u=to pakmalep.
 1p.exS 1p.exRS=STAT mourn

We are mourning. (elicited)

32 Nrak-pei wak mil i=lap pe lap pe lap.
  time-first pig wild 3sgRS=many IF many IF many

Kau mil ru=lap pe lap. U=pan plakori.
  cow wild 3p.RS=many IF many 1p.exS=go hunt

In the early days there were very many wild pigs. There were very many wild bullocks. We went hunting. (98017bz, 1169.44, 1175.40)

77 or is a variant form of ur 'to follow'.

78 Note that naik, fish, occurs without the article n- in this compound showing either that the compound preserves a relic form, or that the article is analyzable and is not fused (see §5.2 on the degree of fusion of the article [na-/ n-] in South Efate). Lynch (p.c.) observes that the POe form is *na ika so that fusion as naik has led to reinterpretation as n-aik rather than na-ik.
In example (33) *pi asel* is a compound form which is transitivized with -*ki* to introduce the Patient of the verb ‘being friend’ to.

33 Iwelkia a=po **pi-asel-ki** tete nanwei ni natkon.  
well 1sgRS=PSP be-friend-TR some men of village  
*Well I became friends of some boys in the village.* (98007az, 2474.0201, 2480.6200)

34 To go tāpes ra=tme-**r** **pi-asel-ki-r**.  
fowl and swamphen 3d.RS=RR-3p.DP be-friend-TR-3p.O  
*The chicken and the swamphen were friends.* (078:1)

Several V+N compounds are based on the verb *preg* ‘to make’, resulting in intransitive verbs as in examples (35) and (36).

35 Nañier got ru=tok **preg-nasuni** ki lop.  
people black 3p.RS=HAB make -house PREP bamboo  
*Black people make houses from bamboo.* (17:35, written example)

36 I=piatlak natkon nen ru=mer **preg-nafkal-ki-r**.  
3sgRS=havevillage that 3p.RS=again make-fight-TR-3p.O  
*There are villages who keep fighting each other (make fight to them).* (089:16)

The South Efate verb-noun compounds are not highly productive but they are lexicalized via nominalization. In fact, nominalization provides further evidence in favor of the verb+noun acting as a unit (see §5.4), for example, *pi asel* can be nominalized as a unit (*nafiaselwen* ‘friendship’) which suggests that it forms a V+N compound.

### 9.1.1.3. pe verbal conjoiner, intensifier

The semantics of a verb can be emphasized by conjoining one or more copies of the verb stem with *pe* ‘intensifier’. Only the first verb is inflected in this construction, as seen in example (37).

37 Rait to ses i=pios pe pios.  
mother fowl small 3sgRS=call.out IF call.out  
*The chicken’s mother called and called.* (98003bz, 1874.5, 1877.8)

38 I=kerkrai, nafsan gar kin i=kerkrai pe kerkrai sa.  
3sglRR=hard story 3p.POS REL 3sglRR=hard IF hard bad  
*It is hard, their story is hard, very hard (lit: ‘badly hard’).* (98012 JC)

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79 Pawley (1986) comments on Fijian verb-noun compounds acting as non-specific objects, saying that they provide “an economical and productive means for lexicalisation—for creating standardised expressions for referring to recurrent types of action” (1986:99–100).
Verb combinations

The meaning encoded by *pe* and the repeated stem typically results in an emphatic meaning with stative verbs (e.g., *top pe top* ‘very many’), and a durative meaning with the one active verb with which it occurs in the data (e.g., *nrir pe nrir* ‘to fly and fly’).

- *lap* to be many  
- *nrir* to fly  
- *pios* to call out  
- *pram* to be long  
- *rog* to be wrong  
- *sa* to be bad  
- *top* to be too much  
- *wi* to be good

The construction can be extended to more than two identical verb stems (39) for additional emphasis.

We stayed at this man’s house, but there were lots and lots and lots of us.

(98010az, 1505.3399, 1511.6599)

Such iteration is usually accompanied by distinctive intonation involving lengthening of the vowel in each of the verbs (in this case *lap* ‘be many’) and successive downstepping in frequency as shown in the spectrogram below (Figure 9:1.) where there is a decrease in the size of the waveform with each successive utterance of *pe lap*.

![Spectrogram of intonation associated with *pe* 'intensifier'](image)

**Figure 9:1. Spectrogram of intonation associated with *pe* ‘intensifier’**

### 9.1.2. Pseudo-serial verbs

As discussed in the introduction, there are four types of verb combinations which can be excluded from consideration as serial verbs on distributional grounds. In this section I will outline what form these verb combinations take.
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under the headings: Auxiliary verbs (§9.1.2.1.); Adverbial modification of verbs (§9.1.2.2.); Prepositional verbs (§9.1.2.3.); and Directional verbs and particles (§9.1.2.4.).

9.1.2.1. Auxiliary verbs

There is a small set of thirteen verbs (listed in [40]) which occur in auxiliary position and which do not participate in compounds or in serial verb constructions. The same verbs can also function as main verbs, but as auxiliary verbs they occur in a clearly defined auxiliary position which distinguishes them from their occurrence as main verbs. Some of these occur as auxiliary verbs with higher frequency than as main verbs. Auxiliary verbs are part of the pre-verbal complex that precedes both the main verb and the position in which a benefactive phrase may appear. The structure of the auxiliary is discussed in detail in §10.1.5. Significant for our current discussion is the fact that auxiliary verbs encode features of ability (tae ‘be able to’, kano ‘be unable to’, mal ‘not want to’), modality (lakor ‘maybe’, mas ‘must’, nrus ‘just’, traem ‘try’), direction (ler ‘return’, mai ‘come’, pan ‘go’, to ‘stay’, ‘be at’) and sequentiality (mer ‘again’, pei ‘first’) which are typical of the semantics of serial verb constructions (e.g., the categories of directional, sequential, and manner as outlined in Crowley 2002, or Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:47). As typological discussions of serial verbs often refer to the semantic types of verbs that can be serialized it is important to note that these features are encoded by the auxiliary in South Efate and not in serial verb constructions.

40 Auxiliary verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kano</td>
<td>be unable to, can’t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakor</td>
<td>maybe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ler</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mal</td>
<td>not want to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas</td>
<td>must</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mer</td>
<td>again, in turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrus</td>
<td>just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pei</td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traem</td>
<td>try</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tae</td>
<td>know, be able to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>do habitually, stative, durative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To illustrate the function of auxiliary verbs consider (41) in which the benefactive phrase is present, represented by the pronoun gag ‘2sgBEN’, showing that the auxiliary verb kano ‘be unable to’ occurs in the pre-verbal complex distinct from a main verb position.

41 A=kano gag saen. 1sgRS=be.unable 2sgBEN sign

*I can’t sign for you.* (98017az, 176.1464, 177.7206)

Now consider the following examples in which a hash (#) indicates the position at which a benefactive phrase could occur and so is the rightmost boundary of the pre-verbal complex. In (42) the direction of the motion encoded in the verb lek ‘to look’ is given by the auxiliary mai ‘come’.

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Verb combinations

42 Ru=preg munwei ru=mai # lek-a-o.
3p.RS=make healer 3p.RS=come look-TS-3sgO
They got the healer, they came to look at it (the spirit that would be exorcized). (98011a, 1525.5001, 1528.0005)

In South Efate the auxiliary has a major role in encoding direction, as in (43) where each of ler mai ‘return come’ (43a), ler pa ‘return go’ (43b), and mai to/tu80 ‘stay’ (43c) occur as auxiliary plus main verb pairs.

43a U=ler mai pak Emlakul malnen
1p.exRS=return come to p.name when
u=pareki Efat.
1sgRS=go.to p.name
We came back to Malakula when we went to Efate. (98007bz, 2043.0132, 2047.7401)

43b Ru=ler pa.
3p.RS=return go
They came and then returned. (98009b, 434.7800, 443.7601)

43c Go ru=mai tu elau Egis e-sa.
and 3p.RS=come stay beach p.name LOC-here
And they came and stayed at the coast at Egis here. (98002bz, 958.8800, 961.4000)

9.1.2.2. Adverbial modification of verbs
Adverbial modification of verbs is manifested by two contiguous forms, one of which is a verb and the other an adverb. Adverbs are a word class independent of verbs and cannot function as verbs on their own. In this section I will give some examples to show that adverbial modification cannot be considered verb serialization in South Efate.

The adverb prakot ‘anyhow’ follows the verb pes ‘to speak’ in (44).

44 Tija i=kano pan pes prakot, ke=mas pes
teacher 3sgRS=cannot go speak anyhow 3sglRR=must speak

taos nafsan leg.
follow language right
The teacher can’t speak any old how, he must use the right language.
(20001b, 648.1400, 651.9606)

80 The forms tu and to vary freely as the stative verb.
Some adverbs precede the verb and some follow. One that always precedes the verb it modifies is *trau* ‘really, just, only’, as seen in (45).

45 Tu=pitlak grup ru=trau lap.
1p.exRS=have group 3p.RS=really many
*We have very many groups.* (98009a, 1434.0600, 1435.4)

The adverb *termau* ‘for good’ cannot occur on its own, but only ever functions as a modifier, as in (46).

46 Tete-nrak ra=preg-i-∅ nen kin ke=fo mat.
some-time 3d.RS=make-TS-3sgO that REL 3sgIRR=PSP:IR die
Ke=fo mat termau.
3sgIRR=PSP:IR die properly
*Sometimes they would make him die. He would die for good.* (98007az, 403.1599, 414.2600)

In (47) *pelpel* is an adverb modifying the preceding verb *sef* ‘to escape’ which follows the auxiliary verb *tae* ‘be able’. This is the only example that has a different adverbial (*pelpel* ‘quickly’) and verbal (*trapelpel* ‘be quick’) form (compare this example with 63 below).

47 I=tae sef pelpel me katom i=kano.
3sgRS=be.able escape quickly but crab 3sgRS=unable
*He can escape quickly, but the hermit crab cannot.* (98009az, 57.4200, 60.2238)

These examples, together with the discussion of adverbs in §4.8, show that verb + adverb combinations can be identified in South Efate and that we need not regard them as operating as serial verb constructions.

9.1.2.3. Prepositions and deverbal prepositions

Prepositional verbs form a class which has been recognized for many Oceanic languages, and which has been reconstructed by Pawley (1973:142ff) for Proto Oceanic. Durie (1988) suggests these verbs result from a diachronic drift from serial verb constructions. In South Efate the group of verbs shown in (48) can function as prepositions and so when they follow another verb there is some difficulty in identifying them as either prepositions or as the second verb in series. The task of identifying prepositions in this position is made more difficult because prepositions can take an object suffix in South Efate which makes them even more verb-like. These forms occur mainly in the position following a verb in the data.

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81 Schütz (1969a:58-59) identifies 'verbal prepositions' in Ngunese, which function both as prepositions and verbs. The cognates of some of these forms only function as prepositions in South Efate, e.g., *tefla* ‘like’, while others only function as verbs or directional particles e.g., *to(k)* ‘to stay’.
Verb combinations

48  
*skot*  
with/be with
*plak*  
with, accompany/to take
*toklos*  
in front of/to be in front of
*pak*  
to/go to
*nrokot*  
across/to cross
*taos*  
like/to be like

In the three next examples we see *skot* ‘with/be with’ first in (49) acting clearly as a main verb (following a reflexive/reciprocal particle and so in a position that can only be filled by a verb), then in an environment in which it could be analyzed either as part of a compound verb or as a preposition following a verb stem (50), and finally as a preposition (51).

49  
Tesa nmatu me tesa nanwei te-lap ru=tme-r  
child female and child male DET-many 3p.RS=RR-3p.DP

skot-i-r  
to me ru=ta lak mau.  
be.with-TS-3p.O stay but 3p.RS=NEG marry NEG2
Lots of girls and boys stay with each other, but they don’t marry. (98009a, 1178.0399, 1188.0600)

50  
Ku=matur skot tm-a-m go rait-o-m.  
2sgRS=sleep with father-V-2sgDP and mother-V-2sgDP

You sleep at your father and mother’s. (20003az, 2047.1645, 2048.9001)

51  
Ale u=pak namlas skot arni.  
ok 1p.exRS=go.to bush with army

Okay, we went to the bush with the army. (98002az, 109.2800, 112.8200)

In (52) *plak* functions as a preposition and has no subject proclitic.

52  
Praem minista, Presiden, plak, a, minista go nafet na prime minister presiden with hesit minister and group ART

bisnisman nen ru=to taon go aotsaed ru=nomser mai. businessmen REL 3p.RS=stay town and outside 3p.RS=all come

*The Prime Minister, President, with Ministers and many businessmen who are in town and outside, they all came.* (98002az, 1158.9400, 1183.8800)

In (53) *plak* is used first as a preposition and then as a verb with a subject proclitic.

53  
Bourgeois plak loia ga. Bourgeois i=plak loia.  
p.name with lawyer 3sgPOS p.name 3sgRS=be.with lawyer

*Bourgeois with his lawyer. Bourgeois was with a lawyer.* (98002az, 957.0604, 964.0800)
In the following example, *pak* ‘to go to’ functions as a verb immediately following the prospective PVC particle.

54 Me nanwei ga ke=fo pak e-talñat
   but man 3sgPOS 3sgIRR=PSP go.to LOC-garden
   i=slat nafnag i=paunamru, ke=mai
   3sgRS=carry food 3sgRS=carry 3sgIRR=come put-TS-3sgO
e-sumñ me nmatu kin ke=fo preg nafnag.
   LOC-home but woman COMP 3sgIRR=PSP make food

*The man goes to the garden, gets food, carries it, and puts it in the house.*

(065:32) (98003b, 969.8800, 983.4600)

In (55) we see *pak* following a verb of motion, *pan* ‘go’, and as it has no verbal marking (such as a subject proclitic or pre-verbal complex) *pak* is functioning as a preposition.

55 Go namrun nen ru=sef ler pan pak Ermag pa.
   and something this 3p.RS=escape back go to Erromango go
   *And these things ran away back to Erromango.*

(032:18) (98001az, 2126.1599, 2131.8400)

In summary, when a deverbal preposition occurs immediately following a verb it is regarded as acting as a preposition and not as a verb in series.

### 9.1.2.4. Directional verbs and particles

There are three directional verbs (using terminology from Durie 1988:11): *pa* ‘go’, *mai* ‘come’, and *to* ‘stay’ which, in addition to acting as main and auxiliary verbs, can occur following a locational object, or directly following a main verb. They can thus occur in a range of positions that is more extensive than that of other verbs. In this position following a main verb or a noun they specify a location or direction and do not act as a verb, which is why they are regarded as particles. In this section I give examples of each in both positions, first as a verb and then as a directional particle. In (56) *mai* ‘come’ acts as a main verb.

56 U=mai na ko=fak esuriñ.
   1p.exRS=come PURP 1p.exRS=go.to:IR house
   *We came in order to go to the house.*
   (Kalsarap.mov, 50.3001, 52.795)

In (57) *mai* acts as a directional particle following the noun *raru* ‘canoe’.

57 Nærer nen ru=pa raru mai.
   people that 3p.RS=drive canoe hither
   *Those people bring canoes.*

(20003az, 29.9000, 34.7000)
Verb combinations

In (58) we see *pa* as a directional particle in *siwer pa* ‘walk go’, and then following ‘British police’.

58  I=to siwer pa, go i=to siwer pareki 3sgRS=STAT walk thither and 3sgRS=STAT walk go.for British police pa. " go

*He walked away, and he walked off for the British police.* (98014az, 1568.1401, 1571.3)

While these forms are called ‘directional’ they also include a stative *tu/to* as in (59) and (60).

59 Go malnen ru=pak Erakor pa=n, Erakor ga i=pi and when 3p.RS=go.to p.name go=DST p.name 3sg 3sgRS=be namlas tu.
bush stay

*And, when they went to Erakor, Erakor was just bush.* (98002bz, 988.4200, 990.72)

In (60) the directional particle *to* ‘stay’ occurs twice, once following the verb *mat* ‘die’ and then following the location, *elau* ‘the sea’.

60 Ru=si-r. Ra=mat to elau to. 3p.RS=shoot-3p.O 3d.RS=die stay sea stay

*They shot them. They died at sea.* (005a, 255.3400, 273.4400)

To express the direction ‘from’, the combination of *to* ‘stay’ and *mai* ‘come’ is used as in (61), an extract from a traditional story which tells of mackerel coming ‘from’ the forest or the bush.

bush hither

*The fish came from the bush. Mackerels. They came from the bush.* (98007bz, 1589.0200, 1595.6830)

62 Kotfak mane ko=fo sat-i-ø ler mai. half money 1p.exlRR=PSP:IR take-TS-3sgO return hither

*We took half of the money back.* (98003bz, 694.2285, 696.1992)

There is one example in the data, given in (63), where *trapelpel* acts as a verb, but *sef* ‘hurry escape’ acts as a directional particle. This could reflect a broadening of the word class of directional particles but there are too few examples to generalize further at present.
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Me selwan i=ur nmalnawen i=trapelpel sef
but when 3sgRS=follow beach 3sgRS=hurry escape

nag ke=kus.
so.that 3sglRR=hide
But when he followed along the beach he hurried to escape. (020:3)

The current analysis treats directional particles as modifiers when they occur following another verb, and not as verbs in series. Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002:46) observe that directional particles of the kind discussed here are common in Oceanic languages and are “presumably derived from earlier directional serializations,” which appears to be the case for South Efate.

9.2. Enumeration of verbal constructions in South Efate
To show that verbs in South Efate overwhelmingly occur as single stems I present the results of a count in five texts (Table 9:4.) which shows that, of the 544 predicates in the texts, 94 percent were represented by single verbs, and 6 percent are expressed by compound verbs (combining the two kinds enumerated in Table 9:4.). A count of the number of auxiliary verbs in the same text sample is given on the right of the chart. As auxiliary verbs do not function as predicates the figures are not given as percentages of the total, but are included to show how common auxiliary verbs are in the data considering that they play a role that would, in other languages to the north (e.g., Namakir [Sperlich 1993] and Lewo [Early 1994]), be played by serial verb constructions. The texts counted are made up of five monologic narratives by five different speakers (texts 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7 in the Appendix) and a 16-minute extract of natural conversation from a court hearing with multiple interlocutors. In all cases there is an overwhelmingly strong preference for single verb stems.

Table 9:4. Sample texts, predicate types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single main verb</th>
<th>Compound— asymmetrical</th>
<th>Compound— symmetrical</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>AUX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narratives</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>92.98%</td>
<td>2.49%</td>
<td>4.63%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court hearing</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>95.82</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>4.18%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>94.30%</td>
<td>1.29%</td>
<td>4.41%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

82 Recorded at an Erakor Village Court hearing with multiple participants.
10. The verb complex

The verb in South Efate occurs within a discontinuous verb complex constituent. The usual TMA marking associated with a verb phrase in Oceanic languages is readily separated from the verb in South Efate by a benefactive phrase occurring immediately before the verb. Subject pronominals are obligatorily proclitic to the verbal complex (except in clause chaining §12.3.2.). The subject proclitic attaches to whatever follows, which will be one of (a) an element of the pre-verbal complex, or (b) a benefactive phrase, or (c) the verb stem. Pronominal proclitics are described in the section on pronominals (§5.1.3.2.) where a list of all forms is presented.

The verb complex can stand as the minimal sentence which can be made up simply of a subject proclitic and verb. The verb slot can be filled by a single verb stem or a compound verb (§9.1.1.). Similarly, the verb complex can constitute a minimal clause. The object of the verb follows, encoded by a suffix or by a nominal (but not by both, see §8.1.3.). The final element in the Verbal Complex is the perfective, as shown in the schema in (1). Each of the elements of the verb complex will be discussed in turn below.

1 \[ S= (PVC) \text{ (Benefactive Phrase)} V \begin{cases} = O \text{ Pron} \\ O \text{ NP} \end{cases} \text{ (PF)} \]

In descriptions of other Oceanic languages a constituent, usually called the verb phrase (VP), is taken either to include both the verbal head and associated material (typically modifiers and TMA markers) and the subject and object markers (e.g., Hyslop 2001:23), or else just the associated material, excluding the nominal arguments associated with the verb (e.g., Crowley 1982:118). Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002:43), in their overview of Oceanic VPs, include enclitic pronominals as part of the VP. It has been necessary in these cases to distinguish the VP under discussion from the VP known from transformational syntax and its descendants. For example, Crowley (1998:189) observes that “the verb phrase as it is described in Erromangan does not correspond to what is often referred to in the same way in grammars of other languages.” Partly because of that potential confusion, but mainly because of the facts of South Efate grammar, I do not use the term ‘verb phrase’ for a constituent in South Efate.

10.1. The pre-verbal complex (PVC)
The cluster of particles in the slots following the subject pronoun form the pre-verbal complex. The maximal pre-verbal complex is made up of the following components:

2 \[ \begin{cases} (ASP)(DUR)(NEG) \\ (NEG)(CND/may) \end{cases} \begin{cases} \text{AUX} \begin{cases} RR + DP \\ \text{QUANT} \end{cases} \end{cases} \]

PVC1 PVC2

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We also need to distinguish two constituents within the pre-verbal complex that we will call PVC1 and PVC2, as only members of PVC1 are permitted between the proclitic and the irrealis form of a stem-initial mutating verb (see §6.4.5.1.).

PVC1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASP</th>
<th>Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>Durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negation, formed by two parts, the first preceding the negated proposition and the second (NEG2) following it. The first part of the negation may also occur within the AUX, depending on the scope of the negation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CND/may</td>
<td>Conditional/may</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PVC2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>Auxiliary verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RR+ DP</td>
<td>Reflexive/reciprocal and direct possessive suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUANT</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A small group of modifiers or adverbs occur directly adjacent to the main or auxiliary verb that they modify. As their distribution depends on the verb they are modifying they are not included in the general schema above but are discussed in §4.8. above.

The conditional particles (CND/may) can only occur directly following the subject proclitic (and NEG if present) and can only be followed by the auxiliary verb or later material.

Some examples of the pre-verbal complex follow, each with a third line showing how the elements relate to the schema in (2):

3 Ale kai=pe mai to esum.
   ok 1sgPS=PF:R come stay house
   S=ASP AUX VERB
   Okay, I came and stayed at home. (98010bz, 1034.6400, 1038.0200)

4 Tiawi ru=ta to mtir natus mau tetwei.
   old.people 3p.RS=NEG HAB write book NEG2 long.ago
   S S=NEG AUX VERB
   The old people didn’t write books (didn’t write in books/on paper) in those days. (20003az, 474.3559, 476.8401)
The verb complex

5 Mama ga ke=fo tae tme-n lekor-wes.
mother 3sgPOS 3sgIRR=PSP:IR know RR-3sgDP look.after-3sgOBL
S=ASP AUX RR-DP VERB

Her mother would be able to look after her herself. (98003bz, 1199.9680, 1202.4599)

6 Me tete nat ru=ta tu mai lek kineu,
but some people 3p.RS=DUR HAB come see 1sg
S=DUR AUX AUX VERB

tete nat ko=tae.
some people 1p.exIRR=know

But some people would still come and see me, some people we know. (98016bz, 860.3473, 864.8)

Auxiliary verbs can also occur as main verbs, and their role as either a main
verb or a member of the pre-verbal complex can be distinguished on the basis of
the position they occupy, often with an accompanying semantic difference as
exemplified in §10.1.5. A diagnostic of the status of a verb as a main or
auxiliary verb is the possible presence of a benefactive phrase immediately
preceding the main verb, thus separating the main verb from the pre-verbal
complex.

Each of the elements of the pre-verbal complex is described in turn below,
but first we need to consider the status of the PVC and its parts. There is a tight
bond between elements of PVC1 such that pauses typically occur before or after
but not within PVC1, depending on the number of its parts. That is, a short
pre-verbal complex of only one or two parts is more word-like than is a longer
pre-verbal complex (e.g., 5 above). The process of medial vowel reduction (cf.
§3.6.1) does not apply within the PVC, which suggests that the PVC is not
functioning as a single unit, but is a collection of morphologically distinct units.

10.1.1. Aspect
There are two particles in the PVC that encode aspect: pe perfect (glossed as PF)
and po fo prospective (glossed as PSP). The prospective marker has a realis
(p-initial) and irrealis (%-initial) form whose distribution is discussed in §6.4.5.1.
Aspect is also encoded in pronominals (§5.1.3.2.1.) and the interaction between
aspect markers and pronominals is discussed in §6.3.

Example (7) illustrates the perfect aspect marker pe in a sentence in which
the action (eating eight men) was completed in the past.

7 Kai=pe pam natañol ki=pe pi eit ki.
IsgPS=PF:R eat man 3sgPS=PF:R be eight TOP

I have eaten eight men. (lit: I have eaten men they were eight.)
(019:41)(004a, 392.9400, 398.2599)
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Example (8) illustrates the prospective aspect marker. It is part of a life story in which the speaker talks of a time when he was arrested. Despite the event occurring in the past, the prospective marker is used to show that the arrest would occur after the other events in the story.

8 Neu me ru=po ares-ki kineu.
1 sg but 3p.RS=PSP:R arrest-TR 1 sg
Me, they would arrest me. (98002az, 671.0600, 675.2200)

10.1.2. Negation
In this section I will outline the role of negation in the pre-verbal complex. A more general discussion of various types of negation can be found in § 11.6. The negative particle in the PVC, ta(p)\textsuperscript{83} ‘NEG’, precedes the proposition it is negating, in either PVC1 or PVC2. In the auxiliary in PVC2, NEG can only occur following the first item, mer ‘again’, in the data. It is the first part of a discontinuous negation construction of which the second, and sentence-final, part is mau NEG\textsubscript{2}.\textsuperscript{84} Discontinuous negation is a feature of Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:51). The second part of the negation must occur sentence finally as shown in (9b). In (9c) the second part of the negation follows the auxiliary and is not grammatical in this position.

9a Ki=mai pi as.
3 sgPS=come be coconut-crab
He became a coconut-crab. (elicited)

9b Ki=ta mai pi as mau.
3 sgPS=NEG come be coconut-crab NEG\textsubscript{2}
He didn't become a coconut-crab. (elicited)

9c *Ki=ta mai mau pi as.
3 sgPS=NEG come NEG\textsubscript{2} be coconut-crab
He didn't become a coconut-crab. (elicited)

Similarly, example (10a) shows the normal placement of NEG\textsubscript{2} sentence-finally, while (10b) shows an unacceptable version with NEG\textsubscript{2} directly following the verb, and (10c) shows an unacceptable version with NEG\textsubscript{2} directly following NEG.

10a Me i=tap metpakor nafsan nig apap nega mau.
but 3 sgRS=NEG forget story of father 3 sgPOS NEG\textsubscript{2}
But he didn't forget his father's story. (014:12) (004b, 831.1001, 838.5400) (KN)

\textsuperscript{83} Tap also acts as a main verb as outlined in § 11.6 on negation.

\textsuperscript{84} In Ngunese Schütz (1969a:40) calls mau a limiting element which is apparently not obligatory in this position.
The verb complex

10b *Me i=tap metpakor mau nafsan nig apap nega.
but 3sgRS=NEG forget NEG2 story of father 3sgPOS
But he didn’t forget his father’s story. (elicited) (005Ax, 2615.5400, 2667.9400)

10c *Me i=tap mau metpakor nafsan nig apap nega.
but 3sgRS=NEG NEG2 forget story of father 3sgPOS
But he didn’t forget his father’s story. (elicited ) (005Ax, 2615.5400, 2667.9400).

Further examples of the discontinuous negation marker follow:

11 Ru=ta trok mau.
3p.RS=NEG agree NEG2
They don’t agree. (98001b, 1083.5200, 1084.5972)

12 Me malpei tiawi ru=tap preg nasuń
but long.ago ancestors 3p.RS=NEG make house
ki kapa mau.
PREP tin NEG2
But long ago the old people didn’t make houses from tin. (20001az, 312.9201, 323.4995)

13 Ru=ta involv top pak nanre ni sapot, ko
3p.RS=NEG involve much to side of support or
enkarij-ki nafet tesa reki nanre skul mau.
encourage-TR group child for side school NEG2
They are not involved as far as support or encouragement for the children at school. (20001b, 431.4400, 440.7000)

14 Ru=ta nrik kineu ki gas kin ka=fo
3p.RS=NEG tell 1sg PREP when COMP 1sgIRR=PSP:IR
jenj-ki-n mau.
change-TR-3sgO NEG2
They didn’t tell me when I would change it. (98004a, 1492.802, 1495.806)

The only example of mau ‘NEG2’ not occurring sentence finally is (15) in which it is followed by the temporal adjunct tkal mes ‘until today’, possibly added as an afterthought.

15 Me a=ta ta jenj-ki-n mau tkal mes.
but 1sgRS=DUR NEG change-TR-3sgO NEG2 touch today
But I still haven’t changed it until today. (98004a, 1489, 1492.8)
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There is free variation between tap and ta as we see in example (16) where there are two sentences from the same speaker, with the same phonological environment, the first expressed by ta and the second by tap.

16 Komam u=ta weswes skot loto mau.
   1p.ex 1p.exRS=NEG work with car NEG2

   Komam u=tap weswes skot enjin mau.
   1p.ex 1p.exRS=NEG work with engine NEG2

   We didn't work with cars. We didn't work with engines. (98003bz, 492.5200, 500.7600)

While most examples in the data include both parts of the negation, there are examples where the second part of the negation is absent, usually in questions, and typically in the casual speech of younger people. The following examples (all spoken by a young woman) show the absence of mau NEG2, which we would expect to appear at the end of these sentences.

17 Wel kia ki=pe ta wi taoi kin tetwei a?
   thus PR 3sgPS=PF NEG good like COMP old INJ
   Well it is not good like before, eh? (070:29) (98009az, 614.94, 619)

18 Rui=pe ta mur na ruk=nrog a?
   3p.PS=PF NEG want say 3p.IRR=hear INT
   They don’t want to hear, they don’t believe, eh? (070:32) (98009az, 635.3, 638.1)

   It is more common for the second part of the negation to be absent when the first part of the negation is pronounced tap, as in (19).

19 Me komam ni Efate te-pur ru=tap weswes.
   but 1p.ex of Efate DET-big 3p.RS=NEG work
   But we from Efate, many don’t work. (98017az, 2100.4288, 2103.0284)

   As tap is also the negative verb meaning ‘to not do something’ it is possible that conversion between the verb and particle accounts for the lack of the second negative marker with tap more often than with ta.

10.1.3. ta durative

The durative marker ta encodes an activity that is ongoing, and is best glossed as ‘still’. In (20) the context is a discussion of the merits of independence for Vanuatu, and the speaker says that the two governments of the Condominium should have been still left to still continue educating the people, to still give them knowledge.
The verb complex

20  U=tl-i-∅ i=wi tuk=ta tao
1p.RS=tell-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=good 1p.inclIRR=DUR leave

kafman nnanru rak=ta tu-kit ntaewen
government two d.IRR=DUR give-1p. knowledge

ke=ta lakor pa.
3sgIRR=DUR maybe go

We said it is good (that) we still leave the two governments to keep giving us education, that it might still go on. (045:46)

In (21) the speaker notes that, even though the main plaintiffs have died, a court case they brought is still coming, using the durative ta to express the fact that it has still not occurred.

21  S. i=mat, R. i=mat, me kes nen
S 3sgRS=dead R 3sgRS=dead but case that

i=ta to mai.
3sgRS=DUR STAT come
S. died, R. died, but that case still kept coming. (98016bz, 1088.8400, 1092.7200)

We need to distinguish the durative ta from the homophonous negative ta ‘NEG’. Negation is discontinuous and the negation markers usually occur in pairs of the form ta(p) ... mau (as discussed above in §10.1.2.). In example (22) there are two ta particles but only one NEG2 particle mau. Thus we know that only one ta can be the negative marker and the other ta must be the durative marker. The scope of the negation in (22) could be the whole proposition (if the first ta is the negative), as in reading (22a), or a potential and equally valid reading (out of context) would be (22b), where the scope of negation is only over the final verb rather than the whole complement of the verb mro ‘to think’.

22a  A=ta mro-ki-n na ruk=fo mer
1sgRS=NEG think-TS-3sgO say 3p.IRR=PSP:IR in.turn

   ta puet kineu mau.
DUR take 1sg NEG2
I don’t think that they would still take me. (98014az, 591.8, 594.4400)

22b  A=ta mro-ki-n na ruk=fo mer
1sgRS=DUR think-TS-3sgO say 3p.IRR=PSP:IR in.turn

   ta puet kineu mau.
NEG2 take 1sg NEG2
I still think that they would not take me. (98014az, 591.8, 594.4400)
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The following examples also show the co-occurrence of the negative and durative markers. In each case the translation is the one given in context.

23 Nasum ru=ta ta pelgat-i-ø mau.
house 3p.RS=DUR NEG open-TS-3sgO NEG2

*The house, they still haven't opened it yet.* (98002az, 1107.9600, 1111.5)

24 Malnen i=ta ta mram wi mau, a.a.
then 3sgRS=DUR NEG light good NEG2 INJ

*Back then it still wasn't light* (i.e., *Christianity wasn't established*).
(98010az, 1158.1399, 1167.5400)

The combination of the durative particle and negative verb tik 'to not be' gives the reading of ‘not yet’ as in example (25), where the speaker discusses a man who has a girlfriend, but does not yet have any children.

25 Ki=pe pitlak asel ga me i=ta
3sgIRR=PF have friend 3sgPOS but 3sgRS=DUR

tik-ki tesa.
not.have-TR child

*He had his girlfriend, but he still doesn't have any children.* (98007az, 2557.5201, 2569.7400)

10.1.4. *ffla* conditional (CND) and ‘may’

The conditional particles are *f*, glossed as conditional (CND), and *fla*, glossed as ‘may’. In the data they do not co-occur with any other PVC particles except negation following the subject proclitic, and are themselves followed only by the auxiliary and/or the main verb. While they share the same morphosyntactic slot and can both function within a clause to express conditionality, they differ in that *f* ‘CND’ encodes a condition such that the clause (the protasis) often requires a following contingent main clause (the apodosis), while *fla* ‘may’ does not require a following clause encoding the consequences of the action.

We may expect that a conditional statement would correlate with irrealis mood as it encodes the possibility of an event occurring rather than its actual occurrence. However, all examples in the data show that the realis and not the irrealis form of the pronoun is used with both *f* and *fla* (see also the discussion of mood marking in §6.4.4.). Example (26) shows both particles in the same sentence and illustrates their respective functions. It is a reflection on the speaker’s time as a soldier in World War Two when he was deciding whether to go to the Solomons with the US army. The first clause frames the condition (‘If I went’) and the second clause encodes the consequence.
The verb complex

26 A=f mer pa me a=fla lakor wel Jimmy S.
1sgRS=CND in.turn go but 1sgRS=may maybe like p.name
If I had gone, I might be like Jimmy Stevens. (Jimmy Stevens who went to the Solomons and came back alive.) (041:22) (98003a, 1845.2000, 1851.4200)

Example (27) shows two tokens of the conditional. The first is in a conditional main clause, while the second occurs in a subordinate clause and functions to reinforce the conditionality and to jointly form the protasis with its matrix clause which has its apodosis in the third clause ilakor wi ‘it may be good’.

27 I=f weI kin ta=f tigpiel i=lakor wi.
3sgRS=CND thusCOMP 1d.RS=CND exchange 3sgRS=maybe good
If we were to exchange it would be good. (lit: If that if we exchange it would be good.) (004b, 1002.4400, 1009.4801) (KN)

Turning to the second conditional particle, example (28) illustrates the use of fla ‘may’ in discussing the number of residents in villages before Europeans came.

28 Tete gar ru=ta fla tkal fifti mau.
some 3p. 3p.RS=NEG may touch fifty NEG2
Some may not have reached fifty. (090:21) (98017bz, 188.0999, 196.8000)

Sentence (29) was said to encourage an old man who was unsure about telling a story on tape. He was told that he ‘may forget’ (using fla ‘CND’) some parts of the story but that that should not stop him from telling it.

29 Nlaken ku=fla suñneki sef ntau go nana
because 2sgRS=may not.know what year and whatever
me ṃa=traus-i-0.
but 2sglRR=tell-TS-3sgO
Because you may not know which year or whatever, but you tell it.
(98002az, 2043.0599, 2054.2799)

In a discussion about courtship the following sentence includes two conditionals, ifla pan ‘he may go’, and ifla mal ‘he may not want to’.

30 Me wel-ki-n tem tesa nanwei i=fla pa=n me
but thus-TR-3sgO father child male 3sgRS=may go=DST but

tem tesa nmatu i=fla mal ke=fo
father child female 3sgRS=may not.want 3sglRR=PSP:IR
And the boy's father may go (to ask for the girl) but the girl’s father may not want it, he (the boy’s father) will go back again. (066:106)(98003bz, 1426.4999, 1441.1400)

10.1.5. Auxiliary verbs

I use the term auxiliary for the group of verbs that appear within the PVC. In South Efate the immediately pre-verbal position is a slot for the benefactive phrase (discussed in §11.4.2.) and the preceding verbal elements have become grammaticized into auxiliary verbs. Following Steele (1999:50) the positional and morphological resemblance of the auxiliaries to verbs are the main reason for not treating these elements simply as pre-verbal particles. In fact, as each of these stems can also occur as main verbs it appears that their function as auxiliary verbs results from a reinterpretation of an earlier serial verb construction. The auxiliary position can be distinguished structurally by its position before the slot in which a benefactive phrase can occur (as shown in (31)).

A further proof of the status of auxiliary verbs can be found in the distribution of the couplet pelpel ‘quickly’ and trapelpel ‘to be quick’. The adverb pelpel only occurs modifying a main verb and cannot act as a main verb by itself as we see in (32b), unlike trapelpel which can only appear as a main verb and is never a verbal modifier. While the translation of (32a) uses the adverb ‘quickly’, in fact trapelpel ‘to be quick’ is the main verb following the auxiliary verb mai ‘come’.

32a Go tuk=fo tae preg nawesien gamus nen and 1p.inclRR=PSP:IR know make work 2p.O that ke=mai trapelpel.

3sgIRR=come be.quick

And we would be able to do your work so that it would come quickly.

(98018az, 1336.2400, 1340.3400)

32b I=tae sef pelpel me katom i=kano.

3sgRS=be.able escape quickly but h.crab 3sgRS=unable

He can escape quickly, but the hermit crab cannot. (98009a, 62.6800, 65.2313)

85 For example, consider these equivalent structures, (i) in Namakir (Sperlich 1991) which uses a core-layer SVC, and (ii) South Efate which uses an auxiliary and main verb.

i) Ko marisa ko daliw ‘2sg cannot 2s walk’
ii) Ku=kano siwer ‘2sgRS=be.unable walk’
Using *trapelpel* ‘be quick’ as a diagnostic of a main verb position in the Verb Complex we can show that *tae* ‘be able to’ is part of the auxiliary in (33) because it is followed by *trapelpel* and not *pelpel* as it would be if *tae* were acting as a main verb.

33 Rak=fregnrog-o-o nen rak=tae *trapelpel*.  
2/3d.IRR=try:IIR-TS-3sgO that 2/3d.IRR=be.able be.quick  
*They try to[they], they can hurry.* (98010az, 128.8400, 139.4000)

The set of verbs that can appear in the auxiliary position is quite small, as shown in Table 10:1. Auxiliary verbs occur with ordering restrictions that identify four groups, with the first group ordered before the second and so on when they co-occur, although there is no example of all four co-occurring.

### Table 10:1. Auxiliary verbs

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<tr>
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<th>1*</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>mer</strong></td>
<td>again, in turn</td>
<td><strong>kano</strong></td>
<td>be unable to</td>
<td><strong>ler</strong></td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lakor</strong></td>
<td>maybe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mal</strong></td>
<td>not want to</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mas</strong></td>
<td>must</td>
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<td><strong>nrus</strong></td>
<td>just</td>
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<td><strong>pei</strong></td>
<td>first</td>
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<td><strong>traem</strong></td>
<td>try</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tae</strong></td>
<td>know, be able to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>to</strong> **</td>
<td>do habitually (HAB)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In the data the negative particle *ta* only appears in this position in the auxiliary, following the first element of the auxiliary *mer* ‘again’.

** The habitual *to* can occur after some members of its own group 2 (*tae to, mal to*) which may, with further examples, require the specification of a further slot between 2 and 3 in Table 10:1.

Some examples of the ordering of auxiliary verbs follow. In (34) we can see that *mer* and *ler* are both in the auxiliary rather than main verb position because the benefactive *ga* ‘3sgBEN’ intervenes before the main verb *traus*.
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34 Pa=mer ler ga trans-i-Ø tell-3sgO how
2sglRR=again return 3sgBEN tell-TS-3sgO how
fat nen i=mai.
rock that 3sgRS=come
You tell him again how that rock came. (MW 28/9/98)

In the next example we see the ordering of three (bolded) auxiliary verbs.
35 Go ra=mer ler mai nrik kafman ki-Ø.
and d.RS=again return come tell government PREP-3sgO
And we (2) went back to tell the government about it. (022)

Examples of each auxiliary verb in turn follow, and for each item the first example includes a benefactive phrase, illustrating the point that these verbs can occur in the pre-benefactive position, and hence are acting as auxiliary verbs.

10.1.5.1. mer ‘again’, ‘in turn’ (Group 1)
The following examples illustrate the auxiliary mer ‘again’, which can also mean ‘in turn’ (39), or ‘too’ (38).
36 I=mer ga preg timen i=lim.
3sgRS=again 3sgBEN make arrow 3sgRS=five
He again got five arrows for him. (98017bz, 2601.1651, 2602.8588)

37 Ru=mer ta lek kineu mau.
3p.S=again NEG look 1sg NEG2
They didn’t see me again. (063:95)

38 Nafet tija plak Sante skul a=mer
group teacher with Sunday school 1sgRS=again
lekor-wer ntau i=laru nen a=mer
look.after-3sgOBL year 3sgRS=seven that 1sgRS=again
lekor tesa skul e-sa.
look.after child school LOC-here
All the teachers and the Sunday School, I looked after them too for seven years and the children too at the school here. (040:40, 98003a, 1232.4, 1242.4)

In addition to meaning ‘again’ mer can also mean ‘in turn’. In the following example the chief is suggesting to his village that maybe they should marry

86 For a discussion of the scope of ‘again’ see Evans (1995:239) with specific reference to the Australian language Mayali.
some foreigners. There is no suggestion that the addressees were married before and are getting remarried, hence the reading of mer as 'in turn'.

39 A=mro-ki-n nag akam u=f mer taulu tete.
1sgRS=think-TR-3sgO say 2p. 2p.RS=CND in.turn marry some.
I think that you should now marry some. (012:26)

The following example is from a discussion of the visit of an anthropologist who stayed at Erakor in the 1960s. The speaker refers to my (i.e., the addressee’s) visit in 1998 saying kumer mai to ‘you again come stay’. As I had not visited before, the event that occurs ‘again’, or perhaps, ‘in turn’ is the (extremely rare) visit of an interested outsider.

40 Me nañolien ni mes, kin ag ku=mer mai
but life of today COMP 2sg 2sgRS=in.turn hither
to, nañolien ni mes i=kerkerai.
stay life of today 3sgRS=hard
But life today, which you have in turn come to, life today is hard.
(98003bz, 355.1600, 362.7400)

10.1.5.2. kano ‘be unable’ (Group 2)
The following examples illustrate the auxiliary kano ‘to be unable to’, ‘cannot’.

41 A=kano gag saen.
1sgRS=unable 2sgBEN sign
I can’t sign for you. (98017az, 175.69, 177.5105)

42 Me i=kano pan pai nasok, i=kano pan kuk,
but 3sgRS=unable go fill rubbish 3sgRS=unable go cook
pan ke=fei piatlak wik i=nru i=tol.
go 3sglRR=firstlR have week 3sgRS=two 3sgRS=three
But she can’t collect the rubbish, she can’t cook, until there’s been two weeks, three weeks [after she has given birth]. (98003bz, 1175.8, 1183.5999)

43 Go nmatu i=kano taos mes.
and woman 3sgRS=unable be.like today
And a woman couldn’t (do what she does) like today. (065:54) (98003bz, 1124.0799, 1129.8399)

44 Ku=kano lek tesa i=sigpir. Ku=kano lek
2sgRS=unable see child 3sgRS=disobey 2sgRS=unable see
tesa i=til nafsan sa.
child 3sgRS=tell language bad
You wouldn’t see a child disobey. You wouldn’t see a child use bad language (in the good old days). (98007bz, 527.2600, 537.8599)

45 Ru=kano totan skot apap me iak reki natrauswen.
3p.RS=unable sit with father and mother for story
They can’t sit with their father and mother for stories. (20001b, 348.7556, 331.3600)

10.1.5.3. lakor ‘maybe’ (Group 2)
The following examples illustrate the auxiliary lakor ‘maybe’.

46 Tete ru=lakor gag traus-i-0?
some 3p.RS=maybe 2sgBEN tell-TS-3sgO
Maybe someone told you it? (PW 98014b)

47 Matol ga ke=fo lakor mer mai go?
tomorrow 3sg 3sgIRR=PSP:IR maybe again come and
Maybe tomorrow he’ll come again, or what? (98005a)

48 A=lakor pitlak ntau twelвен nñas.
1sgRS=maybe have year twelve only
Maybe I was only twelve years old. (98017bz, 1116.4991, 1118.4599)

10.1.5.4. mal ‘not want’ (Group 2)
The following examples illustrate the auxiliary mal ‘to not want’.

49 Ru=mal neu ps-i-0.
3p.RS=not.want 1sgBEN put-TS-3sgO
They didn’t want to put it (there) for me. (98016bz, 478.5800, 484.1400)

50 Ru=mal mai ripot-ki-0.
3p.RS=not.want come report-TR-3sgO
They don’t want to come and report it. (98018b, 1088.2, 1089.5199)

The next example includes a common collocation, mal + to ‘stative’, which means ‘don’t want to’. The use of to ‘stative, habitual’ in this expression breaches the ordering of auxiliary verbs given in (33). However, the use of to in this expression is best treated as idiomatic, and so not governed by the normal ordering restrictions given in (33).

51 Ru=mal tl-i-0, i=pitlak tete nen ru=tae
3p.RS=not.want tell-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=have some that 3p.RS=know
The verb complex

tl-i-ø, go tete nen ru=mal to tl-i-ø. 
tell-TS-3sgO and some that 3p.RS=not.want STAT tell-TS-3sgO They don’t want to say. There are some that can say, and some that will not say. (98010az, 2215.6350, 2220.7139)

10.1.5.5. mas ‘must’ (Group 2)
The Bislama-derived mas ‘must’ is well established as an auxiliary verb in South Efate. Some examples of its use follow. There is no example in the data of mas occurring with a following benefactive phrase.
52 Tesa ruk=mas tae mes. 
child 3p.IRR=must know today 
Children must know today. (98016bz, 545.9, 547.5779)
53 Go tuk=mas preg tefla, vernacular nen kin nafsan and 1p.IRR=must make thus " that REL language ke=mas ler mai pak natkon. 
3sglRR=must return come to village 
And we must do this, the vernacular, the language, must come back to the village. (20001b, 509.9600, 519.3800)

10.1.5.6. nrus ‘just’ (Group 2)
There are few examples of nrus ‘just’ acting as an auxiliary verb, and no examples in the data of it occurring before a benefactive phrase (where it would prove its position in the auxiliary).
54 Ru=mer nrus mai pak Ekasufat. 
3p.RS=in.turn just come to p.name 
Then they just came to Ekasufat. (98007az, 63.4364, 66.7399)
55 Atlag ni November 1999 mai, a=nrus pan sat month of " " come 1sgRS=just go take experience nanre ni public service. " side of " " In November 1999 I just went and got experience in the public service. (20003az, 1411.8999, 1424.2303)

10.1.5.7. pei ‘first’ (Group 2)
The following examples illustrate the auxiliary pei ‘first’.
56 Kineu kai=pei gamus preg nag i=to. 
1sg 1sgPS=first 2p.BEN make that 3sg=stay I first got it for you, (lit: I first for you made that it existed.) (98018az, 1668.7, 1670.6563)
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This example is from text 6 in the Appendix, which is part of a demonstration of roof thatch making in which the rowat 'sago' leaf is first pinned to hold it to the coconut spathe, before the rest of the thatch construction can be undertaken.

57 Ka=fo mer pei mas, mas pin.
1sgIRR=PSP:IR again first must must pin
I must then first pin (it). (20001az, 84.1800, 87.4891)

10.1.5.8. traem ‘try’ (Group 2)
The following examples illustrate the auxiliary traem ‘to try’. Traem is a Bislama form that is now well incorporated into South Efate. The equivalent in South Efate is pregnrog ‘try’, and the two can co-occur as we see below, but the South Efate form does not function as an auxiliary verb in the data.

58 A=mur-i-n na pα=traem ga preg
1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO say 2sglRR=try 3sgBEN make
tete nalkis gag.
some medicine 2sgPOS
I want you to try to make some of your medicine for him. (20001b, 2471.3018, 2478.1613)

59 Tuk=traem pamor tete solusen preg nen
1p.lincRS=try find some solution make that
proplem ke=nom.
problem 3sglRR=finish
We try to find a solution so that there are no problems. (98018az, 1054.69, 1057.4200)

There are several examples of both the Bislama traem and the South Efate pregnrog occurring together, always with traem in the auxiliary position and pregnrog in the main verb position (there are no examples of either form co-occurring as both auxiliary and main verb in the one sentence).

60 Ko=traem pregnrog-o-o nen kin semale tefla ne
1p.exlRR=try try-TS-3sgO that COMP everything like this
pα=tap tkal-i-o mau.
2sglRR=NEG touch-TS-3sgO NEG2
We try (to try?) so that you don't touch everything like this. (98018az, 2046.7188, 2045.8600)

61 pα=traem pregnrog-o-o nen kin pα=freg-i-o.
2sglRR=try try-TS-3sgO that REL 2sglRR-TS-3sgO
You try to attempt to do it. (98018az, 2304.3, 2306.0601)
The verb complex

10.1.5.9. *tae* ‘be able to’ (Group 2)
The following examples illustrate the auxiliary *tae* ‘to be able to’. As a main verb *tae* typically means ‘to know’, as we see in (65). The semantic range of *tae* is similar to that of *save* in Bislama.

62 I=lel na, tete munwei nen ke=tae ga
   3sgRS=look ART some healer that 3sgIRR=be.able 3sgBEN

   pamor nlak namsaki ga.
   find trunk sickness 3sgPOS

   He looks for some healer that can find the cause of his sickness for him.
   (98009b, 1080.8035, 1085.7400)

63 Go ru=preg boe ru=tae weswes nanre ni planter.
   and 3p.RS=make boy 3p.RS=know work side of planter

   And they make some boys know how to work with the planters. (98017az, 2470.7199, 2480.4799)

64 I=f wel ku=f tae neu pakot tete
   3sgRS=CND thus 2sgRS=CND know 1sgBEN pay some

   namrun ni nasuĩ...
   thing of house

   If you could buy me some household things... (98016bz, 115.7909, 118.4729)

65 Me ku=tae wak ĕur nen i=ta pi wak mau.
   but 2sgRS=know pig big that 3sgRS=NEG be pig NEG2

   But you know that big pig is not a pig at all. (004a, 211.5600, 215.9000)

10.1.5.10. *to* ‘habitual’ (HAB) (Group 2)
The auxiliary *to* means ‘to do habitually’ (HAB) while the main verb *to* usually means ‘to be in the state of’ (STAT) as shown in (69).

66 Ru=f to nigmam traus-i-ơ, ko=fo tae,
   3p.RS=CND HAB 1p.exBEN tell-TS-3sgO 1p.exR=PSP:IR know

   me gar i=tik.
   but 3p.3sgRS=not

   If they had told it to us, we would know, but they didn’t. (20001az, 771, 777.4000)

67 Go semale nen ru=to ler pa.
   and everything that 3p.RS=HAB return go

   And everything there would go back. (98001az, 2126.1599, 2128.0473)
68 Gar nent ru=to lekor nmatu e-sumit.
3p. REL 3p.RS=HAB watch.over woman LOC-house
They look after women at home. (98003bz, 1073.3799, 1076.0999)

In (69) we see the stative use of the main verb to, describing the activity of looking from up high in a tree (similar to the use of stap in Bislama).

69 Pa=fa=n pag-ki natog to elag to, ku=tae
2sgIRR=go=DST climb-TR mangrove at high at 2sgRS=be.able
to lek nait.
STAT see figtree
You go and climb the mangrove up high, you will be able to see the fig tree. (98007bz, 1796.4001, 1801.4400)

10.1.5.11. ler ‘return’ (Group 3)
The following examples illustrate the auxiliary ler ‘to return’, which usually occurs following the auxiliary mer ‘again’. Even when it occurs without mer, ler ‘return’ can mean ‘again’, as it refers to something that returns, which can include an event. In (70) the child’s homesickness makes him return to thinking about his own place.

70 Tesa i=na i=kai go ki=ler mro pak
cchild 3sgRS=begin.to 3sgRS=cry and 3sgIRRX think to
esan ga.
place 3sgPOS
The child began to cry and his thoughts returned to his place/he again thought about his place. (98009b, 101.9800, 110.6601)

71 Pa=mer ler ga traus-i-σ teflan
2sglIRR=again return 3sgBEN tell-TS-3sgO how
fat nen i=mai.
rock that 3sgRS=come
You tell him again how that rock came to be there. (98002bz, 1986.7, 1988.44)

72 If wel kin tuk=mer ler
3sgRS=CND thus COMP 1p.exlIRR=again return
sat kastom gakit.
take custom 1p.incPOS
If we went back to taking our custom. ... (98010a, 2372.9, 2376.3251)
The verb complex

73 Malnen u=ler mai pak Efil, naintin torti-eit.
then 1.p.exRS=return come to p.name nineteen thirty-eight
Then we returned to Vila, 1938. (98011a, 224.3800, 234.8000)

10.1.5.12. mai ‘come’ (Group 4)
The following examples illustrate the auxiliary mai ‘to come’. The use of the auxiliary mai, and pa/pan in the same group, is, together with directional particles (§9.1.2.4.), the main means of encoding direction. Verb serialization does not play this role in South Efate.

74 Pa=mai ni Kaltog preg nalkis.
2sglIRR=come for p.name make medicine
You bring medicine for Kaltong. (20001b, 2445.1, 2451)

75 Ru=mai tao Baibol.
3p.RS=come leave bible
They came and left the Bible. (98002az, 787.5063, 790.1599)

76 Kai=pe mai matur e-surñi.
1sgPS=PF come sleep LOC-house
I came back to sleep at home. (20003az, 1052.3, 1053.7000)

10.1.5.13. pa/pan ‘go’ (Group 4)
The following examples illustrate the auxiliary pa/pan ‘to go’, which has the same meaning as when it is used as a main verb.

77 Komam natamol kerkerai ko=fo tae pan gar
1p.ex people strong 1p.exIRR=PSP:IR know go 3p.BEN
slat-i-ø mai.
carry-TS-3sgO come
We strong people would be able to carry it for them. (98003b, 740.7001, 746.0200)

Example (78) is about a spirit who needs to be given a woman as an offering. The villagers will go and give him a live woman, so the sentence includes a benefactive, providing the diagnostic environment for the auxiliary status of pan ‘go’.

78 Go ru=po pan ga ps-i-ø i=ñol.
and 3p.RS=PSP go 3sgBEN put-TS-3sgRS 3sgRS=live
And they would go and put her there, alive, for him. (98009b, 461.9656, 464.2800)

When acting as a main verb pan ‘go’ is reduplicated it means ‘to keep on going’, or ‘until’.
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79 Ra=pan pan pan. I=mer lao-ki-∅ nagis ni Erueti. d.RS=go:RED 3sgRS=again plant-TR-3sgO point of p.name
They went and went until he placed (shellfish) at Erueti point. (20003bz, 397.6799, 401.3741)

10.1.6. tme/tmo ‘reflexive/reciprocal, emphatic’ (RR)
The reflexive/reciprocal (RR) particle tmo can occur when there is identity between the subject and the object, or to emphasize that the subject is the actor. A pronominal suffix to the RR particle indexes the object which is coreferential to the subject. These pronominal suffixes are almost all identical to the (nominal) direct possessive forms rather than the (verbal) object suffix forms which suggests a nominal origin for the reflexive particle (see the discussion on types of reflexives and reciprocals in Lichtenberk 1994).

The reflexive function of this particle can be seen in example (80).

80 3sgRS=go.to sea go ES RR-3sgDP turn-TA-3sgO
He went to the water and he turned himself around. (98001b, 1108.9999, 1117.8400)

The RR construction is transitive in South Efate even though the subject and object of the verb are identical. Thus, in (81) the transitive form of the verb lel ‘to look for’ is used in an RR construction rather than the intransitive le ‘to look’.

81 Ke=fa=n tme-n lel nrau ke=tme-n
look.for dry.coconut
She would herself go and look for laplap leaves, herself look for dry coconut. (98003bz, 991.0800, 999.5599)

Similarly, in (82) the ambitransitive verb mtir ‘to write’ takes the transitive suffix and O suffix, indicating it is acting in a transitive construction. The reflexive/reciprocal particle in this example is acting to emphasize the 2sg subject.

82 Ag ku=pitlak ntaewen, ag pa=fo
2sg 2sgRS=have knowledge 2sg 2sgIRR=PSP:IR
You have knowledge, you will write it yourself. (98009a, 1917.0189, 1920.5800)

The reflexive/reciprocal marker has the form tme in 3sg and 3p.
The verb complex

The relative ordering of the durative, stative and RR particles can be seen in the following example.

83 1941 me natañoł ru=ta to tme-r si-r.
" but people 3p.RS=DUR STAT RR-3p.DP shoot-3p.O
In 1941 people were still shooting at each other. (98003a, 1583.0199, 1586.5)

Lichtenberk (1994:3506) discusses the use of reflexives when a part rather than the whole of a participant is affected by his or her action and the part that is affected is specified in addition to the reflexive marker. Example (84) shows that nraeikit 'our foreheads/faces' further specifies the reflexive object.

84 Preg tak=tmo-kit lek nrae-kit i=tik.
make 1d.IRR=RR-1p.DP look face-1p.DP 3sgRS=not
Look face to face, no. (lit: Make we (2) to ourselves look at our faces, no.) (066:89)

Reciprocity can be seen in the next example in which a reflexive reading would imply that each person chose themself instead of the correct reading in which some of those spoken about chose each other.

85 Tete ru=tme-r mtaba-e-r.
Some chose each other. (98017az, 2271.6600, 2274.02)

In (86) the participants paint themselves, and the location of the painting is further specified by the directly possessed nakor 'their faces'. A reciprocal reading is possible here in which each participant painted another’s face.

86 Ru=sat nas timen ru=tme-r mtaba nak-o-r.
3p.RS=take bow arrow 3p.RS=RR-3p. write face-V-3p.DP
They took bows and arrows, they painted their faces. (lit: they painted themselves [on] their faces.) (089:35) (98017az, 898.4600, 904.8800)

The RR particle also emphasizes the subject, as in the use of 'self' in English expressions like 'I did it myself'. This emphatic use of the reflexive is illustrated in the following examples.

87 Ag ku=pilak ntaewen, ag pā=fo tmo-m
2sg 2sgRS=have knowledge 2sg 2sgIRR=PSP:IR RR-2sgDP
mtab-i-o.
write-TS-3sgO
You have knowledge, you will write it yourself. (98009az, 1937.6490, 1940.3600)

Example (88) comes from a story about choosing marriage partners. The subject is an impersonal 2sg (similar to ‘one’ in English) and the RR particle emphasizes that one chooses one’s partner oneself.
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88 Ag ku=tmo-m jus-ki-n.
2sg 2sgRS=RR-2sgDP choose-TR-3sgO
You choose him yourself. (070:102) (98009az, 1310.4535, 1311.8)

When both an emphatic and reflexive/reciprocal meaning are possible we can use the context to determine which is intended. For example, only an emphatic meaning is sensible in (89) for which the reflexive reading would be that the witness should come and talk to himself. This example also shows the ordering of the reflexive/reciprocal following an auxiliary verb.

89 Me witness ke=mas mai tme-n pes.
but witness 3sglRR=must come RR-3sgDP talk
The witness must come and speak him/herself. (98018az, 1676.6, 1679.0800)

There are no examples of the RR occurring with a benefactive construction, and it appears that it is simply not possible to have a structure like that in (90). It may be that the reflexive/reciprocal and benefactive compete for the same position.

90 *Ru=tme-r nigneu preg nafnag.
3p.RS=RR-3p.DP 1sgBEN make food
They made food for each other for my benefit. (constructed example)

10.1.7. Quantifiers
Quantifiers that can occur in the PVC are:
- mau(i) all, big group
- nomser all, every one
- nru two, both
- skei one, alone

Each of the quantifiers is exemplified in turn below. In example (91) the AUX mer ‘again’ precedes the quantifier mau ‘all’.

91 Selwan ntas i=ler pan go u=mer
when sea 3sgRS=return go and 1p.exRS=again

maui to wi.
all stay good
When the sea went out again, we all were good again (after a cyclonic high tide). (98007az, 1458.6844, 1463.1001)

In example (92) the quantifier nomser ‘all’ precedes the main verb mai ‘come’.

92 Katom ru=nomser mai pak naor i=skei.
h.crab 3p.RS=all come to place 3sgRS=one
The hermit crabs all came to one place. (98009az, 264.6, 266.5503)
The verb complex

In example (93) the quantifier *nru* ‘two’ follows the AUX *tae* ‘to know, be able to’ and precedes the main verb *pa* ‘go’.

93  Pa=tae  nru  pa.
2sgIRR=be.able  two  go
You can both go. (98002az, 1330.5000, 1332.2341)

In (94) the quantifier *skei* precedes the verb *ler* ‘to return’.

94  Ka=mur  na  ka=fo  skei  ler.
1sgRS=want  COMP  1sgIRR=PSP:IR  one  return
I want to return by myself. (20001az, 1134.6, 1136.3599)

10.2. Object in the verb complex

The object is encoded either as a pronominal suffix, or as an NP. Two examples are given here, and a more detailed treatment of pronominal suffix objects can be found in the discussion of the NP in §5.1.3.3.1. and in the discussion of the form of the transitive suffix that hosts the O suffix in §8.1.

The plural suffix -\(r\) ‘3p.O’ occupies the slot immediately following the transitive suffix as seen in (95).

95  Ru=po  pa=n  msag-i-r  nanre  nawen  i=pen.
3p.RS=PSP  go=DST  fetch-TS-3p.O  side  sand  3sgRS=heap
They would go and get them from where the sand heaped up. (98002b, 2179.6, 2181.5)

The lexical O follows the verb (96) and never occurs with the suffix O.

96  I=pa=n  min  nalkis.
3sgRS=go=DST  drink  medicine
He went and drank medicine. (005a, 1596.0599, 1598.8164)

10.3. *su* Perfective

The perfective *su*\(^{88}\) encodes a completed action, and occurs at the end of the Verb Complex, either directly after the verb, or following the object.

97  Ru=fla  pan  fam  su  ru=mer  mai.
3p.RS=may  go  eat  PF  3p.RS=again  come
If they finished eating they came back again. (98010bz, 336.9199, 343.7000)

98  Kineu  a=pam  natarfiol  i=tol  su.
1sg  lsgRS=eat  man  3sgRS=three  PF
I have eaten three men. (004a, 371.8400, 391.9201)

---

\(^{88}\) Crowley (1998:128) calls the identical perfective suffix -\(su\) in Sye a post-Object suffix.
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99 Komam u=skul pan u=skul su.
1p.ex 1p.exRS=school go 1p.exRS=school PF
We schooled until we finished school. (98010bz, 1465.3, 1468.9)

Su is also a verb meaning ‘to go down’, as shown in (100), and Hopper and Traugott (1993:79) note that the grammaticalization of terms for ‘down’ to a completive or perfective is not uncommon in languages of the world.

100 Ale ku=siwer su mai pak napu nen
ok 2sgRS=walk down come to road REL
i=nran i=pat-wes.
3sgRS=divide 3sgRS=four-3sgOBL
Okay, you walk down, come to the road that divides four ways. (98017az, 1012.9799, 1026.7200)
11. Simple sentences

Having described key constituents in the grammar of South Efate we now move on to observe how they combine into larger units. This chapter provides a definition and examples of core arguments and adjuncts before describing simple sentences, including topicalization, question formation, and negation.

11.1. Arguments in South Efate

South Efate is a head-marking language (Nichols 1992), in which core arguments are encoded by pronominals attached to the Verbal Complex. Core syntactic arguments encoded in this way in South Efate are S, the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs, and O. There has been some discussion in the literature concerning the status of pronominal affixes and whether they encode or cross-reference arguments (Austin and Bresnan 1996; Bresnan and Mchombo 1987; Lichtenberk 1997). As the subject proclitic is obligatory (except for the special construction of clause chaining §12.3.2.) we regard it as representing the subject argument, so any other nominals acting in the role of subject are considered to be co-indexing the argument. As the object suffix can alternate with a lexical object either can be considered the head of the object NP.

Table 11:1. sets out the criteria for distinguishing S, O, and oblique arguments as well as adjuncts in South Efate.

Table 11:1. Criteria for distinguishing S, O, obliques, and adjuncts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>– proclitic and lexical subject precede the verb.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First object</td>
<td>– proclitic is the only obligatory argument.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– suffix and lexical O follow the verb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– presence of suffix is subject to certain conditions (see §8.1.3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– required with transitive and ditransitive verbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Object</td>
<td>– typically introduced by prepositions (ki, ni), but may not be as in the case of some double object constructions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– required with ditransitive verbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjunct</td>
<td>– optional elements not required by the verb.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can test the argument status of the nominal following a verb by ascertaining if it can be encoded by a suffix on the verb. For example, in (1a) there are two double object constructions (in bold face). To determine which of the two nominals acts as the first object of the verb *tu* ‘to give’ we can construct an alternative formulation for the last part of this sentence as in (1b), in which

---

89 I distinguish bound from lexical instantiation of arguments, and for this purpose regard any free form that can stand as an argument as lexical, including free pronouns.
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the recipient is encoded by a suffix (-2sgO)\(^{90}\) indicating that the recipient functions as an O. There is no equivalent way of encoding the theme (ntaewn ‘knowledge’) directly on the verb.

1a I=tilmori i=pitlak sup kerkrain me i=piatlak iwelkia
3sgRS=tell-true 3sgRS=own habit strong but 3sgRS=own so

\[ i=\text{tu ag ntaewn i=tu kineu ntaewn}. \]
3sgRS=give 2sg knowledge 3sgRS=give 1sg knowledge

It’s true he was a hard man, but he gave you some knowledge, he gave me knowledge. (087:64) (98017a, 2459.2800, 2470.7801)

1b ...i=tu-o-k ntaewen i=tao ntaewen.
3sgRS=give-TS-2sg0 knowledge 3sgRS=give 1sg knowledge

...he gave you knowledge, he gave me knowledge. (elicited)

Adjuncts occur as either a juxtaposed NP expressing the time or location of the action encoded in the verb, or as an instrumental or comitative prepositional phrase. In (2) the temporal adjunct kotfan ‘afternoon’ is juxtaposed and follows the intransitive verb matur ‘to sleep’.

2 U=pak Tanna pulpog u=pa mai matur kotfan.
1 p.exRS=go.to Tanna morning 1 p.exRS=go comesleep afternoon

He worked for the tribunal, we went to Tanna in the morning, would go and come back in the afternoon to sleep. (060:44) (98002az, 543.2399, 551.2400)

In (3) there are two adjunct NPs, the first Sak Bei ‘Shark Bay’ indicates the location, and the second namba faef ‘number five’ indicates the time of the event, which is encoded in the intransitive verb matur ‘to sleep’.

3 U=mai matur Sak Bei namba faef.
1 p.exRS=come sleep p.name number five

We came and slept at Shark Bay on the fifth. (021:31) (004b, 1476.7200, 1481.0371)

In example (4) we see two prepositional phrases, skot apap me iak ‘with father and mother’ and reki natrauswen ‘for stories’. Both follow the verb but neither is required by the intransitive verb totan ‘to sit’.

4 Ru=kano totan skot apap me iak reki natrauswen.
3p.RS=cannot sit with father and mother for story

They can’t sit with father and mother to hear stories. (20001b, 349.2386, 351.3600)

\(^{90}\) The second verb in (1b) tu ‘to give’ has a suppletive 1sgO form tao in (1b) which also indicates that the object can be encoded on the verb here, but not as a suffix in this case due to the idiosyncratic nature of this verb.
Example (5) shows the position of the NP expressing location following the verb and marked by the locative prefix (e-).

5 Ru=wat-gi=r, e-nrom nana, prison.
They hit them, inside prison. (98014az, 1946.6, 1948.7599)

It is not uncommon for location NPs (e.g., Tontar in 6) to occur following the verb with no locative marker.

6 U=pa-n torwak Tontar.
1p.excrs=go=DST anchor p.name
We went and dropped anchor at Tontar. (005a, 214.5600, 217.5)

11.2. Simple sentences
As discussed in the introduction to Chapter 10, the basic sentence in South Efate is often realized simply as a Verb Complex with bound pronominal arguments. Arguments can be reinforced for discourse purposes by the use of lexical nouns which may be topicalized or left-dislocated for greater prominence.

The following sections outline basic clause structure, then the use of topicalization, dislocation, and clefting as methods to increase discourse prominence, and finally we will discuss question formation and negation. Complex sentences are discussed in Chapter 12.

11.2.1. Verbal clauses
The basic order within verbal clauses is SVO. The subject proclitic is obligatory (except in chained clauses, §12.3.2.) and the subject may additionally be expressed by a lexical noun. The O may be expressed by a pronominal suffix. A minimal sentence consists of a verb stem with a subject (and object suffix). Thus iskotir ‘she was with them’ in (7) is a grammatical South Efate sentence on its own.

7 Ra=pitlak tesa nmatu iskei. I=skot-i-r to.
3d.RS=have child girl one 3sgRS=be.with-TS-3p.O stay
They had a daughter. She stayed with them. (98009b, 1180.8999, 1187.4000)

Where a subject is expressed lexically it usually has the function of emphasizing the subject in the sentence, as in (8) where tesa ‘children’ is the subject of a command, ‘eat the bananas!’.

8 Tesa, ko=pam nanrmem!
children 2p.IRR=eat banana
Children, you eat the bananas! (98017bz, 648.54, 650)
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In (9) natrauswen ‘story’ is the subject which is further marked on the verb by the proclitic i= ‘3sgRS’.

9 Go natrauswen nen i=nom esa.
   and story that 3sgRS=finish here
   And that story finishes here. (98003bz, 211.5600, 214.8400)

An O may be expressed by a pronominal suffix (-k ‘2sgO’) as in (10), or by a lexical item as in (11) where it is the free pronoun kineu ‘me’ which acts as the O.

10 Ka=fo kano pestaf-i-k ke=top.
   1sgIRR=PSP:IR be.unable talk-TS-2sgO 3sgIRR=much
   I won’t be able to speak to you too much. (98018az, 2098.3124, 2101.4)

11 Mama neu i=to maet-ki kineu.
   mother 1sgPOS 3sgRS=STAT angry-TR 1sg
   My mother would be angry with me. (20003az, 2060.4266, 2064.7634)

With ditransitive verbs (§7.1.7.) the verb is followed by the Recipient and then the Theme, both of which can be unmarked NPs, as in the following two examples.

12 Ra=to tu tesa tete nanromien.
   3d.RS=STAT give child some present
   They would give children some presents. (005a, 915.6766, 919.6292)

13 Malfane ke=fo tu-kit naik.
   now 3sgIRR=PSP:IR give-1 p.inclO fish
   Now he will give us fish. (98011a, 1960.1599, 1968.0400)

11.2.1.1. Equative and existential clauses

Equative and existential clauses make use of the copula verb pi ‘be’. As an illustration of the verbal nature of the copula in South Efate it can appear in irrealis form as shown in (14). Recall from §6.4.5.1. that only particles of the PVC and verb stems permit stem-initial mutation.

14 Go gar ru=mai kleim nen ru=freg nen
   and 3p. 3p.RS=come claim that 3p.RS=make:IR that
   ke=fi dispiut.
   3sgIRR=be:IR dispute
   And they made a claim so that there would be a dispute. (20003az, 706.7001, 709.7400)
As further proof of the verbal status of pi consider example (15) where pi is preceded by the PVC particle lakor ‘maybe’, which can only precede verbs.

15 Go i=lakor pi te-wan natrauswen nñas and 3sgRS=maybe be det-one story only
nen a=pitlak-e-n ki.
that 1sgRS=have-TS-3sgO TOP
And that is about the only story that I have. (98007az, 2009.5400, 2012.9)

The copula in South Efate is used in equative structures to assert the identity of two entities (cf. Payne 1997:114), one being the subject and the other being in the predicate. Examples of such structures are given below.

16 Me nmatu nen ru=pi nmatu ni nafet ofisa.
but woman that 3p.RS=be woman of group officer
But those women are the wives of all the officers. (98003az, 1767.3399, 1773.9799)

17 Me natañol i=skei i=pi natañol ni Banks.
but man 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=be man of p.name
But this man, he is a man from the Banks Islands. (20001b, 1199.6000, 1203.6808)

In (18) the pronominal subject equates to the NP ‘the husband of the child of a man from Bufa’ by use of the copula pi.

18 Ga i=pi marik ni tesa ni marik ni Eþuf.
3sg 3sgRS=be man of child of man of p.name
He is the husband of the child of a man from Bufa. (20003az, 239.2201, 242.5)

In (19) pi introduces a temporal, ntau ten ‘ten years’, equating the time today with the ten years that the speaker was a teacher.

19 Mes i=pi ntau ten nen a=tij.
today 3sgRS=be year ten REL 1sgRS=teach
Today it is ten years that I have taught. (20001b, 74.7599, 78.9771)

A final example of an equative structure is given in (20), where the speaker uses the copula to equate the proclitic tu= ‘1p.inRS’ with naflak iskei ‘one clan’.

20 Me tu=pi naflak i=skei.
but 1p.inRS=be clan 3sgRS=one
And we are one clan. (98017az, 370.5, 373.9200)
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Similar to the sentences described above are those formed with *pato* ‘to be at’ which specifies the location of the subject.

21 I=pato Kwinslan to, nmatu ga kin, Jeanie.
3sgRS=be.at p.name at woman 3sgPOS REL p.name
He was in Queensland, his wife was Jeanie. (98017bz, 567.7458, 573.3999)

22 Naliati nen kin a=pato Forari, a=to weswes
days that REL 1sgRS=be.at p.name 1sgRS=STAT work
maen Forari.
mine p.name
Those days I was at Forari, I worked in the mine at Forari. (98017bz, 899.1, 902.4499)

Existentials typically serve a *presentative* function (Payne 1997:123), introducing new information into the discourse, but also, as the name implies, asserting its existence. In South Efate the verbs used in existential structures are the copula *pi* ‘be’ and *piatlak/pitlak* ‘to have’, both typically occurring with a third person proclitic to express a general, non-specific subject, as we see in the next examples.

23 Kaltog ki=pe pi nataånol ñur.
p.name 3sgIRR=PF be man big
Kaltong was a big man. (20001b, 1162.6675, 1164.3)

24 Go i=piatlak nasum e-san nalotwen i=pakor-wes.
and 3sgRS=have house LOC-place prayer 3sgRS=appear-3sgOBL
And there is a house at the place where Christianity first appeared.
(005a, 1923.5496, 1928.84)

Existential sentences are similar to equative sentences in employing the copula *pi*, but existential sentences can also use *piatlak* or *pitlak* ‘have’ to encode general existence. Thus, in (25) *pitlak* is used to encode the existence of a devil.

25 Nlaken a=kano kuk aliát nlaken kin i=pitlak
because 1sgRS=unable cook day because COMP 3sgRS=have
ntuam i=skei kin i=to pam-kit.
devil 3sgRS=one REL 3sgRS=HAB eat-1p.inO
Because I can’t cook in the day because there is a devil who keeps eating us. (98017b, 2557.7124, 2563.6)
In (26) the copula introduces the names of two islands created by a snake in a traditional story. The use of a copula with placenames, as in this example, conforms to Payne’s (1997:123) observation that “existential constructions typically require a locational or temporal adjunct.”

26 I=pakotkot naor ne, go i=pi Ekapumlep go Ekapumrik.
3sgRS=split island this and 3sgRS=be p.name and p.name

It (a snake mentioned earlier) split this island, and (now) it is Ekapumlep and Ekapumrik. (20003bz, 866.8, 872.4400)

### 11.2.2. Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses are not common as a type in South Efate, because equational and existential clauses are typically expressed with the copula pi ‘be’ and piatlak ‘have’ as we saw above in §11.2.1. Verbless clauses using a directly possessed noun and its named referent are found in the data, as in the next two examples.

27 Nmatu ne nagi-e-n Litapurog.
woman this name-V-3sgDP p.name
This woman, her name is Litapurog. (98009b, 1299.2, 1302.3999)

28 Nagi kor-e-n Emi.
name sister-V-3sgDP p.name
The name of his sister was Emi. (98001b, 1249.8400, 1255.2801)

It is possible to have a fronted subject, as in (29), and then refer back to it by non-verbal means, in this case using the expression gaki which occurs a few times in the data with the sense of ‘that’s the one’.

29 Kost ni sernale ne ga ki 3.5.
cost of everything this 3sg PREP 3.5
The cost of all this is 3.5 (million vatu). (98016bz, 459.3600, 462.3269)

Locational non-verbal clauses similarly juxtapose the elements, as in (30), where the date and day precede the event that occurs on that day, but without a verb as we would normally find in a topicalized adverbial phrase of manner or time (discussed in §12.2.5.).

30 Namba twentitri, 1934 aliat tap, miting ni Eratap.
number twenty-three * Sunday meeting of p.name
The twenty-third, 1934, Sunday, there was a meeting at Eratap. (005Ax, 146.6000, 152.9201)

In what may be better called a sentence fragment than a verbless sentence, example (31) is in answer to a question about the location of a house in the village. The speaker says it is “down, down, down, at its end”, using direct possession on the noun name‘pang ‘end’ to refer to the contextual possessor, the village.
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31 Etan, etan, etan, namet\textsuperscript{\textlanguageprime}ag-o-n wi.
\hspace{0.5cm} down down down end-V-3sgDP good
\hspace{0.5cm} Down, down, down, at its very end. (98017bz, 1060.9999, 1063.1062)

11.3. Topicalization, left-dislocation, and cleft constructions

The three constructions of topicalization, left-dislocation, and cleft are discussed in this section due to their shared function of placing information in a more discourse prominent position at the front of the sentence. All three constructions can involve NPs functioning as either core or as peripheral arguments. All three typically involve an intonational offset, indicated by a comma, in which the fronted material is distinguished from the remainder of the sentence.

Following Foley and Van Valin (1985:355), both topicalization and left-dislocation result in an “external topic NP followed by a sentence which it relates to in some way.” They distinguish the two constructions by noting that a pronominal trace in the sentence shows that the element has been left-dislocated. Topicalization, on the other hand, leaves a gap in the sentence. As lexical representation of arguments is optional in South Efate we cannot always observe a gap when NPs encoding arguments are topicalized, since the usual representation of arguments is by pronominal affixes. Hence topicalization plays a more reduced role than does left-dislocation in South Efate.

The following sections present examples first of topicalization (§11.3.1.), left-dislocation (§11.3.2.), and finally of clefting (§11.3.3.). The core arguments of subject and object need only be represented by pronominal elements so it is possible that any lexical reference to the subject or O occurring at the front of the sentence could be considered to occur in a discourse prominent position. Furthermore, as the object suffix provide a trace of left-dislocated elements we distinguish (33), which has no object suffix and so exhibits topicalization, from (36), which does have an object suffix (albeit one with zero representation) and so exhibits left-dislocation.

11.3.1. Topicalization

South Efate allows topicalization of the first and second objects and of adjuncts, any of which can be represented by the NP at the left in (32). By definition, as the subject proclitic is obligatory, it cannot be topicalized, as any sentence-external reference to the subject has a trace (the subject proclitic) within the sentence.

32 NP \[sentence S=V-O (NP)]

The O NP (natrauswen ga ‘his story’) is topicalized in (33) with no trace left in the sentence. The gap here is the lack of a cross-referencing O suffix on the verb traus ‘to tell’, which would be trausi-\textsuperscript{\textlanguageprime}O ‘tell-TS-3sgO’ were this a left-dislocated structure.
Simple sentences

33 Kat natrauswen ga nrak lap i=to neu traus.

as story 3sgPOS time many 3sgRS=STAT 1sgBEN tell

Because, his story, many times he told it to me. (004a, 1740.4128, 1743.3459)

Sentences like (34) show a peripheral NP, in this case a temporal noun naliati ne ‘this day’, fronted to increase its prominence. The alternative position for this NP, were it not given discourse prominence, would be following the O NP nafnag ‘pr iskei ‘feast’ (lit:‘this big food’).

34 Naliati ne ko=fo preg nafnag ‘pr iskei.

day this 1p.exIRR=PSP:IR make food big one

This day we will make a big feast. (98017bz, 2287.8600, 2297.0399)

11.3.2. Left-dislocation

The location from which a left-dislocated NP emanates is marked as shown in (35), that is, subject NPs have a cross-referencing focal pronoun (37) (since the proclitic is obligatory it can’t be used as diagnostic of left-dislocation), object NPs have a cross-referencing O suffix (36), and O2 have a cross-referencing suffix on a preposition (38).

35 S NPI [sentence (Pron1) S=V-O (NP)]

O NP1 [sentence S=V-O1]

O2 NP1 [sentence S=V-O1 PREP-O2]

In (36) the O naot negamus ‘your chief’ is left-dislocated and the 3sgO suffix on the verb encodes a reference to the external O. If the O were in post-verbal position there would be no object marking on the verb.

36 Naot negamus, ka=fo puet-i-0 pak elau.

chief 2p.POS 1sgIRR=PSP:IR take-TS-3sgO to sea

Your chief, I will take him to the sea. (022)

In (37) the subject NP mane nen ‘that money’ is left-dislocated, and is then reiterated by a lexical pronoun (ga ‘3sg’), and then by the proclitic subject (i= ‘3sgRS’).

37 Mane nen, (3.6 secs) ga i=pi kos ni imprufmen.

money that 3sg 3sgRS=be cost of improvement

That money (3.6 sec pause) that is the cost of improvements. (98016bz, 414.7399, 424.2999)

In example (38) the peripheral second object is left-dislocated leaving the 3sgO, suffixed to the preposition ki, to mark the position in which a non-dislocated second object would occur.
In (39) it is the location that is left-dislocated and then referenced by the 3sgOBL form wes.

39 **Pandanus restaurant,** a=weswes-wes mal ses.

" " 1sgRS=work-3sgOBL time small

*The Pandanus restaurant, I worked there for a short time.* (98010bz, 1161.8, 1164.8)

In (40) the phrase nafet nawesien ne ‘all this work’ is referenced in the following clause by the 3sgO-n suffixed to the preposition /d.

40 **Nafet nawesien ne** mal i=lap a=slat janis
group work this time 3sgRS=many 1sgRS=take chance

nen kin a=paos-ki-r ki-n.

that REL 1sgRS=ask-TR-3p.O PREP-3sgO

*All this work, many times I took the chance to ask them about it.* (063:118)

In (41) we see two verbless clauses, each with a left-dislocated subject and reference to the subject by use of the directly possessed nagi-e-n ‘name-V-3sgDP’.

41 **Te-plaksok neu, nagi-e-n** i=tefla=n naot

DET-teach 1sgPOS name-V-3sgDP 3sgRS=like=DST chief

Samuel Natañöl nen nagi-e-n, a, (3.7 secs) Fakalomara.
p.name man that name-V-3sgDP hesit p.name

*My teacher, his name was like chief Samuel. That man his name was (3.7 sec pause) Fakalomara.* (98007az, 101.7400, 109.7848)

### 11.3.3. Cleft

Clefts in South Efate can be formed with *ipi* ‘it is’ and with *kin* ‘relativizer’. Those formed with *i=pi* ‘it is’ take the structure in (42).

42 3sgS=be NP Clause

Examples of clefting follow. In (43) the O NP marik nen ‘that man’ is clefted.

43 I=pi **marik nen** ru=tanwei-ø ṭulįpog.

3sgRS=be man that 3p.RS=bury-3sgO morning

*He is the man that they buried in the morning.* (98017az, 881.8487, 885.0199)
Simple sentences

44 Go i=pi stori ses ųnas a=tae tl-i-ơ. And it is just a small story I can tell. (005Ax, 2065.9200, 2068.1136)

45 and 3sgRS=be story small only 1sgRS=know tell-TS-3sgO

Kin-cleft is of the following form:

NP kin clause

In (46) and (47) the clefted constituent is the subject, which is tenen ‘those’ in (46), and Joseph in (47).

46 Te-nen kin ru=pi na tija nigmam. Those who were our teachers. (98011a, 79.8000, 88.9000)

DET-that COMP 3p.RS=be DET teacher 1p.exPOS

47 Joseph kin i=preg report. It is Joseph who made a report. (98018az, 5.77, 7.7199)

p.name REL 3sgRS=make report

In (48) the clefted constituent is the O (what the chief wore).

48 Te-nen kin naot i=ofa-ơ mal-pei. That which the chief wore formerly. (98009b, 604.2200, 610.4600)

DET=that COMP chief 3sgRS=wear-3sgO time-first

In (49) and (50) the location is clefted.

49 Etmat kin i=pi klates. It is Etmat which is the sixth. (98002bz, 864.9412, 867.2600)

p.name COMP 3sgRS=be sixth

50 San kin ku=tu-wes tu, ku=to tu wak. The place which you stay at, you give (food) to the pig. (98001b, 16.3200, 20.1600)

place COMP 2sgRS=stay-3sgOBL stay 2sgRS=STAT give pig

11.4. Adjuncts

Adjuncts are distinguished from complements in that they are always optional (Tallerman 1998:93). The functions encoded by adjuncts include instrument, location, beneficiary, and time. An adjunct may be simply juxtaposed (51) and (52) or represented by a prepositional phrase (§11.4.1.).

In example (51) there is an adjunct (kotfan ‘afternoon’) specifying the time of the event in the preceding sentence, and note that there is no adposition here preceding the adjunct.

51 Tu=fo lakor siwer kotfan. Maybe we’ll walk this afternoon. (98018az, 1291.8599, 1298.1800)

1p.incRS=PSP:IR maybe walk kotfan afternoon
Similarly, in (52) the day and date of the event require no morphological marking and simply occur before the clause to which they are adjoined. The adjunct here is topicalized, but could equally appear following the main clause.

52 Namba twenta fo aliat Mande, u=tu Ajen.
number twenty-four day Monday 1p.exRS=stay p.name
On the twenty-fourth, Monday, we were at Atchin. (005Ax, 154.1600, 159.1463)

11.4.1. Prepositional phrases
A prepositional phrase is headed by a preposition (§4.6) with the following structure:

53 PREP NP

The NP can also be a pronominal form (free or bound) representing the peripheral role that is introduced by the preposition. The prepositional phrase usually follows an NP as in the next examples. Possessive prepositional phrases follow the possessed NP as discussed in §5.3.1.

54 Ale u=pak namlas skot armi.
okay 1p.exRS=go.to bush with army
Okay, we went to the bush with the army. (98002az, 109.2800, 112.8200)

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

56 Ru=tik-ki nfaktanwen pak-, toklos tiawi a?
3p.RS=not.have-TR respect to towards old.people eh
They don’t have respect for the old people, eh? (98009a, 765.2600, 772.4800)

57 Fiuja nigmam ni Erakor, taos nafet tesa nanwei fsosus.
future 1p.exPOS of p.name like group child male young
Our future in Erakor, like all the young men. (98010bz, 727.9800, 734.8364)

58 I=tae paktof-i-ø ki mane ses.
3sgRS=be.able buy-TS-3sgO PREP money small
He can buy it for little money. (98016bz, 552.4800, 554.8494)
Simple sentences

59 Ke=mas involv-ki lanwis nafsan, nafsan
3sglRR=must involve language language language
emrom praemari skul.
inside primary school
Erakor language must be involved in the primary school. (20001b, 544.1, 548.9)

11.4.2. Benefactives
A prepositional phrase in pre-verbal position has an exclusively benefactive reading.91 The following examples, both from the same text, contrast the benefactive with the possessive construction. In (60) ni sokfal ‘of the owl’ occurs with a possessive reading, and in (61) the same possessive morphology is used in pre-verbal position to express the beneficiary.

60 Mlapuas kin i=min nalkis ni sokfal.92
owl sp. COMP 3sgRS=drink herbs of owl sp.
Mlapuas who drank sokfal’s herbs. (24:14) (005Ax, 1649.7199, 1668.0001)

61 Ki=ni sokfal ut nai.
3sglRR=of owl sp. pour water
He poured water for sokfal. (24:10) (005Ax, 1591.62, 1594.7401)

Example (62a) shows the pronominal possessor ga ‘3sgPOS’ following the noun nafumkas ‘flowers’ in canonical possessive construction word order.

62a U=sat nafurfnkas ga mai.
1p.exRS=take flower 3sgPOS hither
We brought his flowers. (elicited)

91 It is interesting to observe that the pre-verbal (benefactive) pronominal position is recorded in Macdonald's 1907 dictionary, where he says, “thus instead of ka fano, ke fano we have aga fano, iga fano, in exactly the same sense, but, literally, 'I to go,' 'he to go.' This variation in Ef. of the order of the three elements of the expression in no way varies the sense, and seems to be purely for euphony.” (ibid:84–85). If his conclusion about the sense of these forms is correct, it indicates that the grammaticalization of the benefactive was only incipient at the end of the nineteenth century. However, it is more likely that the benefactive was already a functioning construction that was not taken into account by Macdonald's analysis.

92 The terms for two kinds of owl are used in the translation to distinguish them and are not proper names. I have not yet been unable to identify the two species of owl named here.
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Contrast (62a) with (62b) in which the same pronoun ga ‘3sgPOS’ in pre-verbal position encodes the beneficiary of the flowers being brought.  

62b U=ga sat nafumkas mai.  
1p.exRS-3sgBEN take flower hither

*We brought flowers for him.* (98005)

While the benefactive and the possessive are expressed by the same oblique marker, they do not compete for the same slot, as shown in example (63). The two constructions can co-occur which provides evidence of the grammaticalized status of the benefactive construction.

63 Ru=gamus preg na naftaurwen gamus.  
3p.RS=2p.BEN make ART wedding 2p.POS

*They will make your wedding for you.* (98009a, 1406.55, 1410.1200)

Possessed beneficiaries are encoded as a complex phrase in the benefactive position. The extent of the potential complexity of the benefactive phrase is shown in (64) where it consists of a relative clause dependent on a possessive NP all occurring within the slot between the possessive preposition nig (signaling the beginning of the benefactive phrase) and the main verb slat.

64 I=nig tesa taklep nanwei nig marik ðal-u-n  
3sgRS=of child firstborn male of mister brother-V-3sgDP

nag i=pi naot ður marik Nmak Kalmtapil slat
REL 3sgRS=be chief big mister Nmak Kalmtapil take

ki nafinaotan.  
PREP chiefly.line

*He, for the firstborn son of his brother who was the big chief Nmak Kalmtapil, took the chiefly line.* (053:46)

We can further distinguish the possessive from the benefactive construction by showing that benefactives can occur with intransitive verbs, in a construction in which possession is not a possible reading, as in (65), where the intransitive verb *traus* ‘to tell’ has no object, but does have a beneficiary, *neu ‘1sgBEN’.

65 Kat natrauswen ga nrak lap i=to neu traus.  
becausestory 3sgPOS time many 3sgRS=STAT 1sgBEN tell

*Because he told his story to me many times.* (lit: Because, his story, many times he would to me tell.) (004a, 1740.4, 1743.2373)

11.4.2.1. The benefactive phrase in the pre-verbal complex
In this section possible explanations for the location of the benefactive phrase in the pre-verbal complex are explored. The grammaticalization of a benefactive from a possessive construction is widely attested (see Song 1997). Grammaticalization leads to the benefactive being morphologically or syntactically distinct from the possessive (Margetts 2004). In South Efate the benefactive is fully grammaticalized and distinct from the possessive construction on the basis
of the position each can occupy. In South Efate the benefactive construction is
the only phrasal element permitted between the pre-verbal complex and the verb.
That position may have become available by ‘verbal attraction’, a form of
morphosyntactic grammaticalization by which “various dependents on the
verb—adverbs, auxiliaries, pronominal subjects and objects, etc.—move to a
position next to the verb” (Croft 1990:233–234).

The pre-verbal position in South Efate is also the slot in which the
reflexive/reciprocal (RR) marker tmo occurs. As the reflexive/reciprocal object
can occur in the position before the verb, and the reflexive/reciprocal is semantically
similar to a prepositional phrase, this may have provided a pathway to the
pre-verbal position for the benefactive prepositional phrase. There are no examples
of the benefactive and reflexive/reciprocal co-occurring, as they could be expected
to. Further work may reveal such examples, but at the moment it appears that
the benefactive competes for the same position as the reflexive/reciprocal
marker.

Another reason for the immediately pre-verbal slot being available for the
benefactive prepositional phrase could be that an ambiguously pre-verbal position
before deverbal directional particles is open to a prepositional phrase. There are
three directional particles which are derived from homophonous verbs as can be
seen in (66). These particles occur sentence finally and thus follow the verb and
its object.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>directional particle</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>to come</td>
<td>mai</td>
<td>hither, to here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa/pan</td>
<td>to go</td>
<td>pa/pan</td>
<td>thither, to there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>to stay</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>stay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a prepositional phrase follows a verb and precedes the deverbal
directional particle, as in the schema in (67), it could be interpreted as occurring
in a pre-verbal position, if the directional particle is interpreted as being a verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PVC</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>PP</th>
<th>directional particle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skot</td>
<td>tiawi</td>
<td>mai</td>
<td>hither</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (68) the prepositional phrase skot tiawi ‘with old people’ occurs immediately
before the directional particle mai ‘hither’, illustrating the potentially ambiguous
environment in which a prepositional phrase occurs before a de-verbal directional
particle.

| 1sIRR=PSP:IR | walk with old.people | hither |

While this brief discussion is clearly speculative it is an intriguing aspect of
South Efate that the Verb Complex permits a pre-verbal benefactive phrase, and
further work on the history of the language may provide firmer evidence for the
choice of this position.
11.5. Question formation

Content questions (§11.5.1.) can be formed by use of an interrogative lexeme. Polar (yes/no) questions (§11.5.2) are formed either by interrogative intonation, or by use of a post-clausal tag. Each is discussed in turn in the following sections.

11.5.1. Content questions

Content questions are formed by use of an interrogative proform (see 4.9), which can also stand as a sentence in its own right, for example, Fei?, ‘Who?’ (71) or Eswa ‘Where?’ . While these forms do not constitute a morphosyntactic class they do share the function of forming questions and so they are grouped together here. As is the case in Ambae (Hyslop 2001:103) these forms are “members of the class of words which the form is functioning to seek information about.” Thus eswa ‘where’ functions as a locational noun; fei ‘who’ functions as a noun and so on.

Table 11:2. Interrogative lexemes

| (e)swa/wa | where | nominal |
| fei | who | nominal |
| gas | when | temporal |
| iku, nlaken iku | why | ? |
| ipi | how many/how much | quantifier |
| nafte | what | nominal |
| sef | which | adjective |
| tfale | how | adjective |
| tkanwan | how | adjective |

Examples of each interrogative form follow.

Eswa ‘where’ usually occurs after the proposition of which it is seeking the location.

69 Mtulep nen to ga i=to pan sel nana, kai eswa?
woman that STAT 3sg 3sgRS=STAT go get hesit shellfish where
That woman, where does she get shellfish from? (98009a, 1682.0177, 1686.9550)

A reduced form of eswa, wa ‘where’ is commonly found in the data. In (70) the speaker is calling out for his wife, Limas, using the tag o following her name. He then asks his granddaughter where her grandmother is, using wa.

70 Limas, e, Limas o! E ati wa?
p.name hey p.name oh hey g.mother where
(calling) Limas, hey, Limas ooo. (to granddaughter) Hey, where’s grandma? (98007bz, 1566.2800, 1571.8000)
Simple sentences

Example (71) is from a court hearing in which the clerk announces that the next witness is missing. The second speaker says fei ‘who’, showing that the interrogative can form a sentence on its own.

71 <1> Kes karu i=pì te-ni, Emten, me iwelkia case other 3sgRS=be DET-of p.name but 3sgRS=hesit

I. i=puel <2> Fei?
p.name 3sgRS=absent who
(Speaker 1) The next case is about Emten, but, um, I. isn’t here. (Speaker 2) Who? (98016az, 1177.6400, 1183.5800)

Fei can head an interrogative relative clause, as in (72).

72 Fei kin i=preg te-ne?
who REL 3sgRS=make DET-this
Who is it that did this? (98016az, 58.7746, 60.0707)

73 P=afò ler-ki-ø gas?
2sgIRR=PSP:IR return-TS-3sgO when
When will you return it? (98017bz, 502.4400, 510.8999)

Nlaken iku as a statement means ‘because’ as in (74), but with question intonation it means ‘why’ (lit: ‘because why’) as in (75).

74 I=na “Nlaken nafte?” Go a=na “Nlaken iku.”
3sg=say because what and 1sgRS=say because why
He said “Why?” And I said “Because.” (98017az, 177.5210, 179.7)

75 Nlaken iku? Nlaken nanwei ga i=pì naot.
because why because man 3sg 3sgRS=be chief
Why? Because the man is the chief. (98007bz, 339.6800, 346.6600)

76 Iku kin ku=to kai go?
why SUB 2sgRS=STAT cry and
Why are you crying? (98003az, 2464.9, 2466.3400)

The interrogative ipi ‘how many’ occupies the same position as would a quantifier in (77) (e.g., naññer inru ‘two people’, naññer lap ‘many people’).

77 Naññer ipi? Naññer ni natkon nen ru=to?
people how many people of village REL 3p.RS=stay
How many people? People in the villages that were there? (98017bz, 165.0199, 171.4799)
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78 Ku=to lel nafte?
2sgRS=STAT look.for what
What are you looking for? (20003b, 1351.0, 1351.89)

79 Sef ntau kin u=po nrokot go?
which year COMP 1p.exRS=PSP cross and
Which year did we cross over? (98010az, 1696.57, 1698.3200)

80 Komam ko=sat desison tfale?
1p.ex 1p.exlRR=take decision how
How will we take this decision? (98016az, 310.7800, 312.6982)

81 E, mama, me tkanwan kin ag ku=to maet
hey mother but how COMP 2sg 2sgRS=STAT fear
kuk pog tefla?
cook night thus
Hey mother, but how come you are afraid to cook at night like that?
(98017bz, 2534.9701, 2540.5888)

11.5.2. Polar questions
Polar (yes/no) questions are formed by interrogative intonation and by the use of tag questions.

11.5.2.1. Interrogative intonation
Interrogative intonation is characterized by rising-falling on the last syllable of a statement which marks it as being a question, as shown in the following examples. In (82) there is no morphosyntactic question marking but, as can be seen from the pitch trace, there is a rise in pitch on the final syllable, as is also the case in (83).

82 Ka=tl-i-ø pak nafsan?
1sglIRR=tell-TS-3sgO to language
Should I tell it in language? (98001az, 1881.4, 1882.7092)

83 Tete nat i=fla traus -i-ø?
some person 3sgRS=CND tell -TS-3sgO
Has someone told you? (20003bz, 1131.7399, 1133.6399)
11.5.2.2. Tag questions
Three tags can be appended to a sentence to form polar questions. These tags
typically accompany a change from statement to question intonation as will be
illustrated below. Tags observed in the data are: ko ‘or’, a/e ‘eh’, and go ‘and’.

The counter-factual tag ko ‘or’ (see §12.1.4.) is used to indicate that the
opposite of the statement could be the case, similar to the tag ‘or what’ in
English.

84 Ag ku=lakor lek-a-o na-map, ko?
2sg 2sgRS=maybe look-TS-3sgO ART-map or
You might have seen a map, or what? (98017bz, 778.5372, 780.3765)

85 U=trok nen ka=net pak eut ko?
1p.exRS=agree COMP 1sgIR=eet to sea or
We agree that we’ll meet at the sea, or what? (98001b, 1061.7059,
1064.4238)

The tag a ‘eh’, or ‘isn’t it?’ can be used on its own, for example, asking a
speaker to repeat what they have just said, as in (86) which is a fragment of the
end of a question asked by speaker 1 of speaker 2. Speaker 2 responds with A?
seeking clarification of the question. In sentence-final position, a is the most
common form of tag question marker.

86 <1> Ko i=ta tik? <2> A?
or 3sgRS=DUR not what
Speaker 1: Or hasn’t he come yet? Speaker 2: What? (005a, 1459.9473,
1463.2400)

87 O natrauswen gag i=wi a?
oh story 2sgPOS 3sgRS=good INT
Oh your story is good, eh? (98001b, 243.8, 245.5603)

88 U=mtak-ki taos nkal ni nanwei a?
1p.exRS=scared-TR like clothes of man INT
We were scared to dress like a man, eh? (98003bz, 797.5, 801.1399)

89 Sef mal gag go?
what time 2sgPOS and
What is your time? (005Ax, 1475.7000, 1477.5683)

90 Pa=fo pak sto go?
2sgIR=PSP:IR go.to Vila and
Are you going to town? (20001az, 2362.8599, 2364.5800)
The intonation patterns associated with a question using *ko* ‘or’ are illustrated using pitch traces in the following examples. As can be seen, *ko* has falling intonation contrasting it with the rising question intonation which precedes it.

91 Ku=pilo to ko?
2sgRS=awake stay or
*Are you awake? (elicited)* (20001az, 2354.3400, 2357.1599)

92 Ag ku= pilo ko?
2sg 2SGRS=awake or
*Are you awake? (elicited)* (20001az, 2350.9800, 2353.5399)

A tag question formed with *go* has different intonation to that with *ko*. Whereas *ko* is used as a counterfactual with downward intonation following an utterance using question intonation, *go* follows a statement made with declarative intonation and forms a question with rising intonation, as we see in (93).

93 Ag ku=pilo to go?
2sg 2sgRS=awake stay and
*Are you awake? (elicited)* (20001az, 2348.5600, 2350.7599)

11.6. Negation
Mosel (1999) establishes a list of functions of negatives in a sample of Oceanic languages. For the sake of comparability with that typology these functions and their realization in South Efate are outlined, where appropriate, below.

South Efate uses a negative verb (*tik*) with the same form as that used in negative existential constructions. It can be used either on its own, or with the generic subject 3sgRS proclitic, *i=*

94 Go Ririal i=mer nrik Ririel ki na, “*Tik,*
and " 3sgRS=in.turn tell " PREP say no
ag  ūa=fag.”
2sg 2sgIRR=climb:IR
*And Ririal, in turn, said to Ririel, “No, you climb.” (98003bz, 29.9799, 33.2001)*
In answer to a question about whether anyone was killed in an accident, the speaker answered as in (96).

Example (97) is part of a discussion by a young woman about her ability to choose her own marriage partner. She says she is able to say itik ‘no’ to a man who has asked her parents for the right to marry her.

South Efate existential constructions are negated by use of the negative verb tik as in the following examples.

These constructions can also negate the existence of a possessive relationship, as in (99), where the intransitive tik is transitivized by means of the suffix -ki and encodes the lack of a possessed item (‘they had no axe’). Mosel (1999:11) notes a similar pattern for other Oceanic languages.
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Another way of negating possession in South Efate is by use of the negative particle (discussed in §10.1.2.) and the verb *piatlak* ‘to have or own’.

100 Koi=pe tap pitlak naor napelwen mau.
1p.exPS=PF NEG have place shelter NEG2

*We didn’t have anywhere to shelter.* (98010az, 1604.9200, 1612.1124)

Simple existence, as encoded by the copula *pi*, is negated in the same way, so that the equative object *nafsan neu* ‘my language’ in (101) is negated just as a verb would be.

101 Taosi kin a=til “problem” i=po ta pi like REL 1sgRS=say " 3sgRS=PSP NEG be

nafsan neu mau.
language 1sgPOS NEG2

*Like, I say, “problem”, it is not my language at all.* (98010az, 1978.5600, 1982.3181)

Negation of predicates is also achieved by use of the discontinuous negative particles *ta* ... *mau*. The first part of the discontinuous negative marker occurs in the pre-verbal complex (PVC) described in §10.1.2. The second part, *mau*, follows at the end of the sentence. Example (102) shows negation of a simple verb and object suffix.

102 I=tap mur-i-n mau.
3sgRS=NEG want-TS-3sgO NEG2

*He doesn’t want it.* (98003bz, 1479.1799, 1480.6)

South Efate makes no distinction between negation of predicates and of whole propositions (as Mosel 1999:13 notes for other Oceanic languages). As discussed in §10.1.2., the placement of the initial negative particle determines the scope of the negation, but in no case does the negative particle occur outside the PVC, as it does, for example, in Saliba (Margetts 1999b:25–26). In (103) the scope of negation is over an embedded relative clause.

103 U=tap tae fei kin ke=fo mos-mam
1p.exRS=NEG know who REL 3sglRR=PSP:IR take-1p.exO

pak HogHaba mau.
to p.name NEG2

*We didn’t know who would take us to Hog Harbor.* (004b, 1272.4601, 1281.1599)

Imperatives (and hortatives, see §6.4.3) are negated in the same way as other predicates. The next two examples illustrate negated imperatives.

104 Pa=ta mtak mau.
2sglRR=NEG fright NEG2

*Don’t be scared!* (98017bz, 2633.0, 2634.2150)
Simple sentences

105A i=tik  pā=ta  kat-i-ø  mau.
    ah  3sgRS=no  2sgIRR=NEG  bite-TS-3sgO  NEG2

   Ah no, don't you bite him! (98017bz, 2686.1623, 2687.78)

Example (106) illustrates a negated hortative.

106 Komam  rak=ta  fam  mau  me  rak=to.
    1p.ex  1d.IRR=NEG  eat:IR  NEG2  but  d.IRR=stay

   Let us not eat, let us just stay. (20001az, 1656.4124, 1659.5)

Fronted NPs are negated by the same particles as negate predicates, as in most of the Oceanic languages studied in Mosel (1999).

107 I=ta  pi  mal  leg  nen  kin  tuk=kraksok
    3sgRS=NEG  be  time  straight  that  REL  1p.inclIRR=catch

   independent  mau.

   independence  NEG2

   It wasn't the right time that we get independence. (98010az, 2300.2782, 2303.6822)

108 I=ta  pi  kineu  kin  a=mtir-i-ø  mau.
    3sgRS=NEG  be  1sg  REL  1sgRS=write-TS-3sgO  NEG2

   It is not me who wrote it. (20003az, 437.1107, 438.4756)
12. Complex sentences

In this chapter I will discuss clause linkage types in South Efate. In this discussion the elements considered to be sentences usually have some syntactic unity reflected in clauses that are linked to each other by morphemes such as conjoiners or subordinators. Where no such morphemes are present there are other features such as prosodic cues showing the unity of the sentence or utterance unit. In this analysis of complex constructions we will see how clauses can be combined under three main headings: Coordination (§12.1), Subordination (§12.2), and Other clause linkage (§12.3). Table 12: 1. sets out the identifying features of different kinds of clause linkage (compound verbs are included for comparative purposes).

12.1. Coordination
There are several types of coordinators in South Efate. Payne (1985:5) distinguishes coordinating particles on the basis of the type of constituents that they can conjoin. He notes, for example, that and in English conjoins sentences, VPs, adjectival phrases, prepositional phrases, and NPs. He contrasts this with Fijian

**Table 12:1. Characteristics of verb combinations compared to clause linkage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linkage type</th>
<th>compound verbs</th>
<th>clause chain</th>
<th>clause juxtaposition</th>
<th>clause coordination</th>
<th>clause subordination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V1 Pro clitic S</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMA</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2 Lexical S</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro clitic S</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit markers of Coordination</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordination</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordination</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Complex sentences

in which ka conjoins sentences, VPs, adjectival phrases, and prepositional phrases, but a distinct form kei is used to conjoin noun phrases. The conjoiners in South Efate are: me ‘but’, ‘and’ (§12.1.2.) (which also has a sequential reading ‘and then’); go ‘and’ (§12.1.3.); ko ‘or’ (§12.1.4.), all three of which can join sentences, clauses, and NPs. A fourth conjoiner is ale ‘then’ (§12.1.5.), which joins clauses and sentences. Each is illustrated in the following sections. The particle kai which is glossed as the echo-subject (ES) could be analyzed as either a conjoiner or an echo-subject marker. It shares features with the conjoiners discussed in this section but as it is closest in function and form to a subject proclitic it is discussed together with the pronominals in §5.1.3.2.3.

Numerals can be conjoined in the same way as other nominals, but the special case of numeral formation with atmat is discussed in §4.4. Verb stems can be conjoined by the particle pe for emphasis, as discussed in §9.1.1.3.

12.1.1. Unmarked (asyndetic) coordination
Not all coordinate constructions have an explicit conjoiner. Lists of nouns can, as in English, be presented paratactically without any conjunction, as in (1), or with a conjunction before only the last noun in the list, as in (2).

1 I=piatlak Lias, Limat, Ana, Sera, Pali.
   3sgRS=have p.name p.name p.name p.name p.name
   There was Lias, Limat, Ana, Sera, Pali. (98003bz, 1058.3199, 1073.2400)

2 Lanskoprel Jimmy T., praivet Jon L., go Naser.
   lance corporal p.name private p.name and p.name
   Lance corporal Jimmy T, private John L. and Naser. (005Ax, 47.2000, 58.3401)

   When clauses are concatenated with no conjoiners they are treated as juxtaposed clauses (§12.3.1.) or clause chains (§12.3.2.).

12.1.2. me ‘but’, ‘and’
Me is a conjunction meaning either ‘but’ or ‘and’. Its most common use is as the adversative 93 (Payne 1985:6) ‘but’ which is only found in clause or sentence

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93 There are examples in the data of the Bislama borrowing pe occurring as the adversative conjoiner ‘but’, e.g.,

I=kerkerai pe ku=mur-i=n na pa=fitlak
   3sgRS=strong but 2sgRS=want-TR=3sgO say 2sgIRS=have.IR
   mane ses money small
   It was hard, but you wanted to have some money. (98017a, 2245.2800, 2253.3600) (087:37)
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linking and never in linking of NPs. In this section we will see examples of me conjoining sentences, clauses, and NPs. In example (3) me ‘but’ conjoins two clauses.

3 Spray, ru=traem nrik-wou ki-n me a=mal-ki-ə.
Spray 3p.RS=try tell-1sgO PREP-3sgO but 1sgRS=not.want-TR-3sgO
They tried to get me to use spray, but I didn’t want to. (040:77) (98003az, 1452.1740, 1454.8200)

Similarly in (4) me functions as the adversative conjoining two clauses.

4 Tete ru=tae, me tete ru=tap tae mau.
some 3p.RS=know but some 3p.RS=NEG knowNEG2
Some know, but some don’t know. (20001b, 845.5599, 847.9012)

In (5) me conjoins two clauses in which the speaker is discussing his past of drinking and smoking. Rather than being opposed the two events are complementary and the conjoiner can only mean ‘and’.

5 A=min me a=smok paket inru naliati i=skei.
1sgRS=drink and 1sgRS=smoke packet two day 3sgRS=one
I drank and I smoked, two packets a day. (040:68) (98003a, 1395.8199, 1403.1200)

In example (6) we see me encoding sequential action with no adversative reading. There is no suggestion that the speaker’s departure here contradicts signing up with the army. Clearly it is the logical outcome of signing up for the army that the speaker should then depart for battle.

6 Nlaken kai=pe sain reki army nafkal me a=pa.
because 1sgPS=PF sign for army fight and 1sgRS=go
Because I had signed with the army to fight and then I went. (040:17)
(98003a, 1086.9600, 1092.9199)

Similarly in (7) the two clauses joined by me are in a temporal sequence.

7 P=a=freg-pun te-ne me tak=fo to
2sgIRR=make:IR-kill DET-this and 1p.incIRR=PSP:IR STAT
mailum traus.
slow talk
You turn off (lit: make dead) this (tape recorder) and then we will talk a little. (KN 98007b, 1900.1459, 1903.0896)

While there is a strong likelihood of switching subjects with an adversative (as it is used to contrast two situations) the use of me has no switch-subject implications (as discussed by Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004 for languages of the region), that is, the subject of the clauses preceding and following me may or may not be identical. So, in (8) the subjects of the two clauses are coreferential, and in (9) they are not.
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8 Mal na ku=mai me ku=lek nasum kapa...
   time ART 2sgRS=come but 2sgRS=see house tin
   When you come and you see a tin house... (98002bz, 1028.2200, 1029.86)

9 I=po kat nmart-er me ru=suer-ki-n.
   3sgRS=PSP:R bite guts-3p.POS but 3p.RS=shit-TR-3sgO
   It would bite/burn their guts and/but they shat it out. (98002bz, 938.8, 940.79)

   When me conjoins two NPs it has no adversative meaning, as in the following two examples where it is used to list items.

10 Go ru=to ru=tu-a-0 na mit me
   and 3p.RS=STAT 3p.RS=give-TS-3sgO ART mat and
   nkal me te-namrun.
   cloth and det-thing
   And they were there, they gave mats, cloth, and other things. (20001az, 1141, 1142.8200, 1147.2473)

11 Pako me afsak, me fai, me [evri kain bikfala fis
   shark and turtle and stingray and every kind big fish
   i=kam so].
   3sgS=come shore
   Sharks and turtles and stingrays and [switch to Bislama] every kind of big
   fish came ashore. (98011a, 1811.7800, 1818.5799)

   In a less common construction, me occurs between a lexical subject and the
   following Verb Complex, as in examples (12) to (14). It is unclear what
   function is served by me in these examples.

12 Go i=pi eswan kafman me i=tl-i-0
   and 3sgRS=be where govt. ? 3sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO
   na natanëol ruk=fo mai pak Efat.
   say people 3p.IRR=PSP come go.to p.name
   And that is where the government said that people would come to Efate (to
   escape the cyclone that destroyed the small Erakor island). (98007az, 1805.38, 1813.02)

13 Me ga i=po wi me ag ku=mai
   but 3sg 3sgRS=PSP good but 2sg 2sgRS=come
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14 Malnen u=na u=pa go Litrapog me i=mai.
as 1p.exRS=want 1p.exRS=go and name 3sgRS=come
As we wanted to go Litrapong also came. (Kalsarap.mov, 31.6802, 37.6801)

12.1.3. go ‘and’
The conjoiner go is an equivalent of English ‘and’ in joining clauses (15 and 16) and NPs (17). Go is also used in tag question formation (see §11.5.2.2). In (15) we see clauses joined by go ‘and’ which links both same- and switch-subject clauses. The first two clauses have the same subject and the third has a different subject (as indicated by index numbers on the subjects in the translations).

15 Ru=to pan sor kai go ru=sor pamkin go
3p.RS=STAT go sell shellfish and 3p.RS=sell pumpkin and
ru=er pret.
3p.RS=give-3p. bread
They sold shellfish, they sold pumpkin, and they gave them bread. (030)

In the following, go links two clauses with the same subject.

16 Go naliati i=skei i=pa=n go ki=piatlak atol.
and day 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=go=DST and 3sgPS=have egg
And one day he went and he had egg(s). (048:3)(98007az, 234.89, 249.49)

In (17) the two NPs apap nigmam ‘our father’ and mama nigmam ‘our mother’ are joined by go.

17 U=mer taos apap nigmam go mama nigmam
1p.exRS=in.turn follow father 1p.POS and mother 1p.POS
pak taliñat.
to garden
We then followed our father and our mother to the garden. (20001az, 552.3242, 559.5201)

12.1.4. ko ‘or’
The disjunction ko ‘or’ can join clauses and NPs. Ko is also used in tag question formation (see §11.5.2.2). Example (18) shows ko joining two clauses.

18 Ru=pi na natañol iskei ko ru=pi ntuam.
3p.RS=be ART person one or 3p.RS=be devil
They are men or they are devils. (98001b, 1032.9, 1042.9601)
In (19) a sequence of nouns is listed with the final pair conjoined with ko.

19 Gar ru=ptu.kompenset-ki paep, stik tabak
3p. 3p.RS=give.compensate-TR pipe stick tobacco

ko botel ram.
or bottle rum

They compensated (the theft of land) with a pipe, stick tobacco, or a bottle of rum. (20003az, 639.2200, 652.2600)

In example (20) ko ‘or’ conjoins first three clauses and then two NPs.

20 I=tu-a-Ø mit, ko i=tu-a-Ø tete nafnag, Ko i=tu-a-Ø tete nkal ko mane.
or 3sgRS=give-TS-3sgO mat or 3sgRS=give-TS-3sgO some food
or 3sgRS=give-TS-3sgO some cloth or money

He gave him a mat, or he gave him some food or he gave him some cloth or money. (98003bz, 1226.5346, 1233.1000)

12.1.5. ale ‘then’
The conjoiner ale ‘then’ is from Bislama (and ultimately from the French allez ‘go!’) where it performs a similar function to the one it performs in South Efate. As a sentence introducer it is often glossed as ‘okay’, but it also has the sequential meaning of ‘and then’. Example (21)°4 shows ale used to introduce the first sentence, and then to conjoin the sentences.

21 Ale i=tup na metotel ga ale
then 3sgRS= get hesit maître.d’hôtel 3sgPOS okay

ru=preg-i-Ø i=pak eut.
3p.RS= make-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=go.to:R shore

Then he got his job as a maître d’hôtel. So they sent him ashore. (98002az, 392.6000, 399.0600)

12.2. Subordination
Subordinate clauses are those which occur as part of a larger unit, unlike independent clauses which are complete utterances. Cross-linguistically there are four common markers of subordination as outlined by Huddleston (1999:338). These are listed below with indications of their occurrence in South Efate.

1) particular verb forms are characteristic of subordinate clauses, typically nonfinite and subjunctive forms. South Efate uses a subjunctive-like form in some examples of complementation (§12.2.2.3).

2) a closed class of words act as subordinators or relators. South Efate uses a small set of subordinators (kin, nen, and na[g]) to link subordinate clauses to main clauses (see §12.2.1.).

°4 Taken from Text 7:13 in the Appendix.
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3) distinctive word order in subordinate clauses (not a feature in South Efate).
4) omission of elements in subordinate clauses that would be present in corresponding main clauses. There is no example of omission in subordinate clauses in South Efate but subject proclitics can be omitted in clause-chains (see §12.3.2.).

Subordinate clauses in South Efate are typically identified by their position following a subordinator except in those cases where a complement occurs following a complement-taking predicate with no marker of subordination. Except with some complement-taking predicates for which an irrealis form of the verb or proclitic is commonly required (for example, desiderative predicates, §12.2.3.6.), there are no specific requirements on the modal status of the verb in the subordinate clause. So, in example (22), the relative clause following the relativizer nen has the realis proclitic ru= ‘3p.RS’ and not the irrealis form ruk= ‘3p.IRR’. The realis form of the proclitic is the most common form for the subject of a relative clause introduced by nen.

22 I=mer fit mai pak nagis esanie nen 3sgRS=in.turn run hither to point place REL [Main clause [Relative clause
ru=sos-o-∅ ki Emet♣er. 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP p.name ]
She then ran to the point at this place that they call Emet♣er. (98002bz, 554., 557.59)

Contrast (22) with (23) in which the subject proclitic in the relative clause (ke= ‘3sgIRR’) is in the irrealis form. The choice of a singular form for the subject of the relative clause (we would expect the pronoun to be ruk= ‘3p.IRR’) is an example of number agreement mismatch as discussed in §5.1.3.1.

23 Go, ru=kano lekor tiawi nen ke=to en∫rom to. and 3p.RS=unable watch old.people REL 3sgIRR=stay inside at
And they couldn’t watch over the old people who were inside. (98017a, 752.9399, 758.3953)

It is commonly observed typologically that subordinate clauses fall into three types (e.g., Vincent 1999:353; Longacre 1985:237) which we will use as a framework for the following discussion. The three types are complement clauses (§12.2.2.), relative clauses (§12.2.4.), and adverbial clauses (§12.2.5.), which we will turn to after a discussion of South Efate subordinators.

12.2.1. Subordinators kin, nen, na(g)
There are three morphemes which introduce subordinate clauses: kin ‘SUB’, nen ‘that’, and na(g) ‘say’ also functioning as a complementizer. Each is discussed in turn in the following sections. The distinction between them is unclear, although certain tendencies in their distribution are outlined in Table 12:2.
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All three forms, *kin*, *na(g)*, or *nen* can function as relativizers with animate and inanimate head nouns as shown in the following examples where inanimate nouns and animate nouns head a relative clause introduced by *kin*, *nag*, and *nen* respectively.

Table 12.2. Distribution of subordinating particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subordinator</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Complement clauses</th>
<th>Adverbial clauses</th>
<th>Relative clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kin</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>less common</td>
<td>common</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nen</em></td>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>na(g)</em></td>
<td>'say'</td>
<td>common</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 24 | Ku=paññor nafumñ nkas na nua nkas *kin* 2sgRS=flament tree HESIT fruit tree REL |
|    | i=tk-os to. 3sgRS=stay-3sgOBL stay |
|    | You find the flower, the fruit that is there. (98007bz, 1555.4400, 1559.5366) |
| 25 | Me tesa gar *kin* ru=lap tu. but child 3p.POS REL 3p.RS=many stay |
|    | But it is their children who stayed on. (20001az, 738.5600, 742.2200) |
| 26 | Ke=fo nrik-mam ki nañet nafsan 3sgIR=PSP:IR say-1p.exO prep meaning story |
|    | *nag* i=til-i-ø. REL 3sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO |
|    | He will tell us the meaning of the story that he told. (005Ax, 1035.2600, 1045.0800) |
| 27 | Iakop *nag* tesa nanwei karu nig Pomalfus Marik Nmak p.name REL child male other of p.name |
|    | Kalmtapil i=slat-i-ø. p.name 3sgRS=take-TS-3sgO Jacob, whom Pomalfus Marik Nmak Kalmtapil's second son took the name of. (98009b, 1816.1, 1825.5600) |
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28 Ku=tai nkas nen ru=sos-o-ø ki Naplil.
   2sgRS=cut tree REL 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP tree sp.
   You cut the tree that they call Naplil. (004a, 604.9846, 607.3859)

29 Malen i=pes go nañer nen ru=preg nafkal,
   as 3sgRS=speak and people REL 3p.RS=make war

   ruk=of pak etan.
   3p.IRR=PSP:IIR go.to.down
   When he talks, the people who are making war will pay him respect.
   (98009b, 793.9000, 802.5000)

12.2.1.1. kin relativizer, complementizer
The morpheme kin follows the noun head and precedes the relative clause. A relative clause introduced by kin is most likely non-restrictive as in (30).

30 I=mer pakot, nafteme, naur ses kin
   3sgRS=again split whatsit's name island small REL

   ru=sos-o-ø ki Eñal.
   3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP p.name
   He then split the, whatchamacallit, small island which they call Eñal.
   (98002bz, 759.5601, 763.9)

31 Nmatu kin i=kuk, nmatu kin i=puri,
   woman REL 3sgRS=cook woman REL 3sgRS=grate

   i=preg kapu.
   3sgRS=make laplap
   It is women who cook, women who grate food, make laplap. (98003bz,
   963.1999, 969.8799)

Example (32) shows kin preceded by nanwei 'men' as the head and followed by the relative clause ('who cut down trees').

32 Me reki nen u=pul nkas, go nanwei kin
   but as for that 1p.exRS=cut tree and men REL

   ru=to pul nkas.
   3p.RS=STAT cut tree
   But as for cutting trees, it is men who cut down trees. (98009az,
   573.7801, 577.0399)

Examples (33) and (34) further illustrate the use of kin.

33 Me akam kin u=preg-sa-ki napu i=pi
   but 2p. REL 2p.RS=make-bad-TR road 3sgRS=be

298
nlaken a=lok. Because 1sgRS=lock
But it is you who spoiled that way of doing things, that is why I locked (it). (98017az, 373.9600, 378.1586)

34 Kai=pe metpakor atlag i=pi kin a=weswes. 1sgPS=PF forget month 3sgRS=be REL 1sgRS=work
I have forgotten how many months I worked. (lit: how many months that I worked) (98002az, 2124.4965, 2127.5605)

We see that kin also functions as a complementizer following some complement-taking predicates in the following examples, further discussed in §12.2.1.2.

35 Me a=mal kin tu=sat tete desison. but 1sgRS=not.want COMP 1p.IncRS=take some decision
But I don’t want us to make some decision. (98018b, 232.9200, 234.54)

36 U=nrog-o-ø kin apu me ati 1p.exRS=hear-TS-3sgO COMP grandfather and grandmother
nigam ru=to nigam traus-i-ø. 1p.POS 3p.RS=STAT 1p.BEN tell-TS-3sgO
We hear that our grandfather and grandmother tell it to us. (98007az, 439.7120, 443.547)

12.2.1.2. nen ‘that’, relativizer
As is the case with kin as a relativizer, nen ‘that’ stands between the head and the following relative clause, as in the next two examples. In (37) the relative clause nen ruur elag ‘that they put up’ follows the head noun waia ‘wire’.

37 Go a=mer pakot waia nen ru=ur elag. and 1sgRS=in.turn pay wire REL 3p.RS=follow above
And then I bought wire that they put up. (98016bz, 527.7800, 529.65)

38 Ale naminwen kineu a=pi natañol i=skei nen okay drinking 1sg 1sgRS=be man 3sgRS=one REL
a=min. O, natañol i=tik nen i=tol 1sgRS=drink O person 3sgRS=not REL 3sgRS=beat
neu naminwen. 1sg drink
Drinking, I am a man who can drink. Oh, there is no one that can beat me at drinking. (98003a, 1371.6600, 1381.7799)
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There is a common collocation of *nen* ‘that’ and *kin* ‘subordinator’, as in (39), in which the forms are intonationally linked and equate to something like ‘that which’ in English. They appear to be fused together in many cases, but where there is a pause between these two forms it indicates that *nen* is likely to be acting as a demonstrative modifying the head NP and thus functioning as part of the head NP.

39 I=tau-ø pac nanre, *nen* kin řal-u-k *nen*
3sgRS=carry-3sgO to side that REL brother-V-1sgDP REL
imat wik nen pa i=tk-os.
3sgRS=dead week that go 3sgRS=stay-3sgOBL
*He took her to the side, that (place) which my brother who died last week stayed at.* (98011a, 1647.4, 1651.5)

It is not always possible to establish if *nen* is functioning as a demonstrative or a relativizer as there are contexts in which it could function as either. In (40) there are two readings of the sentence provided in (a) and (b) which are differentiated by intonation. A pause preceding *nen*, or no pause at all, would suggest reading (a), while a pause after *nen* would suggest reading (b).

40a Mes ne, nawesien *ţur* , *nen* a=to preg-i-ø, mes ne.
today this work big that 1sgRS=STAT make-TS-3sgO today this
a) [NP [REL ]]
a) Today, the big work that I do...

40b Mes ne, nawesien *ţur* *nen*, a=to preg-i-ø, mes ne.
today this work big that 1sgRS=STAT make-TS-3sgO today this
b) [NP ] [Verb Complex ]
b) Today, that big work, I do... (98011a, 680.8401, 684.6518)

The next two examples distinguish the uses of *nen* as a relativizer and a demonstrative. In (41) *nen* introduces a relative clause modifying the subject and so requires a Verb Complex following it to complete the sentence.

41 Natañol [*nen* i=mur ag] ...
man REL 3sgRS=want 2sg
*A/The man who wants you ... (elicited)*

In (42) a pause after *nen* ‘that’ distinguishes the subject NP formed by *natañol* ‘man’ and the demonstrative *nen* ‘that’ from the subject headed relative clause in the previous example.

42 [Natañol *nen*] i=mur ag.
man that 3sgRS=want 2sg
*That man wants you.* (elicited)
In (43) the subject NP is the same as in the previous example but here it is followed by the clause introduced by *kin*.

43 [Natañol **nen**] [**kin** i=mur ag].

That man who wants you/It is that man who wants you. (elicited)

In (44) there is a pause following *nen* ‘that’ indicating that the subject which is in a topicalized position is *tesa nen* ‘those children’ and not just *tesa* ‘children’.

44 Tesa *nen*, ra=na rak=fa=n lel gkafik.

These two children wanted to look for nakavika fruit. (98003bz, 15.7000, 18.7)

Example (45) is from a story in which a man emerges from hiding. The pause indicated by the comma shows that *nen is rakro* ‘that hid it’ modifies the noun *natañol* ‘person’ as a relative clause.

45 I=to panpan go natamol nen i=srakr-o-o, 3sgRS=stay go:RED and person that 3sg=hide-TS-3sgO

She stayed and stayed and that man who hid it came close. (20003bz, 1344.7000, 1347.8999)

The two functions of *nen* can be seen when both the deictic and relativizer *nen* co-occur, as in (46). This sentence follows a discussion of Europeans who had been in Erakor and who had built the school. (Mr.Waily is mentioned together with another person in the preceding discourse, hence the dual pronominal subject.) The head of the second relative clause is the modified noun, *skul nen* ‘that school’.

46 Mr.Waily *nen* ra=preg skul nen nen i=to natkon ...

Mr. Waily, who made that school that is in the village ...

12.2.1.3. *na, nag* relativizer and complementizer

The complementizer used with most complement-taking predicates (CTPs) is *na(g)*, which is identical to the verb ‘to say’ and also has a range of other functions in South Efate including: the expression of a purposive (meaning ‘in order to’, see §12.2.5.6.); marking inchoative or incipient action; and acting as the verb ‘to want’. A morpheme with a similar range of functions is noted for Lolovoli by Hyslop (2001:386), and the verb *ika* in Anejø means both ‘say’ and ‘to want’ (Lynch 2000b:162). The grammaticalization of the verb ‘say’ as a complementizer is not uncommon in languages of the world (cf. Lord 1976;
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Saxena 1988) and its use marking subordinate clauses is widespread in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:53). Example (47) shows nag functioning as a complementizer following the verb mur ‘to want’. The use of nag as the complementizer is associated with older speakers and is considered more classical than na which is used by younger speakers.

47 A=mur-i-n nag ka=mer-til naliati nag komam 1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO COMP 1sgIRR=in.turn.tell days REL 1p.
   u=tok plisman.
   1p.exRS=stay police
   I want to tell you about the days when we were police. (005Ax, 29.1000, 36.7702)

Example (48) shows the complementizer following the verb lek ‘to see’. Further examples can be found in §12.2.3.

48 Ru=lek-a-o nag rak=fo krakpun silu 3p.RS=see-TS-3sgO COMP 3d.IRR=PSP:IR kill all
   namër nig Erakor.
   people of p.name
   They saw that they would kill everyone in Erakor. (98009b, 1735, 1739.8)

While most relative clauses are introduced by nen, there are also a number of relative clauses introduced by na(g) as in the examples below. In example (49) we see nag acting as a relativizer modifying the object tete kako ni raru ‘some boat cargo’. Other examples of the relativizers na and nag follow.

49 Ru=preg tete kako ni raru nag ru=to nakpei. 3p.RS=take some cargo of boat REL 3p.RS=STAT front
   They took some cargo from the boat that was in the front. (004b, 1233.5000, 1242.3399)

50 Nagi natkon nag ru=tok elag emaloput Lipilo go Tawa. name village REL 3p.RS=stay above middle p.name
   The name of the villages (on Maewo) that were up in the middle were Lipilo and Tawa. (98001b, 1422.7000, 1434.5000)

51 Ka=fo sol natus na ka=traus-i-o pan 1sgIRR=PSP:IR take paper REL 1sgIRR=tell-TS-3sgO go
   naor nen i=takel go ka=fo leg-ki-o. place REL 3sgRS=crooked and 1sgIRR=PSP:IR straight-TR-3sgO
   I will take the story that I told until where I made a mistake and I will correct it. (98001b, 429.4399, 437.4200)

Following this overview of subordinating particles we now turn to the three types of subordinate clauses found in South Efate.
12.2.2. Complement clauses

Complementation is the “syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate” (Noonan 1985:42). It is thus distinguished from other complex structures discussed in this chapter in that the complement is required as an argument of the verb, either as the subject or object. I will first discuss complement types and then outline CTPs in South Efate.

12.2.2.1. Complement types

Verbs that take subject or object complements are referred to as CTPs which, in South Efate, occur with the following morphological complement types (adapted from a list by Noonan 1985).

1) sentence-like complements
2) subjunctive-like complements
3) nominalized complements

These are discussed in turn below.

12.2.2.2. Sentence-like complements

Sentence-like complements are those in which the predicate has the same form as in a main clause. For example, in (52) the clause tesa i=sigpir ‘the child disobeys’ could stand as a sentence by itself.

52 Ku=kano lek tesa i=sigpir.
   2sgRS=unable look child 3sgRS=disobey
   (In the olden days) You wouldn’t see a child disobeying. (98007bz, 527.2600, 532.3201)

Here the complement of the verb mrokin ‘to think that’ is the whole following sentence-like clause, with no markers of the relationship between the clauses.

53 A=mro-ki-n nafsan ki=pe lakor leg,
   1sgRS=think-TR-3sg0 maybe straight
   go i=tlas-i-o.
   and 3sgRS=enough-TS-3sgO
   I think the story is about right, and that’s enough. (98016bz, 871.9800, 876.8400)

As discussed in the introduction to this section on subordination, in general subordinate clauses display no features that distinguish them from other clauses, apart from the subordinators that link them to the preceding main clause. While the irrealis mood may be required in the PVC of the complement clause, as in (54) (which is the type of clause we will call a subjunctive-like complement in the following section), this is not unique to complement clauses as irrealis forms may also occur in independent clauses. On the other hand, as example
(55) shows, the realis form can also occur in the complement of some CTPs. The determining factor is the semantics of the verb. Irrealis complement clauses follow verbs encoding events that are not yet achieved as discussed below in §12.2.2.

54 A=tae \text{nag} \text{ke}=\text{fo} \text{nrik-mam} \text{ki} \\
1sgRS=know \text{COMP} 3sgIRR=PSP:IR \text{tell-1p.exO} \text{PREP} \\
napet nafsan. \\
meaning story \\
I know that he will tell us the meaning of the story. (005Ax, 1035.2600, 1045.0800)

55 Nlaken ru=mro na gar ru=metmatu tol tiawi. \\
because 3p.RS=think \text{COMP} 3p. 3p.RS=wise \text{beat old.people} \\
Because they think they are cleverer than the old people. (98003bz, 396.7801, 401.1599)

12.2.2.3. Subjunctive-like complements
Some complements of CTPs in South Efate take an irrealis pronominal subject when the semantics of the verb involve an action that is desired or otherwise not yet achieved. If the verb in the complement clause can mark irrealis itself (by stem-initial mutation; see §6.4.5.1), then it will often be the irrealis form that occurs in this context, as can be seen in the complement clause in (56) where both the 1sg subject (ka) and the verb (festaf ‘to talk’) are irrealis forms. We consider these to be ‘subjunctive-like’ in Noonan’s (1985) terms. (A discussion of the role of mood marking can be found in §6.4.)

56 A=mur-i-n \text{na} \text{ka}=\text{festaf-mus}. \\
1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO \text{say} 1sgIRR=talk:IR-2p.O \\
I want to tell you. (lit: I want that I tell you.) (98001 b, 725.45, 726.7599)

57 Ke=\text{fo} \text{pregnrog-0-0} \text{nag} \text{ke}=\text{wat} \text{n\text{m}au} \\
3sgIRR=PSP:IR \text{try-TS-3sgO} \text{COMP} 3sgIRR=hit giant \\
nranru nig Efil. \\
two of p.name \\
He would try to hit the two warrior giants from Vila. (98009b, 1752.4, 1757.6201)

These complements are unlike those described in the preceding section as they typically cannot occur as main clauses in their own right. Thus the clause kafestaf-mus ‘that I speak to you’ can not stand as a main clause.

12.2.2.4. Nominalized complements
Nominalized complements (like ‘His shooting of the dog’) do not exist in South Efate, but deverbal nouns can act as complements when expressed by a possessed nominalized verb whose possessor corresponds to the subject of the
non-nominalized verb, as in example (58) where *namroan gar*, ‘their thinking’, acts as the subject. Nominalization is discussed in §5.4.

58 Ko *namroan gar* i=wi, ru=pak talmat.  
Or if their thinking is good, they go to the garden.  
(98010bz, 540.9728, 544.5799)

_Nammatuan* ‘wisdom’ (from *metmatu* ‘to be clever’) is the nominalized subject of (59).

59 Me _Nammatuan_ ga i=pi nlaken kin  
but wisdom 3sgPOS 3sgRS=be because REL

*a=mur-i-n na ka=gakit traus.  
1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO COMP 1sgIRR 1p.inclBEN tell.story  
But his wisdom is the reason I want to tell you this story. (98001b, 707.8000, 718.3800)

_Namtiwen* ‘writing’ (from *mtir* ‘to write’) is the nominalized subject of (60).

60 _Namtiwen_ ga, i=pi te-ni nañer ni etog.  
writing 3sgPOS 3sgRS=be det-of people of elsewhere

_His writing, it belongs to foreigners. (20003az, 477.3801, 480.4478)_

The nominalized objects in (61) are _nameswen* ‘game’ (from *mes* ‘to play’) and _nlauwen* ‘dance’ (from *lau* ‘to dance”).

61 Ruk=mur ru=preg- ruk=freg _nameswen_ elau,  
3p.IRR=want 3p.RS=make 3p.IRR=make:IR game beach

_ko ru=freg _nlauwen_.  
or 3p.RS=make:IR dance

_They want to have a game on the beach, or they may have a dance._
(_98009a, 1448.7273, 1454.7399) _

The object of the verb _lek_ ‘to see’ in (62) is _nafisirwen_ ‘falsehood’, the nominalized form of *psir* ‘to lie’.

62 Tetwei a=p[-], a=ni nañer tiawi pi polis  
long.ago 1sgRS=be[-] 1sgRS=BEN group old.people be police

_papan mes a=p[-] kaonsil. Me a=lek _nafisirwen_.  
until today 1sgRS=be councillor but 1sgRS=see lie

_Before I was one of the village police for the old people until today I am a councillor. But I see falsehood. (lit: I see lying.) (98016az, 250.1881, 255.8400)
12.2.3. Complement-taking predicates (CTPs)

CTPs are verbs that take a clausal complement with or without a complementizer. In English, examples are the verb ‘to know’ which can occur both with and without a complementizer ‘that’ in “I know that you are sick/I know you are sick”, and the verb ‘to want’ which does not take a complementizer (“I want him to go”). In South Efate the complement clause is typically, but not necessarily, introduced by the complementizer na (discussed in §12.2.1.3.). There are many examples both with and without a complementizer in which the same relationship holds between the predicate and its complement. In example (63a) the verb mur ‘want’ takes the complement pasol nalenan knen ‘you get the truth of it’ directly (which we call an unmarked complement), and in (63b) the same verb mur ‘want’ takes the complement na rukfreg namrun ‘that they do anything’, this time using the complementizer na. While the unmarked complement may appear structurally similar to a core-layer serial verb construction, we regard the relationship between the clauses to be one of dependency between the CTP and its complement. The irrealis form of the complement is further evidence that it is acting as a subordinate clause.

Example (63b) also shows that the scope of negation covers the verb and the entire complement clause, which indicates that the complement clause and the verb are tightly associated.

Noonan (1985) provides a set of semantic classes of CTPs. Listed below are those that have South Efate equivalents, which are exemplified in the following sections.

1) Utterance predicates
   nrik ‘tell’; til ‘say’; paos ‘ask’; trok ‘agree’

2) Propositional attitude predicates
   mrokin ‘believe’; mro ‘think’

3) Commentative predicates (factitives)
   wi ‘to be good’

4) Predicates of knowledge
   tae ‘to know’; mroperkat ‘to remember’; mrotae ‘to understand’; pañori ‘to discover’

5) Predicates of fearing
   krokur ‘to shake’

6) Desiderative predicates
   mur ‘to want’

7) Achievement predicates
   traem, pregnrogo ‘to try’

8) Immediate perception predicates
   lek ‘to see’; nrog ‘to hear’

9) Negative predicates
   tap ‘negative’

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   lek ‘to see’; nrog ‘to hear’

9) Negative predicates
   tap ‘negative’

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Complex sentences

It is not always clear which category a South Efate verb falls into, and some may have different senses that place them into more than one category. Noonan’s ‘modal’ and ‘phasal’ predicates are encoded by auxiliary verbs in South Efate (see §10.1.5).

Complements that include desire for or comment on a future event, or on the negative possibility of events occurring (commentative predicates [factitives], desiderative predicates, achievement predicates, and negative predicates) typically use irrealis forms.

12.2.3.1. Utterance predicates
Utterance predicates usually introduce reported or direct speech (see also §12.3.4.) as can be seen in the following examples. Typical of utterance predicates in South Efate are nrik ‘tell’, til ‘tell’, paos ‘ask’, and trok ‘agree’.

64 Me ปา=ลก apu go ati go ปา=นริก-i-r
but 2sgIRR=look g.father and g.mother and 2sgIRR=tell-TS-3p.O
ki na “Awo ณ Erakor ณ=pato.”
PREP COMP uncle of p.name 3sgIRR=stay
And you see grandfather and grandmother and you tell them, “Uncle from Erakor is there.” (004a, 1648.8415, 1654.3600)

65 เท-ปาฟพоф ru=na ru=to ru=mai paos-ki-ο na,
det-old 3p.RS.want 3p.=STAT 3p.RS=come ask-TR-3sgO COMP
“Iku ณ ku=to kai go?”
why REL 2sgRS=STAT cry INT
The adults came and asked “Why are you crying?” (98003az, 2461.9697, 2466.3400)

66 Go tiawi wan kin ru=พล-i-ο na,
and old.people TOP REL 3p.RS=tell-TS-3sgO COMP
“Mes ι=πι ณ mal gamus.”
today 3sgRS=be time 2p.O
And the old people said, “Today it is your time” (i.e., it is up to you what you do). (98016az, 62.1, 65.5681)

When the complement of an utterance predicate is not direct speech then the complement clause usually has irrealis marking, as in (67) and (68).

67 Ku=trok na tesa nanwei neu ke=fo
2sgRS=agree COMP child male 1sgPOS 3sgIRR=PSP:IR
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taulu tesa gag?
marry child 2sgPOS
Do you agree that my son will marry your daughter? (98003bz, 1415.5505, 1419.7713)

68 Malfanen ra=pusrek pan pan pan, ra=tl-i-ə
now 3d.RS=discuss until.RED 3d.RS=tell-TS-3sgO

na rak=fes nawesien.
COMP 3d.IRR=startIR work
Now they talked until they said they would start work. (98010az, 125.1838, 128.7199)

12.2.3.2. Propositional attitude predicates
The only propositional attitude CTP in the data is mro ‘to think’ acting as an intransitive verb in (69) and as a derived transitive mrokin in (70). The irrealis in the complement clause in (70) is due to it acting as a hortative, and is not a feature of its complement clause status.

69 Nlaken ru=mro na gar ru=metmatu tol tiawi ... because 3p.RS=think COMP 3p. 3p.RS=wise beat old.people
Because they think they are wiser than the old people ... (98003bz, 396.7801, 401.1599)

70 Tu=mro-ki-n na tuk==sat mal gakit
1p.inRS=think-TR-3sgO COMp 1p.inIRR=take time 1p.in
We believe we should choose our own time (for independence). (20003az, 759.6801, 763.0226)

A semantically related form sertepal ‘to disbelieve’ appears to take only object NPs in the data and not complement clauses (71).

71 Ru=sertepal nale rait-e-r, tm-e-r.
3p.RS=disbelieve voice mother-V-3sgDP father-V-3sgDP
They don’t believe the voice of their mothers or fathers. (98009a, 633.4, 636.9999)

12.2.3.3. Commentative predicates (factitives)
The CTP wi ‘to be good’ is the only commentative CTP in the data. A semantically related form sa ‘to be bad’ does not take a complement clause in the data. Examples with wi ‘good’ in the data take an irrealis subject in the complement clause.
Complex sentences

12.2.3.4. Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge
Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge are the most common CTPs in South Efate and include *letae* ‘to recognize’, *tae* ‘to know’, *mrotae* ‘to understand’, and *pañorí* ‘to discover’.

72 Go malfane te-nen kin i=wi na natañol
and now det-that REL 3sgRS=good COMP people

ruk=freg-i-∅...
3p.IRR=make:IR-TS-3sgO
And now what it would be good for people to do... (98014az, 992.9399, 997.6001)

73 I=wi na akit tuk=pei infom-ki sesin.
3sgRS=good COMP 1p.ex 1p.inlRR inform-TR session
It is good that we inform the session (of the church). (98018b, 208.2799, 215.8200)

12.2.3.4. Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge
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74 Ku=tae na tiawi gag ru=weswes-wes.
2sglRR=know COMP ancestors 2sgPOS 3p.RS=work-3sgOBL
You know that your ancestors worked there. (98014az, 2026.0000, 2027.7597)

75 Ku=pamor-i-∅ na pislama ru=tik.
2sgRR=find-TS-3sgO COMP bêche-de-mer 3p.RS=not
You find that there are no bêche-de-mer. (98018b, 313.3, 316.5783)

76 Me a=tap letae na i=trog-wes ko
but 1sgRS=NEG recognize COMP 3sgRS=drunk-3sgOBL or
i=tfale mau.
3sgRS=how NEG2
But I didn’t see that he was drunk there, or how (he came to be drunk).
(98007bz, 650.8599, 656.9799)

The second verb in (77) has a subject represented by the 3sg proclitic that refers to the preceding proposition *(the situation which the chief finds to be too hard)*.

77 Go chief i=pañor-i-∅ i=kerkerai nen
and chief 3sgRS=find-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=strong this

ke=pestaf-i-r.
3sgRR=talk-TS-3p.O
The chief finds it hard to talk to them. (059:20)
12.2.3.5. Predicates of fearing
The only verb of fearing that takes a complement is *krokur* ‘to fear’, ‘to shake’. Other verbs expressing fear, such as *mtak* ‘to be scared’, are not attested with complements in the data.

78 Me i=krokur kin nañer nen ru=pakor mñas.
but 3sgRS=shake COMP people that 3p.RS=appear just
But he shook that the people just appeared. (98017az, 828.7, 830.35)

79 I=tap tae teflan kin Kaltog i=taf mau,
3sgRS=not know how REL p.name 3sgRS=exit NEG2
i=krokur kin Kaltog ki=pe patu elag.
3sgRS=shake COMP p.name 3sgPS=PF stay above
He didn’t know how Kaltong got out, he was scared that Kaltong was up there. (20001b, 1355.89, 1368.1001)

12.2.3.6. Desiderative predicates
There are two desiderative predicates, *mur* and *na*, which both mean ‘to want’. The predicate *mur* ‘want’ takes the complementizer *na* and requires an irrealis subject in the complement clause. In (80) *mur* also takes a 3sgO, and so means literally ‘I want it that I talk to him.’

80 Taos a=mur-i-n na ka=festaf-i-∅
like 1sgRS=want-TS-3sg COMP 1sgIRR=talk:IR-TS-3sgO
a=kano pestaf-i-∅.
1sgRS=unable talk-TS-3sgO
If I want to talk to him, I can’t talk to him. (98003bz, 1315.2399, 1321.4399)

81 Kineu a=mur na ka=traus tete natrauswen ses.
1sg 1sgRS=want COMP 1sgIRR=tell some story small
I want to tell some short stories. (98002az, 35.5600, 40.2001)

Of the CTPs it is with the verb *mur* ‘to want’ that unmarked complements are most common as we see in (82) where the complement clause is *katae* ‘I know’ or (83) where the complement clause is *palis kin* ‘you lease it’.

82 Go a=ta mur ka=tae mau.
and 1sgRS=NEG want 1sgIRR=know NEG2
And I didn’t want to know. (20003az, 1469.1545, 1471.0199)

83 Naor i=pi namlas tu me ku=tu nat ki=n,
place 3sgRS=be bush stay but 2sgRS=give man PREP-3sgO
Complex sentences

The predicate *na* ‘to want’ does not take a complementizer as we see in (84) where *na* is used in the first clause with the complement *ke=fak* ‘(that) he go’. The speaker needs to resituate the action of the story and so breaks off before the end of the first clause to tell us that the point of reference for the character is ‘here’, and then goes on to the second clause in which the verb *mur* ‘to want’ is used (with a complementizer).

84 Malnen *i=na* ke=fak[-]. *I=tu* sa when 3sgRS=want 3sIRR=go.to:IR[-] 3sgRS=stay here

\[\text{i=}=\text{mur} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{ke=fak} \quad \text{Ermag.} \]
\[3sgRS=want \quad \text{COMP} \quad 3sglRR=go.to:IR \quad \text{p.name}\]
*When he wanted to go. He was there (on Efate) and he wanted to go to Errromango. (98007az, 447.9600, 452.8401)*

Again, in (85) we see an unmarked complement following the verb *na* ‘to want’.

85 Me selwan *ku=na* \(\tilde{p}=\text{to} \quad \text{nrog-o-}\text{ö}, \)
*but when 2sgRS=want 2sglRR=STAT hear-TS-3sgO*

\[\tilde{p}=\text{to} \quad \text{nrog-o-}\text{ö}. \]
\[2sglRR=STAT \quad \text{hear-TS-3sgO}\]
*But when you want to hear it, you hear it. (98009a, 1943.3800, 1950.6199)*

There are many examples in the data of the desiderative *na* occurring in a collocation of the form “subject=na co-referential subject=Verb”, as in (86).

86 Go *namer ni Ermag ru=na ruk=wat-gi-\text{ö}. *
*and people from p.name 3p.RS=want 3pRS=hit-TS-3sgO*
*And the people from Erromango wanted to hit him. (98007az, 267.4401, 272.0200)*

A further common collocation is of *na* with the verb *to*, as in (87). Its meaning in these constructions is unclear, but is glossed as ‘to want to stay’.

87 *Ntuam i=na* \(\text{i=}\text{to} \quad \text{kai=slatlu nua nait devil} \quad 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=stay \quad \text{ES=take.out fruit fig}\)

95 Taken from Text 2:3 in the Appendix.
The devil wanted to stay and it took out a fig and ate it. (004a, 343.7600, 348.2000)

12.2.3.7. Achievement predicates
The verb *pregnrog* ‘to try’ (together with its Bislama counterpart *traem*) occurs in only a few examples in the data in which it acts as a CTP. In two of them it takes the complementizer *nag*, as in (88).

(88) Tete nat ru=tok *pregnrog-o-0* nag
some people 3p.RS=STAT try-TS-3sgO COMP

ruk=lao-ki political empire iskei.
3p.IRR=build-TR political empire one

But some people keep trying to establish a political empire. (98009b, 2075.7194, 2081)

There are several examples of *pregnrog* ‘to try’ followed by *nen kin* as in (89) which seem to be functioning as a fused or compound complementizer (see §12.2.1.2.).

(89) I=pregnrog-o-0 *nenkin*
3sgRS=try-TS-3sgO COMP

i=tap trok *nenkin* ke=fo pa=n mau.
3sg=NEG agree COMP 3sgIRR go:R=DST NEG2

He tried to go, but his wife didn’t agree that he could go. (20001b, 1284.9400, 1291.23)

12.2.3.8. Immediate perception predicates
Immediate perception predicates are *lek* ‘to see’ and *nrog* ‘to hear’.

(90) Ku=lek-a-0 na te-lap ru=ta pak
2sgRS=see-TS-3sgO COMP det-many 3p.RS=NEG go.to

skul i=top mau a?
school 3sgRS=much NEG2 INT

You see that many don’t go to school, eh? (20001b, 121.4400, 128.9001)

And I’ll see that my house is finished, (the roof) is closed. (20001az, 164.2599, 172.4801) (Toukelau.mov, 135.8999, 144.1201)
Complex sentences

92 I=wel a=nrog-o-ø na i=tik-ki
3sgRS=thus 1sgRS=hear-TS-3sgO COMP 3sgRS=not-TR

nafolŋprakotwen.
bad.behavior
Well, I heard there was no bad behavior. (98011a, 2266.9400, 2279.5000)

Structures like the second part of (93) could be analyzed as a sentential complement: “You will hear [the devil will speak].”

93 ŕa=fo nrog ntuam ke=fo pes.
2sgIRR=PSP:IR hear devil 3sgIRR=PSP:IR speak
You will hear the devil speak. (lit: You will hear the devil, he will speak.)
(095:15) (98017b, 2612.8, 2614.5399)

12.2.3.9. Negative predicates
The only negative predicate is the verb tap ‘to be taboo’, also used as a general negator.

94 Me ag ku=kano pak narfat. I=tap
but 2sg 2sgRS=unable go.to cave 3sgRS=taboo

nen ŕa=fa.
COMP 2sgIRR=go:IR
But you can’t go to the cave. It is taboo that you go. (98007bz, 1801.5800, 1804.4400)

95 I=tap nen rak=mer tmo-mus wat-mus.
3sgRS=taboo COMP 2d.IRR=again RR-2p.DP hit-2p.O
It is taboo that you hit yourselves again. (98017bz, 2411.8578, 2413.9200)

12.2.4. Relative clauses
Relative clauses restrict “the possible items that the head noun refers to” (Tallerman 1998:82). A relative clause in South Efate is formed by use of the relativizers kin, nen, or nag following the head. Like other modifiers, the relative clause follows the noun it modifies which is ‘external’ to the relative clause (in Keenan’s 1985 terms). Structural defining features of relative clauses in South Efate are:

• the presence of one of the relativizers kin, nen, na(g).
• the presence of a pause between the head noun and the relativizer.
• the position after the modified nominal.

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Examples of relative clauses formed with each of the three relativizers follow.

96 Erñelfat, naot ke-nen ga **kin** ru=sos-o-ø
p.name chief of-that 3sg REL 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO

ki marik Ta$pau$ ...
PREP mister p.name

*The chief of Erñelfat, he whom they call Mister Ta$pau$ ...* (98017bz, 96.76, 100.4)

97 **Me** tiawi **nen** ru=na ru=to
but old.people REL 3p.RS=want 3p.RS=stay

ru=pak Epag pa.
3p.RS=go.to p.name go

*But the old people who wanted to stay, they went to Pango.* (98017az, 845.1937, 849.6)

98 Nagi natkon **nag** ru=tok e-lag e-maloput.
name village REL 3p.RS=stay LOC-high LOC-middle

*The name of the villages that are up in the middle (of the island) ...* (98001b, 1422.7000, 1427.6369)

A relative clause can modify a nominal acting as S, O1, or O2, as we will see below. The following two examples show sentences where the head of the relative clause is its subject.

99 Ku=lek mes te=lap nen ru=to taon, te-fsofus...
2sgRS=look today DET-many REL 3p.RS=STAT town DET-youth

*You see today, many that are in town, young people...* (20003a, 1497.2433, 1499.2)

100 Tete nanwei **nen** i=mur na ke=tauulu-wou.
some man REL 3sgRS=want COMP 3sgIRR=marry-1sgO

*(Suppose there's) some man who wants to marry me ...* (98009a, 1068.1404, 1073.4400)

The next two sentences are examples where the head of the relative clause is its object.

101 Pa=fo leg-ki nafsan neu
2sgIRR=PSP:IR straight-TR story 1sgPOS

**nen** i=to rikod-ki-n i=to natus.
REL 3sgRS=STAT record-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=STAT paper

*You will correct my story that it (the cassette recorder) recorded to go on paper.* (005Ax, 1893.2, 1900.9)
Complex sentences

102 Go i=pi nametæg na natrauswen nen a=traus-i-ø.
   and 3sgRS=be end DET story REL 1sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO
   And it is the end of the story that I told. (004b, 1147.1000, 1155.6799)

In (103) the head of the relative clause, natrauswen gakit ‘our story’, acts as the O2 of the relative clause.
103 I=mag reki natrauswen gakit
   3sgRS=stare as.for story 1p.exPOS
   nen a=mur-i-n ka=nrik-i-ø ki-ø.
   REL 1sgRS.want-TS-3sgO 1sgIRR=tell-TS-3sgO PREP-3sgO
   He was in wonder about our story that I want to tell about. (98007bz, 1485.2519, 1488.7400)

Similarly, in (104) it is the O2 of the relative clause, ntan ‘land’, that is its head.
104 Gar ru=pitlak na- ntan nen naot nig Efil
   3p. 3p.RS=have HES ground REL chief of p.name
   i=tu-e-r ki-n.
   3sgRS=give-TS-3p.O PREP-3sgO
   They had the ground that the chief of Vila had given them. (98002az, 417.9600, 423.6)

In (105) the head of the relative clause, ntau ten ‘ten years’, acts as its adjunct.
105 Mes i=pi ntau ten nen a=tij.
   today 3sgRS=be year ten REL 1sgRS=teach
   Today it is ten years that I teach. (20001b, 75.5, 79.0074)

A relative clause can modify the head of a benefactive phrase as in (106), re-presented from example (64) in Chapter 11. Here the relative clause is dependent on a benefactive NP occurring within the slot between the preposition nig (signaling the beginning of the benefactive phrase) and the main verb slat.
106 I=nig tesa taklep nanwei nig marik ŕal-u-n nag
   3sgRS=of child first.b. male of mister brother-V-3sgDP REL
   i=pi naot ŕur marik Nmak Kalmtapil slat
   3sgRS=be chief big mister Nmak Kalmtapil take
   ki nafinaotan.
   PREP chiefly.line
   He, for the firstborn son of his brother who was the big chief Nmak Kalmtapil, took the chiefly line. (053:46)
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12.2.5. Adverbial clauses
Longacre (1985:237) defines adverbial clauses as modifiers of verbs and propositions, and notes that they function as sentence margins. By sentence margins we understand that adverbial clauses are adjuncts. Examples of adverbial clause types follow, but note that adverbial clauses can also be formed with temporal nouns (§5.2.3) and temporal adverbs (§4.8). The adverb in these clauses can introduce the clause either alone or followed by the subordinating particle *kin*, as shown in the second example in each of the following sections.

In all cases the adverbial clause is introduced by an adverbial form, as will be seen in the following sections. With the exception of the purposive clause (§12.2.5.6.) adverbial clauses can precede or follow the main clause.

12.2.5.1. *malnen* ‘when’
In adverbial clauses *malnen* ‘when’ is used to encode an activity occurring at the time of that of the main clause. *Malnen* means literally ‘that time’.

107 **Malnen** ruko=pe laosok silua ru=tur pek,
when 3p.PS=PF pound all 3p.RS=sew bag

*natañol kin ke=fo slat-i-ø.*

*man REL 3sgIRR=PSP:IR take-TS-3sgO*

*When they have pounded it all (copra), they sew a bag; a man will come and get it. (98003bz, 595.6599, 602.9400)*

108 **Malnen** kin i=nrog nai i=ser tefla=n
when SUB 3sgRS=hear water 3sgRS=flow thus=DST

*i=tarñek-ki napor.*

*3sgRS=fall-TR basket*

*When she heard the water running like that, she dropped her basket.*

*(98002bz, 523.1600, 526.6178)*

109 **Ore** natrauswen i=til-i-ø tefla=n **malnen**
yes story 3sgRS=tel-TS-3sgO thus=DST when

*nalotwen i=mai.*

*prayer 3sgRS=come*

*Yes, that’s what the story says about when Christianity came. (98002bz, 881.5400, 884.6867)*

12.2.5.2. *selwan* ‘while’, ‘when’
An adverbial clause introduced by *selwan* ‘while’, ‘when’ encodes an event that occurs at the same time as the event encoded in the main clause.

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*There are no examples of the purposive *na* followed by a subordinator *kin.*
Complex sentences

110 Selwan a=piatlak ntau ipat a=stat pak skul.
when 1sgRS=have year four 1sgRS=start go.to school
When I was four I started going to school. (98003az, 2126.3799, 2133.1199)

111 Selwan kin ku=na ku=tai panpan i=nomser
when SUB 2sgRS=want 2sgRS=cut until 3sgRS=every
ale i=mai pi raru.
ok 3sgRS=come be canoe
When you want to cut (the wood) until it is all cut, then it becomes a canoe. (004a, 588.6331, 593.2800)

12.2.5.3. eswan ‘where, the place that’
An adverbial clause introduced by eswan ‘where, at the place that’ describes the location of an event which is encoded in the following clause. The form eswan is made up of the locative prefix e-, the question morpheme swa ‘where’ (illustrated in [114]) with the distant clitic =n, which is obligatory when eswan functions to introduce an adverbial clause.

112 Eswan DL i=pakor-wes ru=sos-o-ø ki T.
where p.name 3sgRS=born-3sgOBL 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP T
(The place) Where D L was born they call T. (98001b, 1278.6600, 1286.3801)

113 I=pi eswan kin sup nig sautog i=po
3sgRS=be where SUB fashion of rent 3sgRS=PSP
pakor-wes.
appear-3sgOBL
It is where the custom of rent first appeared. (98009b, 2019.2400, 2025.4000)

114 Me ag ku=pi te-ni swa?
but 2sg 2sgRS=be DET=of where
But where are you from? (20001az, 921.7800, 924.1171)

12.2.5.4. taos/taosi ‘like, in the manner of’
In adverbial clauses taos ‘like’ encodes similarity to or comparison with an activity or object in an adjoining clause.
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115 Taos tiawi i=skei go tiawi i=nru
like ancestors 3sgRS=one and ancestors 3sgRS=two
ra=fla to pusrek ...
3d.RS=may STAT discuss
Like one or two old people may have been talking ...
(98010az, 2094.6450, 2097.4867)

In example (116) the speaker is answering a question about the prevalence of wife-beating in the society today. She answers that her opinion is that such violence is ‘something from today’, not something that happened in the past.

116 Or taosi kin ku=paos-ki nalelewen neu
yes like SUB 2sgRS=ask-TR view IsgPOS
i==pi te-ni meso
3sgRS=be det-of today
Yes, as you are asking for my opinion, it is something from today.
(98007bz, 506.2000, 519.9)

12.2.5.5. nlaken, reason ‘because’
Reason clauses use nlaken ‘because’. The preposition kat ‘due to’ has a similar meaning, but can not function as the head of an adverbial clause. In example (117) the speaker is telling about missionaries who used writing to trick local people and so the book is used to hide information because the old people couldn’t read or write.

117 I=to natus nlaken tiawi ru=ta to
3sgRS=stay paper because old.people 3p.RS=NEG STAT
mtir natusmau tetwei.97
write book NEG2 before
It is in a book because the old people couldn’t write in books in those days. (20003az, 472.8999, 476.8401)

118 Ku=ta pes-top mau nlaken kin i=min nmalok.
2sgRS=NEG talk-much NEG2 because SUB 3sgRS=drink kava
Don’t talk too loud because he is drinking kava. (98007bz, 721.1, 724.3065)

12.2.5.6. na, purposive ‘in order to’
Unlike the other adverbial clauses discussed in this section, purposive clauses always follow the main clause. Purposive clauses are introduced by the purposive

97 The sentence-final tetwei ‘long ago, before’ occurs following NEG2 as an afterthought in this example.
Complex sentences

subordinator na. In example (119) a devil seizes a mouth organ and the na purposive clause encodes the fact that he took it ‘in order to blow it’.

119 Ntuam i=na i=sat nalag na i=si
devil 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=take m.organ PURP 3sgRS=blow

trau sat-i-ø sef.
just carry-TS-3sgO escape

The devil took the mouth organ to blow it, just took it and ran away.
(98003a, 2452.93, 2456.3512)

In (120) the action of sitting down is performed in order to eat.

120 Ku=totan na ku=fam.
2sgRS=sit PURP 2sgRS=eat

You sit in order to eat. (98007bz, 979.1249, 981.4875)

The purposive is used to encode a devil’s intention to appear in front of some people whose food he wants to eat.

121 I=mai na i=pakor ki-r.
3sgRS=come PURP 3sgRS=appear PREP-3p.O

He came in order to appear in front of them. (20001az, 1644.5800, 1646.2)

12.2.5.7. /wei, fla, conditional ‘if’
The conditional particle / is discussed in §10.1.4 and here we observe the forms with which it combines to introduce an adverbial conditional clause. The two most common conditional forms are /wel ‘if’ and fla ‘may’. The first form includes the verb stem wel often glossed as ‘thus’ in fixed expressions such as welkia ‘and thus’, or just as a filler. The second form includes a particle la which does not appear independently and so I consider it to form a single unit, fla, glossed as ‘may’. As la is not a verb stem itself, fla requires a following verb stem to form a Verb Complex.

In a discussion about marriage partners the speaker in (122) notes that, if the man and the woman are close relatives then their parents can not agree to a marriage between them, but if they are more distant relatives then they are able to be married. The whole sentence is framed using the conditional ifwel.

122 Me i=f wel i=nrus pi enæ, go i=wi,
but 3sgRS=CND thus 3sgRS=just be far and 3sgRS=good

But if it (the relationship) was a little distant it was good. (98009a, 1381.2201, 1386.8400)
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123 I=f wel kin ru=f trok go rak=fo
   3sgRS=CND thus REL 3p.RS=CND agree and 3d.IRR
   gar preg nlakwen.
   3p.BEN make wedding
   If they agree, then they would prepare their wedding for them. (98009a, 1210.6705, 1214.7601)

124 I=f wel kin ku=pakot i=pitlak naner
   3sgRS=CND thus SUB 2sgRS=pay 3sgRS=have people
   nen kin gar ru=to tur rowat.
   that REL 3p. 3p.RS=STAT sew thatch
   And if you pay there are people who will sew thatch. (20001az, 357.5000, 362.8414)

While *fvel* is itself a predicate and can be followed by the subordinator *kin* as in (124), this is not the case for *fla* which requires a following verb, as can be seen in (125). There are no examples in the data of *fla* occurring independently of a following verb.

125 Ko ga i=fla mur-i-n na ke=tau tete
   or 3sg 3sgRS=may want-TS=DSTCOMP 3sgIRR=leave some
   nanromien ses, i=kano trau leg mai tau.
   present small 3sgRS=unable just straight hither leave
   Or if he wanted to leave a small present he couldn’t just come and leave it. (98003bz, 1340.5399, 1348.3400)

126 Go i=taos malpei welkin u=fla... u=fla
   and 3sgRS=like first.time HES 1p.exRS=may 1p.exRS=may
   salem-ki kopra.
   sell-TR copra
   And, as in the old days, like, we would, we would sell copra. (98003bz, 661.5200, 668.9799)

12.3. Other clause linkage

There are several strategies for linking clauses or sentences without morphosyntactic markers of coordination or subordination. Clause juxtaposition (§12.3.1.) involves two (or more) clauses each with a fully inflected Verb Complex but with features that suggest a tighter link than that between separate sentences.

Clause chaining (§12.3.2.) consists of sequential clauses headed by verbs without explicit subject marking. Tail-head linkage (§12.3.3.) is a discourse strategy that links independent sentences within a paragraph or larger discourse
unit by repeating elements of the first in the second. Finally, we will consider
the framing of direct speech (§12.3.4.) as another way in which clauses are
linked.

12.3.1. Clause juxtaposition
Clause juxtaposition involves two (or more) clauses in sequence in which there
is no morphosyntactic marker of the relationship between them. As was discussed
in Chapter 9, there is no reason in South Efate to identify what are called
‘core-layer’ serial verb constructions in northern Vanuatu languages. We treat
them as clauses exhibiting semantic features of linkage, but with no distinct
structure. This avoids having to account for clause-like elements at a sub-clausal
layer. However, the issue of identifying the relationship between these units
remains. In the current description some structures that could be regarded as
being juxtaposed clauses are analyzed as complement-taking predicates (CTPs).
The remaining clause-clause sequences can be categorized into three types: (1)
topic-comment; (2) cause and result; (3) directional clause linkage.

12.3.1.1. Topic-comment linkage
Topic-comment linkage involves two clauses in which the second modifies or
comments on the content of the first, as in (127) where the second clause itop
‘too much’ modifies the whole preceding clause.
127 Ru=pop kop namurien gar i=top.
   3p.RS=PSP:R chase desire 3p.POS 3sgRS=much
   [clause ] [clause ]
   They follow their own desires too much. (98010bz, 1616.2, 1618.8552)

Similarly, in (128) the second clause comments on the first. There is no
intonational cue in this type of construction to suggest that the second clause
should be considered a new sentence, that is, the two clauses fall under one
intonation contour.
128 I=gar preg nafnag pan pan pan ra=to fam.
   3sgRS=3p.BEN makefood go:RED 3d.RS=STAT eat
   She got food for them, they ate. (20003bz, 1513.3400, 1517.2599)

12.3.1.2. Cause and result linkage
A causal relationship between clauses is encoded by use of the verb preg ‘to
make’ in the first clause whose object is the subject of the second clause which
encodes the resultant situation. So in (129) the object of the first verb (preg ‘to
make’) and the subject of the second verb (msak ‘be sick’) is Kaltog who is
‘made sick’. Further examples follow.
129 I=pamor-i-0 na mtulep nen kin i=preg
   3sgRS=discover-TS-3sgO COMP woman that REL 3sgRS=make
   [clause ] [clause ] [clause ]
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Kaltog i=msak.
p.name 3sgRS=sick ]

He found out that that woman had made Kaltong sick. (20001b, 1267.0, 1271.3399)

130 Charlie i=preg-i-∅ a=pi polis ga ni natkon 1960.
Charlie 3sgRS=make-TS-3sgO 1sgRS=be police 3sg of village 1960 [clause ] [clause ]
Charlie made me his village policeman in 1960. (060:36) (98002az, 182.0599, 188.1799)

131 Missionary ki=preg-i-∅ ru==mtalu marik nig Epag.
missionary 3gPS=make-TS-3sgO 3p.RS=choose man of Pango [clause ] [clause ]
And the missionary made them choose a man from Pango. (lit: he made it so they chose.) (053:50)

132 Skot-i-r me ru=po sel tesa with-TS-3p.O but 3p.RS=PSP:R take child
ru=lekor-wer e-surñ. 3p.RS=look.after-3p.OBL LOC-house
(I was) with them, but they took children, they looked after them at home. (98003bz, 1082.2859, 1087.1399)

In (133) the situation of being made to come ashore is encoded by clausal juxtaposition where the object of the verb *preg* ‘to make’ is the subject of the second clause. This is an example of both cause/result and directional clause linkage (§12.3.1.3.).

133 Ale ru=preg-i-∅ i=pak eut.
okay 3p.S=make-TS-3sgO 3sg=go.to ashore [clause ] [clause ]
Then they made him come ashore. (061:16)

Cause and effect are not always marked by the verb *preg* ‘to make’, but can use other verbs, as in (134), which follows a discussion of special stones which are used to magically increase a crop. The action of turning and dropping this stone is part of the ritual. The object of the first clause is the subject of the second.

134 Ku=nre-a-∅ i=tarpek.
2sgRS=turn-TS-∅ 3sgRS=fall [clause ] [clause ]
You turn it, it falls. (98017bz, 1662.9399, 1673.2200)
12.3.1.3. Directional clause linkage

Where the second clause is constituted by a directional verb the clause linkage is considered to be of a type called directional clause linkage.

135 Ru=pan sos-o-r ru=mai.
   [clause] [clause]

*They called them* to come. (lit: *They went called them, they come.* )
(98003bz, 1076.2599, 1080.5400)

In (136) the object of the verb in the first clause is the ‘yams’ that are then the subject of the second clause and the direction of motion is encoded in the second clause ru=ur ‘they follow’.

136 A=kil nawi. Ale a=mot-i-r ru=ur e-talñat.
   1sgRS=dig yam then 1sgRS=tie-TS-3p.O 3p.RS=follow LOC-garden
   [clause] [clause] [clause]

*I dig yams. Then I tie them, they are at the garden. (lit: I tie them they follow the garden)* (MK 98012)

In (137) the second clause is the complement of the first clause and the third clause specifies the direction (*kafak Nume* ‘that I go to Noumea’).

137 Mal-ne ru=na ruk=sent-ki kineu ka=fak Nume.
   time-this 3p.RS=want 3p.IRR=sent-TR 1 sg 1 sgIRR=go:IR Noumea
   [clause] [clause] [clause]

*Then they wanted to send me to Noumea.* (063:17)

Example (138) shows a complement taking predicate *mur* ‘to want’ and its complement clause *pasosor* ‘you call them’ followed by the directional clause *rusil* ‘they enter’.

138 Ga i=tap mur pa=sos-o-r ru=sil mau.
   3sg 3sgRS=NEG want 2sgIRR=call-TS-3p.O 3p.RS=enter NEG2
   [clause] [clause] [clause]

*He doesn’t want you to call them to come inside.* (98016az, 866.4799, 868.5222)

The second object, *mane neu* ‘my money’, of the first verb, *tao* ‘give me’, in the first clause in (139), is then the subject of the following verb, *ler* ‘return’, which specifies the direction of the activity in the first clause (‘leaving my money’).

139 Go ru=tao mane neu ke=ler.
   and 3p.RS=give.me money 1 sgPOS 3sgIRR=return
   [clause] [clause]

*And they give me my money back (They gave me my money it returned).*
(98016bz, 212.4600, 215.1400)
12.3.2. Clause chaining

Longacre (1999) notes that clause chaining typically involves a series of clauses in which one or more is deficient in TMA marking. In the SOV Papuan languages in which chaining is best known (e.g., Yimas, Foley 1991) the last verb in the chain is inflected, while the preceding verb has reduced or absent TMA marking. In VSO and SVO languages the first verb in a clause chain is typically more fully inflected and subsequent verbs are called ‘sequential’ or ‘consecutive’ (Longacre 1999:176). In South Efate, which is an SVO language, the latter kind of clause chaining does occur. While sequential verbs in South Efate typically have reduced PVC marking, there is no prohibition on PVC particles in sequential clauses as will be seen below. The feature distinguishing clause chains from other clause linkage types in South Efate is the absence of subject marking on sequential or chained clauses, which we call subject omission.

In the following examples from South Efate the second and subsequent verbs have no subject marking. The position where we would expect to see a subject proclitic is marked with a null (Ø) in the present section, but not in the usual representation of such clauses in other parts of this volume. In these examples there is an understood subject that carries through from an earlier clause.

In (140) there is a pause before the verb mai ‘come’ which indicates that mai is not functioning as a directional particle (‘hither’, see §9.1.2.4) but as a verb without a subject. Similarly in all of the following examples there are one or more chained clauses preceded by a clause which has subject marking.

140 A=pan tai lop, Ø=mai, a=preg-ptak-ki,
1sgRS=go cut bamboo Ø=come 1sgRS=make-ready-TR
Ø=tai-ptak-ki.
Ø=cut-ready-TR
I go and cut bamboo, come, I make it ready, cut it ready. (20001az, 58.0827, 60.6691)

In (141) the final clause (preg nalotwen ‘make prayer’) has no subject proclitic and is intonationally linked to the preceding sentence in a clause chain.

141 Go malfanen iwelkia i=to siwer-ur ser natkon
and now so 3sgRS=STAT walk-follow every village
Ø=preg nalotwen.
Ø=make prayer
And now, she walked to each village to pray. (lit: And now, she walked to each village take prayer). (081:35) (98010az, 1182.9800, 1193.3)
Similarly, in (142) the clause beginning with *nrokot mai* ‘cross hither’ follows the O of the first clause (*raru* ‘canoe’) and has no subject marking and so is considered to be chained.

142 U=po pa raru O=nrokot-mai pak Efat gakit ne.
1p.RS=PSP:R gocanoe O=cross-come to p.name 1p.incPOS this
*We would take the canoe across to this, our Efate. (081:42) (98010az, 1237.0800, 1244.7199)*

In (143) there are two clauses chained following the clause *ru panpan pato oraik* ‘they went fishing’. The first is *ur elau* ‘go on the sea’ and the second is *panpan ipil fotasiks kaitau* ‘blow up forty-six fish’ in which a subject would be expected on the verb *ipil* ‘to blow up’. Both the second and third clause in the sentence have no subject proclitic and so are considered to be chained.

143 Ru=panpan pato oraik O=ur elau panpan O=tpil
3p.RS=go.go stay fishing O=follow sea until O=blow.up

*fotasiks kaitau ru=mat.*

46 fish 3p.RS=die
*They went fishing in the sea until they had dynamited 46 karong (type of fish). (021:27) (004b, 2127.4999, 2137.8800)*

In the following short text there are several examples of verbs occurring without explicit subject marking. Again, a null (O) indicates where a subject proclitic would be expected and each subject is tracked by alphabetic characters, followed by a number representing each mention or each absence of mention of the subject where we would expect it. The change of subject at B1 is followed by a reiteration of the original subject with a pronominal reference at A4. In this example we see clause chaining used to maintain a constant reference without needing to restate the subject with each successive verb.

144 Jubilee pei a=mit-ki te-ni Samoa, ga kin O=pato sanpe,
"first 1sgRS=meet-TR DET-of p.name 3sg REL O=stay there
1 A1 81 82
B1
The first jubilee I met the Samoans, they were over there,

foto k-nen kin i=pato. O=preg sain, a?
photo PREP-that REL 3sgRS=stay O=make sign INT
A2
a photo of them is there. Made (them) sign (it), eh?

Ale O=mit-ki-r elau. Ru=mai tau Baibol.
then O=meet-TR-3p.O beach 3p.RS=come give.me bible
A3 B3
Okay, meet them on the beach. They came and gave me the Bible.
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A=sat-i-ø plak na Mobail Miusik. O=Plak krup
1sgRS=cary-TS-3sgO with DET mobile music O=with group
A4
A5

I took it with the army band. With a group

natañol O=plak-e-r, mai pa=n pak elag nmet ni people O=with-TS-3p.O come go=DST to above window of
A6
of people, with them came up to the window

sunñtap ale O=ptu-ki-ø na Baibol.
church then O=give-TR-3sgO DET bible
A7
of the church, then gave the Bible. (98002az, 775.3800, 802.9601)

In example (145) there are three chained clauses without subjects, each taking its subject referent from the first mention of mal 'hawk' and its proclitic on the first verb (nrirlfek 'fly around').

145 Ru=lek-a-ø go mal i=mai nrir-lfek-i-r

panpan i=nom O=pan pato emañe O=trau preg
until 3sgRS=finish O=go be.at longway O=just make

nafar-u-n teflan O=trau nrir pe nrir.
wing-V-3sgDP thus O=just fly IF fly

They watched and the hawk flew down around them until he finished and flew a long way away, just trimmed his wings and flew and flew. (052:51)
(98001b, 927.5454, 937.0769)

The auxiliary verb trau 'just' occurs as the first element of the chained clause in (145) and other parts of the PVC can also precede the verb in a clause chain. In example (146) the sequential clause is introduced by mer 'in turn' in a tail-head-linkage (discussed in the following section) which, in this case, copies the preceding clause minus the subject proclitic.

146 Go a=mer mai to e-sunñ, O=mer mai
and 1sgRS=in.turn come stay LOC-house O=in.turn hither

to e-sunñ to.

And then I came back home, came back to stay at home. (98010bz, 1302.7, 1306.4)
The realis prospective marker *po* also functions as the first element in a chained clause. The three next examples all show clause chaining in which the first element of the PVC is *po* ‘realis prospective’. (There are no examples in the data where a sequential clause begins with the irrealis prospective marker *fo* or with the perfect marker *pe*.)

147 A=*po* su net pan pato suni Paster pato pan 1sgRS=PSP descend meet go stay house of pastor stay go

0=*po* mai kia. A=mai kia 0=*po* to los.
0=PSP:R come here 1sgRS=come here 0=PSP:R STAT swim
I would go to the pastor’s house, then come here. I come here then wash. (98005: conversation)

148 Apu gar i=pakor Epag, i=to Epag,
g.father3p.POS 3sgRS=born p.name 3sgRS=stay p.name

0=*po* pak Efil.
0=PSP:R go to p.name
Their grandfather was born at Pango, he stayed at Pango then went to Vila. (98001az, 214.4800, 220.0968)

149 Ko=fa=n lek-a-0 ke=nom su 1p.exl RR=go:IR DST look-IR=3sg 3sgIRR=end PF

0=*po* preg desison.
0=PSP:R make decision
We would see it was finished and would make a decision. (98018az, 1450, 1453.4000)

12.3.3. Tail-head linkage
Tail-head linkage is a discourse strategy in which the flow of information is supported by a reiteration of a clause at the beginning of the following sentence. This strategy is well known in languages of the region, e.g., Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:426), Lewo (Early 1994:454), Sye (Crowley 1998:282). In example (150) it is the clause *i=puel* ‘he disappeared’ that is repeated in (150b).

150a Malen i=pak ektem i=puel.
when 3sgRS=go.to:R outside 3sgRS=disappear

b Me *i=puel* me i=fak i=nrir.
and 3sgRS=disappear but 3sgRS=go.to:IR 3sgRS=fly
When he went outside he disappeared. He disappeared but he flew away. (98017bz, 635.5, 639.0800)
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A number of instances of tail-head linkage can be seen in example (151) which is from text 6 (in the Appendix) and is part of a description of making thatch for roofing. In these examples we can see that it is the final clause (consisting of subject proclitic, main verb, and O, if present) which is repeated. Example (151f) shows tail-head linkage as part of a clause chain (a=preg-pta-ki, O=tai-pta-ki ‘I made it ready, cut it ready’).

151a Malen a=mur-i-n na ka=tur rowat go
when 1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO COMP 1sgIRR=sew thatch and
When I want to cut thatch and

b a=po pa=n slat rowat, ka=fa=n slat rowat.
1sgRS=PSP:R go=DST take thatch 1sgIRR=go:IR=DST take thatch
I will go get thatch, I would go get thatch.

c A=ler mai, ka=fo pei m̄asel rowat.
1sgRS=return hither 1sgIRR=PSP:IR first derib thatch
I come back, I will first take out the ribs (of the sago leaves).

d A=m̄asel rowat i=nom. A=mer ūel-ki-ō.
1sgRS=derib thatch 3sgRS=end 1sgRS=in.turn bend-TR-3sgO
I take out the ribs, finish. I then bend it.

e A=ūel-ki-n i=tu. Me a=po mer
1sgRS=bend-TR-3sgO 3sgRS=stay but 1sgRS=PSP in.turn
I bend it, it is there. But I then go

f pa=n tai lop. A=pa=n tai lop, mai,
go=DST cut bamboo 1sgRS=go=DST cut bamboo DP

a=preg-pta-ki-ō, O=tai-pta-ki-ō.
1sgRS=make-ready-TR-3sgO O=cut-ready-TR-3sgO
and cut bamboo. I cut bamboo, come, I get it ready, I cut it ready.
(2001az, 28.3600, 62.9200)

12.3.4. Direct and reported speech
Another type of complex sentence structure is used in quoting speech in which a sentence is embedded within another framing sentence. We can distinguish reported speech (e.g., ‘They told us that there was a fire yesterday’) from direct speech (e.g., ‘They said, “There was a fire yesterday”’) by using both grammatical and intonational cues. Both direct and reported speech are typically encoded as a complement of a CTP (§12.2.3.), but may also appear parataktically (as in example [153]).

The indicators usually associated with direct or reported speech are one or more of: (a) the use of a verb of locution preceding the speech; (b) a change in the reference point from that of the speaker to that of the person who is the
subject of the discourse (only with direct speech); (c) a pause preceding the quoted speech. For example, in (152) we know there is direct speech because of the verb of locution (na ‘to say); because of a change of subject from 3sg in the framing sentence to 1sg in the quoted speech; and because of the pause preceding the quoted speech.

152 I=trau na, “Ka=tmalu-ki-ơ.”
3sgRS=just say 1sgIRR=depart-TR-3sgO
He just said “I’m leaving.” (20001az, 1326.7200, 1331.6400)

In example (153) there is no verb of locution and the quoted speech is simply inserted into the discourse paratactically, with a change in the reference point to 1sg (ka= 1sgRS) in the quoted speech.

153 Ra=to wi. “Nta ka=fo tu-o-k gag nįit.”
3d.RS=stay good ok 1sgRS=PSP:IR give-TS-2sgO 2sgPOS mat
They were good. “Okay, I will give you your mat.” (98003bz, 1223.0599, 1228.5270)

In example (154) the reported speech has an irrealis proclitic subject and follows na with no pause, both features suggesting that the speech is encoded as the complement of the verb til ‘to tell’ and so is reported rather than direct speech.

154 Ru=totan ru=tl-i-ơ na ke=fo
3p.RS=sit 3p.RS=tell-TS-3sgO COMP 3sgIRR=PSP:IR
pitlak hotel naur.
have hotel island
They sat down, they said that there would be a hotel on the island. (98014az, 2634.2800, 2638.9200)

In the short text in (155) we see the same event described by the speaker first using direct speech and then reported speech in a tail-head linkage pattern (§12.3.3.). The pause indicated by a comma in (155a) introduces direct speech, while the switch of subject proclitic from first person to third person in the second signals reported speech.

155a Menal i=nrik katom ki-n na,
barracuda 3sgRS=tell h.crab PREP-3sgO COMP
“Tak=fo res.” Menal i=nrik katom ki-n
1d.IRR=PSP:IR race barracuda 3sgRS=tel l h.crab PREP-3sgO
na rak=fo res.
COMP 3d.IRR=PSP:IR race
The barracuda said to the hermit crab, “Let us race.” The barracuda said to the hermit crab that they should race. (98009az, 24.4000, 36.5399)
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Example (156) shows how the framing of the reported speech can be determined pragmatically from the context; here a woman talks about passing a letter to a boyfriend via an intermediary. The reported speech is presented from the perspective of the woman speaking to the intermediary. There is no morphosyntactic marking of the direct speech, but the subject switch to 2nd person indicates the start of the reported speech.

156 Ka=fo preg leta ke=skei. Ale a=tu nat,
1sgRS=PSP:IR makeletter 3sglRR=one ok 1sgRS=give man

“Pa=fo neu tu-a-ø ki.”
2sglRR=PSP:IR 1sgBEN give-TS-3sgO prep
I will prepare a letter. Okay, I give it to a man, “You will give it to him for me.” (98003b, 1334.7999, 1340.5399)
Appendix—Texts in South Efate

The following eight texts were recorded with seven speakers. All texts are extracted from audio files and are playable from the attached DVD. These texts are all extracted from field tapes in which I am the primary interlocutor. The audio corpus on the attached DVD includes nineteen hours of transcribed data from which these texts are extracted.

Punctuation is to be interpreted as follows: a comma indicates a slight pause where there is reason to expect the speaker to continue. A fullstop indicates the end of an utterance unit usually accompanied by sentence-final downward intonation.

Texts 1–5 recount *kastom* stories that are well known to South Efate speakers. Text 6 is from a video of thatch making. Text 7 is a personal history that also discusses links between Erakor and Mare in New Caledonia. Text 8 was recorded to provide advice to young people in the future.

3. Litrapong, a *natopu*, by Kalsarap Namaf.
4. The origin of coconuts, by Kalsarap Namaf.
5. Ririel and Ririal, by John Kalfau (child’s speech).
7. Links to Mare, by Chief Waia Tenene.
8. The need for respect, by Iokopet.

**Text 1. Natopu karu, ‘Another spirit’**
Told by Tokelau Takau in 1998.
Audio source 98009bz, 985.1800, 1149.1600

1:1 There is (a *natopu*\(^{98}\) at) Tasiriki, the Radison. Tasiriki has a woman spirit there.
1:2 She is there. Her name is Lisau.
1:3 She looks after this place.
1:4 They are *natopu* (spirits) but they know people, they know the people of the village, look after the people.
1:5 Anyone who does something crooked, they show him so that he knows that he is doing something crooked, they show him it.
1:6 And the man will recognize that what he did is not good.
1:7 (NT) But are there people who give them some presents?
1:8 Yes. Yes. Like, bad thoughts, a man wishes bad things on someone, he wishes bad things on some friend.
1:9 He takes a present, he goes and gives it to her [the spirit]. He says, “You will hit him for me.”
1:10 She will do it, as that man brought a small present and gave it to her.

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\(^{98}\) The *natopu* is a spirit associated with a particular location.
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1:11 Then that other man might get sick, because the other one went and made an offering to the natopu, a present.
1:12 If he is sick, eventually he will go and see a healer (munwei) who will be able to find out for him the cause of his sickness.
1:13 Then he will tell him, “He is the one who sooled the natopu onto you.” (lit: who gave the natopu to you)
1:14 And he would then be able to tell him, “You now go and get a present and give it to me, and I will go and give it to her and we will come back.”
1:15 That’s it. There are some people who don’t think straight.
1:16 But it is not a good way, it’s a bad way.
1:17 (NT) But is the natopu bad or good?
1:18 She is good, she loves all people, but when a man gets angry with his friend and he gives her a present, she will
1:19 do as he wants. (lit: she will follow the present that they gave her)
1:20 It’s like that. The natopu is like that.

Ipiatlak, Etasrik, Ratison. Etasrik
i= piatlak Etasrik Ratison Etasrik
3sgRS= have p.name p.name p.name

ipiatlak mtulep iskei itkos.
i= piatlak mtulep i= skei i= tok -os
3sgRS= have wife 3sgRS= one 3sgRS= stay -3sgOBL

There is (a natopu at) Tasiriki, the Radison. Tasiriki has a woman spirit there.

Ga me itkos. Nagien ipi Lisau.
ga me i= tok -os nagi -e -n i= pi Lisau
3sg and 3sgRS= HAB -3sgOBL name -V -3sgDP 3sgRS= be Lisau
She is there. Her name is Lisau.

Ga me itu lekor ga esa.
ga me i= to lekor ga e- sa
3sg and 3sgRS= HAB watch 3sg LOC- here
She looks after this place.

Rupi natopu me rutae nañer,
ru= pi natopu me ru= tae nañer
3p.RS= be spirit but 3p.RS= know people

rutae natañol ni natkon, lekor ptaki natañol.
ru= tae natañol ni natkon lekor pta -ki natañol
3p.RS= know person of village watch make.good -TR person
They are natopu (spirits) but they know people, they know the people of the village, look after the people.
Anyone who does something wrong, they show him so that he knows that he is doing something wrong, they show him it.

And the man will recognize that what he did is not good.

(NT) But are there people who give them some presents?

Yes. Like, bad thoughts, a man wishes bad things on someone, he wishes bad things on some friend.

isel tete nanromien ipan tua ki.

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Ina “Pafo neu, pafo neu watgi.”

He takes a present, he goes and gives it to her. He says, “You will hit him for me.”

Kefo pregi taosi kin, taosi kin natamol

She will do it, as that man brought a small present and gave it to her.

Malen kin natamol karu nen ifla tu msak, nlaken kin

Then that other man might get sick, because the other one went and made an offering to the natopu a present.

Iflatu msak, panpan ale ilel na, tete

If he is sick, eventually he will go and see a healer (munwei) who will be able to find out for him the cause of his sickness.

Pan kefo tli na, kefo tae
nrik -i -n ki na ga kin i= tu natopu ki -k
tell -TS -3sg0 PREP COMP 3sg REL 3sgRS= give spirit PREP -2sg0
Then he will tell him, "He is the one who sooled the natopu onto you." (lit: "who gave the natopu to you.")

Go ga kefo mer tae nrik -i -n ki na,
go ga ke= fo mer tae nrik -i -n ki na
and 3sg 3sgIRR= PSP:IR again know tell -TS -3sgO PREP COMP

"Pamer sel tete nanromien mai tao kin,
\( \ddot{p}a= \) mer slat tete nanromien mai tao ki -n
2sgIRR= in.turn carry some present come give.me PREP -3sg0

me kineu kafo pan ga psi,
me kineu ka= fo pan ga pus -i -\( \emptyset \)
but 1sg 1sgIRR= PSP:IR go 3sgBEN put -TS -3sg0

me kafo plakek ler."
me ka= fo plak -e -k ler
but 1sgIRR= PSP:IR with -V -2sgO return
And he would then be able to tell him, "You now go and get a present and give it to me, and I will go and give it to her and we will come back."

Tefla. Ipitlak tete
tefla i= piatlak tete
like.that 3sgRS= have some

nata\( \ddot{m} \)ol nen kin namroan gar itakel, ruto.
nata\( \ddot{m} \)ol nen kin namroan gar i= takel ru= to
person that REL thinking 3p.POS 3sgRS= crooked 3p.RS= stay
That's it. There are some people who don't think straight.

Me ita pi su\( \ddot{p} \) wi mau, i pi su\( \ddot{p} \) sa.
me i= ta pi su\( \ddot{p} \) wi mau i= pi su\( \ddot{p} \) sa
but 3sgRS= not be fashion good NEG2 3sgRS= be fashion bad
But it is not a good way, it's a bad way.

(NT) Me natopu i pi natopu sa, ko iwi?
me natopu i= pi natopu sa ko i= wi
but spirit 3sgRS= be spirit bad or 3sgRS= good
(NT) But is the natopu bad or good?
(TT) Iwi inrom, inrom ser

i= wi i= nrom i= nrom ser
3sgRS= good 3sgRS= love 3sgRS= love every

natañoñol, me malen kin nat iskei
natañoñol me malen kin nat i= skei
person but as REL person 3sgRS= one

imaetki aslen, me ipan tua
i= maet -ki asel -en me i= pan tu= -a -ø
3sgRS= angry -TR friend -3sgDP and 3sgRS= go 1p.inRS -TS -3sg0

tete nanromien ga kefo pregi taosi
tete nanromien ga ke= fo preg -i -ø taos -i -ø
some present 3sg 3sgIRR= PSP:IR make -TS -3sg0 like -TS -3sg0
She is good, she loves all people, but when a man gets angry with his friend
and he gives her a present, she will

kin nanromien nen rupan tua kin
kin nanromien nen ru= pan tu -a -ø ki -n
COMP present REL 3p.RS= go give -TS -3sg0 PREP -3sg0
do as he wants. (lit: she will follow the present that they gave her)

Itefla. Natopu itefla.
i= tefla natopu i= tefla
3sgRS= like.that spirit 3sgRS= like.that
It's like that. The natopu is like that.
Text 2. Asaraf and Erromango
Audio source 98007a, 434.2999, 541.0799

2:1 Asaraf, he is a man from long ago.
2:2 We have heard our grandfather and grandmother tell us that he was tall, really tall.
2:3 When he wanted to go—. He was there (on Efate) and he wanted to go to Erromango.
2:4 When he crossed the sea to Erromango, the sea came to his knees.
2:5 Around here [indicating his chest] wasn’t wet.
2:6 He went to Erromango and he came back, and one day, well, Erromango it was—, you could be on Efate and you could see Erromango.
2:7 Really close.
2:8 But those from Erromango, [corrected to] those from Efate made him angry.
2:9 And he went to Erromango, he went, and, well, he put his head into the water like this.
2:10 He did that with (his head) and the sea rose. Well, he put his head in the water and he twisted his head like this so that the water began to rise. And then you couldn’t see Erromango.
2:13 And now that he stayed there, he stayed on Efate until the time that he died, and the old people of that place buried him.
2:14 But because he was so tall, they bent him in three.

Asaraf, ga ipi nataʔmol ni tetwei.
Asaraf 3sg 3sgRS= be person of long.ago
Asaraf, he is a man from long ago.

Go komam unrogo kin apu me
and 1p.exS 1p.exRS= hear -TS -3sg0 COMP grandfather and

ati nigmam ruto nigmam traus i 1p.POS 3p.RS= HAB 1p.BEN tell -TS -3sg0 say

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ipi natañol nen ipram, ipram kotkot.
i= pi natañol nen i= pram i= pram kotkot
3sgRS= be person that 3sgRS= tall 3sgRS= tall really
We have heard our grandfather and grandmother tell us that he was tall, really tall.

Malnen ina kefak. [-] Ito sa
malnen i= na ke= fak i= to sa
as 3sgRS= want 3sgIRR= go.to:IR 3sgRS= stay here

imur na kefak Ermag.
i= mur na ke= fak Ermag
3sgRS= want say 3sgIRR= go.to:IR Erromango
When he wanted to go—. He was there and he wanted to go to Erromango.

Malnen isiwer ur ntas kin
malnen i= siwer ur ntas kin
as 3sgRS= walk follow saltwater COMP

ipak Ermag, go ntas ipañor nañutwen.
i= pak Ermag go ntas i= pañor nañu-we-n
3sgRS= go.to:R Erromango and saltwater 3sgRS= find knee-V -3sgDP
When he crossed the sea to Erromango, the sea came to his knees.

Esan mana rutalom mau.
e- sa =n mana i= ru= ta lom mau
LOC here- =DST and.so 3sgRS= 3p.RS= not wet NEG2
Around here [indicating his chest] wasn’t wet.

Me ina ipak Ermag pan kai merler
me i= na i= pak Ermag pan kai mer ler
but 3sgRS= want 3sgRS= go.to Erromango go ES again return

mai go naliati iskei welkia Ermag,ipi [..]
mai go aliat i= skei welkia Ermag i= pi [..]
come and day 3sgRS= one thus Erromango 3sgRS= be [..]
He went to Erromango and he came back, and one day, well, Erromango it was—, you could be on Efate and you could see Erromango.

Really close.

But those from Erromango, [corrected to] those from Efate made him angry.

And he went to Erromango, he went, and, well, he put his head into the water like this.

He did that with (his head) and the sea rose. Well, he put his head in the water and he twisted his head like this so that the water began to rise. And then you couldn't see Erromango.
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began to rise. And then you couldn’t see Erromango.
Go malnen kin itu san tu, itu Efat
go malnen kin i= tu san tu i= tu Efat
and as COMP 3sgRS= stay there stay 3sgRS= stay Efate
to to pan pan mal nen kin imat, go
to to pan pan mal nen kin i= mat go
stay stay go go time that COMP 3sgRS= die and
tiawi ni esan rupo tanki.
tiawi ni e- sa =n ru= po tan -ki -ø
ancestors of LOC here =DST 3p.RS= PSP:R bury -TR -3sg0
And now that he stayed there, he stayed on Efate until the time that he died,
and the old people of that place buried him.

Me nlaken ipram top go rupo ñelkin
me nlaken i= pram top go ru= po ñel -ki -n
but because 3sgRS= tall much and 3p.RS= PSP:R bend -TR -3sg0
itolwes.
i= tol -wes
3sgRS= three -3sg0
But because he was so tall, they bent him in three.
Text 3. Litrapong, a *natopu*

Story from tape 20001b, told by Kalsarap Namaf. Transcribed and translated into Bislama by Manuel Wayane. The story concerns a *natopu* or spirit called Litrapong, also known in Bislama as a Lisepsep. The telling of this story is also recorded on video.

Audio source 20001b, 1133.54, 1396.22

3:1 We all know that place, and this Litrapong, I want to tell you about.
3:2 Litrapong. She is of grandfather’s clan. Those two, grandfather and Litrapong, would talk every now and then.
3:3 Every time they would talk, they would be at one place. I know one day we went up a hill, me with some children. Kaltong was small. Kaltong was already a big man,
3:4 but when we went Litrapong also came. She might have come to visit Grandfather
3:5 over there, because they are the same *naflak* (clan), *naflak kram*, the clam clan.
3:6 Maybe she came to see him, then go back. We went to the garden, and she was holding Kaltong.
3:7 We came to go to the house. Kaltong was sick. I waited until he felt better, we got him herbal medicine.
3:8 All along the road I got him medicine, but he didn’t feel better.
3:9 There was this man from the Banks Islands, called Selwin.
3:10 At this time, that man was with Paul and Alec by the sea at Emtapenr.
3:11 I went to see him and I said, “Hey, I would like you to come and make some medicine for Kaltong, if you can do it.” And he said “Okay.”
3:12 I went to see him and I said, “I don’t know what caused his sickness.
3:13 I want you to try to make some of your medicine for him as you know how to.”
3:14 So he tried, he said, “Okay.” He went and brought leaf medicine, gave it to Kaltong to drink. And he looked, the medicine made him walk.
3:15 When he went, he went to Eratap. Kaltong was in this cave that I am talking about.
3:16 He walked about for (or because of) the leaf medicine. He found out that this woman (Litrapong) made Kaltong sick.
3:17 That’s why he went, he went but this old woman (Litrapong) was in this place I talked about, she was right at the end of it.
3:18 Her police were at the door, but she was at the end of the cave.
3:19 He tried to go, but the old woman didn’t want him to go. She said, this old woman looked at him and said, “It is just today that I see you.”
3:20 She said this to Selwin, and Selwin said, “I come on behalf of Kaltong,
3:21 If you agree to it, then I will go back with him.” And the old woman said to him,
3:22 the old woman said to him, “I don’t agree that you take Kaltong back.”
3:23 He stopped and thought and thought. “I’m going to try.” He went and saw a small vine. He pulled
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3:26 this rope, and he climbed a rock that was up above.
3:27 He threw the rope down the rock. The rope went to the bottom (of the cave).
3:28 When he had made the rope go down, Kaltong was down, he looked up again like this, and Selwin said to him,
3:29 “You take hold of the rope.” When Kaltong took hold of the rope and
3:30 Selwin slowly pulled he came and came. The old woman was doing her own things, she didn’t know how Kaltong got out.
3:31 She was surprised that Kaltong got up out of the cave. Selwin said to Kaltong, “You hold my back.”
3:32 Then [they held his back, and—] Kaltong held Selwin’s back like this and they came back to the house at Erakor.
3:33 And it is the end of my story. Kaltong is alive to this day.

Akit tumau i tae esan ipi, go
akit tu= mau tae esan i= pi go
1plin 1p.in 3sgRS= all know place 3sgRS= be and

Litrapog ne, amurin na kanrik mus ki,
Litrapog ne a= mur-i-n na ka= nrik-mus ki -ø
name this 1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO COMP 1sgIRS=tell-2plO PREP-3sgO We all know that place, and this Litrapong, I want to tell you about.

Litrapog ne, i pi naflak ni apu.
Litrapog ne i= pi naflak ni apu
name this 3sgRS= be clan of grandfather

Gar apu rato pusrek ser tete nrak.
gar apu ra= to puserek ser tete nrak
3pl grandfather 2/3d.RS= HAB talk every some time Litrapong. She is of grandfather’s clan. Those two, grandfather and Litrapong, would talk every now and then.

Sernrak rato pusrek rato ur naor
ser nrak ra= to puserek ra= to ur naor
every time 2/3d.RS=HAB talk 2/3d.RS=HAB follow place

iskei. Atae naliati iskei
i=skei a= tae aliat i= skei
3sgRS=one 1sgRS= know day 3sgRS= one
Every time they would talk, they would be at one place. I know one day

komam upak elag ntaf, aplak tesa nen upa,
komam u= pak elag ntaf a= plak tesa nen u= pa
1plex 1plexRS=go.to:R high hill 1sgRS=with child that 1plexRS=go
upan, Kaltog ises, Kaltog kipepi natañol
u= pa=n Kaltog i= ses Kaltog ki=pe pi natañol
1plexRS= go=DST name 3sgRS=small name 3sgPS=PERF be person
we went up a hill, me with some children. Kaltong was small. Kaltong was
already a big man,

pur, me malnen una upa, go Litrapog me
pur me malnen u= na u= pa go Litrapog me
big but as 1plexRS= want 1plexRS= drive and p.name and

imai, imai. Ilakor mai saof apu
i= mai i= mai i= lakor mai saof apu
3sgRS=come 3sgRS=come 3sgRS= approximate come visit grandfather
but when we went Litrapong also came. She might have come to visit Grandfather

sanie nlaken gar rapi nametrau iskei, naflak kram.
sanie nlaken gar ra= pi nametrau i= skei naflak kram
there because 3pl 2/3d.RS be family 3sgRS= one clan clam
over there, because they are the same naflak (clan), naflak kram, the clam clan.

Ralakor[...], ilakor mai lemsi, mer, na keler.
ra= lakor i= lakor mai lemis -i -ø mer na
3d.RS=maybe 3sgRS=approximate come look at-3s-3sgO again PURP

Mam upak talmat pan go ipuetsok Kaltog.
ke= ler mam u= pak talmat pan go
3sgIRR= return 1plPOS 2plRealS= go.to:R garden go and

i= puetsok Kaltog
3sgRS= hold name
Maybe she came to see him, then go back. We went to the garden, and she was
holding Kaltong.

Umai na kofak esum. Kaltog imsak.
u= mai na ko= fak e- sum Kaltog i= msak
1plexRS=come PURP 1plexIRS=go.to:IR LOC house p.name 3sgRS=sick

99 I have been unable to determine what the speaker means here when he says
that “Kaltong was small.”
Appendix

Alereki nen kin kenrogtiawi, uga preg
a= lereki nen kin ke= nrogtiawi u= ga preg
1sgRS=depend that COMP 3sgIRR=be.well 2p:RS=3sgBEN make
We came to go to the house. Kaltong was sick. I waited until he felt better, we
got him herbal medicine.

nalkis. Ser nawes napu, na, a ga preg nalkis
nalkis ser nawes napu a= ga preg nalkis
medicine every side road 1sgRS=3sgBEN make medicine

ikano nrogtiawi.
i= kano nrogtiawi
3sgRS=unable well
All along the road I got him medicine, but he didn’t feel better.

Me natañol iskei ipi natañol ni Banks, rusoso
me natañol i= skei i= pi natañol ni Banks ru= sos -o
but person 3sgRS=one 3sgRS= be person of Banks 3plRS= sos -TS
There was this man from the Banks Islands, called Selwin.

ki Selwin, naliat ne, natañol nen iskot Paul go Alick to, elau Emtapenr.
ki Selwin aliat ne natañol nen i= skot Paul go Alick
PREP p.name day this person that 3sgRS= with p.name and p.name
to elau Emtapenr -ø
at sea p.name -3sgO
At this time, that man was with Paul and Alec by the sea at Emtapenr.

Apan leka anrikin ki na,
a= pa =n lek -a ø a= nrik -i -n ki na
1sgRS= pa =DST look -TR -3sgO 1sgRS= tell -TS -3sgO PREP say

“E amurin na ŕamai ni Kaltog preg nalkis,
a= mur -i -n na ŕa= mai ni Kaltog preg nalkis
1sgRS=want-TS -3sgO say 2sgIRR=come BEN p.name make medicine

ifwel kuf tae pregi.” Go ina,
i= f wel ku= f tae preg-i ø go i= na
3sgRS=COND like 2sgRS=CND know make-TS-3sgO and 3sgRS=say
I went to see him and I said, “Hey, I would like you to come and make some
medicine for Kaltong, if you can do it.” And he said “Okay.”
"O iwi." Go ipo mai, anrikin kin, "Kaltog kin to me imsak.

O i= wi go i= po mai a= nrik -i -n kin
O 3sgRS= good and 3sgRS= PSP:R come 1sgRS= tell -TS -3sgO COMP

Kaltog kin to me i= msak
p.name COMP stay and 3sgRS= sick

And he came, I told him, "Kaltong is there but he is sick.

Atap tae nafte if pi nlaken kin imsak mau.

a= tap tae nafte i= f pi nlaken kin i= msak mau
1sgRS=not know what 3sgRS=COND be because COMP 3sgRS= sick NEG2
I don’t know what caused his sickness.

Amurin na ṭatraem ga preg tete nalkis

a= mur -i -n na ṭa traem ga preg tete nalkis
1sgRS=want-TS -3sgO COMP 2sgIRR= try 3sgBEN make some medicine

gag nen ag kutae.”

gag nen ag ku= tae
2sgPOS that 2sgO 2sgRS= know
I want you to try to make some of your medicine for him as you know how to."

Go ipo pregnrogo. Ina, "Iwi."

go i= po pregnrog-o-ø i= na i= wi
and 3sgRS= PSP:R pregnrogo-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=say 3sgRS=good

Ipan neu wes nalkis mai

i= pa=n neu wes nalkis mai
3sgRS= go =DST 1sgBEN get medicine come

tu Kaltog kin imingi. Me ipo preg

tu Kaltog ki -n i= min -gi-ø me i= po preg
give name PREP-3sgO 3sgRS= drink-TS-3sgO and 3sgRS= PSP:R make

nalkis nen ipo preg ipo siwer.
nalkis nen i= po preg -i -ø i= po siwer
medicine that 3sgRS= PSP:R make -TS -3sgO 3sgRS= -PSP:R walk
So he tried, he said, “Okay.” He went and brought leaf medicine, gave it to Kaltong to drink. And he looked, the medicine made him walk.

Malnen ipa, ipak Ertap pa, ipan patu,
malnen i= pa i= pak Ertap pa i= pan pato
as 3sgRS= go 3sgRS= go.to:R Ertap thither 3sgRS go be.at
Appendix

i= pan Kaltog i= to erfale nen a= to til -i -Ø
3sgRS go name 3sgRS=stay cave that 1sgRS=PROG say -TS -3sgO

When he went, he went to Eratap. Kaltong was in this cave that I am talking about.

Isiwer ki, nalkis nen pa. Ipañori
i= siwer ki nalkis nen pa i= pañor -i -Ø
3sgRS= walk PREP medicine that go 3sgRS= discover -TS-3sgO

na, mtulep nen kin ipreg Kaltog imsak.
na mtulep nen kin i= preg Kaltog i= msak
COMP wife that COMP 3sgRS= make name 3sgRS= sick

He walked about for (or because of) the leaf medicine. He found out that this woman (Litrapong) made Kaltong sick.

Ipi nlaken ipa, ipan me mtulep nen
i= pi nlaken i= pa i= pa =n me mtulep nen
3sgRS= be because 3sgRS= go 3sgRS= go =DST but wife that

ipato esan kin
i= pato esan kin
3sgRS= be.at place COMP

ato tli. Ipato mţagon, maumau.
a= to til -i -Ø i= pato mţag -o -n maumau
1sgRS= HAB say -TS -3sgO 3sgRS= be.at end -V -3sgDP really

That's why he went, he went but this old woman (Litrapong) was in this place I talked about, she was right at the end of it.

Polis ga ratu na, nmet, me ga ipato mţagon.
polis nega ra= tu na namet me ga i=pato mţag-o-n
polis 3sg 3d.RS=stay ART door but 3sg 3sgRS=be.at end-V-3sgDP

Her police100 were at the door, but she was at the end of the cave.

Ipregnrogo nen kin kefan, me mtulep itap trok
i= pregnrog -o -Ø nen kin ke= fa =n me
3sgRS= try -TS-3sgO that COMP 3sgIRS= go:IR =DST but

mtulep i= tap trok
wife 3sgRS= not agree

100 The natopu has their own 'police' who are creatures who will do their bidding.
He tried to go, but the old woman didn’t want him to go. She said, this old woman looked at him and said, “It is just today that I see you.”

She said this to Selwin, and Selwin said, “I come on behalf of Kaltong,”

If you agree to it, then I will go back with him.

The old woman said to him, “I don’t agree that you take Kaltong back.”

Ito mro panpan inom. “Kafo

I= to mro panpan i= nom ka= fo
3sgRS=HAB think until 3sgRS=finish 1sgIRS=PSP:IR
He stopped and thought and thought. "I'm going to try." He went and saw a small vine. He pulled it.

He went and saw a small vine. He pulled it.

He threw the rope down the rock. The rope went to the bottom (of the cave).
le sak tefla, go Selwin inrikin kin na,
look ascend similar and p.name 3sgRS= tell -TS -3sg0 COMP say
When he had made the rope go down, Kaltong was down, he looked up again
like this, and Selwin said to him,

“When he had made the rope go down, Kaltong was down, he looked up again
like this, and Selwin said to him,

“That’s how I do.” Malnen Kaltog ina ipuetsok nmarit
2sgIRS=hold:IR rope as p.name 3sgRS= want 3sgRS= hold rope
“You take hold of the rope.” When Kaltong took hold of the rope

and p.name 3sgRS= slow pull -TS-3sg0 3sgRS= come come come come

wife this 3sgRS= HAB make desire 3sgPOS 3sgRS= not know thus
and Selwin slowly pulled he came and came. The old woman was doing her
own things, she didn’t know how Kaltong got out.

She was surprised that Kaltong got up out of the cave. Selwin said to Kaltong,
“You hold my back.”

She was surprised that Kaltong got up out of the cave. Selwin said to Kaltong,
“You hold my back.”

Malnen [rakel ntakun go-] Kaltog ikel ntak
as 2/3d.RS= hold back -V -3sgDP and p.name 3sgRS= hold back
Appendix

Selwin teflan go rakailer mai pak esum, Erakor.
Then [they held his back, and-] Kaltong held Selwin's back like this and they came back to the house at Erakor.

Go ipi namet苍白 natrauswen neu. Kaltog imol tuk mes.
And it is the end of my story. Kaltong is alive to this day.
Text 4. The origin of coconuts

Told by Kalsarap Namaf; recorded at Erakor, 2/4/97. Text 014. This story is well known in Erakor. It tells of the first coconut, which grows out of a man’s head, which is why coconuts have eyes and a mouth today.

Audio source 004b, 728.6799, 879.8600

4:1 He said that there was this ancestor who had a son, he and his wife.
4:2 But his wife died, and the father and son were left.
4:3 Until this old man became old and he called his son.
4:4 His father said, “Come here, I want to talk to you.” The boy went to see his father.
4:5 And his father said to him,
4:6 “We are both here but when ['you' corrected to 'I'] I may die.
4:7 Some day you will bury me.
4:8 And you will come to look after my grave.
4:9 If you see a tree growing from my grave
4:10 don’t pull it out. But look after it until it bears fruit.”
4:11 While they waited the father died, and the child went to bury his father.
4:12 But he didn’t forget his father’s story.
4:13 He waited awhile then he went to his father’s grave. But he didn’t see any tree growing out of the grave.
4:14 He stayed until he went back to the grave and
4:15 saw a small tree growing from his father’s head.
4:16 And he looked after it until that tree bore fruit, and it was coconuts.

Itili nag tiawi iskei itok kai
i= til -i -Ø na tiawi i= skei i= tok kai
3sgRS= say -TS -3sg0 COMP ancestors 3sgRS= one 3sgRS= stay ES

piatlak tesa nanwei iskei nega go nmatu nega.
piatlak tesa nanwei i= skei nega go nmatu nega
have child man 3sgRS= one 3sgPOS and female 3sgBEN
He said that there was this ancestor who had a son, he and his wife.

Me nmatu nega imat, me tmen go tesa nen
me nmatu ga i= mat me tem -e -n go tesa nen
but female 3sgPOS 3sgRS=die but father -V -3sgDP and child that
But his wife died, and the father and son were left.

ranru to. Panpan go tiawi nen itok pi tiawi
ra= nnru to panpan go tiawi nen i= tok pi tiawi
3d.RS= two stay until and ancestors REL 3sgRS= HAB be ancestors
Until this old man became old and he called his son.
Appendix

go ki sos tesa nega. Tmen inag “Pamai
and 3sgPS=call child 3sgPOS father-V-3sgDP 3sgRS= say 2sgIR=come
na kafo pestafik,” Tesa nen ito kai pan lek tmen.
PREP 1sgIRR=PSP:IR talk to-TS-2sg0 child that 3sgRS=stay ES go

His father said, “Come here, I want to talk to you.” The boy went to see his
father.

Go tmen kinrikin ki nag,
And his father said to him,

“Akit tanru tok me selwan ag [corrected to] kineu afla mat.
“We are both here but when [‘you’ corrected to ‘I’] I may die.

Some day you will bury me.
And you will come to look after my grave.

Ifwel kuf lek tete nkas iftom emat nigneu
If you see a tree growing from my grave

pa= ta mokus mau. Me palaperkat panpan ketau.”
and 2sgIRR= PSP:IR HAB come watch over grave 1sgPOS
but 2sgIRR= watch over -TS -3sg0

panpan ke= tau
until 3sgIRR= bear
don’t pull it out. But look after it until it bears fruit.”
Selwan ratorik go temen kimat go tesa nen
while d.RS wait and father -V -3sgDP 3sgPS= die and child that

ipo pan ofakin temen.

Me itap metpaker nafsan nig apap nega mau.
but 3sgRS= not forget story of father 3sgPOS NEG2

Itok rik go kipak emat temen pan. Me

Itok panpan mer pak emat nig temen pan, kai

Go kitok leperkati panpan go

And he looked after it until that tree bore fruit, and it was coconuts.
5:1 My name is John Kalfau. I want to tell a custom story from the village.
5:2 The title of it is Ririel and Ririal.
5:3 They were walking and they saw an almond tree.
5:4 They climbed the almond tree, Ririel climbed this almond, he climbed high and looked for almonds until he was done.
5:5 So he threw them down to Ririal. But Ririel wanted to hold on to a branch.
5:6 He put his feet on a dry branch and broke the wood, and fell to the ground.
5:7 He died straight away. Then Ririal cried and cried, then he sang until it was over.
5:8 Ok, they took him and followed the road and came back to the house. Then he came and saw his mother and others.
5:9 They cried for him until they stopped. They put flowers on him. Then
5:10 they buried him by the side of his house. And that’s the end.

Nagi kineu John Kalfau. Ana katil na kastom stori ni natkon.

My name is John Kalfau. I want to tell a custom story from the village.

The title of it is Ririel and Ririal.

They died straight away. Then Ririal cried and cried, then he sang until it was over.

Ok, they took him and followed the road and came back to the house. Then he came and saw his mother and others.

They cried for him until they stopped. They put flowers on him. Then

they buried him by the side of his house. And that’s the end.
lek ntali ale ramai.
look almond okay 3d.RS= come
They were walking and they saw an almond tree.

Rapag-saki ntali Ririel ga
climb-ascend -TR almond Ririel 3sg 3sgRS= climb -TR

ipagki ntali ne, me ipag pato elag, ale ruto
almond this and 3sgRS= climb be at high okay 3p.RS= HAB

le, le ntali pan pan ina inom.
look look almond until until 3sgRS= PURP 3sgRS= finish
They climbed the almond tree, Ririel climbed this almond, he climbed high and
looked for almonds until he was done.

Ale ito npakin isu mai pak
throw -TR -3sgO 3sgRS= descend come to

etan ito tu Ririal kin. Me Ririel ina
give Ririal PREP -3sgO and Ririel 3sgRS= want

So he threw them down to Ririal. But Ririel wanted to hold on to a branch.

Ale me imer pus natuen
in. turn put foot-V -3sgDP

He put his feet on a dry branch and broke the wood, and fell to the ground.
He died straight away. Then Ririal cried and cried, then he sang until it was over.

Ok, they took him and followed the road and came back to the house. Then he came and saw his mother and others.

They cried for him until they stopped. They put flowers on him. Then they buried him by the side of his house. And that’s the end.
Text 6. Making roof thatch

This text gives a description of using sago leaves ('rowat') for thatching houses. It was recorded while Tokelau Takau was preparing thatch, as seen on the video extract. Picture 4 in the front matter shows Tokelau standing outside her thatched house in Erakor village.

Audio source 20001az, 28.3600, 132.4000

6:1 When I want to sew thatch
6:2 And I would go and get thatch, I go and get thatch.
6:3 I return, I will first soften the thatch, I soften the thatch, it’s done.
6:4 I then fold it, I fold it, it is there.
6:5 I will then go and cut bamboo. I cut bamboo and bring it, I get it ready.
6:6 It is right for me to make thatch, I get it, I measure them to the same length. Bamboo the same length.
6:7 He tells me to make my thatch the same length. It’s done.
6:8 I then cut the bamboo into short pieces.
6:9 I will then carve a pin,
6:10 they call it a ‘pin’. I cut the pin until it is finished.
6:11 And I will sew the thatch.
6:12 I sew like this, finish, and then I can,
6:13 I can sew fifty, I can sew fifty,
6:14 or I can sew a hundred.
6:15 And I know that fifty cover one side of the house.
6:16 And fifty I can put on the other side of the house.

Malen amurin na katur rowat
malnen a= mur -i -n na ka= tur rowat
as 1sgRS= want -TS -3sg0 COMP 1sgIRR= sew sago

When I want to sew thatch

go apo pan slat rowat, kafan slat rowat.
go a= po pan slat rowat ka= fan slat rowat
and 1sgRS= PSP:R go carry sago 1sgIRR= go:IR carry sago

And I would go and get thatch, I go and get thatch.

Aler mai, kafo pei mäsel
a= ler mai ka= fo pei mäsel
1sgRS= return come 1sgIRR= PSP:IR first derib

rowat, añäsel rowat inom.
rowat a= mäsel rowat i= nom
sago 1sgRS= soften sago 3sgRS= finish

I return, I will first soften the thatch, I soften the thatch, it’s done.
Appendix

Amer pel ki,apel kin itu.
a= mer pel-ki-Ø a= pel-ki-n i= tu
1sgRS= again bend -TR -3sgO 1sgRS= bend -TR -3sgO 3sgRS= stay
I then fold it, I fold it it is there.

Me apo mer pan tai lop. Apan tai lop,
me a= po mer pan tai lop a= pan tai lop
and 1sgRS= PSP:R again go cut bamboo 1sgRS= go cut bamboo
mai, apreg ptaki, tai ptaki.
mai a= preg pta -ki-Ø tai pta -ki-Ø
come 1sgRS=make make.good-TR -3sgO cut make.good -TR -3sgO
I will then go and cut bamboo. I cut bamboo and bring it, I get it ready.

Ileg nen kin kafo tur rowat, apreg,
i= leg nen kin ka= fo tur rowat a= preg
3sgRS= straight that COMP 1sgIRR= PSP:IR sew sago 1sgRS= make
aton kin rupitkaskei. Lop rupitkaskei.
a= ton -ki-n ru= pitkaskei lop ru= pitkaskei
1sgRS=compare -TR -3sgO 3p.RS= equal bamboo 3p.RS= equal
It is right for me to make thatch, I get it, I measure them to the same length.
Bamboo the same length.

Inrikwou kin na kafo preg namtampe
i= nrik-wou ki -n na ka= fo preg namtampe
3sgRS=tell -1sgO PREP -3sgO COMP 1sgIRR= PSP:IR make thatch
neu ru fitkaskei. Inom.
neu ru= fitkaskei i= nom
1sgPOS 3p.RS= same:IR 3sgRS= finish
He tells me to make my thatch the same length. It’s done.

Amer pei takotkot lop ruto mít
a= mer pei takotkot lop ru= to mít
1sgRS= again first cut bamboo 3p.RS= stay short
I then cut the bamboo into short pieces.

Kafo mer pei mas, mas pin, tenen
ka= fo mer pei mas mas pin te-nen
1sgIRR= PSP:IR again first saw saw pin DET that
I will then carve a pin,
rusoso ki ‘pin’. Amas pin

ru= sos -o-∅  ki pin a= mas pin i= na
3p.RS=call-TS-3sg0 PREP pin 1sgRS=saw pin 3sgRS=INCH

they call it a ‘pin’. I cut the pin until

ina inom. Go apo tur rowat.

i= nom go a= po tur rowat
3sgRS=finish and 1sgRS= PSP:R sew sago

it is finished. And I will sew the thatch.

Atrus tefla inom go malfane atae

a= tur -us tefla i= nom go malfane a= tae
1sgRS= sew -3sg0 like that 3sgRS= end and then 1sgRS= know

I sew like this, finish, and then I can,

na, atae tur fifiti, [correction] atae tur tur ralim ilim,

na[...] a= tae tur fifiti a= tae tur tur ralim i= lim
COMP 1sgRS= know sew fifty 1sgRS= know sew sew ten 3sgRS= five

I can sew fifty, I can sew fifty

ko atae tur tifli iskei. Go kafo tae

ko a= tae tur tifli iskei go ka= fo tae
or 1sgRS= know sew hundred and 1sgIRR= PSP:IR know

or I can sew a hundred. And I know

na ralim ilim kefo tae

na ralim i= lim ke= fo tae pakor
COMP ten 3sgRS= five 3sgIRR= PSP:IR know cover

that fifty can cover

pakor nanre nasuñ. Go ralim ilim kin atae pakor nanre nasuñ.

nanre nasuñ go ralim i= lim kin a= tae pakor nanre nasuñ
side house and ten 3sgRS=five REL 1sgRS=know cover side house
one side of the house. And fifty I can put on the other side of the house.
Appendix

Text 7. Links to Mare
Chief Waia Tenene talks about the people, including his father, from Mare, in New Caledonia, who came to live in Erakor. French police were brought to the New Hebrides around the 1920s to assist in subduing the Malakulans.
Recorded 27/9/1998 at Waia Tenene’s house in Erakor.
Audio source 98002az, 279.9400, 434.6400

7:1 Ah, those people from Mare (in New Caledonia) who came here long ago in the time of the Colonial Government.
7:2 The French government sent them to come as police.
7:3 They came to be police on Efate. On the side of the French, the French government.
7:4 There was fighting on Malakula, and it sent them to Malakula.
7:5 Fight with the people from Malakula.
7:6 And me, well, my father. My straight father, his brother, they shot him.
7:7 Those from Mare that came, those from Caledonia came here because the French government called them. A group of police came, they came here.
7:8 Okay, they went to fight with those from Malakula when there was a civil war.
7:9 And me, as my father’s brother was there. And they went to Malakula and shot him. He was dead at Malakula.
7:10 They called him Nano. My father was a nurse at the big hospital in Noumea.
7:11 He went on leave and they sent him to France.
7:12 He went on the boat of the Messageries Maritimes. The big ship. It went around to France and he came back here.
7:13 Then he got his job as a maître d’hotel. So they sent him ashore.
7:14 He wanted to come ashore, he came, then those that were there became police. They were there and he joined them.
7:15 My father, Tenene. He stayed until he was married, then he stayed here.
7:16 He married my mother and he stayed here.
7:17 They had land that the chief of Ifira gave them at Emlapo, where Kawenu (college) was.
7:18 Those from Mare they stayed there. Those from Caledonia. When they married, they came to Erakor. And they moved here.

A, teni Emar nen kin rumai pak san
a te- ni Emar nen kin ru= mai pak san
ah DET of Mare that REL 3p.RS= come to there
Ah, those people from Mare (in New Caledonia) who came here long ago in the time of the Colonial Government.

The French government sent them to come as police.

They came to be police on Efate. On the side of the French, the French government.

They were fighting on Malakula, and it sent them to Malakula.

Fight with the people from Malakula.

And me, well, my father. My straight father, his brother, they shot him.
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pak esa nlaken Franis kafman isosor.

Nafet polis rumai rumai pak esa.

Those from Mare that came, those from Caledonia came here because the French government called them. A group of police came, they came here.

Ale rupan preg nafkal skot teni Emlakul malnen ipiatlak.

Okay, they went to fight with those from Malakula when there was a civil war.

na sifil wo. Go neu taos āl papa neu iskei

ART civil war and 1sg like brother father 1sgPOS 3sgRS = one

ga ipato sanpen mai. Go rupak Emlakul go rusi.

And me, as my father’s brother was there. And they went to Malakula and shot him. He was dead at Malakula.

Ru soso ki Nano. Me papa neu ga ga

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They called him Nano. My father was a nurse at the big hospital in Noumea.

He went on leave and they sent him to France.

I went around France and he came back here.

He wanted to come ashore, he came, then those that were there became police. They were there and he joined them.
Appendix

pan na ilak ale kipe to san to.
pan na i= lak ale ki= pe to san to until COMP 3sgRS= married okay 3sgPS= PF stay there at My father, Tenene. He stayed until he was married, then he stayed here.

Itaulu iak neu go kipe to san to.
i= taulu iak neu go ki= pe to san to 3sgRS= marry mother 1sgPOS and 3sgPS= PF stay there at He married my mother and he stayed here.

Gar rupitlak na ntan nen naot nig Efil
gar ru= piatlak na- ntan nen naot ni Efil 3p. 3p.RS= have HESIT ground REL chief of Vila

ituer kin Emlapo, san kin Kawenu
i= tu -e -r ki -n Emlapo san kin Kawenu 3sgRS= give -TS -3p.O PREP -3sgO p.name there REL p.name They had land that the chief of Ifira gave them at Emlapo, where Kawenu (college) was.

itkos. Teni Emar rutuwes. Teni Caledoni.
i= tok -as te- ni Emar ru= tu -wes te- ni Caledoni 3sgRS=stay-3sgOBL DET of Mare 3p.RS=stay -3sgOBL DET of Caledoni

Me malnen gar runa rulak, go
me malnen gar ru= na ru= lak go and as 3p. 3p.RS= want 3p.RS= married and

rulak mai pak Erakor. Go ruipe muf mai.
ru= lak mai pak Erakor go rui= pe muf mai 3p.RS= married come to p.name and 3plPS= PF move come Those from Mare they stayed there. Those from Caledonia. When they married, they came to Erakor. And they moved here.
Text 8. The need for respect
Recorded with Iokopet 3/10/1998
Audio source 98007bz 940.8000, 1003.5

8:1 Children, I want to tell you that respect is a good thing.
8:2 Respect your father and
8:3 your mother. And your sister and your brother.
8:4 As long ago, in my view, when I was first there, a Sunday. It wasn’t noisy.
8:5 You went to church, you sat to eat and you rested, you ate. And for many days you will do
8:6 your work, but you will remember it.
8:7 First, hear the voice of your father and mother. And your days will be many.
8:8 That is a little story that I wanted to tell you. It is finished here.

Tesa lap amurin nrikmus kin na nfaketanwen ipi tewi.
tesa lap a= mur -i -n nrik -mus kin na nfaketanwen
child many 1sgR5= want -TS -3sg0 tell -2p.O COMP say respect
Children, I want to tell you that respect is a good thing.

Kofaketanki tem mus go
i= pi te- wi ko= faketan -ki tem -mus go
3sgR5= be DET-good 2p.exIRR= respect:IR-TR father-2p.DP and
Respect your father and

rait mus. Go na kor mus go ðal mus.
rait -mus go na kor -mus go ðal -mus
mother -2p.DP and hesit sister -2p.DP and brother -2p.DP
your mother. And your sister and your brother.

Taos tetwei, nalelewen neu, kineu
taos tetwei nalelewen neu kineu
like long.ago opinion 1sgPOS 1sg
As long ago, in my view, when I was first there, a Sunday. It wasn’t noisy.

You went to church, you sat to eat and you rested, you ate. And for many days you will do

That is a little story that I wanted to tell you. It is finished here.
Attachment DVD (notes)

Attached to this book is a DVD which contains additional information about the language of South Efate. To use the DVD open the file called ‘!Readme.html’ in a web browser and follow the instructions from there.

The DVD contains the following items:

• A presentation of media versions of most example sentences in this book, listed by chapter and example number, linked to their textual version
• Keyboarded texts from historical sources: Genesis in South Efate (Bible. 1874. *Kenesis natus a bei nag Moses ki mtir i*) and English
• Keyboarded version of handwritten stories by Pastor Sope from the 1950s found in Arthur Capell’s papers
• Jean-Claude Rivierre’s South Efate wordlist (produced with Maxime Carlot in the 1960s)
• Dahl’s (1985) TMA questionnaire data for South Efate (interlinearized)
• A dictionary and finderlist of South Efate linked to photographs
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