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## 577 Nese: A dminishing speech variety of Northwest Malakula (Vanuatu)

Terry Crowley (edited by John Lynch)
This is one of four monographs on Malakula languages that Terry Crowley had been working on at the time of his sudden death in January 2005. One of the monographs, Naman: a vanishing language of Malakula (Vanuatu), had been submitted to Pacific Linguistics a couple of weeks earlier. The remaining three, including the current volume, were in various stages of completion, and John Lynch was asked by the Board of Pacific Linguistics to prepare all four for publication, both as a memorial to Terry and because of the valuable data they contain.

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## Nese: a diminishing speech variety of Northwest Malakula (Vanuatu)

## Pacific Linguistics 577

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# Nese: a diminishing speech variety of Northwest Malakula (Vanuatu) 

Terry Crowley

Edited by John Lynch

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## Special thanks

We wish to record our great debt to Professor John Lynch, who-at a time when his own work had increased after Terry's death—worked on all four of Terry Crowley's Malakula volumes to bring them to publication in 2006. We thank him most sincerely.

Pacific Linguistics Board
Canberra, March 2006

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## Preface

This is one of four monographs on Malakula languages that Terry Crowley had been working on at the time of his sudden death in January 2005. One of the monographs, Naman: a vanishing language of Malakula (Vanuatu), had been submitted to Pacific Linguistics a couple of weeks earlier. The remaining three, including the current volume, were in various stages of completion, and I was asked by the Board of Pacific Linguistics to prepare all four for publication, both as a memorial to Terry and because of the valuable data they contain.

On the inside front cover of a draft version of this monograph, Terry had this to say in Bislama to people of the Matanvat area of Malakula:

Olgeta toktok we i stap insaed long buk ia, Terry Crowley i bin karem long Matanvat long Septemba 2002. From se hemia fes taem we mi traem blong raetem lanwis Nese blong Matanvat, bae mi glad tumas sapos yufala i save makem gud eni mistek we yufala i faenem mo bae mi save stretem taem mi kambak nekis taem blong gohed long wok blong yumi.
[Translation: Terry Crowley collected the information in this book in Matanvat in September 2002. Because this is the first time that I have tried to write the Nese language of Matanvat, I would be very pleased if you could mark any mistakes which you find, and I will be able to correct them when I next return to continue our work.]
Unfortunately, of course, he never returned, and this is all the information we have. And given that Nese is spoken by fewer than 20 people, and that it is unlikely that any other linguist would be working on the language in the foreseeable future, it seems that this may be all the information we are ever going to get. Consistent with Terry's strongly held belief that the results of field research should be made available as soon as practicable, and in a form useful to the speakers, I was asked to go through this draft and do some general editing and tidying-up for publication. There will be places in the text where his statements are inconclusive, for lack of data: but I feel that it is important to make available what he had written. In a few cases I have inserted a comment on something he had written, and these comments appear as footnotes in italics (signed 'JL').

Terry's death was a great loss to linguistics in the Pacific, and a personal loss to his many friends and colleagues. He was probably the most active and productive publisher in the field of Pacific linguistics and, given that he was only 51 when he died, it seemed that he had many fruitful years in front of him. A full obituary appeared in Oceanic Linguistics vol. 44, no. 1, 2005, but a brief summary is given below.

Terry had a BA (First Class Honours) and a PhD from The Australian National University. He taught at the University of Papua New Guinea from 1979 to 1983, and was then appointed the founding Director of the Vanuatu-based Pacific Languages Unit of the University of the South Pacific. He left Vanuatu at the end of 1990 to take up a teaching post at the University of Waikato in New Zealand, where he remained for the rest of his life, being promoted successively to Associate Professor and then Professor.

His initial research interests were in Australian Aboriginal linguistics. However, his PhD research was on the Paamese language of Vanuatu-he first went to Paama in 1976and thus began almost three decades of close and continuous association with Vanuatu and its languages and people. As well as Paama, he also had lengthy periods of fieldwork on Erromango and Malakula. He published widely on Paamese and Erromangan languages, as well as on broader comparative issues, and at the time of his death was just getting started on a series of publications on Malakula languages.

Despite this amazing productivity, he was possibly even better known for his groundbreaking work on Bislama. He published a dictionary (in a number of editions), a reference grammar, and a history of the language, as well as numerous articles on various aspects of its history, vocabulary and structure. He even produced a University-level course on Bislama-written entirely in Bislama. He was involved in committees attempting to standardise the spelling system of the language, and also in publications and activities in relation to national language and vernacular education issues.

Terry had a passion for languages and for linguistics which was evident not only in his teaching but also in many of his writings. In particular, he was concerned that the results of his research should, wherever possible, be made available not only to other professional linguists but also, in an accessible form, to speakers of the languages and to other niVanuatu who might be interested. This monograph is published at the same time as his Naman: a vanishing language of Malakula (Vanuatu), Tape, a declining language of Malakula (Vanuatu), and The Avava language of central Malakula (Vanuatu). He has left Oceanic linguists and the Vanuatu people an amazing legacy.

## John Lynch

University of the South Pacific
Port Vila, Vanuatu.

## Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to Chief Grégoire Kaku Salior and David Meltelili for so enthusiastically providing the linguistic data which form the basis of this preliminary study, as well as Annie Hymak for overcoming her serious initial trepidation and agreeing to record a short text in Nese. Grégoire and his family also provided accommodation during my visit to the Matanvat area in September 2002, for which I am grateful. Appreciation is also offered for the suggestion from Dudley and Aleris Fathley of Matanvat Primary School that I visit Matanvat in the first place, and for their support and friendship while I was there. I would like to thank Jimmy Simeon of Vinmavis village for acting as my companion and guide on that visit.

For providing all the necessary help with the issuing of permits and visas in association with my field research, I thank Ralph Regenvanu of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre. Thanks are also due to Hannah Vari-Bogiri of the Pacific Languages Unit of the University of the South Pacific for making available funds from the UNESCO project Indigenous Language Revitalisation and Preservation in Melanesia (and the Pacific).

Finally, I would like to thank all those who went out on midnight search parties to rescue this visiting linguist who had somewhat foolishly managed to get lost on foot alone-and in serious devil territory-on his first night in Matanvat, and ended up being recovered almost in the next language area at Espiegles Bay.

Terry Crowley
Hamilton, New Zealand
January 2003

## Abbreviations

| 1 | first person | $n s$. | directly suffixed noun <br> (close inalienable possession) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | second person |  | directly suffixed noun <br> (distance inalienable |
| 3 | third person |  | possession) |
| ACC | accompanitive | num. | numeral |
| $a d j$. | adjective | PL | plural |
| $a d v$. | adverb | POSs | possessive |
| COMPL | completive | postmod. | postmodifier |
| conj. | conjunction | prep. | preposition |
| DAT | dative | PROHIB | prohibitive |
| DL | dual | pron. | pronoun |
| ES | echo subject | REAL | realis |
| EXCL | exclusive | REDUP | reduplication |
| IMP | imperative | REL | relative clause |
| INCL | inclusive | SG | singular |
| INST | instrumental | sub. | subordinator |
| inter. | interrogative | $s v t$. | serialised transitive verb |
| IRR | irrealis | TL | trial |
| LOC | locative | $v i$. | intransitive verb |
| loc. | locational | vt. | transitive verb |
| $n$. | indirectly possessed noun |  |  |

## Conventions in citing examples

Examples are glossed using the abbreviations just presented, with morphological categories presented in small capitals and lexical glosses in ordinary type. Where there is a clear boundary between morphemes expressing separate categories, these are separated in glosses by means of a hyphen. For example:
nanata-k
eye-1SG
'my eye'
Where morphological irregularity or the existence of portmanteau forms results in unsegmentable morphologically complex forms, the categories involved are separated in glosses instead by means of a colon. For example:
de-rij
1SG:IRR-speak
'I will speak'
Where a lexical or morphemic gloss contains a word boundary in the English gloss, there is a joining full stop to indicate that this corresponds to a single morpheme in the Nese original:

> Ø-kol-o
> 3sG:REAL-carry.on.shoulders-3sG
> '(s)he carried it on his/her shoulders'

## 1 <br> Introduction

### 1.1 Geographical and demographic background

Nese (also meaning 'what') is the name of the language variety that was traditionally spoken along the northwestern coast of Malakula, Vanuatu (see Map 1) in the area commonly referred to as Matanvat, ${ }^{1}$ from the modern village of Lerrongrrong in the north to Tontarrasak in the south, and inland for four or five kilometres. Its traditional southerly neighbour is Najit [natfit], spoken in the area of Tanmial, while to the northeast along the coast is the traditional area of the Naha ('what') speech community, a variety of which is now spoken in the village of Vovo. A further variety-for which no name has yet been recorded-is associated with the Alovas area further to the east along the northern coast of Malakula. Finally, a variety known as Njav [ntSap] originates from the area inland from Tanmial to the east and south of Alovas, though its speakers have relocated to the small village of Tanmaliliv in the Espiegles Bay area. Map 2 shows the pre-contact locations of these various speech communities.

These five communalects exhibit substantially differing degrees of linguistic viability. The Naha communalect of Vovo village is actively spoken, and based on the 1989 census figures, it possibly has around 170 speakers today. The communalect of Alovas reportedly has only about 15 speakers left, with the population of this village having shifted substantially to Naha, bringing the total population of Naha speakers today to about $225 .{ }^{2}$ Njav is reportedly still the daily language of the small village of Tanmaliliv [tanmalilip]. It had an estimated 10 speakers in 1989. Najit is moribund, though in this case the replacement language is the Espiegles Bay variety of what is referred to in the literature as the Malua Bay language (Lynch \& Crowley 2001:82).

Finally, Nese-the subject of the present study-is also moribund, being actively spoken only in the small hamlet known locally as Matanvat SDA (Seventh Day Adventist) by a single extended family consisting of two brothers and their wives, along with their children and their parents. There are speakers of Nese also to be found in the small villages of Lerrongrrong, Tontarr, Senbukhas and Tontarrasak, though the dominant language of these communities is now Bislama. Bislama has come to be the dominant language as a

[^0]result of extensive settlement of the Matanvat area by people from other parts of Malakula. Of the entire Matanvat area population of about 400 today, only five families represent the original population of the area, and the total number of speakers of Nese is probably no more than 20. Children are no longer learning this speech variety, and most adults in the Matanvat area now seldom use it even when speaking with their own relatives with whom they share a knowledge of Nese.


Map 1: Nese and its linguistic neighbour in the Matanvat area
The extent to which the five varieties referred to above differ has so far proved difficult to establish. It is clear that there is a substantial linguistic boundary between Alovas and Botovro on the one hand and between Tanmial and Espiegles Bay on the other, with no real prospects of mutual intelligibility across either boundary. With respect to the five communalects referred to above from the Vovo-Matanvat area, however, while they are locally spoken of as five different 'languages', people are reportedly also able to
communicate with ease between the different groups. It is not clear, however, if this is because the five communalects are simply separately named mutually intelligible dialects of a single language, ${ }^{3}$ or if there are several distinct languages-and possibly as many as five-with speakers having extensive passive commands of other languages. ${ }^{4}$

Following the conservative approach to the determination of language numbers adopted in Lynch and Crowley (2001:1-4), and comparing my own lexical data and Tryon’s (1976) wordlist, I feel that the listing in Lynch and Crowley $(2001: 82,89)$ of what was referred to as Vovo (i.e. Naha) and Matanvat (i.e. Nese) as separate languages should be revised, and that these two communalects should be treated tentatively as differently named varieties of the same language.

The reason that this description is based on data gathered on the moribund Nese variety rather than actively spoken Naha is due primarily to local interest. A chance meeting in Lakatoro early in September 2002 between myself and Chief Grégoire Kaku Salior led to an immediate-and enthusiastic-invitation to me to visit the Matanvat area to begin the task of linguistic documentation. A short visit was arranged later that month during which the information contained within the present preliminary study was gathered.


Map 2: Nese and its linguistic neighbours in the Matanvat area

[^1]
### 1.2 Present and past studies

The present study is based exclusively on data in Nese that was gathered in Tontar village in the Matanvat area. The only published linguistic data from this part of Malakula is Tryon's (1976) short wordlist from Vovo village, and nothing at all has ever been published on Nese or any of the other communalects referred to above.

Information obtained locally indicates that a French linguist by the name of Jean-Louis Riallou recorded a substantial amount of data on Nese in the 1970s. I am unaware of any published material arising out of this research. It is hoped that material from this field-trip may still be held in the archives of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre, though this has not yet been checked. ${ }^{5}$

In 1998, the Functional Literacy Office of the World Vision organisation produced and distributed a number of booklets featuring written Nese vocabulary with the titles Kasem Smol save long lanwis, Smol buk blong kakae and Buk blong Raet: Matanvat. However, the spelling system that is used in these booklets is inaccurate and inconsistent in a number of significant respects.

### 1.3 Spelling and dictionary entries

Material in this study-with the exception of the discussion of the phonology in Chapter 5, which is transcribed in the standard symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet-is presented in a practical orthography that is based on principles already accepted for other languages of central and northern Malakula where similar features are present and where writing systems have already been developed. It should be noted in particular that:

- The voiceless affricate /c/ is represented orthographically as $j$, just as we find in the spelling system for Northeast Malakula, as well as Bislama.
- The velar nasal $/ \mathrm{y} /$ is represented by the digraph $n g$, as is commonly the case in languages of Malakula.
- The apicolabials are distinguished from the plain labials by means of a following apostrophe, e.g. $b^{\prime}, m^{\prime}$, just as we find in the spelling system that has already been developed for V'ënen Taut.
- The fricatives $/ \mathrm{v} /$, $/ \mathrm{v} /$ and $/ \mathrm{y} /$ are represented orthographically as $v$ ’, $v$ and $k h$ respectively, following widespread practice elsewhere on Malakula of using $k h$ for velar fricatives, and of using the symbols for the voiced rather than the voiceless allophones of the labial fricatives.
- The alveolar trill $/ \mathrm{r} /$ is represented as the digraph $r r$ while the retroflex flap $/ \mathrm{r} /$ is represented as the single letter $r$, following the practice already established for Northeast Malakula.

Note, therefore, the following correspondences between phonemic forms and orthographic representations for Nese:

[^2]|  | Phonemic form | Spelling |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'hook' | /vane/ | v'ange |
| 'hill' | /navye/ | nav'nge |
| 'bush' | /novorya/ | novorrkha |
| 'flying fox' | /nakara/ | nakara |
| 'child' | /ciblay/ | jiblakh |
| 'seven' | /yodit/ | khodit |
| 'twenty' | /novulru/ | ngovulrru |
| 'fire' | /nayab/ | nakhab' |

Dictionary entries in Chapter 2 are organised with headwords entered in bold type with the part-of-speech specification following in italics. (The meanings of the various abbreviations are provided under the heading Abbreviations above.) The various senses of each word are listed separately, and examples of words are provided in italics, with the translation following in ordinary type. Headwords that are provided with a hyphen at the end require some form of suffixation, with details of the behaviour of the suffixes provided at this stage only in the accompanying examples.

## 2

## Nese-English vocabulary

What follows is a list of lexical items that have been recorded so far in Nese. This list contains about 800 separate pieces of lexical information. Apicolabials are ordered before bilabials (thus, for example, $b^{\prime}$ appears before $b$ ), but $k h$ is not ordered separately from $k$.

bung n. night
bunut vi. sleepy

## D

dan loc. to the ground
darav vi. long
deve conj. or Khosonum nua deve khosonum nani? Will you drink water or will you drink a coconut?

## E

evlakh vi. happy

## H

harr $v t$. spear

## J

jal vi. get lost
jal vt. tie Jali. Tie it. Jel netenge. (S)he tied the thing.
jalin vi. 1. come out 2. loc. outside Khai tiyat jalin. (S)he is outside. Khai yat jalin rre naine. (S)he is outside the house.
janet vi. cough
je prep. cause ('because of') Nav'anu khavkhav je netenial. It is hot because of the sun.
jeje $n$. lesser yam (Dioscorea esculenta)
jel tokhon $v$ t. tie
jelengi $v t$. lose
jelv'et vt. anchor Jelv'et nuak. Anchor the canoe.
jem $v t$. chew Jem nani. Chew the coconut. Jeme. Chew it.
jev vi. leak
jevjev vi. leak
jibe rrongrrongo $v t$. flick (coconut, watermelon) to test for ripeness
jibejibe vi. flick something
jiblakh $n$. child (sg.)
jidar vt. touch Jidari. (S)he touched it.
jidernas $n$. sensitive grass (Mimosa pudica)
jijir vi. sweep
jikhjikh vi. limp
jile $v t$. stick in, poke
jingba vi. kneel
jingreni $v t$. insert into thatch or bamboo weave
jirr vi. (of hen) scratch ground to feed chicks
jirrjirr vi. (of hen) scratch ground to feed chicks
jivkhe vi. sneeze
jojorr vi. tired
jokho- ns. maternal uncle jokhok 'my maternal uncle', jokhom 'your maternal uncle', jokhon 'his/her maternal uncle’
jokhos- $n s$. (man’s) sister jokhosuk 'my sister', jokhosme 'your sister', jokhosne 'his sister'
jorro $v$ t. shoot
jov vi. fall
jov $v t$. exceed, go past Nakis jov nav'khat. It is excessively good.
jubul vi. go down
jubul vi. jump
jum vi. drip
jum vi. kiss
jumjum vi. drip

## K

kalv'at $n$. split stick used for holding hot stones
kanan pron. we, us (pl. excl.)
kananrru pron. we, us (dl. excl.)
kanantil pron. we, us (tl. excl.)
kani pron. you (pl.)
kanirru pron. you (dl.)
kanitil pron. you (tl.)
kel $v t$. answer Kele. Answer it.
kele adv. again Khovarri nese kele?
What did you say again? Vite kele marro rrangan. (S)he put it back on top of it.
khade inter. where? Khonaturr khade?
Where do you sleep?
khai pron. he, she, it
khaje $v t$. 1. break 2. svt. cause to break Rub khaje. Hit it thereby breaking it.
khajkhaj vi. tell lies, pretend, trick
khakhon vi. bitter, sour Tikhakhon. It is bitter/sour.
kharr pron. they, them (pl.)
kharrav vi. crawl
kharrkharrav vi. crawl
kharrtil pron. they, them (tl.)
kharru pron. they, them (dl.)
khas $v$ t. bite Nanarr khesia. I am hungry.
khatabol n. dragon plum (Dracontomelon vitiense) khatabol sak 'my dragon plum'
khavkhav $v i$. hot
khe postmod. that
khesve num. nine
khili $v t$. dig Khil nab'urr. He dug the post hole.
khina pron. I, me
khini pron. he, she, it
khirrkhirr vi. write
khise inter. who? Khise khaverr netenge khe minokh? Who told you that?
khoal num. eight
khodit num. seven
kholkhol vi. sweet Tikholkhol. It is sweet.
khon num. six
khorr svt. cause to be blocked Verr khorro. (S)he prohibited it.
khorrkhorr vi. hunt, go hunting
khorrkhorr vi. itch
khorro $n$. that one Nese khorro? What is that?
khos prep. go as far as Kharav v'an v'an khos rre nebet nakhe nge. He crawled as far as that tree.
khuban vi. clear garden site Nokhuban. I cleared the garden site.
khun vi. 1. go underwater 2. be baptised
khunokh pron. you (sg.)
kinkinit $v t$. pinch
kisai $v t$. look for, look after
kisekh $a d v$. always
klerrurr vi. look through
koji $v t$. scratch, scrape
kojkoji $v t$. scratch, scrape
kol $v t$. carry on shoulder Kolo. Carry it on your shoulder.
komkomo $v t$. spoil, ruin
kori $v i$. bang one's head
krro vt. give
kum tokhon $v$ t. grab hold of, grasp Tavu kum tokhoni. The conch shell grasped him.
kusuakh vi. hide

## L

lab' vi. 1. big, large 2. fat
lakhm'al loc. in the meeting house Khai tinaturr lakhm'al. (S)he is sleeping in the meeting house.
lalaine loc. inside, indoors Khai tinaturr lalaine. (S)he is sleeping indoors.
lalo- ns. interior Lalon varre. (S)he wanted it. Lalon song. (S)he is angry. Lalok song. I am angry.
lanus loc. to/in the bush
lasal loc. on the road, on the path Khai yas lasal. (S)he is walking on the road.
latan loc. down, below
latlat vi. argue, quarrel
lekhtarr n. 1. woman 2. ns.d. wife lekhtarrak 'my wife'
lekhtarr merrji $n$. old woman
lelngarro vi. listen
lenelkhav'e- ns. armpit lenelkhav'en 'his/her armpit'
lerebere $n$. 1 . former garden site 2. bank (of stream)
les $v t$. see, look at Khai lesia. (S)he saw me.
lijai $v t$. stone, pelt, throw something at
lilij $v t$. shut, close
line num. five
livtov vi. spit
lokhsa loc. over there Nab'ak tutrro lokhsa. The banyan tree stands over there.
lol vi. (of tide) high Natas lol. It is high tide.
lolnakhav $v i$. angry
lolo- ns. feather lolo nato 'chicken feather'
lolovkhat vi. be midnight Tilolovkhat. It is midnight.
lom' vt. lick Neviri tilom'ia. The dog licked me.
long vi. black
long $v t$. light (fire)
longlong vi. black
lukho vi. afraid, frightened
lulmakh vi. cover oneself
lulu $n$. vomitus. See lulu-
lulu- ns.d. vomitus luluak 'my vomitus', luluam 'your vomitus', luluan 'his/her vomitus'. See lulu
lulu vi. vomit
lululum $v$ t. roll
lum vt. bend, fold Nelum navarr. I bent the iron. Lumu. Bend it.

## M

ma vi. come
mako $n$. killer, murderer, warrior
malmal vi. naked
marraj vi. thin, skinny
marro loc. above, on top Nanankho tasi marro. The bird is flying above. Nato sakel marro rre naine. The chicken is roosting on top of the house. Vite kele marro rrangan. (S)he put it back on top of it.
mavos vi. straight
melekh vi. yellow
$\mathbf{m i}$ i. shake (of ground in earthquake) Nami timi. There is an earthquake.
min- prep. dative ('to') Khai krro nua mina. (S)he gave water to me. Kharr rrib'el nemerrte nge nesobsob mini. They chased the man who I was talking to.
mirre vi. ripe
mon vi. sharp Sebemode. It is not sharp.
morrorran $n$. morning
morruniekhe $a d v$. today
mot $v t$. peck Khobomotia. You will peck me.
muloun $n$. chief
murrol vi. short

## N

nab'ak $n$. banyan
nab'akhe $n$. shark
nab'akhrro $n$. tamanu (Calophyllum inophyllum)
nab'al $n$. swamp harrier (Circus approximans)
nab'an $n$. sail
nab'atav $n$. breadfruit
nab'err $n$. red parrotfish
nab'urr n. 1. house-post 2. post hole Khil nab'urr. He dug the post hole.
nabakh $n$. freshwater crab sp. (Bislama krab kaldoni, Neve'ei nurukhuba')
nabalako- $n s$. leg nabalakok 'my leg', nabalakom 'your leg', nabalakon 'his/her leg'
nabarrsam $n$. coconut variety with sweettasting husk
nabas $n$. penis wrapper. See nabas-
nabas- ns.d. penis wrapper nabasak 'my penis wrapper', nabasam 'your penis wrapper', nabasan 'his penis wrapper'
nabat- $n s .1$. head 2. tree (of particular type) 3. trunk (of tree) nebet nakha 'tree trunk', nabatuk 'my head', nabatme 'your (sg.) head', nabatne 'his/her head', nabatrrerru 'our (dl. incl.) heads', nabatrretil 'our (tl. incl.) heads', nabatrre 'our (pl. incl.) heads', nebetinanrru 'our (dl. excl.) heads', nebetinantil 'our (tl. excl.) heads', nebetinan 'our (pl. excl.) heads', nebetim'irru 'your (dl.) heads', nebetim'i 'your (pl.) heads', nabatrrerru 'their (dl.) heads', nabatrretil 'their (tl.) heads', nabatrre 'their (pl.) heads'
nabau- ns. knee nabauk 'my knee’, nabaume 'your knee', nabaune 'his/her knee’
nable $n$. pigeon sp. (Neve‘ei nibwiligio)
nabob $n$. sprouting coconut
naborrbarr $n$. emperor fish variety (Neve‘ei na‘abil)
nabu $n$. bamboo nabu sak 'my bamboo', nabu sam 'your bamboo', nabu san 'his/her bamboo'
nabungo $n$. mackerel (Neve‘ei nabung)
nabutbat $n$. maggot
nadaike $n$. green snail
nadakhaj $n$. 1. coconut leaf mat 2 . bed
nadakhas $n$. coconut flesh nadakhas sak 'my coconut flesh'
naine $n$. house. See nem-
naj- ns. excrement najuk 'my excrement', najme 'your excrement', najne 'his/her excrement'. See naji
najam $n$. outrigger
naji $n$. excrement. See naj-
najum $n$. bead
naka $n$. reef heron (Ardea sacra)
nakal- $n s$. bunch nakal nav'ij 'bunch of bananas'
nakalkal $n$. yam storage platform
nakara $n$. black flying fox
nakha $n$. 1. tree 2 . wood 3 . stick
nakhab' n. 1. fire 2. firewood nakhab' sak 'my firewood'
nakhab'e- ns. wing nakhab'en nato chicken wing
nakhajkhe $n$. fire-ant
nakhajkhe nial $n$. red ant
nakhate $n$. bush hermit crab
nakhate ntas $n$. hermit crab
nakhav' $n$. crab
nakhm'al $n$. meeting house. See nekhm'el-
nakho- $n s$. face nakhok 'my face', nakhom 'your face', nakhon 'his/her face'
nakhut $n$. louse
nakis $v i$. good
nakis tubung int. good night
nakis tumorrorran int. good morning
naku $n$. dolphin
nakurr $n$. thunder
nalak $n$. pegs by which outrigger is attached to outrigger poles
nalak $n$. tree sp.
nalakhej vi. 1. green, blue 2. n. blue parrotfish
nalang $n$. fly
nalang $n$. wind
nalas $n$. coconut shell (used for drinking)
nalaso- ns. testicles nalasok 'my testicles', nalasom 'your testicles', nalason 'his testicles’
nalavu $n$. mullet
nale $n$. language. See nele-
Nale Vojvojakh $n$. Bislama
naleng $n$. ceremonial dance
nalev $n$. mud
nalkhas $n$. cold Nalkhas khesi $a$. I am cold.
nalngarri $n$. cold
nalok $n$. pudding
nalok narram $n$. yam pudding
nalul $n$. barn owl (Tyto alba)
nalum $n$. seaweed
nalve $n$. tooth. See nolovu-
nalve nakho- $n s$. incisor nalve nakhon 'his/her incisor’
namab $n$. Tahitian chestnut (Inocarpus edulis) namab sak 'my Tahitian chestnut'
namanu $n$. hat namanu sak 'my hat'
namat $n$. snake
namat natas $n$. sea snake
namavorr $n$. clam found on sandy bottom
nami $n$. earthquake
namjo $n$. wild yam
namkho $n$. mosquito
namul $n$. orange
namum $n$. 1. shadow 2. photograph 3. spirit. See nomum-
nanaj $n$. fish. See nanaj-
nanaj- ns.d. fish nanaj-ak 'my fish', nanaj-am 'your fish', nanaj-an 'his/her fish'. See nanaj
nanak- ns. thigh nanakne 'his/her thigh’
nanakhub $n$. green lizard
nanalnge $n$. bed. See nenelnga-
nanalukh $n$. kava
nanan $n$. cicada
nanankho $n$. bird nanankho sak 'my bird'
nanarr $n$. hunger Nanarr khesi. I am hungry.
nanarte $n s$. rope
nanarte navos $n$. bandage
nanas vi. dry
nanasav $n$. empty space
nanata- $n$ s. eye nanatak 'my eye', nanatam 'your (sg.) eye', nanatan 'his/her eye', nanatarr 'our (pl. incl.) eyes', nanatanan 'our (pl. excl.) eyes’, nanatam'i ‘your (pl.) eyes’, nanatarr 'their (pl.) eyes', nenetbar 'blind’
nanav $v i$. yawn
nanav'us $n$. white crab (Neve'ei nemavis)
nanavre $n$. wild cane (Miscanthus floridulus)
nanen $n$. pus
nangse $n$. name. See nengsa-
nani $n$. coconut nani sak 'my coconut'
nani narrang $n$. dry coconut
nani tatakul $n$. palm sp.
nanibut $n$. dry coconut
nanngas vi. 1. urinate 2. n. urine. See nanngas-
nanngas- ns.d. urine nanngasuk 'my urine', nanngasam 'your urine', nanngasan 'his/her urine'
nanse vi. 1. explode 2. make sudden loud noise
nanus $n$. grass
naon $n$. 1. sand 2 . beach
narer $n$. nits
narov $n$. wooden bowl
narra $n$. 1. native lychee (Pometia pinnata) 2. wild nutmeg (Myristica fatua)
narrah $n$. canoe bailer
narram darav $n$. long yam
narram $n$. 1. hard yam (Dioscorea nummularia) narram sak 'my yam’ 2. year
narrarrav' $n$. Indian coral tree (Erythrina variegata)
narraskho $n$. grasshopper
narrau $n$. coconut crab
narre $n$. blood. See nerre-
narrlo $n$. ear wax
narrong $n$. mangrove tree
nas vi. die, dead
nasak $n$. fork (in road), junction
nasal $n$. road, path
nasalkha- ns. nape of neck nasalkhan 'nape of his/her neck'
nasasakh $n$. sugar ant
naskhe $n$. white-collared kingfisher (Halycon chloris)
naskhe vi. cooked
nasol $n$. boil
nasorr vi. hiccup
nasu $n$. coconut milk
nasum $n$. chief
nasus $n$. breast. See nesus-
nat- ns. child natuk 'my child', natum 'your child', natne 'his/her child', natrre 'our (pl. incl.) child', nenetinan 'our (pl. excl.) child’, nenetini 'your (pl.) child', natrre 'their (pl.) child', netin nato 'chick'
natal $n$. penis. See natal-
natal- ns. penis nataluk 'my penis', natalme 'your penis', natalne 'his penis'. See natal
natalol $n$. fog, mist
natam $n$. burial ground, cemetery
natan $n$. ground, soil, land
natang $n$. basket. See natang-
natang- ns.d. basket natangak 'my basket', natangam 'your basket', natangan 'his/her basket' See natang
natang khorrkhorrob $n$. kind of coconut leaf basket
natas $n$. sea
nato $n$. 1. chicken nato sak 'my chicken', nato sam 'your chicken', nato san 'his/her chicken' 2. goatfish (Milloidichthys flavolineatus)
natorr $n$. island teak (Intsia bijuga)
natot $n$. tree sp. (Neve'ei netet)
naturr vi. sleep Neturr relelivne. (S)he slept on his/her side.
nau- $n$ s. wife nauk 'my wife', naum 'your wife', naune 'his wife'
naul $n$. 1. writing 2 . book
naun $n$. coconut fibres (used for tying canoe)
naurre $n$. 1. lobster 2. prawn
naurre ntas $n$. lobster
naurre nua $n$. freshwater prawn
naus $n$. great hog plum (Spondias dulcis) naus sak 'my great hog plum'
naus rrarrang $n$. bitter great hog plum
naus san takharr $n$. pawpaw, papaya
naus tuarem $n$. sweet great hog plum
nause $n$. rain
naute $n$. garden. See nout-
nav'anu $n$. 1. home 2. mainland (in contrast to offshore island). See nev'enu-
nav'at $n$. 1. stone, rock 2. money
nav'au $n$. pandanus
nav'i $n$. taro variety
nav'ila $n$. New Guinea rosewood (Pterocarpus indicus)
nav'in $n$. ringworm
nav'khat $n$. mark, limit Nakis jov $n a v$ 'khat. It is excessively good.
nav'nge $n$. hill, mountain
navablakhot $n$. biscuit
navakhamel $n$. fish sp. (Bislama blakfis)
navar $n$. pig with tusk that has grown back into the bone of the jaw
navarr $n$. iron
navarra- ns. 1. arm 2. hand navarran 'his/her hand'
navarrangu- $n s$. finger navarrangun 'his/her finger'
navarrangun neb'is- $n s$. fingernail navarrungun neb'isne 'his/her fingernail'
navas $n$. morning bird (Neve‘ei navevetevat)
navas $n$. sore. See navas-
navas- ns.d. sore navasak 'my sore’, navasam 'your sore', navasan 'his/her sore'. See navas
navaskhaul $n$. hibiscus
naveb $n$. butterfly
naveb navarr $n$. airplane
navel $n$. dance (generic)
navle $n$. 1. moon 2. month
navse $n$. Fijian asparagus (Saccharum edule)
navu $n$. turtle
navu sal $n$. pumice floating on sea
neb'ar $n$. axe (for cutting wood)
neb'e- ns. body neb'ek 'my body', neb'em 'your body', neb'en 'his/her body', neb'err 'our (pl. incl.) bodies'
neb'ere- ns. shin neb'erek 'my shin', neb'erem 'your shin', neb'eren 'his/her shin'
neb'irrav $n$. striped surgeonfish (Acanthurus lineatus)
neb'irrb'irr $n$. sea hearse tree (Hernandia nymphaeifolia)
nebet khadas nani $n$. coconut palm
nebetbang $n$. heart
nebetev $n$. sugarcane
nebetingting $n$. 1 . slitgong 2 . bell
nebetisir $n$. broom
nebetlak $n$. walking stick nebetlak sak 'my walking stick'
nebetmakhav $n$. 1. ashes, dust 2. bread
nebetrraki- $n s$. throat nebetrrakin 'his/her throat'
nebetrreiv $n$. sea slug
nebil- ns. shoulder nebilne 'his/her shoulder'
nebito- $n s$. navel, belly button nebitok 'my navel', nebitom 'your navel', nebiton 'his/her navel'
nebnab' $n$. swollen glands
nedeknarran $n$. 1 . sky 2 . heaven
nediha- $n s$. foam on sea nedihan 'its foam'
nejal $n$. sleeping mat. See nejal-
nejal- ns.d. sleeping mat nejalak 'my mat', nejalam 'your mat', nejalan 'his/her mat'. See nejal
nejin- ns. bone nejinuk 'my bone', nejinme 'your bone', nejinne 'his/her bone’
nejirra- ns. semen nejirrak 'my semen', nejirram 'your semen', nejirran 'his semen’
nejubuna- ns. back nejubunak 'my back', nejubunam 'your back', nejubunan 'his/her back'
nejungo- ns. 1. mouth nejungom 'your mouth' 2. mouthpiece, speaker (for someone) nejungon 'his/her mouthpiece’
nekerebar $n$. white flying fox
nekhe sin takharr $n$. cassia tree
nekhev' bukhas $n$. hairy crab (Neve'ei nemet)
nekhev' nakis $n$. black crab
nekhm'el- ns.d. meeting house nekhm'eluk 'my meeting house'. See nakhm'al
nekhte $n$. octopus
nekles $n$. bamboo tongs used for holding hot stones
nekles pron. we, us (pl. incl.)
nekrrerru pron. we, us (dl. incl.)
nekrretil pron. we, us (tl. incl.)
nela $n$. spider
nele- $n s . d$. language nelean 'his/her language’, nelerr 'our (pl. incl.) language'. See nale
nelek nalin $n$. tree sp .
nelekhian $n$. marriage, wedding
neleklek vi. soft
neleng rrub $n$. hurricane, cyclone
neletar $n$. married woman
neliv- ns. rib nelivuk 'my rib', nelivne 'his/her rib', nelivte 'rib’
nelivte $n$. saliva, spit
nelkhav'e- ns. armpit nelkav'en 'his/her armpit'
nelulmakh $n$. blanket
nem- ns.d. house nemak 'my house', nemam 'your house', neman 'his/her house'. See naine
nem'em'- ns. tongue nem'em'uk 'my tongue', nem'em'em 'your (sg.) tongue', nem'em'en 'his/her tongue'
nemerre $n$. men (pl.)
nemerrjian $n$. old man
nemerrlonglong $n$. Melanesian
nemerrlulwo $n$. important person
nemerrte $n$. man (sg.)
nenelnga- $n s$. bed nenelngak 'my bed', nenelngam 'your bed', nenelngan 'his/her bed’ Khai naturr rre nenelngan. (S)he is sleeping on his/her bed. See nanalnge
nenere $n$. eel
nenerrnarr $n$. boy
nenerrvusave $n$. white parrotfish
nenesnas $n$. tree sp. (Garuga floribunda)
nenetbar $n$. blind person
neneten nev'in $n$. chief-in-waiting
nenga $n$. 1. native almond (Canarium indicum) 2. smegma
nengsa- ns. name nengsak 'my name', nengsam 'your name', nengsan 'his/her name'. See nangse
neniburr $n$. tree sp.
nenijun $n$. trevally
neniri $n$. barrel tree (Acacia spirorbis)
neniribal $n$. barrel tree species (Acacia simplex) (Neve'ei nemaribal)
nerr- ns.d. fence nerrak 'my fence. See niarr
nerra- ns. mother nerram 'your mother', nerrarr 'their (pl.) mother'
nerre- $n s$. blood nerreouk 'my blood', nerreime 'your blood', nerrean ‘his/her blood’. See narre
nerreiv $n$. canoe tree (Gyrocarpus americanus)
nerrem darav $n$. long yam
nerrem nalin $n$. greater yam (Dioscorea alata)
nerren $n$. 1. time 2. sub. when Khai tinaturr nerren te netovi. (S)he was sleeping when I called him/her.
nerreng- $n s$. branch nerreng nakha 'branch of tree’
nerres $n$. saw
nerrivne $n$. snot, nasal mucus
nerrurr $n$. clothes nerrurr sak 'my clothes'
nerrurr longlong $n$. priest, bishop
nerrurr nalkhas $n$. jacket
nesarr $n$. spear nesarr sak 'my spear'
nesde $n$. knife
nese inter. what? Deside rre nese? What will I cut it with? Khovarri nese kele? What did you say again?
nesevian $n$. kind of dance
nesin- $n s$. belly nesinuk 'my belly’, nesinne 'his/her belly'
nesov nua $n$. bucket
nesus- $n s$. breast nesusne 'her breast'. See nasus
nesuv $n$. breath. See nesuv-
nesuv- ns.d. breath nesuvan 'his/her breath'
netebulabulo $n$. coconut leaf basket made for gathering shellfish on reef netebulabulo sak 'my basket'
netekh $n$. hook
neten prep. 1. cause ('because of’) Terrjiblakh ngarr neten namul. The child is crying because of the orange. Khai rroj neten namkho. (S)he is sick because of the mosquitoes. Neman jov neten neleng rub. His/her house fell down because of the cyclone. Khobet netenge neten nese? Why did you do that? 2. sub. because Nesul naute neten te jowak narram. I burnt off the garden because I am going to plant yams. Khai tinaturr neten nial titerrterr je. (S)he is sleeping because the sun is very hot. Natuk ngarr neten nanarr tikhasi. My child is crying because it is hungry.
neten nese inter. why? Khobet netenge khe neten nese? Why did you do that?
neteng naj- $n s$. intestine, bowel neteng najuk 'my intestines', neteng najne 'his/her intestines’
netenge $n$. thing
netenial $n$. sun
netes rrumrrum $n$. rough sea
netial $n$. low tide
netial navse $n$. very low tide
netukhtukhunian $n$. story
netve $n$. belt, waistband
nev'eble $n$. 1. firefly 2 . torch, flashlight
nev'enu- ns.d. home nev'enuak 'my home', nev'enuam 'your home',
nev'enuan 'his/her home'. See nav'anu
nev'et nakhab' $n$. battery
nev'etnot $n$. black stone
nev'ikh- ns. vagina nev'ikhak 'my vagina', nev'ikham 'your vagina’, nev'ikhne 'her vagina'
nev'il- $n s$. skin nev’iluk 'my skin', nev'ilum 'your skin', nev'ilne 'his/her skin'
nev'ilakh $n$. lightning ${ }^{1}$
nev’iljungun tal-ns. foreskin nev'iljungun talne 'his foreskin'
nev'in $n$. arrow
nev'ine $n$. tree sp. (Macaranga sp.) (Bislama navenue)
nev'khe adv. tomorrow
nevelelakh $n$. yellow white-eye (Zosterops flavifrons)
nevelelakhtas $n$. flying fish
nevenini $n$. palm sp.
neveram $n$. sow
neveramtas $n$. dugong
nevere $n$. purple swamphen (Porphyrio porphyrio)
neverrirr $n$. drill, auger
nevesis $n$. small shellfish (Bislama nasisa)
nevetarrtarr $n$. bird sp. (Neve‘ei navtokhtokh)
nevetrris $n$. tree sp. (Neve‘ei neverver)
nevilias $n$. beard. See nevilias-
nevilias- $n s$. beard neviliasuk 'my beard', neviliasem 'your beard', neviliasen 'his beard', nevilias 'beard'. See nevilias
neviltara- ns. pubic hair neviltarak 'my pubic hair', neviltaram 'your pubic hair', neviltaran 'his/her pubic hair'

[^3]nevin $n$. arrow point
neviri $n$. dog neviri sak 'my dog', neviri sam 'your dog', neviri san 'his/her dog'
nevu $n$. poles by which outrigger is attached to canoe
ngarr vi. cry
ngavulrru num. twenty
ngirr vi. laugh
ngorr $v i$. snore
nial vi. red
nial $n$. sun Nial rrorr. It is afternoon.
nial jejemelekh $n$. shortest day, winter solstice
nial terrterr $n$. hot sun
nialrrorr $n$. late afternoon, evening
nialvosonbat $n$. noon, midday
niarr $n$. casuarina (Casuarina equisetifolia)
niarr $n$. fence. See nerr-
niarr nubkhas $n$. pigpen
nias $n$. evil spirit
nias $n$. jaw
nias- ns. jaw niasen 'his/her jaw'
nias- ns. spirit niasek 'my spirit', niasme 'your spirit', niasne 'his/her spirit' Niasek sat. I had bad luck.
niat $n$. 1. sago (Metroxylon warburgii) 2. thatch
nibe $v t$. cover
nibilakh $n$. banded rail (Gallirallus philippensis)
nies nakhab' $n$. smoke
nijivirr $n$. coconut lory (Trichoglossus haemotodus)
ninin $v i$. wet
niv'iljungote ns. lip
niv’ilvok $n$. tinea versicolor
noboborr $n$. cloud
nobolokhv'at $n$. car
noboltolnga- $n s$. pillow noboltolngak 'my pillow', noboltolngam 'your pillow', noboltolngan 'his/her pillow'
nobono- ns. comb (of chicken) nobonon nato 'chicken's comb'
nokh naine $n$. door Khai rrekhej nokh naine. (S)he opened the door.
nokhb'o $n$. Pacific pigeon (Ducula pacifica)
nokhmok $n$. island cabbage (Abelmoschus manihot)
nokhobu $n$. bamboo
nokhorrkhorrial $n$. shelter
nokhorrot $n$. bush nut (Barringtonia edulis)
nokhwarr- ns. handle nokhwarrne 'its handle', nokhwarr natang 'handle of basket'
nokhwas $n$. digging stick
noluvo- ns. tooth noluvok 'my tooth', noluvom 'your tooth', noluvon 'his/her tooth', noluvorr 'our (pl. incl.) teeth', nolovonan 'our (pl. excl.) teeth', noluvom'i 'your (pl.) teeth', noluvorr 'their (pl.) teeth'. See nalve
nomum- $n s$. 1. shadow nomumuk 'my shadow', nomumme 'your shadow', nomumne 'his/her shadow' 2. photograph 3. spirit. See namum
nomum saburr $n$. holy spirit
nomurrak n. puzzle tree (Kleinhovia hospita)
nonokh naine $n$. door
noreat $n$. sago leaf
norotoar $n$. white grass
norotoar bunbun $n$. lemon grass
norrean $n$. food
norrobejikh $n$. victory leaf (Cordyline terminalis)
norroblat $n$. 1. paper 2. letter 3. book
norrobne $n$. 1. palm species with large leaf (used to shelter from rain)
2. umbrella
norrokalat $n$. stinging tree, devil nettle (Dendrocnidae sp.)
norrokalattas $n$. jellyfish
norrokha $n$. leaf Also norrokho-
norrokho- ns. leaf norrokhaune 'its leaf', norrokho nakha leaf of tree
norromel $n$. cycad (Cycas circinalis)
norromrromian $n$. thought, idea
norrourre $n$. offshore island
norrourretakhno $n$. whale
norrovitebkha $n$. grass sp. (Bislama kakru gras)
norrovwovu $n$. beach morning glory
norruan $n$. large abscess
norrube $n$. tree sp. (Polyscias scutellaria)
norrul- ns. egg norrul nato 'chicken egg', norrul niavu 'turtle egg' norrul nanankho 'bird’s egg'
norrul nasasakh $n$. 1. sugar ant eggs 2. rice
norruma- ns. chest norrumak 'my chest'
norrwo vi. alive
noulamu $n$. earth oven
nout- $n s . d$. garden noutak 'my garden', noutam 'your garden’, noutan ‘his/her garden', noutarr 'their garden'. See naute
nov'ij $n$. banana
novo- ns. fruit novoan 'its fruit'
novobo $n$. yam variety
novobov $n$. yam variety
novojujrro $n$. skink
novomakh $n$. emerald ground dove (Chalcophaps indica)
novorrkha $n$. bush
novos $n$. paddle, oar novos sak 'my paddle’
novos- ns. seed novosne 'its seed'
novosorrv'at $n$. broken pieces of dead coral
novosvoso- ns. hip novosvosok 'my hip', novosvosom 'your hip', novosvoson ‘his/her hip’
novotob'ak $n$. Tanna fruit dove (Ptilinopus tannensis)
novovorr $n$. star
novovos niarr $n$. fence post that is sharpened and stuck into ground
novso $n$. bow novso sak 'my bow'
novunvun $n$. red Moreton Bay chestnut (Castanospermum australe)
nua n.1. water nua sak 'my water', nua sam 'your water', nua san 'his/her water' 2. river
nua terrterr $n$. alcohol
nua vala $n$. river
nuak $n$. 1. canoe 2. boat. See nuak-
nuak- ns.d. 1. canoe nuakak 'my canoe', nuakam 'your canoe', nuakan 'his/her canoe' 2. boat. See nuak
nuak nakis $n$. canoe
nuak natan $n$. car
nuaknata- $n s$. footprints, spoor nuaknatan 'his/her footprints'
nual $n$. hole. See nul-
nuam $n$. fish-poison tree (Barringtonia asiatica)
nubkhus- ns.d. pig (especially boar) nubkhusak 'my pig', nubkhusam 'your pig', nubkhusan 'his/her pig'. See nubukhas
nubu- ns. smell nubune 'its smell', bon naji 'smell of excrement'
nubukhas $n$. pig (especially boar). See nubkhus-
nubukhas tamav $n$. castrated pig
nubungo- $n s$. piece nubungon tavak 'piece of tobacco'
nubut naj- ns. buttocks nubut najuk 'my buttocks', nubut najme 'your buttocks', nubut najne 'his/her buttocks'
nubuvok $n$. fish sp. (Neve‘ei nivili)
nukhudu- ns. grandchild nukhuduk 'my grandchild'
nukhuli navrro $n$. warrior
nukhuskhus $n$. sweat, perspiration. See nukhuskhus-
nukhuskhus- ns.d. sweat, perspiration nukhuskhusak 'my sweat', nukhuskhusam 'your sweat'. See nukhuskhus
nukuns- ns. nose nukunsuk 'my nose', nukunsum 'your (sg.) nose', nukunsne 'his/her nose', nukunsrre 'our (pl. incl.) noses', nukunsinan 'our (pl. excl.) noses', nukunsim’i ‘your (pl.) noses', nukunsrre 'their (pl.) noses'
nul- ns. hole nul naji 'anus'. See nual
nul naj- ns. anus nul najuk 'my anus'
nulwobetarr $n$. molar
num $v t$. drink Num nua. Drink the water.
nusuwu- ns. water, juice nusuwun namul 'orange juice'
nusuwun natan $n s$. tears
nuvu- ns. fruit nuvu nakha 'fruit of tree'
nuvus boak $n$. hill taro (Xanthosoma sagittifolium)

## R

rij vi. talk, speak
rrakharrakh vi. shake Tirrakharrakh. It is shaking.
rralo- $n s$. voice rralom 'your voice', rralon 'his/her voice'
rran prep. source ('from') Nemerrte nge novul norrean ran tinaturr. The man who I bought the food from is sleeping.
rrangan prep. locative ('in') Kharr tusul naine nge te nemerrte nge tinaturr
rrangan. They burnt the house that the man is sleeping in.
rrarro $n$. burp, belch
rratakh vi. 1. get up 2. wake up
rre prep. 1. locative ('in', 'on', 'at') Khai yas rre naon. (S)he is walking on the beach. Khai yat rre nuak. (S)he is sitting on the canoe. Khai yas rre nasal. (S)he is walking on the road. Nema lalaine nebelesokhte rre nemam. I came inside but I did not see you in your house. 2. instrumental ('with') Deside rre nese? What will I cut it with?
rrekhej $v$ t. open Khai rrekhej nokh naine. (S)he opened the door.
rrenelnga- loc. on one's bed Khai naturr rrenelngan. (S)he is sleeping on his/her bed.
rreve $v t$. say
rrevrrav $a d v$. late afternoon, evening Rriv'an rriswo sana tirrevrrav. Let's go and bathe in the evening.
rrim vi. slurp
rrinrran $v i$. be daylight
rroj vi. sick
rrojaj $n$. croton
rrokh $v i$. bend over
rromnelengi $v t$. forget
rromrromi $v$ t. think about, remember
rron- prep. accompanitive ('with') Khai yat rronia. (S)he sat with me.
rron vi. sink, go underwater
rrong $v t$. 1. feel 2. hear Rrongo. (S)he heard it. 3. aux. want to Norrong te derij. I want to talk.
rrong usong $v t$. 1 . know 2. aux. be able Norrong usong te desukhaskho. I can sing.
rrorr $v$ t. turn over, turn around
rrorrovokh vi. play
rrov vi. heavy Seberrovte. It is not heavy.
rru num. two
rrub vt. hit, kill Rrubi. Hit him/her.
rrub khaje $v t$. break by hitting
rrubrrub vi. fight
rrukharru $n$. paramount chief
rrulon $v t$. swallow
rrumrrum vi. think
rrurr $v t$. sew
rrurrngorr vi. sore, painful Noluvok rrurrngorr. My tooth is sore.
rruv $v t$. plant (anything other than yam)
Jerruv nav'ij. I will plant the banana.

## S

saburr adj. holy
sai $v t$. hold in hands
sakel vi. roost
sakh vi. climb
sakhal num. one
sal vi. float
sangav'il num. ten
sangav'il rram alne num. fifteen
sangav'il rram arru num. twelve
sangav'il rram atil num. thirteen
sangav'il rram av'at num. fourteen
sangav'il rram khesve num. nineteen
sangav'il rram sakhal num. eleven
sangav'il rrom khoal num. eighteen
sangav'il rrom khodit num. seventeen
sangav'il rrom khon num. sixteen
sarakh vi. squat
sat vi. bad
savarrum vi. stamp on ground
seltab'kharr vi. sleep on one's back
serrtengi $v t$. count
sesrre $v t$. teach
seve sub. if Deyat laine seve khovarri balak khe. I will stay inside if you say so. Seve nav'anu khavkhav rrisebeyatte
rre nev'enuarr. If it is hot, we will not stay in our home.
severrse inter. how? Debate severrse?
How will I do it?
sian vi. pregnant
side $v t$. cut
side tavakhe $v t$. cut lengthwise
sirri vi. blow one's nose
sis vi. (of cicada) chirrup
sisvarr vi. defecate
sisve vi. have diarrhoea
sobsob vi. tell stories Khai sobsob kharr bubu sak. (S)he is telling stories with my grandparent.
song vi. angry Lalok song. I am angry. Lalong song. (S)he is angry.
songoni $v$ t. fill up, put inside
souse vi. rain Seve nause souse rebesulte naute. If it rains we will not burn off the garden.
sov $v t$. scoop up water
sukhaskho vi. sing
sul $v t$. burn Sulu. Burn it.
surr kele $v t$. repair
sus vi. suck
susavurr vi. swear
suv vi. blow Nalang suv. The wind blew.
suv $v t$. blow Nesuv tavu. I blew the conch. Suvu. Blow it.
swo vi. 1. swim 2. bathe Neswo din. I have already bathed. Rriv'an rriswo sana tirrevrrav. Let's go and bathe in the evening. Nebeswote wor. I haven't bathed yet.

## T

tabrakhas $n$. athlete's foot Tabrakhas tibetia. I have athlete's foot.
taj- ns. spur (of rooster) tej nato chicken's spur Tajne var. Its spur is growing crooked.
takh- $n s$. brother-in-law tauk 'my brother-in-law', takhmo 'your brother-in-law', takhno 'his/her brother-in-law', takhrro 'our (pl. incl.) brother-in-law', tokhunan 'our (pl. excl.) brother-inlaw', tokhuni 'your (pl.) brother-inlaw', takhrro 'their (pl.) brother-inlaw'
takharr n. European
takhe $v t$. take
tala $n$. axe (for use in battle)
talne $a d v$. five days from now, in five days' time
tamav $n$. castrated animal
tana- ns. father tanam 'your father', tanan 'his/her father', tanarr 'their (pl.) father'
tanas $n$. devil
tangav'a $n$. important matter
tara- $n s$. pubic area
tarrav' vi. wet
tarru $a d v$. day after tomorrow
tas- ns. younger same-sex sibling tasuk 'my younger same-sex sibling', tasum 'your younger same-sex sibling', tasne 'his younger brother, her younger sister’
tasi $v i$. fly
tasve inter. when? Jema tasve? When will I come?
tatil $a d v$. three days from now, in three days' time
Taute $n$. Big Nambas
tav'at $a d v$. four days from now, in four days' time
tavai- ns. friend, brother tavaik 'my friend', tavaime 'your friend', tavaine 'his/her friend'
tavakh vi. split
tavakhe svt. cause to split
tavat $n$. woman, girl
tavat malakel $n$. young girl
tavo n . sea almond (Terminalia catappa) tavo sak 'my sea almond'
tavu $n$. conch shell
tebengi $v t$. find
tedene $n$. conch shell
teleb'ir $n$. clam found on rocky bottom
telnasis $n$. circumcised penis
telwon $n$. uncircumcised penis
tenen nat- $n s$. husband tenen natuk 'my husband', tenen natum 'your husband', tenen natne 'her husband' (women both with and without children)
tenesbo $n$. kind of devil that smells
terrjiblakh $n$. children (pl.)
terrterr vi. 1. strong 2. hard
tetarrorr vi. (of rooster) crow
tete $n$. 1. father 2. my father
tider $v$ t. chop Khai tider nakhab'. (S)he is cutting the firewood.
tikak vi. (of hen) cluck
til num. three
timtibaer $n$. slipper lobster
tingting vi. knock
tirenatene $v i$. (of hen) cluck to call chicks
tisir vi. fart audibly
tobilakh $n$. black- and white-feathered chicken
tokh vi. 1. exist Nua tokh. There is water. 2. aux. habitual Nemerrte khe nanatan tokh klerrurr amu. That man's eyes used to be able to see through things before.
tokhobarr $n$. yellow goatfish
tomola $n$. scrub fowl (Megapodius freycinet)
tonerrnarr $n$. rooster
toni $v t$. push
tori $v t$. adopt Notor netin tavaik. I adopted my brother's child.
torrarrot $n$. Moreton Bay chestnut (Castanospermum australe)
torrobilakh $n$. fish sp. (Neve‘ei niakhbila')
torronabe $n$. kind of dance
totavat $n$. hen
totra $n$. tree sp. (Bislama wud blong lastik)
tov $v$ t. call Tovi. Call him/her.
toveb $n$. white-feathered chicken
tovon adv. now Debet tovon. I'll do it now.
trro vi. stand
tua $a d v$. long time ago
tua- $n s$. 1. older same-sex sibling tuak 'my older same-sex sibling', tuam 'your older same-sex sibling', tuan 'his older brother, her older sister' 2. (woman's) brother
tukh $v$ t. 1. hit, punch 2. break open (native almonds) Tukh nenga. (S)he broke open the native almonds.
tukhtukhun vi. tell story
tuorrongrrong $a d v$. long time ago
tutrro vi. stand
tuvkhat $n$. chiton

## $\mathbf{U}$

us $v t$. ask Us nemerrte khe. Ask that man. Ususi. (S)he asked him/her.

## V

v'an vi. go Rriv’an rriswo sana tirrevrrav. Let's go and bathe in the evening.
v'anakh $v$ t. steal Khai v'enekh nav'at. (S)he stole the money.
v'ange $v$ t. hook
v'anv'anakh vi. steal
$\mathbf{v}$ 'at num. four
v'ati $v t$. weave
v'ev'naul $v i$. read
v’ije vt. chop V'ije nakhab'. (S)he cut the firewood.
v’inv'in vi. 1. whistle 2. (of morning bird) call
vakharru $a d v$. twice
vakhatil $a d v$. three times
vala $v i$. 1. run 2. get out of the way
valvala vi. run
vangvang vi. puff
var vi. 1. grow crooked Tajne var. Its spur is growing crooked. 2. (of pig's tusk) grow back into bone of jaw
varr $v$ t. tell, say Varri. (S)he said it.
varrasi $v t$. step on Varras netenge sakhal. (S)he stepped on something.
varre vt. want Lalon varre. (S)he wanted it.
varrvarr vi. pray
vave $n$. paternal aunt vave sak 'my paternal aunt', vave sam 'your paternal aunt', vave san 'his/her paternal aunt'
vave vakharru $n$. niece, daughter of paternal aunt
vejengi vi. 1. fall from height 2 . fall over 3. (of sea) break Natas vejengi. The sea broke.
vel vi. dance
velveleng $v t$. weave (bamboo)
verr khorr $v t$. prohibit Jokhon verr khorr nelekhian. His uncle prohibited the marriage.
verr ratne vi. tell truth Khoverr ratne. You are telling the truth.
verr visvisi $v t$. teach
vesakhsakh $v i$. work
vise inter. how much?, how many? Naus vise jokolo? How many pawpaws will I carry on my shoulder?
vitan loc. down, below
vite $v t$. put
vite saburr vi. bless Vite saburr mini.
He blessed him/her.
vojakh vi. gather together
vok vi. 1. white 2. clean
voso $v t$. stick into ground
vul $v$ t. buy, pay for
vulvul vi. buy things, pay
vun jikarrkarr vi. overflow
vun vi. full
vurrsi $v$ t. hold
vusave adj. white
vuso vi. white
vusvuso vi. shine
vuvun vi. full

## W

waji vt. eat Woj rais. Eat the rice.
wak vt. plant (yam) Jowak narram.
I will plant the yam.
wor vi. eat

## Y

yas vi. walk
yat vi. 1. sit 2. stay
yat nasurr vi. sit cross-legged
yat rrerrengmal vi. sit on ground yat vijakharr vi. sit on ground yatakhma $a d v$. afterwards
yav’ vt. pull Yev’ nesuvan. (S)he is breathing. Yav'i. (S)he pulled it.
yesyes vi. (of vision) blurred Nanatak yesyes. My vision is blurred

## 3 <br> English-Nese finderlist

The following is a finderlist that has been constructed on the basis of the Nese-English lexicon presented in the previous section. The information that is contained in this finderlist has been kept to a minimum; thus information about word-class membership of Nese forms should be obtained from the main lexical listing, as should detailed semantic descriptions. All forms should be checked against the main lexical entries for greater grammatical and semantic detail.

## A

Abelmoschus manihot nokhmok
able, be rrong usong
above marraj
abscess norruan
Acacia
simplex neniribal
spirorbis neniri
Acanthurus lineatus neb'irrav
adopt tori
afraid lukho
afternoon (late) nialrrorr, rrevrrav
afterwards yatakhma
again kele
airplane naveb navarr
alcohol nua terrterr
alive norrwo
almond
native almond nenga
sea almond tavo
always kisekh
anchor vt. jelv'et
angry lolnakhav, song. See also laloanimal, castrated tamav
answer $v t$. kel
ant
fire-ant nakhajkhe
sugar ant nasasakh
anus nul naj-
Ardea sacra naka
argue latlat
arm navarra-
armpit lenelkhav'e-, nelkhav'e-
arrow nev'in
ashes nebetmakhav
ashore aute
ask us
asparagus, Fijian navse
at rre
athlete's foot tabrakhas
auger neverrirr
aunt, paternal vave
axe neb'ar
battle tala

## B

back n. nejubuna-
bad sat
bailer narrah
bamboo nabu, nokhobu
banana nov’ij
bandage $n$. nanarte navos
banded rail nibilakh
bang one's head kori
bank (of stream) lerebere
banyan nab'ak
baptised, be khun
barn owl nalul
barrel tree neniri, neniribal
Barringtonia
asiatica nuam
edulis nokhorrot
basket natang, natangkinds natang khorrkhorrob, netebulabulo
bathe swo
battery nev'et nakhab'
be like balak
beach naon
beach morning glory norrovwovu
bead najum
beard nevilias, nevilias-
because je, neten
bed nadakhaj, nanalnge, nenelngaon one's bed rrenelnga-
before amu
belch $n$. rrarro
bell nebetingting
belly nesin-
below latan, vitan
belt netve
bend $v t$. lum
bend over rrokh
big lab’
Big Nambas Taute
bird nanankho
bird sp. nevetarrtarr
biscuit navablakhot
bishop nerrurr longlong
Bislama Nale Vojvojakh
bite khas
bitter khakhon
black long, longlong
blanket nelulmakh
bless vite saburr
blind bar, nenetbar
blind person nenetbar
block $v t$. bet khorr
blocked khorr
blood narre, nerre-
blow suv
blow the nose sirri
blue nalakhej
blunt batot
blurred (of vision) yesyes
boar nubkhus-, nubukhas
boat nuak, nuak-
body neb'e-
boil $n$. nasol
bone nejin-
book naul, norroblat
bow $n$. novso
bowel neteng naj-
bowl, wooden narov
boy nenerrnarr
branch nerreng-
bread nebetmakhav
breadfruit nab'atav
break khaje break open tukh
by hitting rrub khaje of sea vejengi
breast nasus, nesus-
breath nesuv-, nesuv
broom nebetisir
brother tavai-
older, of man tuayounger, of man tas-
of woman tua-
brother-in-law takh-
bucket nesov nua
bunch nakal-
burial ground natam
burn vt. sul
burp $n$. rrarro
bush novorrkha
to/in the bush lanus
bush nut nokhorrot
butterfly naveb
buttocks nubut naj-
buy vul, vulvul

## C

cabbage, island nokhmok
call $v$. tov
of morning bird v'inv'in
Calophyllum inophyllum nab'akhrro
Canarium indicum nenga
cane, wild nanavre
canoe nuak, nuak-, nuak nakis
canoe tree nerreiv
car nobolokhv'at, nuak natan
carry on shoulder kol
cassia nekhe sin takharr
Castanospermum australe torrarrot
castrated animal tamav
Casuarina equisetifolia niarr
causal preposition je, neten
cause to be blocked khorr
cause to break khaje
cemetery natam
Chalcophaps indica novomakh
chase b’el
chest (anat.) norruma-
chestnut, Tahitian namab
chew jem
chicken nato
black and white tobilakh
white toveb
chief muloun, nasum
paramount rrukharru
in-waiting neneten nev’in
child jiblakh, nat-
children terrjiblakh
chirrup (of cicada) v. sis
chiton tuvkhat
chop $v$. tider, v’ije
cicada nanan
Circus approximans nab'al
clam varieties teleb'ir, namavorr
clean adj. vok
clear (a garden site) khuban
climb sakh
close $v t$. lilij
clothes nerrurr
cloud noboborr
cluck tikak, tirenatene
coconut nani
dry nani narrang, nanibut
fibres naun
flesh nadakhas
milk nasu
palm nebet khadas nani
shell nalas
sprouting nabob
variety nabarrsam
coconut crab narrau
coconut lory nijivirr
cold nalkhas, nalngarri
Colocasia esculenta boak
comb (of fowl) nobono-
come ma
come out jalin
conch shell tavu, tedene
cooked naskhe
coral, broken pieces of novosorrv'at
coral tree narrarrav’
Cordyline terminalis norrobejikh
cough janet
count serrtengi
cover $v t$. nibe
cover oneself lulmakh
crab nakhav’
black nekhev' nakis
freshwater nabakh
hairy nekhev' bukhas
white nanav'us
crawl kharrav, kharrkharrav
crooked b’err
croton rrojaj
crow $v$. tetarrorr
cry ngarr
cut side
lengthwise side tavakhe
Cycas circinalis norromel
cyclone neleng rrub

## D

dance $n$. navel
ceremonial naleng
other kinds nesevian, torronabe
dance $v$. vel
dative preposition min-
day
shortest nial jejemelekh
five days ago benelne
four days ago benev'at
three days ago benetil
day before yesterday bentarru
day after tomorrow tarru
three days from now tatil
four days from now tav'at
five days from now talne
daylight, be rrinrran
dead nas
defecate sisvarr
Dendrocnidae sp. norrokalat devil tanas
smelly tenesbo
devil nettle norrokalat
diarrhoea, have sisve
die nas
dig khili
digging stick nokhwas
Dioscorea
alata nerrem nalin
esculenta jeje
nummularia narram
do bat
wrongly bet sarrav’i
dog neviri
dolphin naku
door nokh naine, nonokh naine
down latan, vitan
Dracontomelon vitiense khatabol
dragon plum khatabol
drill $n$. neverrirr
drink $v$. num
drip vi. jum, jumjum
dry, be nanas
Ducula pacifica nokhb’o
dugong neveramtas
dust nebetmakhav

## E

ear wax narrlo
earth oven noulamu
earthquake nami
eat $v t$. waji vi. wor
eel nenere
egg norrul-
of sugar ant norrul nasasakh
eight khoal
eighteen sangav'il rrom khoal eleven sangav'il rram sakhal emerald ground dove novomakh
emperor fish sp. naborrbarr
empty space nanasav
Erythrina variegata narrarrav’
European person takharr
evening nialrrorr, rrevrrav
exceed jov
excrement naj-, naji
exist tokh
explode nanse
eye nanata-

## F

face $n$. nakho-
fall jov, vejengi
fart
audibly tisir
silently bis
fat adj. lab’
father tana-, tete
feather lolo-
feel rrong
fence nerr-, niarr
fence post novovos niarr
fifteen sangav'il rram alne
fight vi. balbal, rrubrrub
Fijian asparagus navse
fill up songoni
find tebengi
finger navarrangu-
fingernail navarrangun neb'is-
finish vi. bol
fire nakhab’
fire-ant nakhajkhe
firefly nev'eble
firewood nakhab’
fish $n$. nanaj, nanaj-
unidentified fish navakhamel, nubuvok, torrobilakh
fish-poison tree nuam
five line
five days ago benelne
five days from now talne
flashlight nev'eble
flick vt. jibejibe, jibe rrongrrongo
float $v$. sal
fly
$n$. nalang
v. tasi
flying fish nevelelakhtas
flying fox
black nakara
white nekerebar
foam (on sea) nediha-
fog natalol
fold lum
food norrean
footprints nuaknata-
foreskin nev’iljungun tal-
forget rromnelengi
fork (in road) nasak
four v'at
four days ago benev'at
four days from now tav'at
fourteen sangav'il rram av'at
fragrant bunbun
friend tavai-
frightened lukho
from rran
fruit novo-, nuvu-
fruit dove, Tanna novotob’ak
full vun, vuvun

## G

Gallirallus philippensis nibilakh
garden $n$. naute, nout-
former garden site lerebere
Garuga floribunda nenesnas
gather together vi. vojakh
get out of the way vala
get up rratakh
girl tavat
young girl tavat malakel
give krro
glands, swollen nebnab’
go v'an
go as far as khos
go down jubul
go hunting khorrkhorr
go past jov
go underwater khun, rron
goatfish nato
yellow tokhobarr
good nakis
good morning nakis tumorrorran
good night nakis tubung
grab hold of kum tokhon
grandchild nukhudu-
grandfather bubu nasub
grandmother bubu lekhtarr
grandparent bubu
grasp kum tokhon
grass nanus
sensitive jidernas
white norotoar
kind of norrovitebkha
grasshopper narraskho
great hog plum naus
bitter naus rrarrang
sweet naus tuarem
green nalakhej
green lizard nanakhub
green snail nadaike
ground natan
to the ground dan
grow crooked var
grow crooked, back into jaw (tusk) var

## H

habitual auxiliary tokh
hair, pubic neviltara-
Halcyon chloris naskhe
hand navarra-
handle nokhwarr-
happy evlakh
hard terrterr
hat namanu
he khai, khini
head nabat-
hear rrong
heart nebetbang
heaven nedeknarran
heavy rrov
hen totavat
hermit crab nakhate, nakhate ntas
Hernandia nymphaeifolia neb'irrb'irr
heron naka
hibiscus navaskhaul
hiccup $v$. nasorr
hide $v i$. kusuakh
high (of tide) lol
hill nav'nge
hill taro nuvus boak
hip novosvoso-
hit rrub, tukh
hold sai, vurrsi
hole nual, nul-
holy saburr
holy spirit nomum saburr
home nav'anu, nev'enu-
hook
n. netekh
$v$. v’ange
hot khavkhav
house naine, nem-
house-post nab'urr
how? severrse
how much? how many? vise
hunger nanarr
hunt khorrkhorr
hurricane neleng rrub
husband tenen nat-

## I

## I khina

idea norromrromian
if seve
important
matter tangav'a
person nemerrlulwo
in rrangan, rre
incisor nalve nakho-
Indian coral tree narrarrav'
indoors lalaine
Inocarpus edulis namab
insert (into weave) jingreni
inside $a d v$. lalaine
interior lalo-
intestine neteng naj-
Intsia bijuga natorr
iron $n$. navarr
island norrourre
island cabbage nokhmok
island teak natorr
it khai, khini
itch $v$. khorrkhorr

## J

jacket nerrurr nalkhas
jaw nias, nias-
jellyfish norrokalattas
juice nusuwu-
jump jubul
junction nasak
just adv. brro

## K

kava nanalukh
kill rrub
killer mako
kingfisher, white-collared naskhe
kiss jum
Kleinhovia hospita nomurrak
knee nabau-
kneel jingba
knife nesde
knock tingting
know rrong usong

## L

land $n$. natan
language nale, nele-
large lab’
laugh ngirr
leaf norrokha, norrokho
of sago noreat
leak vi. jev, jevjev
leg nabalako-
lemon grass norotoar bunbun
letter norroblat
lick lom'
lie $v$. khajkhaj
light (a fire) long
lightning nev’ilakh
like, be balak
limit $n$. nav'khat
limp v. jikhjikh
lip niv’iljungote
listen lelngarro
little, a bevelvele
lizard, green nanakhub
lobster naurre, naurre ntas
long darav
long time ago tua, tuorrongrrong
look
after kisai
at les
for kisai
through klerrurr
lose jelengi
lost, get jal
louse nakhut
low tide netial
very low tidenetial navse
lychee, native narra

M
Macaranga sp. nev'ine
mackerel nabungo
maggot nabutbat
mainland nav'anu
make bat
loud noise nanse
mistake bet sarrav'i
man nemerrte
men nemerre
old man nemerrjian
mangrove narrong
mark $n$. nav'khat
marriage nelekhian
married woman neletar
mat
for sleeping nejal, nejal-
of coconut leaf nadakhaj
me khina
meeting house nakhm'al, nekhm'el-
in the meeting house lakhm'al
Megapodius freycinet tomola
Melanesian person nemerrlonglong
Metroxylon warburgii niat
midday nialvosonbat
midnight, be lolovkhat
Milloidichthys flavolineatus nato
Mimosa pudica jidernas
Miscanthus floridulus nanavre mist natalol
mistake, make bet sarrav’i
molar nulwobetarr
money nav'at
month navle
moon navle
Moreton Bay chestnut torrarrot red novunvun
morning morrorran
morning bird navas
mosquito namkho
mother b'ev'e, nerra-
mountain nav'nge
mouth nejungo-
mouthpiece nejungo-
mucus, nasal nerrivne
mud nalev
mullet nalavu
murderer mako
Myristica fatua narra

N
naked malmal
name nangse, nengsa-
nape (of neck) nasalkha-
navel nebito-
nettle norrokalat
New Guinea rosewood nav’ila
nice-smelling bunbun
niece vave vakharru
night bung
nine khesve
nineteen sangav’il rram khesve
nits narer
noon nialvosonbat
nose nukuns-
now tovon
nutmeg, wild narra

## O

oar novos
octopus nekhte
old man nemerrjian
old woman lekhtarr merrji
on rre
on top marraj
one sakhal
only brro
open $v t$. rrekhej
or deve
orange $n$. namul
outrigger najam
outside jalin
oven noulamu
over there lokhsa
overflow $v$. vun jikarrkarr

## P

Pacific pigeon nokhb'o
paddle $n$. novos
painful rrurrngorr
palm sp. nani tatakul, nevenini, norrobne
pandanus nav'au
papaya naus san takharr
paper norroblat
paramount chief rrukharru
parrotfish
blue nalakhej
red nab'err
white nenerrvusave
path nasal
on the path lasal
pawpaw naus san takharr
pay for vul, vulvul
peck mot
pegs (of outrigger) nalak
pelt lijai
penis natal, natal-
circumcised telnasis
uncircumcised telwon
penis wrapper nabas, nabas-
person
blind person nenetbar
important person nemerrlulwo
stubborn person bet terrterr
perspiration nukhuskhus, nukhuskhus-
photograph namum, nomum-
piece nubungo-
pig nubkhus-, nubukhas
castrated nubukhas tamav
tusked navar
wild bukhusrrum
pigeon sp. nable
pigpen niarr nubkhas
pillow noboltolnga-
pinch kinkinit
plant $v t$. rruv
plant yams wak
platform (for storing yams) nakalkal
play rrorrovokh
point (of arrow) nevin
poke jile
pole attaching outrigger to canoe nevu
Polyscias scutellaria norrube
Pometia pinnata narra
Porphyrio porphyrio nevere
post nab'urr, novovos niarr
post hole nab'urr
prawn naurre, naurre nua
pray varrvarr
pregnant sian
pretend khajkhaj
priest nerrurr longlong
prohibit verr khorr
Pterocarpus indicus nav'ila
Ptilinopus tannensis novotob’ak
pubic
area tara-
hair neviltara-
pudding nalok
yam pudding nalok narram
puff $v$. vangvang
pull yav’
pumice navu sal
punch tukh
purple swamphen nevere
pus nanen
push toni
put vite
inside songoni
putrid bo
puzzle tree nomurrak
quarrel $v$. latlat

R
rain
n. nause
$v$. souse
read v'ev'naul
red nial
reef heron naka
remember rromrromi
repair surr kele
resemble balak
rib neliv-
rice norrul nasasakh
ringworm nav'in
ripe mirre
river nua, nua vala
road nasal
on the road lasal
rock nav'at
roll $v t$. lululum
roost sakel
rooster tonerrnarr
rope nanarte
rotten bo
ruin $v t$. komkomo
run vala, valvala
run after b'el

## S

Saccharum edule navse
sago niat
sago leaf noreat
sail $n$. nab'an
saliva nelivte
sand naon
saw $n$. nerres
say rreve, varr
scoop up (water) sov
scrape $v t$. koji, kojkoji
scratch $v t$. koji, kojkoji
scratch the ground jirr, jirrjirr
scrub fowl tomola
sea natas
rough sea netes rrumrrum
sea almond tavo
sea hearse tree neb'irrb'irr
sea slug nebetrreiv
sea snake namat natas
seabird sp. babarr
seaweed nalum
see les
seed novos-
semen nejirra-
sensitive grass jidernas
seven khodit
seventeen sangav'il rrom khodit
sew rrurr
shadow namum, nomum-
shake vi. rrakharrakh
of ground in earthquake $\mathbf{m i}$
shark nab'akhe
sharp mon
she khai, khini
shell (of coconut) nalas
shellfish, small nevesis
shelter $n$. nokhorrkhorrial
shin neb'ere-
shine vusvuso
shoot $v t$. jorro
short murrol
shoulder nebil-
shut $v t$. lilij
sibling of same sex
older tua-
younger tas-
sick rroj
sing sukhaskho
sink vi. rron
sister
older, of woman tua-
younger, of woman tas-
of man jokhos-
sit yat
cross-legged yat nasurr
on ground yat rrerrengmal, yat
vijakharr
six khon
sixteen sangav'il rrom khon
skin nev'il-
skink novojujrro
skinny marraj
sky nedeknarran
sleep naturr
on one's back seltab'kharr
on one's stomach bovnuak
sleepy bunut
slipper lobster timtibaer
slitgong nebetingting
slurp rrim
smegma nenga
smell $n$. nubu-
smoke $n$. nies nakhab,
snake namat
sneeze jivkhe
snore ngorr
snot nerrivne
soft neleklek
soil natan
sore
adj. rrurrngorr
n. navas, navas-
sour khakhon
sow $n$. neveram
speak rij
speaker nejungo-
spear
n. nesarr
$v t$. harr
spider nela
spirit namum, nias-, nomum-
evil nias
holy nomum saburr
spit
$n$. nelivte
$v$. livtov
split, be tavakh
cause to be split tavakhe
spoil $v t$. komkomo
Spondias dulcis naus
spoor nuaknata-
sprouting coconut nabob
spur (of rooster) taj-
squat sarakh
stamp $v$. savarrum
stand trro, tutrro
star novovorr
start vi. bet tebengi
stay yat
steal
$v t$ v'anakh
vi. v'anv'anakh
step on varrasi
stick $n$. nakha
digging nokhwas
used for holding hot stones kalv'at
stick $v$.
stick in jile
stick into the ground voso
stink bo
stone $n$. nav'at
black stone nev'etnot
stone $v t$. lijai
story netukhtukhunian
straight mavos
striped surgeonfish neb'irrav
strong terrterr
stubborn person bet terrterr
suck sus
sugar ant nasasakh
sugarcane nebetev
sun netenial, nial
hot sun nial terrterr
swallow rrulon
swamp harrier nab'al
swamp taro boak
swear susavurr
sweat $n$. nukhuskhus, nukhuskhus-
sweep vi. jijir
sweet kholkhol
swim swo
swollen glands nebnab’

## T

Tahitian chestnut namab
take takhe
talk rij
tamanu nab’akhrro
Tanna fruit dove novotob’ak
taro varieties boak, nav'i, nuvus boak
teach sesrre, verr visvisi
teak, island natorr
tears nusuwun natan
tell varr
lies khajkhaj
stories (i.e. chat) sobsob
a story tukhtukhun
the truth verr ratne
ten sangav'il
Terminalia catappa tavo
testicles nalaso-
that dem. khe
that one khorro
thatch $n$. niat
them
dl. kharru
tl. kharrtil
pl. kharr
there lokhsa
they
dl. kharru
tl. kharrtil
pl. kharr
thigh nanak-
thin marraj
thing netenge
think rrumrrum
about rromrromi
thirteen sangav'il rram atil
thought norromrromian
three til
three days ago benetil
three days from now tatil
three times vakhatil
throat nebetrraki-
throw vt. lijai
thunder nakurr
tide
high lol
low netial
very low netial navse
tie $v t$. jal, jel tokhon
time nerren
tinea versicolor niv'ilvok
tired jojorr
to min-
today morruniekhe
tomorrow nev'khe
tongs nekles
tongue nem'em'-
tooth nalve, noluvo-
top, on marraj
torch nev'eble
touch jidar
tree nakha
(of particular type) nabat-
tree sp. (unidentified) nalak, natot,
nelek nalin, neniburr, nevetrris,

## totra

trevally nenijun
Trichoglossus haemotodus nijivirr
trick $v$. khajkhaj
trunk (of tree) nabat-
turn around, over $v t$. rrorr
turtle navu
twelve sangav'il rram arru
twenty ngavulrru
twice vakharru
two rru
Tyto alba nalul

## U

umbrella norrobne
uncle, maternal jokho-
urinate nanngas
urine nanngas, nanngas-
us
dl. incl. nekrrerru
tl. incl. nekrretil

| pl. incl. | nekles |
| :--- | :--- |
| dl. excl. | kananrru |
| tl. excl. | kanantil |
| pl. excl. | kanan |

## V

vagina nev'ikh-
victory leaf norrobejikh
voice rralo-
vomit $v$. lulu
vomitus lulu, lulu-

## W

waistband netve
wake up vi. rratakh
walk yas
backwards bukhbukhtakh, bukhtakh
walking stick nebetlak
want to rrong, varre. See also lalo-
warrior mako, nukhuli navrro
water nua, nusuwu-
we
dl. incl. nekrrerru
tl. incl. nekrretil
pl. incl. nekles
dl. excl. kananrru
tl. excl. kanantil
pl. excl. kanan
weave v'ati
(bamboo) velveleng
wedding nelekhian
wet adj. ninin, tarrav'
whale norrourretakhno
what? nese
when (subordinator) nerren
when? tasve
where? khade
whistle v'inv'in
white vok, vusave, vuso
white-eye, yellow nevelelakh
who? khise
why? neten nese
wife lekhtarr, nau-
wild cane nanavre
wild pig bukhusrrum
wild yam namjo
wind $n$. nalang
wing nakhab'e-
winter solstice nial jejemelekh
with (accompanitive) rron-
woman lekhtarr, tavat
married neletar
old lekhtarr merrji
wood nakha
work vesakhsakh
write khirrkhirr
writing naul
wrongly, do bet sarrav’i

## X

Xanthosoma sagittifolium nuvus boak

## Y

yam
varieties jeje, namjo, narram,
nerrem darav, nerrem nalin,
novobo, novobov
pudding nalok narram
yawn nanav
year narram
yellow melekh
yesterday benanev
you
sg. khunokh
dl. kanirru
tl. kanitil
pl. kani

## Z

Zosterops flavifrons nevelela

## 4

## A Nese story

The following short story is the only textual data that has been recorded so far in Nese. It was told by Annie Hymak of Matanvat on 25 September 2002, and was transcribed and translated with the help of Chief Grégoire Kaku Salior.

Naskhe sakhal yat khe Lokhorr.

Yat Lokhorr rrengen nebet neniburr sakhal te tokh marro lanus.
Khai yat, tavu sakhal naturr latas rrengen lasale.
Tavu khe naturr latas khe, khai sukhaskho kisekh.
Rrinrrin ma khe sukhaskho.
Naskhe nge yat marro rrong te tavu nge tisukhaskho.
Rreve, 'Nese khorro?’
'Norrongo belek tavu sakhal khe latas.'
Rrong te tavu nge khasukhaskho rreve:
Sikho sikho
Urba teau teau
V'esesa levia o
Nes tavu levia o
Totogrroa o teau
Teau sikho
O! Detaiokh o
Kharav ma ma ma rrengen nasal me aute.
Kharav kharav v'an v'an khos rre nebet nekhe nge.

The kingfisher lived there at Lokhorr anchorage.
He lived in a neniburr tree where he lived up in the bush.
He lived there and a conch shell slept in the sea at the anchorage.
The conch shell lived in the sea there and he sang all the time.
Daylight came there and he sang.
The kingfisher was up there and he heard that the conch shell was singing.
He said, 'What is that?'
'It sounds to me like a conch shell is there in the sea.'
He heard that the conch sell was singing like this:
Sikho sikho
Urba teau teau
V'esesa levia o
Nes tavu levia o
Totogrroa o teau
Teau sikho
O! Detaiokh o
He crawled hither to the road here ashore.
He crawled on and on as far as that tree.

V'an rrong te tavu nge ma yat nge lelngarro.
Ale sukhaskho kele.
Sikho sikho
Urba teau teau
V'esesa levia o
Nes tavu levia o
Totogrroa o teau
Teau sikho
O! Detaiokh o
Jubul ma latan dan.
Naskhe nge rreve, ‘Jev’an jevsenokh?’

Rreve ma latan.
'Nejungom v'e darav.'
‘Khove khobomotia.'
'Khota khobomotia vusokhte.’
Ma latan jubul.
Naskhe nge jubul latan ma.
Tavu nge kum tokhon naskhe.
Belbel tokhoni latan v'an v'an v'an.
Ale naskhe mot tavu.
Tavu nas.
Ale, nale nge nerij rrov khai khe brro.

He went and heard that the conch had come and stayed there and he listened.
Then he sang again.
Sikho sikho
Urba teau teau
V'esesa levia o
Nes tavu levia o
Totogrroa o teau
Teau sikho
O! Detaiokh o
He jumped down to the ground.
The kingfisher said, 'I am going to go and do what with you?'
He said he would come down.
'Your mouth is long.'
'Do you want to peck me?’
'You cannot peck me.'
He came down and jumped.
The kingfisher jumped down.
The conch grabbed hold of the kingfisher.
He hit him hard down and down and down.
Then the kingfisher pecked the conch shell.
The conch shell died.
So the story that I am telling finishes just there.

## 5 Phonology

### 5.1 Phoneme inventory

The consonant inventory of Nese exhibits a number of features which are somewhat unusual among the languages of Vanuatu, though these unusual features are found in some of the other languages which are spoken nearby. Of particular note are the contrastive apicolabial consonants which are reported in only five languages of northwestern Malakula (V'ënen Taut, Malua Bay, Vovo, Botovro and Vao), as well as some of the languages spoken on the southern coast of Espiritu Santo that is adjacent to northern Malakula. The second unusual feature is the distinction between the apical trill /r/ and the retroflex flap $/ \mathrm{f} /$. This distinction is not recorded in neighbouring languages, ${ }^{1}$ though it is attested in the Uripiv variety of the Northeast Malakula language (McKerras 2000).

The consonant inventory of Nese is set out below:

|  | Apicolabial | Labial | Alveolar | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Voiceless stops |  |  | t |  | c | k |  |
| Voiced stops | b | b | d |  |  | g |  |
| Fricatives | v. | v | s |  |  | y | h |
| Nasals | m | m | n |  |  | y |  |
| Rhotics |  |  | r | r |  |  |  |
| Lateral |  |  | l |  |  |  |  |
| Glides |  | w |  |  | y |  |  |

It will be immediately noted that there are some asymmetries present in this inventory. In particular:
(i) There are no voiceless counterparts to the voiced labial stops /b/ and /b/. ${ }^{2}$
(ii) There is no voiced counterpart to the voiceless palatal obstruent /c/.

[^4]While these asymmetries may turn out to be the result of incomplete lexical data, it should be noted that it is not uncommon for the languages of central and northern Malakula to exhibit a lack of correspondence between voiced and voiceless series of labial stops. In both Naman and Neve'ei, for example, while there is a b/ there is no corresponding /p/.

The apicolabial consonants represent a highly salient feature of the consonant inventory of Nese. These are articulated with the tip of the tongue visibly protruding from the mouth and touching the upper lip. Speakers of Nese are themselves aware of the unusual nature of this sound. Whenever I made the mistake of repeating a word containing one of these sounds with either a bilabial or an alveolar articulation, my error was immediately pointed out and I was told that it was necessary to 'push your tongue out'.

The voiceless stops $/ \mathrm{t} /$ and $/ \mathrm{k} /$ are pronounced as unaspirated voiceless stops with alveolar and velar articulation respectively. The segment that is entered on the consonant inventory above as /c/ is not strictly a voiceless stop at all. Rather, it is the voiceless palatal affricate [t]]. For example:

| /cicir/ | [tfitjir] | 'broom' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /nanac/ | [nanat5] | 'fish' |
| /nayacye/ | [nayat xe ] | 'ant' |

The corresponding voiced stops are fully voiced in all environments, even word-finally, as well as being homorganically prenasalised initially and when preceded by a vowel or a non-nasal consonant. Thus:

| /bele/ | [mbele] | 'chase it' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /nabak/ | [nambak] | 'banyan' |
| /nayab/ | [nayamb] | 'fire' |
| /bo/ | [mbo] | 'stink' |
| /nebetev/ | [nembetef $\sim$ nembetep] | 'sugarcane' |
| /nubutbat/ | [numbutmbat] | 'maggot' |
| /nanayub/ | [nanayumb] | 'green tree lizard' |
| /darav/ | [ndaraf ~ndarap] | 'long' |
| /yodit/ | [yo ${ }^{\text {ndit }]}$ | 'nine' |
| /nesde/ | [nes ${ }^{\text {nd } d e] ~}$ | 'knife' |
| /cigami/ | [tfingami] | 'your (pl.)' |
| /cigre/ | [tfingre] | 'their' |

However, when there is a preceding nasal consonant, there is no homorganic prenasalisation of voiced stops. For example:

| /bunbun/ | [mbunbun] | 'fragrant’ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /cijba/ | [tfigba] | 'kneel' |

It should be noted that the voiced velar stop $/ \mathrm{g} /$ is extremely rare, and is so far attested only in the possessive marker /ciga-/.

Of the fricatives, /s/ is invariably pronounced as a voiceless alveolar grooved fricative. The remaining fricatives, i.e. $/ \mathrm{v} /, / \mathrm{v} /$ and $/ \mathrm{\gamma} /$, are pronounced as voiced apicolabial, labiodental and velar fricatives respectively in all environments except word-finally, where they take on voiceless articulations. It should be further noted that, word-finally, /v/ freely
varies between the voiceless labiodental fricative [f] and the voiceless bilabial stop [p]. Thus:

| /vinvin/ | [vinvin] | 'whistle' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /navat/ | [navat] | 'stone' |
| /vevnaul/ | [vevnaul] | 'read' |
| /tarav/ | [taraf] | 'wet' |
| /vuso/ | [vuso] | 'white' |
| /evlay/ | [evlax] | 'happy' |
| /tavay/ | [tavax] | 'split' |
| /nebetev/ | [ne ${ }^{\text {mbetef } \sim \text { ne }}$ metep] | 'sugarcane' |
| /tamav/ | [tamaf ~ tamap] | 'castrated animal' |
| /livtov/ | [livtof ~ livtop] | 'spit' |
| /rayaray/ | [rayarax] | 'shake' |
| /volyol/ | [yolyol] | 'sweet' |
| /civye/ | [tfivye] | 'sneeze' |
| /melef/ | [melex] | 'yellow' |

The glottal fricative has been attested only in the words /har/ '(to) spear', /narah/ 'canoe bailer' and /nediha-/ 'foam'. Given its rarity, checking is needed to ensure that these forms have been correctly recorded.

The nasals, the lateral and the glide /w/ have the pronunciations that we would expect on the basis of the IPA symbols used to represent these segments. The glide /y/ is pronounced as a palatal glide, i.e. [j] in the IPA script. The segment that is represented on the consonant chart as /r/ is pronounced as an alveolar trill, whereas the segment that is represented as $/ \mathrm{r} /$ is realised as a retroflex flap. For example:

| /nabur/ | [nambur] | 'house post' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /noromel/ | [noromel] | 'cycad' |
| /neviri/ | [neviri] | 'dog' |
| /norotoar/ | [norotoar] | 'bracken fern' |

The following pairs are evidence of the set of consonant contrasts just presented:

| /t/ and /d/ | /darav/ <br> /tarav/ | 'long' <br> 'wet' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /k/ and /g/ | /tikak/ | 'it clucked', |
| /cigami/ | 'your (pl.)' |  |
| /b/ and /b/ | /bet/ | 'do' |
|  | /ber/ | 'crooked' |
|  | /nabu/ | 'bamboo' |
|  | /nabur/ | 'house post' |
|  | /namab/ | 'Tahitian chestnut' |
|  | /nayab/ | 'fire' |
|  | /nadayec/ | 'bed' |
|  | /nabaye/ | 'shark' |


| /m/ and /m/ | /nemerte/ /nememen/ | 'man' <br> 'his/her tongue’ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /n/ and /m/ | /nenere/ /nememer/ | ‘eel’ <br> 'their (pl.) tongues' |
| /t/ and /c/ | /tete/ <br> /cece/ | 'father' <br> 'lesser yam’ |
| /c/ and /s/ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { /cal/ } \\ & \text { /sal/ } \end{aligned}$ | 'get lost' <br> 'float' |
| /v/ and /v/ | /vite/ /vice/ | 'put' ‘chop’ |
|  | /tavay/ /tavat/ | 'split' <br> 'four days from now' |
|  | /darav/ <br> /tarav/ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 'long' } \\ & \text { 'wet' } \end{aligned}$ |
| /h/ and / $\mathrm{\gamma} /$ | /har/ /yaru/ | 'spear' <br> 'they (dl.)' |
|  | /narah/ /rayaray/ | 'canoe bailer' <br> 'it shook' |
|  | /nedihan/ /neviram/ | 'its foam' 'your vagina’ |
| /k/ and / $/$ / | /kol/ /yon/ | 'carry on shoulders' <br> 'six' |
|  | /naka/ <br> /naya/ | 'reef heron’ <br> 'tree' |
|  | /nasak/ <br> /nasasay/ | 'fork in road' 'sugar ants’ |
| /r/ and /r/ | /neram/ /neveram/ | 'your mother' 'sow' |
|  | /tarav/ <br> /darav/ | 'wet' 'long' |
|  | /naroy/ /narov/ | 'mangrove’ <br> 'wooden bowl' |
| /r/ and /I/ | /ralon/ /lalon/ | ‘his/her voice’ 'its interior' |
| /r/ and /l/ | /neviri/ /nevilias/ | ‘dog’ <br> ‘beard' |

The vowel inventory of Nese offers fewer surprises than we find in the consonants, as there is just the basic five-vowel contrast that we find in so many Vanuatu languages, that is:

|  | Front | Central | Back |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| High | i |  | u |
| Mid | e |  | o |
| Low |  | a |  |

There is no evidence for contrastive vowel length in Nese. In contrast to many of the languages of central and northern Malakula, there is also no evidence for a contrastive schwa in Nese. The various contrasts are illustrated by the following pairs:

| /i/ and /e/ | /sis/ <br> /sesre/ | 'it chirrupped' <br> '(s)he taught' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /e/ and /a/ | /cel/ | 'tie (something)' <br> /cal/ |
| 'it got lost' |  |  |

### 5.2 Stress

Little attention so far has been paid to the behaviour of stress in Nese. The basic pattern seems to be little different from what we expect of a language of central Vanuatu in that stress is primarily assigned to the penultimate syllable. This is obviously an area to which greater attention will need to be devoted in any future research on this language.

### 5.3 Phonotactics

Words begin overwhelmingly with consonants in Nese, with only a tiny handful of forms attested so far as beginning with vowels. Vowel-initial forms include only two items beginning with /a/, i.e. /amu/ 'before' and /aute/ 'ashore', one item beginning with /e/, i.e. /evlay/ 'happy', and one item beginning with /u/, i.e. /us/ 'ask'. Practically all consonants are attested word-initially, except that no items have yet been attested with initial $/ \mathrm{g} /$ (which is not a widely distributed phoneme in any case) and $/ \mathrm{m} /$. Word-initial consonant clusters are extremely rare, and seem to be limited only to sequences of STOP + LIQUID, e.g. /bro/ 'only', /klerur/ 'look through', /kro/ 'give', /tro/ 'stand'.

Root-finally, we find any of the vowels, as well as any single consonant apart from /d/ or $/ \mathrm{g} /$. The glides $/ \mathrm{w} /$ and $/ \mathrm{y} /$ are not recorded root-finally, though the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ are found. No word-final consonant clusters of any kind are attested.

Intervocalically, we find any of the single consonants, as well as a range of two-member consonant clusters. No consonant clusters involving three or more consonants have been attested. A fairly wide range of intervocalic clusters has been attested, though it is not known at this stage what kinds of systematic exclusions there may be regarding consonant clusters. Part of the problem in establishing the patterns appears to be the limited nature of the corpus, which means that it is not always possible to be certain whether a given form is monomorphemic or not. The presence of a morpheme boundary certainly opens up the
possibilities for intervocalic clusters. For example, while geminate consonants are not permitted intramorphemically, they are certainly permitted over morpheme boundaries. Thus:

```
/ne-se-yat-te/
    1SG:REAL-NEG-Sit-NEG
'I did not sit'
```


### 5.4 Ablaut

A highly salient feature of the interaction between Nese morphosyntax and its phonology is a very widespread process of vocalic ablaut by which the vowel /a/ of many noun and verb roots in many morphosyntactic environments is raised to /e/. ${ }^{3}$ This not only affects monosyllabic roots such as /yas/ 'bite' which alternates in statable environments with / yes/, but even polysyllabic roots such as /nakara/ 'black flying fox' which has an alternating root form /nekere/. Essentially, where the only vowels within a noun or a verb root are /a/ and that noun or verb is closely linked structurally to some other constituent within a statable set of morphosyntactic environments, then all instances of $/ \mathrm{a} /$ in that root are raised to /e/.

This pattern of ablaut appears not to be absolutely obligatory in any given context, even though in many morphosyntactic environments it is very strongly preferred. There is also evidence that alternation between /a/ and /e/ takes place sporadically even where a noun or a verb is not structurally closely bound to any other form, which suggests that there are no environments in which the process categorically does not apply. Given this kind of complexity, it is possible that the full details of this process may ultimately prove impossible to establish, given that Nese is now moribund, and exposure to any substantial corpus of spontaneous speech in the field is unlikely.

The data that have been assembled to date suggests that all instances of /a/ within a noun or a verb root are likely to shift to /e/ under the following sets of conditions:

## (i) Nominal compounds

When an noun root in which all the root vowels are /a/ is compounded with a following item (§6.2.1), the root vowels are generally all shifted to /e/. We therefore find examples such as the following:

| /tanas/ 'devil' | + | /bo/ 'stink' | > | /tenes-bo/ <br> 'kind of devil which smells' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /nalay/ 'wind' | + | $\begin{aligned} & \text { /rub/ } \\ & \text { ‘kill’ } \end{aligned}$ | > | /nelen rub/ 'cyclone' |
| /natay/ 'basket' | + | /nac-/ <br> 'excrement' | > | /netey nac-/ 'bowel' |
| /natas/ <br> ‘sea’ | + | /rumrum/ <br> 'wild' | > | /netes rumrum/ 'rough sea' |

[^5]| /nabas/ <br> 'penis wrapper' | + | /lulwo/ ‘large’ | > | /nebes lulwo/ <br> 'large penis wrapper' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /navat/ 'stone' | + | /nayab/ <br> 'fire’ | > | /nevet nayab/ 'battery' |
| /nayav/ <br> 'bush crab’ | + | /nakis/ 'good' | > | /neyev nakis/ <br> ‘black crab’ |

While the examples just presented have all been disyllabic, the same process applies also to trisyllabic nouns in which the root vowels are all $a$, as shown by the following:

| /nakara/ | + | /bar/ | $>$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'black flying fox' | 'blind' |  | /nekere-bar/ <br> 'white flying fox' |

Note that this process applies only to the initial element of the compound and not to the second element. The nouns /natan/ 'ground' and /navar/ 'iron' do not undergo ablaut to /neten/ and /never/ in the following examples where they are preceded by other elements in compounds:

| /nuak/ | + | /natan/ <br> 'canoe' | $>$ | /nuak natan/ <br> 'ground' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'car' |  |  |  |  |

This process does not seem to be fully systematic, as my data includes a small number of examples in which the initial compounded nouns show no evidence at all of undergoing ablaut. For example:

| /namat/ + /natas/ <br> 'snake'   | $>$ | 'namat natas/ <br> 'sea' |  | 'seasnake' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

However, noun roots which contain vowels other than sequences exclusively of /a/ systematically do not undergo any kind of ablaut. This is illustrated by examples such as the following, where vowel shift is not a possibility:

| /nalok/ 'pudding' | + | /naram/ <br> 'yam' | > | /nalok naram/ 'yam pudding' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /navu/ 'turtle' | + | /sal/ <br> 'float' | > | /navu sal/ 'pumice' |
| /nayacye/ <br> ‘biting ants’ | + | $\begin{aligned} & \text { /nial/ } \\ & \text { 'red' } \end{aligned}$ | > | /nayacye nial/ 'red ants' |
| /bubu/ 'grandparent' | + | /leytar/ 'woman' |  | /bubu leytar/ 'grandmother' |

## (ii) Adjectivally modified nouns

When a noun containing only the vowel/a/ is followed by an adjective within a noun phrase (§6.2.3), the noun root is again eligible for the process of ablaut whereby the root
vowels shift to /e/. In this environment, the process appears not to be completely obligatory, and the examples in my corpus of compounds exhibit alternation between modified and unmodified forms of the root, as follows:

```
/naram/ + /darav/ > /nerem darav ~ naram darav/
'yam' 'long' 'long yam'
```


## (iii) Directly possessed nouns

When a possessed noun falls into the set of directly suffixed nouns (§6.2.2), a root which contains only /a/ is eligible for ablaut with all instances of $/ \mathrm{a} /$ in the root undergoing shift to /e/. Thus, with the noun /natay/ 'basket', which enters into the distant alienable direct possessive relationship (§6.2.2.2), we find:

```
/neten ne leytar/
basket poss woman
'the woman's basket'
```

Similarly, with /nabat-/ 'tree', which enters into the close alienable direct possessive relationship (§6.2.2.2), we find:

```
/nebet nenibur/
tree kind.of.tree
'neniburr tree'
```

We find the same kind of alternation affecting the noun /tana-n/ 'his/her father' in the following:

```
/tene-n nat-ne/
father-3sg child-3sg
'the father of his/her child'
```

The fact that indirectly possessed nouns do not undergo ablaut in indirect possessive constructions is indicated by the invariant nature of the root in examples such as the following:

```
/namab sak/
Tahitian.chestnut pOss:1sG
'my Tahitian chestnut'
```

However, there appear to be some additional specific points that need to be made regarding the application of ablaut in directly suffixed possessive constructions. When there is a pronominal rather than a nominal possessor, it is only consonant-final roots which undergo ablaut, and then only when the following possessive suffix begins with the vowel /i/. Note, therefore, the alternation between a noun such as /nabat-/ 'head' with /nebet-/ in the following examples:

```
/nabat-re/
head-1PL.INCL
`our (pl. incl.) heads'
/nebet-inan/
head-1PL.EXCL
'our (pl. excl.) heads'
```

However, a form such as /nanata-/ 'eye' remains invariant throughout its paradigm. Thus:
/nanata-r/
eye-1PL.INCL
'our (pl. incl.) eyes'
/nanata-nan/
eye-1PL.EXCL
‘our (pl. excl.) eyes’
(iv) Prefixed verbs

For the most part, verb roots are unaffected by any associated inflectional prefixes (§6.3.1). However, there is some scanty evidence pointing to at least the sporadic possibility of shift from /a/ to /e/, though this is possibly conditioned by the adjacent sequence of other syllables containing /e/ in the following example where /yas/ 'walk' has become /yes/:
/Ø-se-be-yes-te/
3sG:REAL-NEG-NEG-walk-NEG
'(s)he did not walk'

## (v) Verbal compounds

Verbal compounds are not widely attested in my corpus. However, there is a handful of examples in which a verb root containing /a/ is compounded with a following root containing /a/. When the verb is compounded with a following nominal root, both undergo ablaut to /e/. Thus:

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { /cal/ } \\
\text { 'tie' }
\end{array} \begin{aligned}
& \text { /navat/ } \\
& \text { 'stone' }
\end{aligned}>\quad \begin{aligned}
& \text { /cel-vet/ } \\
& \text { 'anchor (canoe)' }
\end{aligned}
$$

However, when the verb is compounded with another verb, only the first root shows evidence of ablaut:
/cidar/

'touch' $\quad$\begin{tabular}{l}
/nas/ <br>
'die'

$\quad$

/cider-nas/ <br>
'sensitive grass'
\end{tabular}

Note that this latter example also shows unpredictability in the ablaut pattern in that normally only roots in which the only vowel is /a/ undergo this kind of alternation.
(vi) Transitive verbs with objects

It is far more common for verb roots containing /a/ to undergo ablaut to /e/ in association with a following object (§6.3.2). When a transitive verb all of whose root vowels are /a/ is followed by a nominal object, the /a/ of the root shifts to /e/, as we find with the roots /vanay/ 'steal' and /bat/ 'make' below:

| / $\varnothing$-van-vanay/ | /Ø-veney navat/ |
| :--- | :--- |
| 3sG:REAL-REDUP-steal | 3sG:REAL-steal money |
| '(s)he stole' | '(s)he stole the money' |


| /de-bat-e/ | /yo-bet $\quad$ netene/ |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1sG:IRR-make-3sG | 2sG:REAL-make thing |
| 'I will make it' | 'you made the thing' |

When the verb is associated with a pronominal object suffix rather than a following free form noun, the process of ablaut only applies when the suffix begins with the vowel /i/. Note, therefore, the following alternations involving the verb/yas/ 'bite':

```
/Ø-yas-oү/
3sG:REAL-bite-2sG
'it bit you'
/Ø-yes-ia/
3sG:REAL-bite-1SG
'it bit me'
```

```
/Ø-yas-er/
3SG:REAL-bite-3PL
'it bit them'
/Ø-уеs-i/
3sG:REAL-bite-3sG
'it bit him/her'
```

(vii) Nuclear serial verbs

The final environment in which vowel ablaut has been observed to affect /a/ is when an initial verb is followed by a following verbal root in a nuclear serial-verb construction (§6.3.3). Note, therefore, that the root /cal/ 'tie’ alternates with /cel/ in the construction /cel toyon/ 'tie tightly’, while /balbal/ 'fight’ alternates with /belbel/ in the serial verb /belbel toyon/ 'hit hard'.

### 5.5 Prefix vowel assimilation

There is a substantial number of prefixes which end in the vowel /e/ in Nese, including the prefixed element of the nominalising simulfix /ne- ... -ian/ (\$6.2.1) and a variety of inflectional prefixes on verbs (§6.3.2). There is a very strong tendency for the final /e/ of the prefix to shift to / $\mathrm{o} /$ when the first vowel of the following root is one of the rounded vowels $/ \mathrm{u} /$ or $/ \mathrm{o}$, or when the initial segment of the following root is the rounded glide $/ \mathrm{w} /$. Note, therefore, the following derivations:

```
/ne-romrom-ian > noromromian/
NOM-think-NOM
'thought'
/ne-vul > novul/
    1SG:REAL-buy
'I bought'
/ce-kol-o > cokolo/
1sG:FUT-carry.on.shoulder-3sG
'I will carry it on my shoulders'
```

This process applies when several prefixes of this shape appear in sequence before a root of an appropriate shape, as illustrated by the following:

```
/ne-be-ron-te > noboronte/
    1SG:REAL-NEG-hear-NEG
'I did not hear'
```

It was stated above that this represents a strong tendency rather than being a categorical rule. We therefore encounter occasional examples in which the vowel /e/ remains unchanged in environments where assimilation is an option.

## 6 <br> Grammar

As with the sections on the lexicon, this grammatical sketch uses the orthography outlined in §1.3. That is:

- The voiceless affricate /c/ is represented orthographically as $j$.
- The velar fricative $/ \gamma /$ is represented as the digraph $k h$ and the velar nasal $/ \mathrm{y} /$ as the digraph $n g$.
- The apico-labials are distinguished from the plain labials by means of a following apostrophe, e.g. $b^{\prime}, v^{\prime}, m^{\prime}$.
- The alveolar trill $/ \mathrm{r} /$ is represented as the digraph $r r$ while the retroflex flap $/ \mathrm{f}$ / is represented as the single letter $r$.


### 6.1 Pronouns

The independent pronouns of Nese make a four-way number distinction, along with a distinction between inclusive and exclusive, as follows:

|  | Singular |  | Dual | Trial | Plural |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | khina | Incl. | nekrrerru | nekrretil | nekrre |
|  |  | Excl. | kananrru | kanantil | kanan |
| 2 | khunokh |  | kam'irru | kam'itil | kam'i |
| 3 | khai $\sim$ khini |  | kharru | kharrtil | kharr |

The same forms appear in verbal subject position, as well as verbal and prepositional object position, with the exception of the third person singular: khai is the 3sG subject form whereas khini appears in verbal and prepositional object positions. It can be seen that there are the recurring elements -rru in the dual and -til in the trial which are added to the plural pronominal roots. These added elements correspond to the numerals rru 'two' and til 'three’ respectively (§6.2.3). ${ }^{1}$

[^6]
### 6.2 Nouns

### 6.2.1 Noun derivation

A variety of types of noun compounds have been recorded in Nese, all involving an initial nominal head with a following modifier, which may be another noun or an uninflected verb.

Just over $80 \%$ of nouns in Nese begin with $n V$-, a syllable which originates as a noun phrase marker which has been reanalysed as an almost completely inseparable part of noun roots. About the only context in which there is any evidence synchronically for the separability of this accreted article involves nominal compounds. In this respect, Nese exhibits the same kind of pattern of vestigial separability of the accreted noun phrase article that we commonly encounter in the languages of Vanuatu.

Sometimes, as in forms such as the following, the historical article is lost in both the first and second elements of the compound when both are linked together as a single-word compound:

| nato <br> 'chicken’ | + | nenerrnarr <br> 'man' | > | to-nerrnarr 'rooster' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nato | + | nibilakh | > | to-bilakh |
| 'chicken' |  | 'banded rail' |  | ‘black and |

In other cases, the historical article is lost only in the second element of the single-word compound. For example:

| $\qquad$ 'sow' | natas 'sea' | > | neveram-tas <br> 'dugong’ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nevelelakh + | natas | > | nevelelakh-tas |
| 'yellow white-eye' | 'sea' |  | 'flying fish' |
| norrokolat + | natas | > | norrokolat-tas |
| 'stinging tree' | 'sea' |  | 'jellyfish' |

It should be pointed out, however, that other compounds are attested in which the historical article is retained intact with both nouns, and the compound itself is pronounced as two separate phonological words. For example:

| namat <br> 'snake' | + | natas <br> 'sea' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| naurre <br> 'lobster' | + | namat natas <br> 'seasnake' |  |
| 'water' | $>$ | naurre nua <br> 'freshwater prawn' |  |

Whichever pattern is followed seems to be depend on individual compound nouns, so in some compounds natas 'sea' appears without the accreted article as tas, while in others it appears with the accreted article retained as natas. There is therefore no way that we can talk about the separability of $n V$ - synchronically as anything but a vestigial and rather irregular process in Nese morphology.

It will be remembered from $\S 5.4$ that, when an initial noun root containing no vowels other than $a$ is compounded with a following item from any word class and of any phonological shape, the root vowels are generally all shifted to $e$, as in the following:

| nalang | + | rrub | $>$ | neleng rrub <br> 'wind' <br> 'kill' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  | 'cyclone' |  |

Nouns which undergo ablaut in this way may also lose the historical accreted article nawhen it appears as the initial element of the compound. However, the vowel of the remaining syllable still undergoes ablaut from $a$ to $e$ in the same way. Thus:

| natal 'penis' | + | nasis <br> 'circumcised' | $>$ | tel-nasis 'circumcised penis' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nabat‘head’ | + | terrterr <br> 'hard' | > | bet-terrterr 'stubborn' |

Finally, it will be noted in the discussion of possession which follows (§6.2.2) that, with a certain subcategory of nouns, there are slightly different variants of the root depending on whether or not the noun expresses a possessed item. When nouns of this type enter into compounds, it is the possessive form of the root rather than the free form which we find (though there may also be loss of the historical article $n V$ - in the compound). Thus, from nubukhas 'pig' (which corresponds to the possessed root nubkhus-) and namum 'spirit' (which corresponds to the possessed root nomum-), we can form the following compounds:

| nubukhas 'pig' | + | rrum 'wild' | > | bukhus-rrum ${ }^{2}$ <br> 'wild pig' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| namum | + | saburr | > | nomum saburr |
| 'spirit' |  | 'taboo' |  | 'holy spirit' |

Apart from compounding, there is so far very little evidence for other kinds of morphological processes associated with the derivation of nouns in Nese. The following correspondences suggest that the widely distributed nominalising simulfix ne-... -(i)an is also found in Nese: ${ }^{3}$

| rromrrom | 'think' | no-rromrrom-ian | 'thought, idea' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| merrji | 'old' | ne-merrji-an | 'old man' |
| tukhutukhun | 'tell story' | ne-tukhutukhun-ian | 'story' |

A number of other forms have shapes which suggest a similar derivation, though the putative verbs from which they are derived have not yet been attested. Thus:

| nelekhian | 'marriage' |
| :--- | :--- |
| nesevian | 'kind of dance' |

There is a handful of nouns which appear to be derived from verbs simply by the addition of the prefixed element na- without the suffix -ian. For example:
vel
'(to) dance'
na-vel
(a) dance’

[^7]The existence of a small set of similar irregular nominalisations seems to be fairly widely distributed among the languages of central and northern Malakula.

### 6.2.2 Possession

[It will be seen in this section that there is a considerable amount of phonological irregularity associated with the suffixation of possessive pronouns to nouns and possessive markers. This is illustrated in a number of paradigms in this section. But at the same time, the original manuscript contained a number of examples where the dual and trial columns were blank, and even a few where only singular forms were given. In the case of the former, this may have been partly due to the fact that the author was not completely sure whether the dual and trial free pronouns were in fact single pronouns or mere compounds of plural pronoun + numeral (see above). It is also likely that he intended both further testing of this and also further elicitation to attempt to find some sub-regularities.

Given the full set of possessive suffixes listed under §6.2.2.2 below, it seems likely that the blanks could be filled by forms consisting of those suffixes, though with some uncertainties as to the preceding vowels. In this section, I simply present what was in the original manuscript (sometimes with a comment), except that I have deleted all blank columns. Thus if a paradigm consisted of only singular and plural forms, no empty dual and trial columns are presented - JL].

As we commonly find in Oceanic languages, there is a basic distinction in Nese between indirect and direct possessive constructions. With indirect possession, the possessor is expressed by means of a postposed possessive form which varies in shape for the full set of pronominal categories, whereas with direct possession, a pronominal suffix is added to the noun root itself. Contrast, therefore, the examples below illustrating the indirectly possessed noun nato 'chicken' and the directly possessed noun nakho- 'face' with a first person singular pronominal possessor:

```
nato sak
chicken Poss:1sG
'my chicken’
nakho-k
face-1sG
'my face'
```


### 6.2.2.1 Indirect possession

There are two quite distinct paradigms of possessive postmodifiers used in indirect possessive constructions in Nese. Those forms which have been attested from the first paradigm are based on the root $s a$-, to which the pronominal suffixes associated with the expression of direct possessive constructions (§6.2.2.2) are affixed, as set out below:

|  | Singular |  | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | sak | Incl. | sarr |
|  |  | Excl. | sanan |
| 2 | sam |  | sam'i |
| 3 | san |  | sarr |

Those exponents of the second paradigm are based on the root jin- in the singular and jigin the plural. These forms accept pronominal suffixes which are similar, though not identical, in shape to those which are used to express verbal and prepositional objects (§6.3.2, §6.4.1). Thus:

|  | Singular |  | Plural |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | jina | Incl. | jigrre |
| 2 | jinokh | Excl. | jigam'i |
| 3 | jini |  | jigrre |

So far, I have not been able to establish if there is any kind of semantic contrast associated with the two paradigms of possessive markers, but the indications at present are that they are interchangeable.

When a noun is associated with a nominal rather than a pronominal possessor, the constituent order is POSSESSUM + POSSESSOR and the two noun phrases are linked by means of the third person singular form from either of these paradigms of possessive markers. We therefore find examples such as the following:

```
neviri jini lekhtarr merrji
dog poss:3sG woman old
'the old woman's dog'
```

In keeping with what we have already seen happening with nominal compounds (and also as described below for direct possessive constructions), when there is an initial possessed noun in which the root vowels are all $a$, there is a systematic shift of the vowels to $e$ (§5.4). Thus, when the noun nakha 'tree' appears as the first noun phrase in a possessive construction, we find instead nekhe, as in the following:

| nekhe | san | takharr |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tree | POSs:3sG | European |
| 'cassia (lit. the Europeans' tree)' |  |  |

It should be noted, however, that this vowel shift is only triggered when there is an associated nominal possessor. When the possessor is a pronoun, there is no change in the shape of the root. Thus:

```
nakha sak
tree poss:1sG
'my tree'
```

The indirect possessive construction is used basically to express alienable types of possession. This therefore includes the possession of a wide variety of items, including the following:

- tools and artefacts (nesarr sak 'my spear', novos sak 'my oar', nebetlak sak 'my walking stick', novso sak 'my bow', nerrurr sak 'my clothes', namanu sak 'my hat');
- domestic animals (nato sak 'my chicken', neviri sak 'my dog');
- undomesticated animals (nanankho sak 'my bird');
- garden products and domesticated plants (narram sak 'my yam', boak sak 'my water taro', nani sak 'my coconut');
- plants growing wild in the bush (nabu sak 'my bamboo', naus sak 'my great hog plum', khatabol sak 'my dragon plum', tavo sak 'my sea almond', namab sak 'my Tahitian chestnut');
- a variety of other naturally occurring items found in the environment which are used by people in different sorts of ways (nua sak 'my water', nakhab' sak 'my firewood'); and
- kin terms which are idiosyncratically prohibited from accepting direct pronominal suffixes (tete sak 'my father', vave sak 'my paternal aunt', bubu sak 'my grandparent').
It can be seen from these examples that Nese does not have separate markers for expressing the possession of items that are for drinking and eating as is the case in many Oceanic languages. ${ }^{4}$ This lack is not uncommon in the languages of central and northern Malakula that have been documented to date, though it should be noted that Fox (1979:4041) indicates that there are separate possessive markers in V'ënen Taut for the possession of cooked edible items (expressed by means of a paradigm for possessive markers based on the root $n a-$ ), uncooked edible items (wada-), items for drinking ( $m^{\prime}$ 'am'a-) and items for chewing (sama-). No trace of possessive markers that are cognate with any of these forms have been recorded in Nese.


### 6.2.2.2 Direct possession

With nouns referring to items that are considered to be inalienably possessed, the socalled direct possessive construction is used instead. This construction involves the addition of a pronominal suffix directly to the possessed noun itself, as illustrated at the beginning of this section on possession. This includes nouns of the following types:

- nouns referring to body parts such as nabalako- 'leg', nakho- 'face', nalaso'testicle', neb'e- 'body, nolovo- 'tooth', nem'em'- 'tongue', nukuns- 'nose', nabat- 'head' and natal- 'penis';
- kin terms such as nau- 'wife', nat- 'son, daughter', tas- 'younger same-sex sibling', tua- 'elder sibling', nerra- 'mother'; and

[^8]- a number of other nouns referring to personal items which are commonly attested in Oceanic languages as being expressed by means of the direct possessive construction, including nengsa- 'name', rralo- 'voice', nomum'shadow, photograph', nias- 'spirit'.
However, there is a substantially broader range of nouns in Nese which enters into the direct possessive construction than is commonly the case in Oceanic languages. While in other Oceanic languages most body parts enter into this kind of construction, we tend to find a range of body products or body parts that are removed, either for personal cleanliness and comfort or when butchering a slaughtered animal, which are treated instead as being alienably possessed. In addition, temporary body manifestations such as sores and other afflictions tend to be treated in other Oceanic languages as being alienably possessed. In Nese, however, all body parts, products and afflictions attested to date accept direct possessive suffixes. This therefore includes items such as nerre- 'blood', nanngas- 'urine’, lulu- 'vomit', navas- 'sore’, nejirra- 'semen', nesuv- 'breath’ and nukhuskhus- 'sweat'.

In addition, a range of artefacts which are in various ways central to local cultural practices are expressed in Nese by means of nouns which enter into direct possessive constructions. This includes the following:

- items of intimate clothing such as nabas- 'penis wrapper';
- artefacts that are in constant daily use such as natang- 'basket', nejal'sleeping mat', noboltolnga- 'pillow', nenelnga- 'bed’, nuak- 'canoe’;
- domestic animals which are particularly important in the cultural context, i.e. nubkhus- 'pig' (in contrast to alienably possessed neviri 'dog' and nato ‘chicken’);
- undomesticated animals which constitute a core part of the traditional diet, i.e. nanaj- 'fish' (in contrast to alienably possessed nanankho 'bird', the meat of which is eaten only occasionally as opportunities arise); and
- items relating to land ownership and associated with an individual's belonging to a particular place, i.e. nev'enu- 'home', nekhm'el- 'meeting house', nem'house', nouta- 'garden', nerra- 'fence around garden’

In fact, there are two formally distinct patterns of direct suffixation which distinguish between different kinds of inalienable possession in Nese, and I will refer to these as close and distant inalienability respectively. A close inalienable relationship involves the possession of items from which one cannot ordinarily be physically separated, and this set prototypically comprises body parts, body products and kin terms. A distant inalienable relationship, on the other hand, is prototypically involved with items that one is intimately associated with but from which one can be easily physically removed. This includes certain bodily manifestations which are temporary or atypical (e.g. nukhuskhus- 'sweat', lulua'vomit' and navas- 'sore') rather than permanent or normal (e.g. naj- 'excrement'). Contrast, therefore, the larger set of nouns which enter into close inalienable possessive relationships and the smaller set which enter into distant inalienable possessive relationships:

| Close inalienability |  | Distant inalienability |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nabalako- <br> nakho- <br> nalaso- <br> nolovo- <br> novosvoso- <br> rralo- <br> lalo- <br> nengsa- <br> nerra- <br> norruma- <br> nejirra- <br> neviltara- <br> tua- <br> nejubuna- <br> jokhos- <br> nabat- <br> naj- <br> nomum- <br> netal- <br> nejin- <br> neliv- <br> nesin- <br> tas- <br> nukuns- <br> nev'il- <br> nat- <br> nau- | ‘leg’ <br> 'face’ <br> 'testicle' <br> 'tooth' <br> ‘hip’ <br> 'voice' <br> 'interior' <br> 'name' <br> 'mother' <br> 'chest' <br> 'semen’ <br> 'public hair' <br> 'elder same-sex sibling’ <br> 'back' <br> '(man's) sister' <br> 'head' <br> 'excrement' <br> 'shadow' <br> 'penis' <br> 'bone' <br> 'rib' <br> 'belly’ <br> 'younger same-sex sibling' <br> 'nose' <br> 'skin' <br> 'son, daughter' <br> 'wife' | nabas- <br> nele- <br> natang- <br> nev'enu- <br> navas- <br> nejal- <br> nem- <br> nesuv- <br> nuak- <br> nubkhus- <br> nukhuskhus- <br> lulu- <br> nanngas- <br> nout- <br> nanaj- <br> nekhm'el- <br> nerr- <br> lekhtarr- | 'penis wrapper' <br> 'language’ <br> 'basket' <br> 'home' <br> 'sore’ <br> 'sleeping mat' <br> ‘house’ <br> 'breath' <br> 'canoe’ <br> 'pig' <br> 'sweat' <br> 'vomit' <br> 'urine' <br> 'garden’ <br> 'fish' <br> 'meeting house’ <br> 'fence' <br> 'wife' |

It should be noted, however, that the distribution of nouns between the two sets does not correspond exactly to the semantic distinction between close and distant inalienability as described above, at least in any immediately obvious way. In the set of nouns which enter into the close inalienable possessive construction, for example, we find items such as noboltolnga- 'pillow' which we might have expected to be possessed according to the pattern of distant inalienability. Also, it is not easy to see why naj- 'excrement' and nanngas- 'urine' should be treated differently, nor nau- and lekhtarr-, both meaning 'wife'.

Having two distinct patterns of directly suffixed nouns is not a common feature of Oceanic languages. However, this distinction is closely matched in V'ënen Taut; compare Fox's (1979:23-30) distinction between the following patterns of possession:
pët-ëk ${ }^{5}$
head-1sg
'my head' (= close inalienable possession)

[^9]```
prapar-ak
sow-1sG
'my sow' (= distant inalienable possession)
ulien nak
wages POSS:1sG
'my wages' (= indirect possession)
```


### 6.2.2.2.1 Distant inalienable possession

Nouns which enter into distant inalienable relationships accept the following possessive suffixes in Nese (with gaps indicating that the full paradigm has not yet been established): ${ }^{6}$

| Singular |  |  | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | $-a k$ | Incl. | -arr |
|  |  | Excl. |  |
| 2 | $-a m$ |  |  |
| 3 | $-a n$ |  |  |

Thus:

| nele-ak | nuak-am | nabas-an |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| language-1sG | canoe-2sG | penis.wrapper-3sG |
| 'my language' | 'your canoe' | 'his penis wrapper' |

The first person plural suffix appears to take the form -rr after the vowel $e$, and -arr after other vowels or after a consonant. Thus:

| nout-arr | nev'enu-arr | nele-rr |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| garden-1PL.INCL | home-1PL.INCL | language-1PL.INCL |
| 'our (pl. incl.) garden' | 'our home' | 'our (pl. incl.) language' |

### 6.2.2.2.2 Close inalienable possession

Nouns which enter into close inalienable possessive relationships, on the other hand, accept the pronominal suffixes which have the following basic forms:

|  | Singular |  | Dual | Trial | Plural |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | $-k$ | Incl. | -rrerru | -rretil | -rr(e) |
|  |  | Excl. | -(i)nanrru | -(i)nantil | -(i)nan |
| 2 | $-m(e)$ |  | -(i)m'irru | -(i)m'itil | -(i)m'i |
| 3 | $-n(e)$ |  | -rrerru | -rretil | -rr(e) |

[^10]While some of the variation in the shapes of these suffixes can be accounted for in terms of phonologically conditioned allomorphy, there remains a considerable amount of variation. It is not clear at this stage of research if there are any general conditioning factors, or if there is instead extensive unpredictability in the forms of the suffixes. There is also a significant amount of vowel ablaut in the roots of directly possessed nouns associated with the addition of these suffixes for which it is not yet possible to offer satisfying generalisations (though see §5.4). At this stage, the various patterns that have been attested will simply be listed in the hope that additional data will shed further light on these matters.

With the bulk of noun roots of this type which end in vowels, the forms of the close inalienable possessive suffixes are as follows:

|  | Singular |  | Dual | Trial | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | $-k$ | Incl. | -rrerru | -rretil | -rr |
|  |  | Excl. | -nanrru | -nantil | -nan |
| 2 | $-m$ |  | -m'irru | -m'itil | $-m^{\prime} i$ |
| 3 | $-n$ |  | -rrerru | -rretil | $-r r$ |

We therefore find paradigms such as the following for nanata- 'eye' and noluvo- 'tooth':

| Singular |  | Incl. <br> Excl. | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | nanata-k |  | nanata-rr |
|  |  |  | nanata-nan |
| 2 | nanata-m |  | nanata-m'i |
| 3 | nanata-n |  | nanata-rr |
|  | Singular |  | Plural |
| 1 | noluvo-k | Incl. | noluvo-rr |
|  |  | Excl. | noluvo-nan |
| 2 | noluvo-m |  | noluvo-m'i |
| 3 | noluvo-n |  | noluvo-rr |

However, there are some vowel-final noun roots which are attested with unpredictable suffixes in certain pronominal categories. The form nau- 'wife' accepts the third person singular suffix -ne, which is normally associated with consonant-final roots, giving the paradigm below. The vowel-final roots nabau- 'knee' and tavai- 'friend' are further irregular in that they also accept the second person singular suffix -me (which is again normally associated with consonant-final roots), along with the third person singular suffix -ne. ${ }^{7}$ Thus:

[^11]| 1SG | nau-k | nabau-k | tavai-k |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2SG | nau-m | nabau-me | tavai-me |
| 3SG | nau-ne | nabau-ne | tavai-ne |

There is also some evidence of much greater idiosyncrasy in the following paradigm for the noun meaning 'brother-in-law':

|  | Singular |  | Plural |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | tau-k | Incl. | takh-rro |
|  |  | Excl. | tokh-unan |
| 2 | takh-mo |  | tokh-um'i |
| 3 | takn-no |  | takh-rro |

Not only do we find unpredictable alternations in the root between tau-, takh- and tokh- but the suffixes also contain vowels which are limited to this single paradigm.

There is a second paradigm of close inalienable possessive suffixes which is prototypically associated with consonant-final roots, as follows:

|  | Singular |  | Dual | Trial | Plural |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | $-u k$ | Incl. | -rrerru | -rretil | -rre |
|  |  | Excl. | -inanrru | -inantil | -inan |
| 2 | $-m e$ |  | -im'irru | -im'itil | -im'i |
| 3 | -ne |  | -rrerru | -rretil | -rre |

With noun roots containing the vowel $a$, there is evidence that this shifts to $e$ before those prefixes that begin with the vowel $i$ (§5.4), giving the following paradigm for the noun nabat- 'head':

|  | Singular |  | Dual | Trial | Plural |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | nabat-uk | Incl. | nabat-rrerru | nabat-rretil | nabat-rre |
|  |  | Excl. | nebet-inanrru | nebet-inantil | nebet-inan |
| 2 | nabat-me |  | nebet-im'irru | nebet-im'itil | nebet-im'i |
| 3 | nabat-ne |  | nabat-rrerru | nabat-rretil | nabat-rre |

Other nouns which are attested as participating in this paradigm are jokhos- '(man’s) sister’, naj- 'excrement', nomum- ‘shadow’, natal- 'penis’, nejin- 'bone’, nelil- ‘rib’, and nesin- 'belly'. It should be noted that such nouns can involve geminate consonants over morpheme boundaries, e.g. nomum-me 'your shadow', nesin-ne 'his/her belly'.

What needs further testing is whether the pattern of root-vowel ablaut noted for nabat'head' is repeated with these nouns, or whether there are any vowel alternations other than the $a / e$ alternation. Note, however, that the root nat- 'son, daughter' alternates as nenet- in the same environments, resulting in the following paradigm:

|  | Singular |  | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | nat-uk | Incl. | nat-rre |
|  |  | Excl. | nenet-inan |
| 2 | nat-um $^{8}$ |  | nenet-im'i |
| 3 | nat-ne |  | nat-rre |

Just as there are some seemingly unpredictable possessive forms with vowel-final nouns, there are also some consonant-final nouns which exhibit unpredictable possessive forms in certain pronominal categories. The nouns tas- 'younger same-sex sibling', nat'son, daughter, nukuns- 'nose' and nev'il- 'skin' are all unpredictably attested with the second person singular suffix -um rather than -me; while the noun nias- 'spirit' appears with the unexpected first person singular suffix -ek rather than -uk. For example:

| 1sG | nukuns-uk | nias-ek |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2sG | nukuns-um | nias-me |
| 3sG | nukuns-ne | nias-ne |

The nouns nevilias- 'beard' and nem'em'- 'tongue' idiosyncratically accept the second person singular suffix -em and the third person singular suffix -en rather than -me and -ne respectively. For example:

| 1SG | nem'em'-uk |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2sG | nem'em'-em |
| 3sG | nem'em'-en |

The form nerre- 'blood' has an apparently idiosyncratic paradigm which has not so far been attested with any other noun. It is therefore impossible to offer any generalisation at this stage as to what is going on here:

| 1sG | nerre-ouk |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2sG | nerre-ime |
| 3sG | nerre-an |

Note also that the noun norrokho- 'leaf' has the third person singular suffixed form norrokhaune. This is also clearly irregular, though a full possessive paradigm cannot be elicited for pragmatic reasons.

In addition to the fairly extensive irregularity that we encounter in the paradigms for some nouns belonging to both sets, there are nouns which are recorded with possessive paradigms which show evidence of a mix of suffixes from both the close and distant inalienable sets. We see this, for example, in the paradigm just presented for nerre'blood', for which the first and second person singular suffixes -ouk and -ime are similar to the close inalienable suffixes, while the third person singular suffix -an is the same as the corresponding form from the distant inalienable paradigm. The form nanngas- 'urine' accepts the close inalienable first person suffix -uk but the distant suffixes for other categories. That is:

[^12]| 1SG | nanngas-uk |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2SG | nanngas-am |
| 3SG | nanngas-an |

The noun nev'ikh- 'vagina', on the other hand, accepts the close inalienable third person singular suffix -ne while accepting the distant inalienable suffixes in the first and second person singular. That is:

| 1SG | nev'ikh-ak |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2SG | nev'ikh-am |
| 3sG | nev'ikh-ne |

### 6.2.2.2.3 Direct possession with nominal possessors

The two categories of direct possession differ also in the manner in which nominal possession is expressed. With nouns which enter into the distant inalienable relationship, the expression of a nominal possessor is somewhat similar to the pattern already described for indirect possessive constructions in that the nouns are ordered as possessum + POSSESSOR, with an intervening possessive marker, either $j i$ or $n e$, as in the following:

```
natang ji lekhtarr-an
basket poss wife-3sG
'his wife's basket'
natang ne lekhtarr merrji
basket poss woman old
'the old woman's basket'
```

In such constructions, the optional vowel ablaut alternations can also apply (§5.4), so the form natang can alternate with neteng, as follows:

```
neteng ne lekhtarr merrji
basket poss woman old
'the old woman's basket'
```

It should be noted that these forms still differ from the pattern that is followed with indirectly possessed nouns in that the possessive constituent which appears between the two nouns must itself be inflected. In addition, the possessed noun appears not to be available for the application of ablaut alternations. Contrast the patterns just presented with the following:

```
neviri jini lekhtarr merrji
dog poss:3sG woman old
'the old woman's dog'
```

With consonant-final nouns which enter into the close inalienable possessive construction, nominal possession is expressed by simply juxtaposing the nouns in the order POSSESSUM + POSSESSOR, as follows:

```
norrul nato
egg chicken
`chicken’s egg`
```

There is evidence that some possessed nouns undergo vocalic ablaut in the root in this environment. In common with what we find happening in nominal compounds, if all the vowels of the possessed noun are $a$, there is a systematic shift of these root vowels to $e$ (§5.4). We therefore find alternations affecting possessed forms such as nabat- 'head, trunk (of tree)' and taj- 'spur (of rooster)' as follows:

```
nebet nakha
trunk tree
'tree trunk'
tej nato
spur chicken
'the chicken's spur'
```

The noun nat- 'child’ appears to behave idiosyncratically when associated with a nominal possessor. Rather than appearing in its root form with no possessive suffix before the possessor, this noun appears with the root neti- and it carries the third person singular suffix - $n$, as in the following:

```
neti-n nato
child-3sG chicken
‘chick’
neti-n tavai-k
child-3sG brother-1sG
'my brother's child'
```

With vowel-final nouns, however, the two nouns are juxtaposed in the same order, but the possessed noun must carry third person singular inflectional marking. Such forms are also eligible for vocalic ablaut (§5.4), as illustrated by the alternation between tana-n 'his/her father' with tene-n in the following example:

```
tene-n nat-ne
father-3sG son-3sg
'the father of her son (i.e. her husband)'
```

It should also be noted that the possessor in such constructions is sometimes liable to vowel shift according to patterns that have not yet been established. Thus, navu 'turtle' alternates with niavu, as illustrated by the following:

```
norrul niavu
egg turtle
'turtle's egg'
```

It is not known at this stage if this alternation is restricted only to the noun navu or if there is some kind of a general pattern involved.

### 6.2.2.2.4 Unsuffixed directly possessed nouns

Nouns which enter into the distant inalienable construction also differ from those which enter into the close inalienable construction in that the former can freely appear as unsuffixed nouns in their own right. About half of the noun roots I have recorded have the same shape in both their suffixed and unsuffixed forms, which means that the remaining
half of such nouns exhibit apparently unpredictable changes in the form of the root between their suffixed and unsuffixed forms. We therefore find examples of alternations in roots between suffixed and unsuffixed forms of nouns such as the following:

| Suffixed root | Unsuffixed root |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nem- | naine | 'house' |
| nout- | naute | 'garden' |
| nerr- | niarr | 'fence' |
| nubkhus- | nubukhas | 'pig' |
| nekhm'el- | nakhm'al | 'meeting house' |
| nele- | nale | 'language' |
| nev'enu- | nav'anu | ''home' |
| nenelnga- | nanalnge | 'bed' |
| nul- | nual | 'hole' |

For other nouns of this type, however, the roots are the same for both their suffixed and unsuffixed forms. For example:

| Suffixed root | Unsuffixed root |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nuak- | nuak | 'canoe' |
| nanngas- | nanngas | 'urine' |
| nejal- | nejal | 'sleeping mat' |
| natang- | natang | 'basket' |
| nanaj- | nanaj | 'fish' |
| nabas- | nabas | 'penis wrapper' |
| navas- | navas | 'sore' |
| nesuv- | nesuv | 'breath' |
| nukhuskhus- | nukhuskhus | 'sweat' |
| lulu- | lulu | 'vomit' |

Nouns which enter into the close inalienable relationship differ in that only a handful of such nouns are attested as having corresponding unsuffixed forms. While we do find the following handful of examples, most such nouns are attested only with pronominal suffixes:

| Suffixed root | Unsuffixed root |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nerre- | narre | 'blood' |
| naj- | naji | 'excrement' |
| nevilias- | nevilias | 'beard' |
| nengsa- | nangse | 'name' |
| nolovo- | nalve | 'tooth' |
| nesus- | nasus | 'breast' |
| norrokho- | norrokha | 'leaf' |

It will be noted once again that there are usually unpredictable changes in the vowels between the suffixed and unsuffixed roots.

Note also that there are semantically equivalent forms nuvu- and novo-, both meaning 'fruit'. The form nuvu-, however, participates in the close inalienable possessive construction, while novo- participates in the distant inalienable construction, with no obvious difference in meaning associated with the use of the two different constructions. Thus:

| nuvu nakha | novo-an |
| :--- | :--- |
| fruit tree | fruit-3sG |
| 'fruit of the tree' | 'its fruit' |

### 6.2.3 Noun phrase modifiers

Nese nouns can be associated with a number of different postmodifiers within the noun phrase, but there do not seem to be any premodifiers.

Number with nouns is not morphologically marked, except for a handful of nouns with human reference which exhibit idiosyncratic differences between singular and plural forms. The following have been attested as behaving in this way:

| Singular | Plural |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nemerrte | nemerre | 'man, men' |
| jiblakh | terrjiblakh | 'child, children' |

For all other nouns, however, we might expect that the difference between singular and plural is marked by means of a modifier within the noun phrase, though the corpus as yet provides no examples of this pattern.

One well-established category of postmodifiers is that of numerals. The basic set of numerals in Nese is as follows:

1 sakhal
2 rru
3 til
4 v’at
5 line
6 khon
7 khodit
8 khoal
9 khesve
10 sangav'il
These forms differ in a couple of respects from the basic numerals of most of the documented nearby languages. Firstly, there is no evidence of any third person singular realis subject prefix having been reanalysed vestigially as part of the root of the numerals $2-5$ as is the case in many Vanuatu languages. Instead, the numerals of Nese directly reflect just the reconstructible Proto Oceanic numeral roots. Secondly, the numerals 7-9 appear not to be historically derivable from any kind of combination of forms for $5+2$,
$5+3$ and $5+4$ respectively. Instead, they are not historically analysable at all, apart from the common initial segment $k h$-, about whose origin I offer no suggestion at this stage. ${ }^{9}$

Derived from these basic numerals by means of the multiplicative prefix vakha- are adverbial forms such as vakha-rru 'twice' and vakha-til 'three times'.

The numerals 11-19 are derived by placing rram (rrom before Co-) between sangav'il 'ten' and the numerals 1-9. It should be noted that the forms rram/rrom appear to perform no independent function in the language. The numerals 1 and $6-9$ directly follow the sequence sangav'il rram/rrom, while the numerals $2-5$ accept the prefix $a$ - (which also has no other known function in the language). It should be noted further that the form line ' 5 ' loses the vowel of the initial syllable to become -Ine when this prefix is added. ${ }^{10} \mathrm{We}$ therefore encounter the following forms:

| 11 | sangav'il rram sakhal |
| :--- | :--- |
| 12 | sangav'il rram arru |
| 13 | sangav'il rram atil |
| 14 | sangav'il rram av'at |
| 15 | sangav'il rram alne |
| 16 | sangav'il rrom khon |
| 17 | sangav'il rrom khodit |
| 18 | sangav'il rrom kohal |
| 19 | sangav'il rram khesve |

Units of ten from 20 and above are derived on the basis of the form ngovul- with the appropriate basic numeral compounded with this; thus ngovul-rru ' 20 '. However, the forms used for other higher numerals have yet to be established. It has also not yet been established how the various intermediate numerals are expressed.

These numerals can be used as postmodifiers within a noun phrase. For example:

```
nubukhas tamav sakhal
boar castrated one
'one castrated boar'
```

Also functioning as postmodifiers within the noun phrase are forms which belong to the apparently restricted set of adjectives. For example:
nomum saburr
spirit holy
‘holy spirit’
Intransitive verbs can also be used without any kind of morphological marking as postmodifiers within a noun phrase. For example:
nuak nakis
canoe good
'good canoe'

[^13]Finally, we encounter the demonstratives nge and khe 'this, that' as postmodifiers within the noun phrase. For example:

```
tavu khe
conch that
'that conch'
naskhe nge
kingfisher that
'that kingfisher’
```

A final type of nominal modifier which can be discussed at this point is the relative clause. Such clauses are introduced by the relativiser nge, which coincides in shape with one of the demonstrative forms just described. We therefore find examples in my corpus such as the following, which indicate that noun phrases from the subject position, object position and prepositional object position can be relativised:
Nemerrte nge ti-rroj ti-naturr.
man $\quad$ REL 3 3s:REAL-sick
3sG:REAL-sleep
'The man who is sick is sleeping.'

| Nemerrte | nge | ne-les | benanev | Ø-naturr. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | REL | 1sG:REAL-see | yesterday | 3sG:REAL-sleep |
| 'The man who I saw yesterday is sleeping.' |  |  |  |  |


| Nemerrte | nge | no-vul | norrean rran | ti-naturr. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | REL | 1sG:REAL-buy | food | SOURCE | 3SG:REAL-sleep

### 6.3 Verbs

Verb roots in some of the languages of central Vanuatu exhibit alternations in the forms of their roots which typically reflect a historical alternation between oral and nasal grade, with the alternation being closely associated with a distinction between realis and irrealis inflectional categories. With a few exceptions, the languages of Malakula generally do not seem to have developed this kind of alternation, and Nese also does not reflect any kind of historical oral-nasal grade distinction in association with its inflectional verb morphology.

### 6.3.1 Verbal prefixes

Verbs in Nese are inflected by prefixation for the pronominal category of the subject, marking a three-way distinction for person, as well as the difference between inclusive and exclusive in the first person. While the independent pronouns express a four-way number distinction between singular, dual, trial and plural, verbs inflect only according to a basic singular-plural distinction. The subject categories combine with what appears to be a basic distinction between realis and irrealis mood to give two paradigms of inflectional prefixes.

The realis prefixes (corresponding to the present and past tenses) for the various subject categories are as follows:

| Singular |  |  | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | ne- | Incl. | rri- |
|  |  | Excl. | brri- |
| 2 | kho- |  | kirr- |
| 3 | $\varnothing-$ |  | rri- |

The second person plural form kirr- appears as ki- before a verb beginning with $r$ or $r$. Contrast, therefore, the following:

| kirr-yat | ki-rij |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2pL:REAL-stay | 2PL:REAL-speak |
| 'you (pl.) stayed' | 'you (pl.) spoke' |

All verbal prefixes ending in $e$ have been attested as alternating optionally with $o$ when the first vowel of the root is one of the rounded vowels, and also when the initial consonant of the root is $w$ regardless of the nature of the following vowel (§5.5). This therefore affects the first person singular prefix ne-, which can alternate with no- as follows:

| ne-yat | ne-rij |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1SG:REAL-sit | 1SG:REAL-speak |
| 'I sit' | 'I speak' |
| no-vul | no-rrong |
| 1SG:REAL-buy | 1SG:REAL-feel |
| 'I bought' | 'I feel' |

While verbs generally have zero-prefixation for the category of third person singular in the realis, they are sometimes attested instead with the prefix kha-. At this stage, the meaning that is associated with this difference is not known. The first set of examples below contain a verb which carries zero-inflection:

Khai $\varnothing$-yat rre nuak.
3sG 3sG:REAL-sit LOC canoe
'(S)he sat on the canoe.'
Khai Ø-yas rre naon.
3sG 3sG:REAL-walk LOC beach
'(S)he walked on the beach.'
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Khai } & \varnothing \text {-sobsob } & \text { kharr } & \text { bubu } & \text { sak. } \\ \text { 3sG } & \text { 3sG:REAL-tell.story } & \text { ACC } & \text { grandparent } & \text { pOSs:1sG }\end{array}$
'(S)he is telling stories with my grandparent.'
Khai Ø-rrekhej nokhnaine.
3sG 3sG:REAL-open door
'(S)he opened the door.'

The following illustrates the use of kha-:

| Khise kha-verr | netenge khe min-okh? |
| :--- | :--- |
| who 3sG:REAL-tell |  |
| 'Who told you that?' |  |

In addition, there is a widely attested prefix of the shape $t i$ - (which appears as $t u$ - before a root whose first vowel is $u$ ). This is most commonly attested in association with a subject that is clearly third person singular. How this differs in function from verbs carrying $\varnothing$ - and kha- marking has again not yet been established. We therefore find examples such as the following:

Khai ti-naturr lalaine.
3sG 3sG:REAL-sleep inside
'(S)he is sleeping inside.'
Ti-kholkhol.
3sG:REAL-sweet
'It is sweet.'
Ti-rrakharrakh.
3sG:REAL-shake
'It is shaking.'
Ti-khakhon.
3sG:REAL-bitter
'It is bitter.'
Noluvo-k tu-rrurrngorr.
tooth-1sG 3sG:REAL-sore
'My tooth is sore.'
However, this form has also been attested with third person plural subjects. For example:
Kharr tu-sul naine.
3pl 3pl:REAL-burn house
'They burnt the house.'

Finally, a single example has been recorded in which a prefix of this shape appears in conjunction with one of the subject prefixes, rather than as part of the same inflectional set as the realis subject prefixes:

Rri-ti-sul.
3pl:REAL-?-burn
'They burnt it.'
In this example, the prefix ti- may be performing a different function. One possibility is that this may actually be a past tense or completive aspect marker which occupies a morphotactic slot between the subject marker and the verb, similar to what we find for tein Tape.

The irrealis is expressed by means of the prefix $j e$-, which appears between the realis markers just described and the verb root. The first person singular form is irregular in that the marker is the portmanteau form de- (in alternation with je-) rather than a sequence of realis $n e-+j e-$. The consonant $j$ of this set of prefixes alternates freely between $j$ and $s$ throughout the paradigm. We therefore find the following forms in the irrealis:

|  | Singular |  | Plural |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | de- $\sim j e-\sim s e-{ }^{11}$ | Incl. | rrije $\sim$ rrise- |
|  |  | Excl. | brrije $-\sim$ brise- |
| 2 | khoje $-\sim$ khose- |  | kirrje $-\sim$ kirrse- |
| 3 | $j e-\sim s e-$ |  | rrije $\sim$ rrise- |

Note that final $e$ of these prefixes also optionally alternates with $o$ under the same conditions noted above for ne- in the realis paradigm (§5.5). Thus:

| je-ma | jo-kol-o |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1SG:IRR-come | 1SG:IRR-carry.on.shoulder-3sG |
| 'I will come' | 'I will carry it on my shoulder' |
| khoso-num | jo-wak |
| 2sG:IRR-drink | 1sG:IRR-plant.yam |
| 'you will drink' | 'I will plant (the yam)' |

The singular imperative is expressed by means of an uninflected verb root, with the independent second person singular pronoun khunokh optionally present. For example:
(Khunokh) Ø-rij!
2sG 2sG:IMP-speak
'Speak!’
Ø-Woj rais!
2sG:IMP-eat rice
‘Eat the rice!’
Ø-Num nua.
2sG:IMP-drink water
'Drink the water.'
Ø-B'el neviri!
2sG:IMP-chase dog
‘Chase the dog!'
There is no indication in my corpus as to how non-singular imperatives are expressed.
The prohibitive is expressed by means of a preposed prohibitive marker in conjunction with a verb that carries second person realis subject marking. The singular prohibitive marker has been recorded as khota while the corresponding plural form is khoto. ${ }^{12}$ Thus:

```
Khota kho-rij!
PROHIB:SG 2sG:REAL-speak
'Don't you (sg.) speak!'
```

[^14]```
Khoto ki-rij!
PROHIB:PL 2PL:REAL-speak
'Don’t you (pl.) speak!'
```

Negation is expressed discontinuously in Nese, a pattern which is widely distributed in the languages of central Vanuatu, including a number of languages in central and northern Malakula, such as Naman and Neve'ei. It should be noted, however, that in this respect Nese represents a point of contrast with V'ënen Taut and Tape, where negation is expressed solely by means of a verbal prefix. Negation in Nese is expressed by means of a combination of the prefixed element se-which appears between the subject-mood marker and the verb and the suffixed element -te. We therefore encounter examples such as the following:

| ne-se-rij-te | de-se-rij-te |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1SG:REAL-NEG-talk-NEG | 1sG:FUT-NEG-speak-NEG |
| 'I did not speak' | 'I will not speak' |

There is evidence in my corpus for a second prefixed element expressing the negative, and that is be- (which appears optionally as bo- under conditions described above). Thus:

| rrise-be-yat-te | ne-be-swo-te |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1PL.INCL:IMM.FUT-NEG-stay-NEG | 1sG:REAL-NEG-bathe-NEG |
| 'we will not stay' | 'I have not bathed' |
| no-bo-rrong usong-te |  |
| 1SG:REAL-NEG-feel able-NEG |  |
| 'I do not know' |  |

At this stage of investigation, the difference (if any) between negation marked as se- ... -te and that marked as be- ... -te is not known. My corpus even provides a number of examples in which both of these prefixed elements appear in sequence, with se- occurring before be-. Thus:
$\varnothing$-se-be-rrov-te
3sG:REAL-NEG-NEG-heavy-NEG
'it is not heavy'
The meaning that is expressed with this sequence of prefixes is not known at this stage. Tripartite negative marking is not unknown in the languages of central Vanuatu (e.g. Lewo), but further investigation in the field is certainly needed here.

With a verb root that contains the vowel $a$, the root vowel has been attested as shifting to $e$ when the negative prefix is added. Note, therefore, the following correspondence:
$\varnothing$-yas
3sG:REAL-walk
'(s)he walked'
$\varnothing$-se-be-yes-te
3sG:REAL-NEG-NEG-walk-NEG
'(s)he did not walk'
This appears to be an optional process, however, as the following example in which $a$ is unaffected by this process of ablaut has also been recorded:

```
ne-se-yat-te
1SG:REAL-NEG-sit-NEG
'I did not sit'
```

Given the prevalence of root ablaut affecting the vowel $a$ in Nese in a wide range of structural environments (§5.4), we might expect this optional shift to be encountered in other inflectional environments, but the data are too limited at this stage to determine if this is the case or not.

### 6.3.2 Verbal suffixes

Pronominal objects with one set of transitive verbs are marked by means of the following verbal suffixes: ${ }^{13}$

| Singular |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 1 | $-i a$ | Incl. | Plural |
|  |  | Excl. |  |
| 2 | $-o k h$ |  |  |
| 3 | $-i$ |  | $-e r r$ |

Verbs which are attested as accepting these suffixes are lom' 'lick', khas 'bite', tov 'call', usus 'ask', rub 'hit, kill' and les 'see'. Such forms are illustrated by the following:

Neviri ti-lom'-ia.
dog 3sG:REAL-lick-1SG
'The dog licked me.'
Nanarr ti-khas-okh.
hunger 3sG:REAL-bite-2sG
'You are hungry.'
Nanarr ti-khas-krre.
hunger 3sG:REAL-bite-1PL.INCL
'We are hungry.'
Nanarr ti-khas-err.
hunger 3sG:REAL-bite-3pL
'They are hungry.'
The root khas 'bite' alternates with khes when the object suffix begins with the vowel $i$ (§5.4). Thus:

| Ø-khas-okh | Ø-khas-err |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2sG:REAL-bite-2sG | 3sG:REAL-bite-3pL |
| 'it bit you' | 'it bit them' |

[^15]Ø-khes-i
3SG:REAL-bite-3SG
'it bit him/her'

## Ø-khes-ia

3SG:REAL-bite-1SG
'it bit me'

We also find evidence of the same kind of shift when a verb root which contains only the vowel $a$ is unsuffixed but there is a following nominal object. For example:

Ø-V'an-v'anakh.
3sG:REAL-REDUP-steal
'(S)he stole.'
Khai Ø-v’enekh nav’at.
3SG 3SG:REAL-steal money
'(S)he stole the money.'
There may well be a second paradigm of object suffixes. To date, I have identified the following:

| Singular |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 1 |  | Incl. | Plural |
|  |  | Excl. |  |
| 2 |  |  |  |
| 3 | $-V$ |  |  |

While there are substantial gaps in this paradigm which need to be filled, the major difference with these suffixes is that instead of invariant $-i$ in the third person singular, this category of objects is expressed instead by means of a vowel which harmonises with the vowel of the verb root. With roots containing the vowel $a$, however, the harmonising vowel is $e$ rather than $a$. Verbs which have been attested as carrying this suffix are listed below:

| Root | 3sG OBJECT |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jem | jem-e | 'chew' |
| kel | kel-e | 'answer' |
| b'el | b'el-e | 'chase' |
| bat | bat-e | 'do, make' |
| kol | kol-o | 'carry on shoulder' |
| khorr | khorr-o | 'block' |
| rong | rong-o | 'hear' |
| suv | suv-u | 'blow' |
| sul | sul-u | 'burn' |
| num | num-u | 'drink' |
| lum | lum-u | 'bend' |

We therefore need to set up two arbitrary sets of transitive verbs in Nese according to the nature of the object marking, though this needs to be checked further in the field as a wider range of verbs are recorded with third person singular pronominal objects.

Note also that the first person plural inclusive object appears to be -rre with such verbs, rather than -krre as we find with the set of verbs mentioned first, as illustrated below.

```
Nalang Ø-suv-rre.
wind 3sG:REAL-blow-1PL.INCL
'The wind blew us.'
```

In contrast to verbs which belong to the first set, a third person plural object is not marked by means of the suffix -err, but is marked instead by means of the following free-form pronoun. For example: ${ }^{14}$

| Nalang | $\varnothing$-suv | kharr. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wind | 3sG:REAL-blow | 3pL |

The verb bat also shows evidence of alternation with bet when there is a following noun object (§5.4). For example:
De-bat-e severrse?
1sG:FUT-do-3sG how
'How will I do it?'
Kho-bet netenge neten nese?
2sG:REAL-do thing CAUSE what
'Why did you do that thing?'

However, the data in my corpus is at this stage still rather less tidy than has been suggested above. For one thing, I find alternations such as the following which are not accounted for by what has already been said:

```
Ø-Yav'-i.
3sG:REAL-pull-3sg
'(S)he pulled it.'
Ø-Yev’ nesuv-an.
3sG:REAL-pull breath-3sG
'(S)he breathed.'
```

The appearance of $\varnothing$-yav'-i '(s)he pulled it' rather than $\varnothing$-yev'-i (and the verbs jal-/jel'tie' and varr-/verr- are attested as behaving in exactly the same way) may be an indication that these ablaut alternations are simply a preferred option-as already noted elsewhererather than categorical facts of the language, though this needs to be checked in the field.

With regard to the suffixed element -te of the negative simulfix, it should be pointed out that this suffix appears after a verbal object suffix if one is present. For example:

```
ne-be-les-okh-te
1sG:REAL-NEG-see-2SG-NEG
'I did not see you'
```

However, further checking is required to verify that this is the same for all categories of object. In particular, it remains to be seen how the negative marker interacts with third person singular object marking.

When the suffixed element -te is added to a verb root that ends in $n$, the sequence of $n t$ is resolved over the morpheme boundary as $d$. For example:

[^16]```
\varnothing-mon
3sG:REAL-sharp
'it is sharp'
Ø-se-be-mon-te ( > sebemode)
3sG:REAL-NEG-NEG-sharp-NEG
'it is not sharp'
```


### 6.3.3 Verbal complexes

As far as postmodifiers to the verb are concerned, there is a completive marker din, which appears after the verb in examples such as the following:

```
ne-rij din
1SG:REAL-speak-NEG COMPL
'I have spoken'
```

This form is not used in association with a verb that carries negative marking, where worr is used instead. Thus:
ne-se-rij-te worr
1SG:REAL-NEG-peak $\quad$ COMPL
'I have not yet spoken'

Also under the heading of verbal postmodifiers, we encounter the form $j e$ which functions as an intensifier meaning 'very' or 'too (much)' in association with stative verbs. For example:

| Nav'anu | $\varnothing$-khavkhav je | neten | nial. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| place | 3sG:REAL-hot INTENSE | CAUSE | sun |
| 'It is very hot because of the sun.' |  |  |  |

With such a limited amount of textual data, it is not possible to say a great deal about the patterns of nuclear-layer serial verb constructions in Nese. However, there is clear evidence for the existence of VERB + VERB sequences in which the initial verb receives the subject marking and the second verb receives the inflectional object marking. For example:

Ø-Verr khorr-o.
3sG:REAL-say block-3sG
'(S)he prohibited it.'

### 6.4 Syntax

### 6.4.1 Simple declarative clauses

The basic constituent order in declarative verbal clauses in Nese is SVO, as illustrated by the following:

Naskhe $\quad$-jubul latan.
kingfisher 3sG:REAL-jump down
'The kingfisher jumped down.'

| Naskhe $\quad$ Ø-mot | tavu. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kingfisher | 3sG:REAL-peck conch |
| 'The kingfisher pecked the conch shell.' |  |

The same applies with pronominal subjects and objects. For example:
Kharr rri-b'el nemerrte.
3pl 3pl:Real-chase man
'They chased the man.'
Nalang $\varnothing$-suv kharr.
wind 3sG:ReAL-blow 3pL
'The wind blew them.'
However, pronominal subjects are obligatorily cross-referenced as prefixes on the verb, and it is only when contrast is being expressed that a pronominal subject will be overtly marked in the preverbal subject position. Pronominal objects are also usually marked by means of suffixes rather than free forms, so it is quite common for a basic declarative clause to consist minimally of just an inflected verb. For example:

Ne-les-okh.
1SG:REAL-See-2SG
'I saw you.'
Prepositions mark a range of functions for non-core noun phrases in the clause. Prepositions fall into two basic types in Nese: those which are morphologically invariant, and those which accept pronominal suffixation, the latter being attested with same suffixes that are found on transitive verbs expressing verbal objects. ${ }^{15}$ Those prepositions which have been attested in Nese, along with the functions that they express, are set out below.
(i) Rre 'locative/instrumental'. The unsuffixed preposition rre expresses the locative, as in the following:

Khai Ø-yas rre naon.
3sG 3sg:ReAL-walk Loc beach
'(S)he is walking on the beach.'
Khai Ø-yat rre nuak.
3sg 3sg:ReAL-sit Loc canoe
'(S)he is sitting on the canoe.'
Ne-ma lalaine ne-be-les-okh-te rre nem-am. 1sG:ReAL-come inside 1sG:ReAL-NEG-see-2sG-NEG LOC house-2sG 'I came inside but I did not see you in your house.'

It also expresses the instrumental function. For example:
De-side rre nese?
1sG:IRR-cut INST what
'What will I cut it with?'

[^17](ii) Je 'cause'. The form $j e$ is an unsuffixed preposition which has been attested as expressing the causal function. For example:

| Nav’anu | Ø-khavkhav je | netenial. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| place | 3sG:REAL-hot CAUSE | sun |
| 'It is hot because of the sun.' |  |  |

(iii) Rran 'source'. The unsuffixed form rran has been attested with the function of source. For example:

| Nemerrte | nge no-vul | norrean ran | ti-naturr. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | REL 1 SG:REAL-buy food | SOURCE | 3SG:REAL-sleep |
| 'The man who I bought the food from is sleeping.' |  |  |  |

(iv) Rrangan 'locative'. The unsuffixed form rrangan expresses the locative function. For example:

| Nemerrte nge ti-naturr rangan naine. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man that 3sG:REAL-sleep LOC | house |
| 'The man is sleeping in the house.' |  |

It is not known at this stage how the forms rre and rrangan differ in their range of functions, though they clearly overlap with respect to the expression of the locative.
(v) Neten 'cause'. This is a preposition which is frequently attested as expressing cause. It is not known how this form differs in its range of functions from $j e$, which was also listed above as expressing the causal function. We therefore find examples such as the following:

```
Jiblakh Ø-ngarr neten namul.
child 3sG:REAL-cry CAUSE orange
'The child is crying because of the orange.'
Khai Ø-rroj neten namkho.
3sG 3sG:REAL-sick CAUSE mosquito
'(S)he is sick because of the mosquitoes.'
Nem-an \(\quad\)-jov neten neleng rrub.
house-3sG 3sG:REAL-fall CAUSE wind hit 'His/her house fell down because of the cyclone.'
```

(vi) Rron- 'accompanitive'. The accompanitive preposition rron- is attested with the first person singular suffix -ia and the second person singular suffix -okh, which are the same forms that we find with transitive verbs. We therefore find examples such as the following:

Khai $\varnothing$-yat rron-ia.
3sG 3sG:REAL-sit ACC-1sG
'(S)he sat with me.'
With other pronominal categories, however, pronominal objects are attested instead as free forms. For example:

| Khai | $\varnothing$-yat | rron | khini. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3sG | 3sG:REAL-sit | ACC | 3sG |

'(S)he sat with him/her.'

| Khai | $\varnothing$-yat | rron | nekrre |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3sG | 3sG:REAL-sit | ACC | 1PL.INCL |
| '(S)he sat with us.' |  |  |  |

It is not known at this stage if this preposition has inflected forms only in the first and second person singular, or if both this preposition and verbs allow for both suffixed and free pronominal objects with these pronominal categories. ${ }^{16}$
(vii) Min- 'dative’. A dative noun phrase is marked by means of the inflected preposition min-. The full paradigm has not yet been established, but the first person form has been recorded as mina rather than expected *minia. We therefore find the following forms:

| 1SG | min-a |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2SG | min-okh |
| 3SG | min-i |

The following examples illustrate the use of this preposition in sentences:
Khai Ø-krro nua min-a.
3sG 3sG:ReAL-give water DAT-1SG
'(S)he gave water to me.'

| Kharr ri-b'el | nemerrte | nge | ne-sobsob | min-i. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3pl | 3pL:REAL-chase | man | REL | 1SG:REAL-talk | DAT-3SG

In addition to these prepositionally marked arguments within the clause, there is a variety of unmarked locational and temporal markers which can appear in the clause. These include institutionalised place names such as the following:

```
Tavu Ø-yat Lokhorr.
conch 3sG:REAL-stay Lokhorr
'The conch shell stayed at Lokhorr.'
```

Unmarked locational markers other than place names include the following:

| jalin | 'outside' |
| :--- | :--- |
| marro | 'above, on top' |
| lokhsa | 'over there' |
| vitan | 'down, below' |
| lanus | 'to/in the bush' |
| lasale | 'to/at the anchorage' |

The following locational markers are clearly related to nouns with similar forms and meanings by means of either some kind of locational prefix la- or the preposition rre:

[^18]| Noun |  | Locational marker |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| naine | 'house' | lalaine | 'inside' |
| nakhm'al | 'meeting house' | lakhm'al | 'to/in the meeting house' |
| nasal | 'road' | lasal | 'on the road' |
| natan | 'ground' | latan | 'down, below' |
| natas | 'sea' | latas | 'to/in the sea' |
| nenelnga- | 'bed' | rrenelnga- | 'on the bed' |

Some of these forms can be used in association with a following locative preposition to indicate a spatial relationship with a following noun phrase. For example:

Khai Ø-yat jalin rre naine.
3sG 3sG:REAL-stay outside LOC house
'(S)he stayed outside the house.'
Ø-Vite kele marrorrangan.
3sG:REAL-put back aboveloc
'(S)he put it back on top of it.'
Temporal markers that have been attested in Nese include the following:

| morruniekhe | 'today' |
| :--- | :--- |
| nev'khe | 'tomorrow' |
| benanev | 'yesterday' |
| tovon | 'now' |
| tua, amu | 'before' |
| tuorrongrrong | 'long time before' |
| yatakhma | 'afterwards' |
| kisekh | 'always' |
| rrevrrav | 'late afternoon' |

In addition, there is a series of forms derived from the numerals 2-4 expressing days both before and after the present:

| bentarru |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| benetil | 'two days ago, the day before yesterday' |
| benev'at | 'three days ago' |
| benalne | 'four days ago' |
| tarru | 'five days ago' |
| tatil | 'two days hence, the day after tomorrow' |
| tav'at | 'three days hence' |
| talne | 'four days hence' |

### 6.4.2 Interrogative clauses

Interrogative constructions have not yet been investigated in detail. However, the following have been attested as expressing a variety of content questions:
(i) Khise 'who?’, for example:

Khise kha-verr netenge khe min-okh?
who 3sG:REAL-tell thing that DAT-2SG
'Who told you that?'
De-ma ron khise?
1SG:IRR-come ACC who
'Who will I come with?'
(ii) Khade 'where?', for example:

Kho-naturr khade?
2SG:REAL-sleep where
'Where do you sleep/live?'
(iii) Vise ‘how much?, how many?’, for example:

Naus vise jo-kol-o?
pawpaw how.many 1sG:IRR-carry.on.shoulder-3sG
'How many pawpaws will I carry on my shoulder?'
(iv) Tasve 'when?', for example:

Je-ma tasve?
1SG:IRR-come when
'When will I come?'
(v) Severrse ‘how?’, for example:

De-bat-e severrse?
1sG:IRR-do-3sG how
'How will I do it?'
It should be noted that there is no evidence for third person singular realis marking on severrse in this example, which suggests that this form differs from many other languages in which this interrogative is often expressed as an intransitive verb.
(vi) Nese ‘what?’, for example:

De-side rre nese?
1SG:IRR-cut INST what
'What will I cut it with?'
Kho-varri nese kele?
2sG:REAL-say what again
'What did you say again?'
(vii) Neten nese 'why? (lit. because of what?)', for example:

Kho-bet netenge neten nese?
2sG:REAL-do thing CAUSE what
'What did you do that?'

### 6.4.3 Complex sentences

There remains a substantial amount of information to be gathered on the formation of complex sentences in Nese. However, a number of observations can be made at this stage.

Clausal coordination is expressed by means of the conjunction ti. There is evidence that where the verbs of the first and second clauses share the same subjects, the subject markers on the second verb can be replaced by the echo subject marker ko-, as in the following:

Khai ti-v'an lalaine ti ko-long nakhab'.
3sG 3sG:Real-go inside and es-light fire
'(S)he went inside and lit the fire.'
A disjunctive relationship between clauses, however, is marked by deve 'or'. For example:
Khoso-num nua deve khoso-num nani?
2sG:IRR-drink water or 2sG:IRR-drink coconut
'Will you drink water or will you drink coconut?'

There is an all-purpose subordinator of the form te which appears in a variety of subordinate clause constructions. It can appear on its own to introduce a complement clause, as in the following:

| No-rrong | te | de-rij. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1sG:REAL-want | SUB | 1SG:IRR-talk |
| 'I want to talk.' |  |  |

No-rrong usong te de-sukhaskho.
1SG:IRR-know SUB 1SG:IRR-sing
'I can sing.'
The subordinator te can also be used in conjunction with a number of other markers of subordination. We therefore find reason clauses expressed as neten te (where neten is a causal preposition). For example:

Ne-sul naute neten te jo-wak narram.
1sG:REAL-burn garden because sUB 1sG:FUT-plant yam
'I burnt off the garden because I am going to plant yams.'
Time clauses can be marked by means of nerren te (where nerren is a noun meaning 'time’). For example:

Khai ti-naturr nerren te ne-tov-i.
3sG 3sG:ReAL-sleep time sub 1sG:REAL-call-3sG
'(S)he was sleeping when I called him/her.'
Another subordinator that has been recorded is seve 'if'. For example:
De-yat laine seve kho-varri balak khe.
2sG:FUT-stay inside if 2sG:REAL-say like that
'I will stay inside if you say so.'

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ The name Matanvat is derived from the local name Natanv'at/natanvat/ 'stony ground'. The same place is sometimes referred to locally as Metenvet (see $\S 5.4$ for a discussion of the alternation between $a$ and $e$ in Nese). Published sources have sometimes also used the name Matanavat.
    ${ }^{2}$ The estimate of 475 speakers of the Vovo language in Lynch and Crowley (2001:82) was probably overly generous.

[^1]:    Such a situation is not uncommon in other parts of Malakula.
    4 This pattern of 'dual-lingualism’ is also fairly common in different parts of Melanesia.

[^2]:    5 Unfortunately, the Vanuatu Cultural Centre has no record of this person or of any recordings which he might have made - JL

[^3]:    1 A form nevilakh was also listed, with no cross-referencing. I assume one was an error, and regular phonological developments would suggest that nev'ilakh is the correct form - JL

[^4]:    1 It should be remembered, however, that all of the immediately neighbouring languages are poorly recorded phonetically, so more accurate information may reveal the presence of this contrast in other languages.
    2 While there is a phonetic [p], it will be shown below that this is simply a word-final allophone of $/ \mathrm{v} /$.

[^5]:    3 Patterns of morphosyntactically conditioned vowel ablaut are also a feature of V'ënen Taut (Fox 1979:13-19).

[^6]:    1 Given the fact that the dual and trial markers are identical to the corresponding numerals, there was a question in the author's mind as to whether the forms listed in the dual and trial columns were genuine dual and trial pronouns or simply non-singular pronouns followed by a numeral. As far as this description is concerned, they will be treated as genuine pronouns - JL

[^7]:    2 Note the retention of the vowel $u$ in the first syllable of the compounded root, in contrast to its loss in the possessive form nubkhus-.
    3 Note that the vowel of the prefixed element of the nominalising simulfix varies with no- according to the conditions set out in $\S 5.5$. However, in the nominalisation of tukhutukhun we find ne- rather than expected no-.

[^8]:    4 Whatever semantic distinction may ultimately be attributed to the difference between the two paradigms of possessive markers referred to above, it appears that these kinds of meanings are not involved.

[^9]:    5 The symbol ë here is used to represent schwa.

[^10]:    6 On the basis of the table in the next section, it seems likely that there is a complete paradigm, and distinctly possible that the forms would be the same as in that table except that they would be preceded by a. However, we can not be absolutely certain of this - JL

[^11]:    7 It occurred to me that these three forms all end in rising diphthongs, and that if the high vowels were realised in this environment as semivowels, then these forms could be considered to follow the regular pattern for consonant-final roots. However, given the lack of data in the non-singular, it is difficult to decide if this is correct - JL

[^12]:    8 The unexpected appearance of nat-um here rather than nat-me is noted further below.

[^13]:    9 Indeed, it appears that the numerals 6-9 derive from the Proto Oceanic monomorphemic morphemes with a prefix $\mathrm{kh}(\mathrm{V})-$, which may be related to the infrequently occurring 3sG realis verbal prefix kha(see §6.3.1). The reconstructed forms are *onom ' 6 ', *pitu ' 7 ', *walu ' 8 ’ and *siwa ' 9 ' - JL
    10 We find the same vowel loss in the derivation of the adverbials benalne 'five days ago' and talne 'five days' hence' (\$6.4.1)

[^14]:    11 My notes contain a suggestion that de- on the one hand and je- ~ se- on the other may actually belong to two different paradigms, the former possibly being a general future with the latter representing the immediate future. Further checking is needed to see if there are indeed two separate paradigms involved here.
    These preposed forms are attested also in Khota kh-bo-mo-ia vusokhte 'You cannot peck me', for which a complete analysis cannot yet be offered.

[^15]:    ${ }^{13}$ It is not yet known if the absence of forms in the first person plural exclusive and the second person plural is an indication that these categories of object are expressed instead by means of independent pronouns, as is not uncommon in many Oceanic languages, or if there are object suffixes which have simply not yet been attested.

[^16]:    14 Alternatively, further checking may reveal that an alternation between suffixed and free-form objects is a general feature for all transitive verbs.

[^17]:    15 However, some of the seemingly invariant prepositions end in -n which may turn out after further investigation to represent part of a paradigm which these forms share with directly possessed nouns.

[^18]:    16 Note also the following example:
    Khai Ø-sobsob kharr bubu sak.
    3sG 3sG:REAL-tell.story ACC grandparent pOSS:1sG
    '(S)he is telling stories with my grandparent.'
    The form kharr here may be an additional accompanitive preposition. Alternatively, however, it may represent a particular use of the third person dual pronoun kharru (which may have been misrecorded as kharr).

