SOUTH-WEST TANNA GRAMMAR OUTLINE AND VOCABULARY
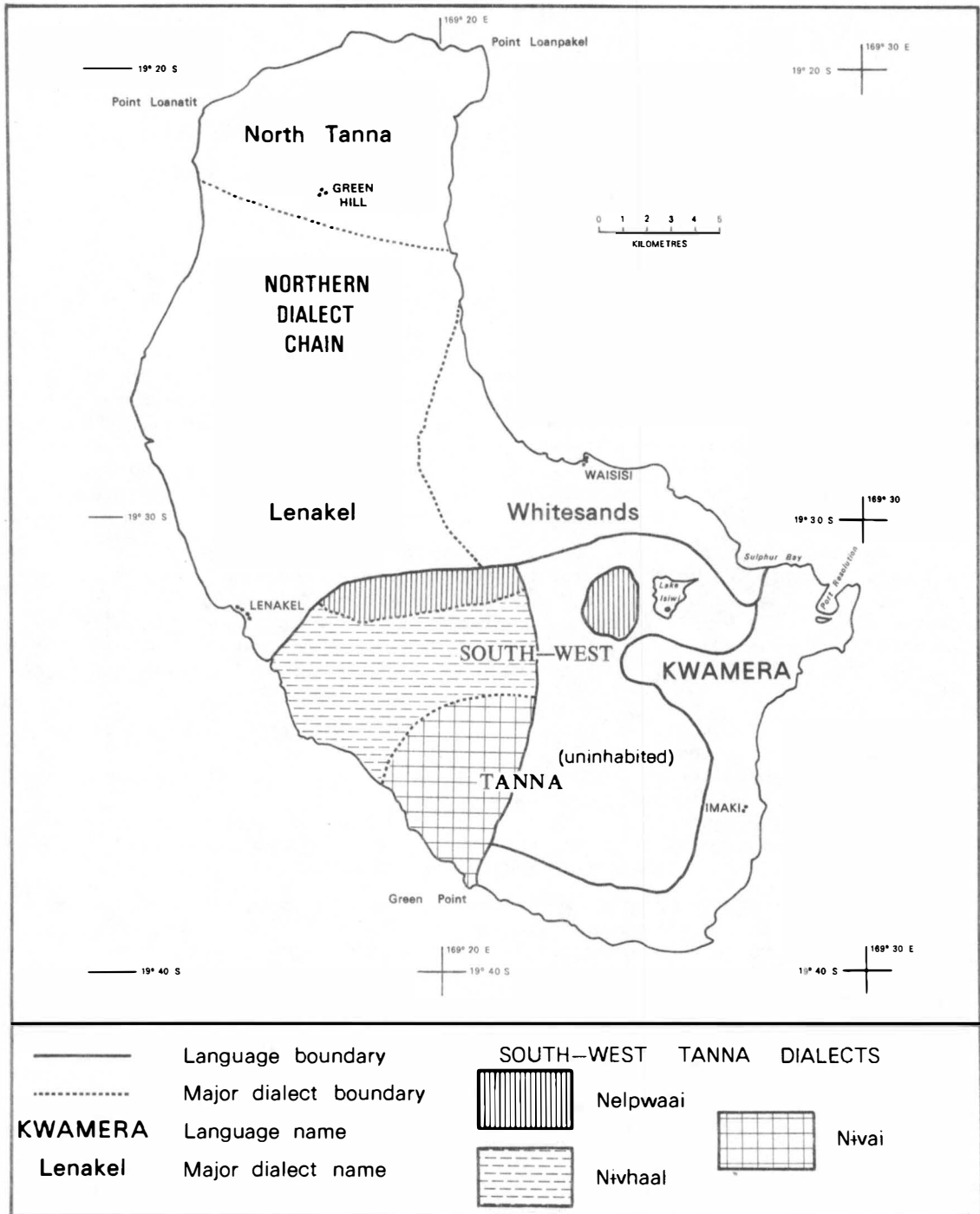
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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Location

The South-west Tanna language is spoken by about 1600 people (Tryon 1978:882) in the south-central and south-western region of Tanna, the second most southerly of the islands of Vanuatu. Virtually no published information is available on the language, apart from the numerals 'one' to 'five' in the Numerat, Nerokwang, and Ra'na 'dialects' of Tanna (Ray 1926:141), which bear some resemblance to South-west Tanna, and brief sets of mainly lexical data presented in works dealing with the genetic classification of the languages of the region (Tryon 1976, Lynch 1978a; see also Lynch 1974, which section 6 below supersedes).

The language referred to here as 'the South-west Tanna language' is not perceived as such by the people of Tanna, who recognise three named major dialects. However, from a linguist's point of view these three named speech-traditions are clearly dialects of a single language, and hence the use of the geographically based name for the language as a whole.[1] Although no dialect survey has been attempted, available evidence indicates that the three major dialects are as follows (see Map):

(1) Nɨvhaal, spoken in the north-west of the language-area, and bordering on Lenakel to the north;
(2) Nɨvai, spoken in the south-west of the language-area, and bordering on Kwamera to the south and east; and
(3) Nelpwaai,[2] spoken in the north-east of the language-area where it borders on Whitesands to the north and Kwamera to the south-east, and also in a small pocket immediately to the north of the Nɨvhaal area.

The degree of internal lexical relationship obtaining among the dialects may be gauged from the following (rounded) figures from Tryon (1976). Lapwangtoai represent the eastern Nelpwaai 'pocket' described above; Imreang represents Nelpwaai 'proper'; Ikiyau is in the Nivhaal area; and Enfitana and Ikiti both represent the Nɨvai dialect.

North Tanna

Point Loanpakel

Point Loanatit

GREEN
HILL

NORTHERN
DIALECT
CHAIN

0 1 2 3 4 5
KILOMETRES

Lenakel

Whitesands

WAISISI

LENAKEL

Sulphur Bay

Lake
Isiwi

Port Resolution

SOUTH—WEST

KWAMERA

(uninhabited)

TANNA

IMAKI

Green Point

Language boundary

Major dialect boundary

KWAMERA   Language name

Lenakel   Major dialect name

SOUTH—WEST   TANNA   DIALECTS

Nelpwaai

Nɨvhaal

Nɨvai

Tanna Languages

TABLE I: Cognate percentages among South-west Tanna communalects				
	Imreang	Ikiyau	Enfitana	Ikiti
Lapwangtoai	90	85	81	77
	Imreang	83	80	77
		Ikiyau	80	74
			Enfitana	81

1.2. External relations

South-west Tanna is a member of the Southern Vanuatu (formerly ,South-Hebridean) subgroup of Oceanic, as established by Lynch (1978a). It shows many lexical, phonological, and grammatical similarities with the other Tanna communalects and, to a lesser extent, with the other members of the subgroup, as a perusal of Lynch (1974, 1975, 1977, 1978a, 1978b) will show. Tryon (1976) gives lexicostatistical percentages for the languages of Vanuatu, and some of these may be of interest here. The highest percentage between a South-west Tanna communalect and another Tanna communalect is 68% (Ikiti with Kwamera);[3] the lowest, 48% (Ikiti with North Tanna). Outside Tanna but within the subgroup, the figures cluster around 30%. There are no significantly high lexicostatistical relationships with any other Vanuatu language.

The language has no established orthography, and no written material in South-west Tanna is in existence. However, many South-west Tanna speakers would be familiar with one of the three mission languages Lenakel, Whitesands, or Kwamera. These languages, due to the prestige acquired by being written and being used by the missions, have exerted a certain amount of lexical influence on the South-west Tanna dialects: Kwamera influence is strong in Nɨvai, Lenakel influence in Nɨvhaal, and Whitesands influence in Nelpwaai.

1.3. Data and organisation

The information on which this outline is based was collected sporadically during five periods of research (1970-78) on the neighbouring and closely related Lenakel language.[4] Principal informants were, for Nɨvhaal dialect, Tom Hiua (originally of Iounhanɨn village) and Misak (Imlau village), and for Nɨvai dialect, Natou (Ienuhup village). These are men in their fifties or sixties; however, no significant differences were observed between the speech of these men and other members of the speech-community, apart from the greater tendency among younger speakers to use lexical items from Bislama (Vanuatu Pidgin English).

The Nɨvhaal dialect forms the basis for this study, partly because, of the three dialects, it seems to have both the greatest number of speakers and the greatest prestige, and partly because I have far more information on that dialect than the others. The general grammatical system of the other dialects approximates that of Nɨvhaal; where differences are known to exist, these will be pointed out in the text.

My basic aim is to present in outline form the main features of South-west Tanna grammar. I begin with a discussion of the phonological system of the language and the orthography I have established. The next two sections examine morphology and syntax respectively. Two illustrative texts are given in section 5, while section 6 contains a vocabulary of almost eight hundred items, with an English finder list.

1.4. Abbreviations

The following abbreviations will be used in the presentation of South-west Tanna grammar:

ADJ	adjective	IP	instrumental phrase
AG	agentive prefix	LOC	location marker
AND	same-subject prefix	LP	location phrase
ASSOC	associative suffix	MOD	modifier
BENEF	benefactive marker	N	nominal
BP	benefactive phrase	NM	nominal modifier
CAUS	causative marker	NOM	nominaliser
CONC	concurrent prefix	NP	noun phrase
CONT	continuative prefix	NSG	non-singular
CP	causative phrase	NUM	grammatical number marker
DAT	dative marker	OBJ	object
DEM	demonstrative	PF	perfective prefix
DIR	directional suffix	PL	plural
DIR:E	directional: 'east'	POS	possessive marker
DIR:N	directional: 'north'	POS:DRINK	possessive (to be drunk)
DIR:S	directional: 'south'	POS:EAT	possessive (to be eaten)
DIR:W	directional: 'west'	POS:LOC	possessive (location)
DOWN	directional: 'down'	POS:PLANT	possessive (to be planted)
DP	dative phrase	PP	possessive phrase
DU	dual	PR	previous reference
EX	exclusive	PRO	pronoun
FUT	future prefix	PST	past prefix
GEN	general modifier	QTY	quantifier
IDC	indicated	REC	reciprocal suffix
IN	inclusive	REFL	reflexive suffix
INCH	inchoative prefix	SG	singular
IND	indefinite	SQ	sequential prefix
INST	instrumental marker	TEM	temporal marker
INT	intentional prefix	TP	time phrase

TR	trial	3	third person
TRANS	transitive postclitic	-	morpheme boundary
UP	directional: 'up'	:	separates parts of the same gloss
VM	verbal modifier	*	ungrammatical; reconstruction
VP	verb phrase	*?	probably ungrammatical
WH	interrogative	()	optionality
1	first person	!	imperative sentence
2	second person	/	phrase-boundary

2. PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The following symbols are used to represent the twenty-one South-west Tanna phonemes: a e f g h i ɨ k kw l m mw n o p pw r s t u v. The acute accent (′) is also used (see sections 2.2. and 2.4. below).

2.1. Consonants

The fifteen South-west Tanna consonant phonemes are given in Table II:[5]

TABLE II: Consonant phonemes					
	Velarised Bilabial	Simple Bilabial	Dento-Alveolar	Velar	Labialised Velar
Stops	pw	p	t	k	kw
Fricatives		f	s		
Nasals	mw	m	n	g	
Lateral			l		
Flap			r		
Glides			v	h	

Stops. The five stops are all lenis. They are only fully voiceless word-finally, when they are also lightly aspirated. In other positions they are at least partly voiced, becoming fully voiced intervocalically; e.g.:

(1)   /pwoupwauk/   [b̥ʷɔwbʷɒwkʰ]   *'butterfly'*

       /nɨmwapw/   [n̊ɨ́m̥ʷɒpwʰ]   *'a sore'*

       /pia-katɨɨt/   [bi̥ɑ̀ɡɑḍɨ̀tʰ]   *'girl'*

       /tɨpu-k/   [ḍɨ̥bʊkʰ]   *'my belly'*

       /kɨlkɨlɨp/   [g̊ə̀lgə́lɨpʰ]   *'five'*

/kwotavha/	[g̊ʷɔdɑ̰ɬa]	*'heart'*
/tukwas/	[dʊ́g̊ʷɑs̰]	*'mountain'*
/suatukw/	[s̰wɑ̰́dʊkʷʰ]	*'road'*

Fricatives. The phoneme /f/ is a voiceless bilabial fricative with optional velarisation: [ɸ~ɸʷ]. The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless dental grooved fricative: [s̰].

Nasals. The nasals are all voiced:

(2)	/nenmwan/	[nɛ́nm̊ʷɒn]	*'dew'*
	/mana/	[mɑ́nɑ]	*'bird'*
	/kwanagei/	[g̊ʷanɑ́ŋɛi]	*'story'*

However, when followed by /h/, the nasal undergoes crasis with the /h/, and the combination results in a voiceless nasal. This can be clearly seen in forms where a nasal-final morpheme precedes a morpheme with initial /h/:

(3)	/i-ak-am-hel/	[yagɑ́m̥ɛl]	*'I am blowing'*
	/ni-n-hau/	[nín̥aw]	*'his penis'*
	/l-ɨmn-lelɨg-hie/	[lɨ̀mnɨlɛlɨŋ̥ɛ]	*'where did he return?'*

Accordingly, other cases of phonetic voiceless nasals occuring within a morpheme are treated as nasal + /h/:

(4)	/amwha/	[ɒ́m̥ʷɒ]	*'to suck'*
	/kɨmhau/	[g̊ə́m̥ɑw]	*'star'*
	/nhag-n/	[n̥ɑ́ŋən]	*'his name'*
	/l-mlagh/	[lɨ́mlɑŋ̥]	*'it is alive'*

Liquids. The flap /r/ is found in Nɨvhaal and Nelpwaai only in words borrowed from other languages: /ɨrouapɨg/ *'lightning'* (Lenakel ɨrouaip); /purum/ *'broom'* (Bislama burum). The lateral /l/ is normally voiced, but it becomes voiceless when it undergoes crasis with a following /h/:

(5)	/l-ɨlai/	[lɨ́l̥ɑy]	*'he cut it'*
	/aalh/	[ɑ́l̥]	*'to laugh'*

In the Nɨvai dialect, /l/ is only found in loans; /r/ is the 'native' liquid, corresponding to /l/ in Nɨvhaal; Nɨvai /r/ is a dental flap initially, an alveolar flap medially, and appears to be a lateral fricative finally.

Glides. The glide /v/ is a high central unrounded semivowel [ɨ], which becomes voiceless under the same conditions as the nasals and the liquids (i.e., crasis with following /h/):

(6)	/ɨvkasɨvkas/	[ðɨ̥gɑs̰ɨ̥gɑs̰]	*'to itch'*
	/kavhevhau/	[gɑɨ̥ɛ́ɨ̥aw]	*'hat'*

The glide /h/ is phonetically [h], and is lost in the devoicing environments discussed above.

2.2. Vowels

The six vowel phonemes of South-west Tanna are given in Table III:[6]

TABLE III: Vowel phonemes			
	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ɨ	o
Low		a	

The vowel /a/ is generally low, central, unrounded [ɑ]. However, it is backed and slightly rounded [ɒ] when adjacent to either of the velarised labials /pw/ or /mw/, and fronted [a] when preceded by /v/ or /vh/:

(7)   /kwanakau/   [gʷanɑ́gɑw]   'rib'

         /kapa-m-kapwa/   [gὰbɑmgóbʷɒ]   'your (sg) head'

         /nimwa/   [nímʷɒ]   'house'

         /kwotavha/   [gʷɔdɑ́ṭa]   'heart'

The vowel /ɨ/ is generally mid, central, unrounded [ə], but becomes higher [ɨ] when immediately preceded by a dental or alveolar consonant (i.e. by /t/, /s/, /n/, /l/, /r/ or /v/, or by any of the last four immediately followed by /h/):

(8)   /ɨvɨt/   [ə̭ɨ̭tʰ]   'to wash something'

         /ɨvgɨn/   [ə̭ɨ̭ŋən]   'to eat (intransitive)'

         /nɨsɨn-k/   [nɨ̭s̭ɨ́nɨkʰ]   'my mother'

The vowel /e/ is generally mid, front, unrounded, lax [ɛ]; however, when preceding /kw/ it is pronounced with a marked [w]-off-glide:

(9)   /ɨvtetela-kɨn/   [ə̭ɨ̭dɛdɛlɑ́gən]   'to squeeze'

         /nekw/   [nɛ́ʷkʷʰ]   'yam'

The vowel /o/ is mid, back and rounded. It is tense [o] in open syllables (i.e. before a word-boundary, another vowel, or a single consonant followed by a vowel), and lax [ɔ] in closed syllables (i.e. before two consonants or a word-final consonant or glide):

(10)   /amako/   [ɑmɑ́go]   'to dance (of women)'

         /eno-eno/   [ɛnoɛ́no]   'crazy'

         /okwag/   [ógʷɑŋ]   'to be open'

         /okwlen/   [ɔ́gʷlɛn]   'to call out'

         /ol/   [ɔ́l]   'to make, do'

The vowels /i/ and /u/ are high, front, unrounded, and high, back, rounded, respectively. They are lax [ɪ] and [ʊ] in closed syllables:

(11)   /tɨki-mi-a/   [d̥ɨgímyɑ]   *'your* (pl) *skin'*

        /mwig/   [m̊ʷíŋ]   *'earthquake'*

        /numl-n/   [númlɨn]   *'its fur'*

        /matukw/   [mɑ̃d̥ukʷʰ]   *'right (hand)'*

In open syllables, they are tense [i] and [u]:

(12)   /ni/   [ní]   *'to say'*

        /pwia-k/   [b̥ʷíɑkʰ]   *'my older brother'*

        /nivɨn/   [níɨ̃n]   *'a sail'*

        /ahu/   [ɑ̃hu]   *'to plant'*

        /lua/   [lúɑ]   *'to vomit'*

        /alu-kɨn/   [ɑlúgən]   *'to forget'*

Except in words of the form #C(h)iV(C)# or #C(h)uV(C)# — like /pwia-k/ and /lua/ in (12) above — these vowels normally become glides [y] and [w] when adjacent to another vowel:

(13)   /ɨpwia/   [ə̂b̥ʷyɑ]   *'smooth'*

        /ɨlai/   [ə̂lɑy]   *'to cut'*

        /napua/   [nɑ̃bwɑ]   *'cloud'*

        /nauga/   [nɑ̃wŋɑ]   *'meat, fish'*

These resultant glides undergo crasis with a preceding or following /h/ and become voiceless in this environment:

(14)   /ehiag/   [ɛ̊ẙɑŋ]   *'breathe'*

        /hueihuaa/   [w̥ɛẙwɑ̃]   *'quick'*

When two high vowels occur together, the one adjacent to any other (i.e. non-high) vowel becomes a glide. If there is no other vowel in the environment, then the first of the two becomes a glide:

(15)   /aiu/   [ɑ̃yu]   *'to flow'*

        /iliu/   [ílyu]   *'they* (dual)'

        /iapiuan/   [yɑbíwɑn]   *'river'*

Geminate high vowel clusters do not undergo this rule (see 2.4. below). Exceptions to the rule are marked with an acute accent:

(16)   /nɨsíu/   [nɨs̥íu]   *'lake'*

        /kapa-m-kúa/   [gɑ̃bɑmgúɑ]   *'your* (sg) *anus'*

2.3. Phonotactics

Phonetically, South-west Tanna words may not begin or end with a consonant cluster, although they may begin with consonant + [y] or [w] and may end with [y] or [w] + consonant. Medially, clusters of up to two non-vowels are permitted:

(17)   /matukw/   [mɑ̃d̥ukʷʰ]   *'right (hand)'*

        /oklhekɨn/   [ɔglɛ̃gən]   *'to turn'*

        /suatukw/   [sw̥ɑ̃d̥ukʷʰ]   *'road'*

        /maul/   [mɑ̃wl]   *'left (hand)'*

In words where, due to compounding of morphemes, two consonants would otherwise
come together initially or finally, [ə] is inserted between them.[7] (This becomes
[ɨ] if the preceding consonant is alveolar.

(18)   /l-vi/   [lɨ̬vi]   *'he pulls it'*

              /lɨm-k/   [lɨməkʰ]   *'my father'*

Similarly, if three consonants come together medially as a result of compounding of
morphemes, [ə] (or [ɨ]) is inserted between the second and the third:

(19)   /asokw-plaah/   [àsɔgʷbəláh]   *'to go south'*

              /l-ɨmn-gɨn/   [lɨmnɨ̍ŋ̍ən]   *'he was afraid'*

Apart from these strictures, there appear to be no restrictions on the combinations
of consonants.

     It should perhaps be noted here that many South-west Tanna nouns begin with
/n/ plus a following vowel. This is historically derivable from a Proto-Oceanic
article *na, which has fused with the noun root so that it can not normally be
separated. Many such nouns are listed in the vocabulary in section 6 with initial
nɨ-, and in some of these cases it is clear that this /ɨ/ is not part of the root
but merely an epenthetic vowel: compare, for example, nɨvhilɨk *'grass'* with
mwanvhilɨk *'grass'*. Clearly, in a case like this the underlying form of the
noun is nvhilɨk, and /ɨ/ is inserted by regular rule between /n/ and /v/ when,
and only when, this cluster occurs word-initially. In many other lexical items,
however, it is difficult or impossible to determine whether the /ɨ/ in this
context is part of the underlying form or is epenthetic; as far as lexical listing
is concerned, my policy has been to include the /ɨ/ in the word as if it was part
of the underlying form unless there is good reason not to.

     The combinations of phonemic vowels in South-west Tanna are limited. Geminate
vowel clusters occur, and more will be said about them in the next section. Certain
clusters of non-identical vowels also occur, and the observed clusters are given
below in Table IV; an asterisk indicates non-occurrence.

		second vowel					
		i	e	ɨ	a	o	u
first vowel	i	ii	ie	iɨ	ia	io	iu
	e	ei	ee	*	ea	*	eu
	ɨ	*	*	ɨɨ	*	*	*
	a	ai	*	*	aa	*	au
	o	oi	*	*	oa	oo	ou
	u	ui	ue	uɨ	ua	uo	uu

TABLE IV: Vowel clusters

It is clear from Table IV that /ɨ/ is quite restricted in its distribution, never
occurring as the first member of a non-geminate cluster, and only occurring as the
second member after /i/ and /u/.[8] No non-geminate clusters of mid + mid or low +
mid may occur; otherwise (with the exception of /ɨ/), any vowel may occur in a cluster
with a high vowel, and clusters of mid + low are also acceptable.

2.4. Stress

Stress rules operate after the rules which insert epenthetic [ə] or [ɨ] and which form glides from high vowels. Primary stress normally falls on the vowel of a monosyllable and on the penultimate vowel of a polysyllable:

(20)	/vɨn/	[ɨ́ɨn]	*'to go'*
	/ilu/	[ɨ́lu]	*'to be deaf'*
	/nɨpwana-k/	[nɨbwɔ́nɑkʰ]	*'my forehead'*
	/tupnhel-k/	[dʊbn̥ɛ́lɨkʰ]	*'my lip'*
	/euaiu/	[ɛwɑ́yu]	*'to descend'*

Words containing geminate vowel clusters, however, receive stress on that cluster:

(21)	/hueihuaa/	[wɛɣwɑ́]	*'quick'*
	/nɨklee-n/	[nɨglɛ́n]	*'his chest'*
	/ɨspiil/	[əs̩bɨ́l]	*'to clean'*

Exceptions to these rules have the stressed vowel marked with an acute accent:

(22)	/níamha/	[níɑm̥ɑ]	*'anger'*
	/avkɨkín/	[ɑ̀ɨgəgín]	*'to drag'*

In nouns, every alternate syllable to the left of the primary-stressed vowel, including cases of [ə] or [ɨ] inserted between clustering consonants, receives secondary stress:

(23)	/nɨpwag-nhig-n/	[nɨ̀bwɒ̀ŋn̥íŋən]	*'his nose'*
	/nɨmwa-tivhata/	[nɨ̀mwɒ̀ḍitɑ́dɑ]	*'table, shelf'*
	/nukwanee-k/	[nùgwɑnɛ́kʰ]	*'my hair'*
	/nɨkɨlkɨlii-k/	[nɨ̀gə̀lgəlíkʰ]	*'my bone(s)'*

In verbs and adjectives, the initial syllable receives secondary stress, as does each alternate syllable to the right of the initial syllable, except that the syllable preceding the primary-stressed syllable is always unstressed:

(24)	/n-akn-oklhekɨn/	[nɑ̀gnɔglɛ́gɨn]	*'you* (sg) *have turned'*
	/l-ɨmn-asokw-pihiu/	[lɨ̀mnɑs̩ɔgwbɨ́yu]	*'he went north'*
	/l-ɨmn-eliuok-pihiu/	[lɨ̀mnɛlìwɔgbɨ́yu]	*'he walked north'*
	/n-akn-lh-eliuok-pihiu/	[nɑ̀gnɨlɛ̀liwɔgbɨ́yu]	*'you* (tr) *have walked north'*

The remarks above apply to the Nɨvhaal dialect, the basis for this study. As far as information is available, they seem to hold true for Nelpwaai as well. However, in the Nɨvai dialect, primary stress occurs on the final syllable much more frequently than in any other Tanna speech-tradition. The data are not sufficient to allow any general statement to be made at this stage; however, suffixes tend to attract final stress, as do final syllables containing vowel + glide. In addition, many more words not fitting these descriptions receive final stress, where the corresponding word in Nɨvhaal is stressed on the penult; but there are sufficient cases of penultimate stress in Nɨvai to make it difficult to formulate any generalisations without further data. It may well be that a rule of stress-movement from penult to final syllable is in operation in Nɨvai.

3. MORPHOLOGY

Four major word classes are recognised in South-west Tanna: verbs, nominals, modifiers, and adjectives.[9] Verbal morphology in particular is extensive, and close attention will be paid in this section to the morphology of each of these word classes.

3.1. Verbs

With the exception of the singular imperative, verbs in South-west Tanna are morphologically complex. Verb morphology is far more complicated than the morphology of other word classes, with a verb being able to take up to seven ranks of prefixes and three ranks of suffixes, all forming a single phonological word. Person-of-subject, number-of-subject, and various tenses, aspects, and modes are indicated by prefixes; transitivity, direction, reciprocality, and some other features are indicated by suffixes. Verbs also appear to be historically 'basic' in South-west Tanna; by this I mean that, although there are regular derivational processes by which nouns, for example, are derived from verbs, there seems to be no way in which verbs are derived from other word classes.

Most verbs in South-west Tanna, as in other languages in the region, begin with a vowel, and especially a non-high vowel. Table V shows the proportion of verbs with particular initial phonemes based on the contents of the vocabulary in section 6.

	TABLE V: Verb-initial phonemes			
	Verbs		All lexical items	
Initial phoneme	No. of cases	Percentage	No. of cases	Percentages
/a/	87	37.7	114	15.1
/e/	31	11.7	38	5.0
/i/	4	1.5	55	7.3
/ɨ/	41	15.5	46	6.1
/o/	25	9.4	27	3.6
/u/	8	3.0	14	1.8
any consonant	69	26.0	463	61.2

This initial vowel appears to be an historical accretion, and may well have been a verb-formative of some sort in an earlier stage of the language. A comparison of some South-west Tanna verbs with the corresponding Proto-Oceanic forms show this clearly.[10]

(1)   Proto-Oceanic   South-west Tanna

           *doŋo   ɨlɨg   *'hear'*

           *toka   ala   *'stay'*

           *tuqud   alel   *'stand'*

Proto-Oceanic	South-west Tanna	
*mapo	amɨv	*'heal'*
*masakit	ɨmha	*'be sick'*
*paŋan	ɨvgɨn	*'eat'*

Such initial vowels are part of the verb root in the modern language, and the process (whatever it was) is no longer productive. However, it will be seen below that the nature of the initial phoneme of the root is relevant to the conditioning of allomorphs of certain verbal prefixes.

3.1.1. Verbal affixes (declarative mode)

The various affixes which may be attached to the verb root in a declarative clause are given in Table VI. In that table, parenthesised categories are optional, while other categories are obligatory. Co-occurrence restrictions or requirements are noted in the text. The order of affix-classes as given in the table is fixed (although there is some possibility of permutation among suffixes: cf. 3.1.1.10 below). The allomorphs of each morpheme are bracketed together, with the first allomorph being the base form.

3.1.1.1. Intentional prefix.

The intentional prefix na- (INT) is optional, and in any case is extremely rare in South-west Tanna, as are its cognates in other Tanna communalects. I have only observed one occurrence in free text (given below as (2)), other occurrences being as a result of formal elicitation using a verb with the cognate Lenakel form na- (which is also rare in text). The intentional prefix must be followed by the future prefix, and it indicates that the subject is prepared, ready, or in some cases about to carry out the action:

(2)   Nɨvaru na-tukw-l-ni-pɨn tukw Nula...
      Nɨvaru INT-FUT-3SG-*say*-DIR:3 DAT *Nula*
      'Nɨvaru made ready to say to Nula...'

(3)   na-t-i-ak-eliuok
      INT-FUT-1EX-CONC-*walk*
      'I am ready/about to walk'

3.1.1.2. Future prefix.

The future prefix t- (FUT) is optional, and indicates that at least part of the action or state to which the verb refers will take place in the future.

This prefix must co-occur with one of the two tense/aspect prefixes ak- CONC or epi- SQ (see 3.1.1.5.). When used with ak-, the futurity of the action is immediate; the actor is about to start the action at or soon after the moment of speaking:

(4)   t-i-ak-ɨvgɨn
      FUT-1EX-CONC-*eat*
      'I'm going to eat'

(5)   t-i-ak-s-eliuok m-s-aa
      FUT-1EX-CONC-PL-*walk* AND-PL-*go*
      'We'll be going', 'We'll set off now'

TABLE VI: Verbal affixes (declarative mode)									
(Intentional)	(Future)	Person of Subject	Tense/aspect	(Continuative)	Number of Subject	Root	(Directional)	(Referential)	(Transitive)
na-	t- ⎫ tukw- ⎬ tu- ⎭	k- ⎫ 1IN Ø- ⎭ i- 1EX n- ⎫ 2 Ø- ⎭ l- ⎫ 3SG Ø- ⎭ k- ⎫ 3NSG Ø- ⎭ m- AND	ak- ⎫ uk- ⎬ CONC Ø- ⎭ epi- ⎫ SQ pi- ⎭ ɨmn- ⎫ emn- ⎬ PST ɨm ⎪ em- ⎭ akuan- ⎫ akua- ⎪ uan- ⎬ PF ua- ⎪ akn- ⎪ n- ⎭ akn- ⎫ INCH n- ⎭	am- ⎫ a- ⎭	u- ⎫ DU la- ⎭ lh- TR s- ⎫ PL ha- ⎭		-pwa DIR:1 -pna DIR:2 -pɨn DIR:3 -pihiu ⎫ DIR:N -fiu ⎭ -plaah DIR:S -vhiaak DIR:E -vila DIR:W -hakta DIR:UP -iehou DIR:DOWN	-kwis ASSOC -atukw ⎰ REC ⎱ REFL	-kɨn ⎫ -kɨ ⎭ TRANS

When used with epi- a more remote future is indicated:

(6)   t-∅-epi-ol
        FUT-2-SQ-*do*
        'You will do it (later on)'

(7)   t-i-epi-s-eliuok m-s-aa
        FUT-1EX-SQ-PL-*walk* AND-PL-*go*
        'We'll have to go off (sooner or later)'

When immediately followed by the third person singular prefix l-, the future prefix has the allomorph tukw-:

(8)   tukw-l-epi-ɬai kwanmɨlh
        FUT-3SG-SQ-*cut citrus*
        'He will cut the lemon/orange (later)'

Before the first person inclusive prefix k- and the homophonous third person non-singular prefix, the allomorph tu- is used (ak- CONC having a zero allomorph in this environment, as discussed in 3.1.1.5. below):

(9)   tu-k-∅-lh-aam lɨm-n
        FUT-3NSG-CONC-TR-*see father*-3SG
        'The three of them will see his father'

    3.1.1.3. Person-of-subject prefixes. There are five prefixes marking the person of the subject, and every verb in the declarative mode must take one of these prefixes (or the prefix m- which is discussed in 3.1.1.4.). The five person-of-subject prefixes are:[11]

        k- first person inclusive (1IN)
        i- first person exclusive (1EX)
        n- second person (2)
        l- third person singular (3SG)
        k- third person non-singular (3NSG)

Each of these marks the person of the subject of the sentence:

(10)   (kɨtaua) k-ɨm-s-aan nekw mufaam
        (*we*:IN:PL) 1IN-PST-PL-*eat yam all*
        'We ate all the yams'

(11)   (iou) i-ak-am-nɨm
        (*I*) 1EX-CONC-CONT-*drink*
        'I am drinking'

(12)   (iik) n-ak-am-gɨn
        (*you*:SG) 2-CONC-CONT-*fear*
        'You are afraid'

(13)   pilavɨn kɨliik l-∅-am-asim
        woman DEM:IND 3SG-CONC-CONT-*garden*
        'A woman is gardening'

(14)   (ilisɨl) k-ɨm-lh-lɨh kamaam tɨksɨn
        (*they*:TR) 3NSG-PST-TR-*carry fish some*
        'The three of them carried some fish'

    In certain environments, some of these prefixes are lost (i.e. they have zero allomorphs). First, the prefix n- 2 is lost when preceded by the future prefix t-; thus:

```
                    t-n-ak-   >   t-ak-
                    t-n-epi-  >   t-epi-
```

For example:

(15)   t-∅-epi-ol
       FUT-2-SQ-*do*
       'You will do it'

Second, the homophonous prefixes k- 1EX and k- 3NSG have zero allomorphs when they occur between the future allomorph tu- and the sequential tense/aspect marker epi-; further, the first vowel of epi- is lost in this context; thus:

```
                    tu-k-epi  >   tu-pi-
```

For example:

(16)   pilavɨn mɨna tu-∅-pi-s-ɨvgɨn
       woman PL FUT-3NSG-SQ-PL-*eat*
       'The women will eat later'

Third, the prefix l- 3SG may optionally be deleted before the inchoative aspect marker and before one allomorph of the perfective marker. This is discussed in more detail in section 3.1.1.5. below.

3.1.1.4. Switch-reference. A feature of the whole Southern Vanuatu subgroup is the occurrence of a prefix which functions in the same way as a person marker in conjoined clauses. Generally speaking, when the subject of the verb in the conjoined clause(s) is the same as the subject of the verb in the first clause, the verb in the conjoined clause does *not* take one of the person-of-subject prefixes discussed in the previous section, but instead takes the prefix m- (glossed here as AND):[12]

(17)   l-hakta m-ɨkel ie kwalkwau
       3SG-*go:up* AND-hang LOC *ridgepole*
       'He went up and hung on the ridgepole'

(18)   k-u-aiu m-la-sɨ-vhiaak
       3NSG-DU-*run* AND-DU-*come:from*-DIR:E
       'The two of them ran from the east'

This prefix may also be used in certain circumstances when the subjects of the two conjoined verbs are *not* identical. In all such cases, however, the subjects must be of different numbers, so that the correct subject can be identified from among the available choices. For example, the following sentence occurs in a text where one man and two women are the central participants (see 5.2. below):

(19)   l-eivi napwɨl kɨni m-lh-aulu-pɨn
       3SG-*pull wall and* AND-TR-*enter*-DIR:3
       'He pulled out the wall and the three of them went inside'

The two verbs in this sentence contain different number markers; this sufficiently disambiguates the subjects involved, since the subject of eivi is singular (and therefore, through context, the man) while the subject of aulu is marked as trial (and must thus refer to the man and the two women).

When the number of the subjects of both verbs is identical, however, m- AND has the same referent as the previous subject, and may refer to no other NP: thus in (20),

(20)   natou l-ɨmn-aam magau m-epi-aiu
       Natou 3SG-PST-*see Magau* AND-SQ-*run*
       'Natou *saw Magau and (then) ran*'

since the two verbs are the same number, it must be the subject of the previous
verb, Natou, which is the subject of aiu *'run'*. If it was Magau who ran, (20)
is unacceptable; instead, (21) would be used:

(21)   natou l-ɨmn-aam magou l-epi-aiu
       Natou 3SG-PST-*see Magau* 3SG-SQ-*run*
       '*Natou saw Magau and Magau (then) ran*'

Note further that (21) is also unambiguous: it can only be Magau who did the
running. Thus m- AND is not merely a stylistic variation, a narrative shortcut,
but must be used in the circumstances described above. (This rule, however, is
strictly true only of third person subjects. With non-third person subjects,
there seems to be more flexibility, as will be seen in example (29) in the next
section.)

3.1.1.5. Tense/aspect prefixes.

Prefixes marking the tense and aspect of the
verb follow the person prefixes and are normally obligatory, though, as has already
been pointed out, they may be deleted under certain conditions in narrative
discourse. The base forms of the South-west Tanna tense/aspect prefixes are
given below:

ak-	concurrent aspect (CONC)
epi-	sequential aspect (SQ)
ɨmn-	past tense (PST)
akuan-	perfective aspect (PF)
akn-	inchoative (INCH)

The prefix marking CONCURRENT ASPECT marks an action as either taking place
or being planned at the time of speaking, or as habitual. In the former sense it
may be used with the future prefix t-, in which case it marks the action as taking
place in the immediate future (see 3.1.1.2.). When used without the future prefix,
it marks a present tense, and in this case it appears very frequently with the
continuative prefix am-:

(22)   kɨmaua i-ak-s-aan nekw
       we:EXC:PL 1EX-CONC-PL-*eat yam*
       '*We eat yam*'

(23)   t-i-ak-ua ie hospɨtɨl nɨpɨg t-i-ak-ɨmha
       FUT-1EX-CONC-*come* LOC *hospital time* FUT-1EX-CONC-*sick*
       '*I (will) come to the hospital when I am sick*'

(24)   n-ak-am-aan nekw na-k
       2-CONC-CONT-*eat yam* POS:EAT-1SG
       '*You are eating my yam/yams*'

This prefix is lost after l- 3SG, k- 1IN, and k- 3NSG:

(25)   nehen l-Ø-am-uh alisɨl
       rain 3SG-CONC-CONT-*strike they*:TR:OBJ
       '*The rain comes down on the three of them*'

(26)   tukw-l-Ø-ua
       FUT-3SG-CONC-*come*
       '*He will come*'

(27)   nɨme lenɨtɨm k-Ø-s-aan nɨtel
       people Aneityum 3NSG-CONC-PL-*eat taro*
       'The Aneityumese eat taro'

When followed by the dual allomorph u-, in the first person exclusive future only, ak- has the allomorph uk-; i.e.

$$t-i-ak-u > t-i-uk-u-$$

For example:

(28)   kɨmlu t-i-uk-u-ɨvgɨn
       *we:*EXC:DU FUT-1EX-CONC-DU-*eat*
       'We two will eat'

    The major use of the prefix marking SEQUENTIAL ASPECT has already been discussed: its function, together with the future prefix, of marking a remote future (section 3.1.1.2.). However, epi- may also occur without the future prefix t-. In these cases it indicates that the action of the verb to which it is prefixed follows in sequence from the action of the previous verb:

(29)   i-emn-avɨn ie lukwanu kafa-m, kwasɨg i-epi-vɨn ie lukwanu
       1EX-PST-*go* LOC *village* POS-2SG, *afterwards* 1EX-SQ-*go* LOC *village*

           kape lɨm-k
           POS *father-1SG*
       '(First) I went to your place, and then I went to my father's place'

It is thus often used in conditional sentences (see 4.4.2.8. below):

(30)   kipimah nehen l-p niɨv, i-epi-vhe-kɨn nakwokwa
       if rain 3SG-*rain yesterday*, 1EX-SQ-*read*-TRANS *book*
       'If it had rained yesterday, (then) I would have read a book'

We have already seen above (3.1.1.3.) that epi- has an allomorph pi- in the future when preceded by k- 1IN or k- 3NSG; i.e.

$$tu-k-epi- > tu-pi-$$

    The prefix ɨmn- marks PAST TENSE. It has the allomorph im- in the non-singular, and also in the singular before a verb with initial n. When immediately following the 1EX prefix i-, ɨmn- and ɨm- become emn- and em-. This prefix marks a simple past:

(31)   l-ɨm-ni ...
       3SG-PST-*say*
       'He said ...'

(32)   i-emn-aam kɨlhiavɨn kɨliik niɨv
       1EX-PST-*see shark* DEM:IND *yesterday*
       'I saw a shark yesterday'

(33)   l-ɨmn-aan nekw na-i kwan ai
       3SG-PST-*eat yam* POS:EAT-POS *fellow* DEM:PR
       'He ate that fellow's yam/yams'

(34)   k-ɨm-ha-lɨh nɨtɨp
       3NSG-PST-TR-*carry basket*
       'They carried the baskets'

    The prefix akuan- marks PERFECTIVE ASPECT: thus it marks stative in the case of adjectives, and it marks an action as having been completed. It occurs frequently with the verbal modifier (see section 3.3) ta *'already finished'*.

This prefix is also allomorphically complex: the /ak/ portion is lost in the same environments where ak- CONC has zero allomorphs, but further changes also occur, and these are best summarised in chart form:

Before consonants, /i/, /u/		Before vowels	
(all numbers)		singular	non-singular
1IN ua-			uan-
1EX akua-		akn-	akuan-
2 akua-		akn-	akuan-
3 ua-		n-	uan-

Two points should be noted here. First, l- 3SG is sometimes deleted before the allomorph n-. Second, the singular prevocalic forms are phonologically identical with the allomorphs of the inchoative prefix (see below); when these are used, the presence of the modifier ta *'already'* is obligatory in the verb phrase to indicate perfective aspect.

(35)   iliu k-uan-u-ɨvgɨn ta
       they:DU 3NSG-PF-DU-*eat already*
       'The two of them have (already) eaten'

(36)   mana l-ua-iva ta
       bird 3SG-PF-*fly already*
       'The bird has flown (away)'

(37)   i-akua-gɨn ta
       1EX-PF-*fear already*
       'I was afraid'

(38)   k-ua-s-hai pukah
       3NSG-PF-PL-*stab pig*
       'They stabbed the pig'

(39)   Ø-n-ehua   or l-n-ehua
       3SG-PF-*big*   3SG-PF-*big*
       'It is big'

(40)   n-akn-eliuok ta
       2-PF-*walk already*
       'You have already walked'

(41)   Ø-n-eliuok ta   or l-n-eliuok ta
       3SG-PF-*walk already*   3SG-PF-*walk already*
       'He has walked'

The INCHOATIVE ASPECT prefix akn- marks an action as having just begun. It has the allomorph n- when preceded by k- 1IN, k- 3NSG, and l- 3SG, the last of which may be deleted in this environment.

(42)   i-akn-am-ɨvgɨn
       1EX-INCH-CONT-*eat*
       'I have just begun eating'

The inchoative, perhaps along with the sequential without future t-, is the least frequently used of these tense/aspect markers.

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that tense/aspect markers may be deleted in discourse. This is particularly true in narrative texts, where, although the whole action is set in the past, very few verbs take the past tense prefix. Generally, the rule seems to be that if the context (whether in a continuous text or in conversation) makes the tense/aspect of the action or state clear, then the prefix can be dispensed with. We will touch upon this subject in later sections.

3.1.1.6. Continuative prefix.

The continuative prefix am- (CONT) marks continuous aspect. Its use is optional, but it occurs quite commonly with the concurrent, past and inchoative tense/aspect markers, although it is rarely observed following the sequential or perfective prefixes.

(43) iou i-ak-am-ɨvgɨn pukah
      I 1EX-CONC-CONT-*feed pig*
      'I am feeding the pig/pigs'

(44) kovamtɨmta l-Ø-am-apɨl
      child 3SG-CONC-CONT-*sleep*
      'The child is sleeping'

(45) n-ɨmn-am-eliuok
      2-PST-CONT-*walk*
      'You (sg) *were walking'*

(46) l-n-am-lɨh
      3SG-INCH-CONT-*carry*
      'He has begun to carry it'

There is an allomorph a- which is found before the number-marking allomorphs la- DU, lh- TR, and s- PL, though not before u- DU and ha- PL; compare (47) with (48):

(47) i-akn-am-ha-vɨn
      1EX-INCH-CONT-PL-*go*
      'We have begun to go'

(48) i-akn-a-lh-vɨn
      1EX-INCH-CONT-TR-*go*
      'We three have begun to go'

or (49) with (50):

(49) k-Ø-am-u-eliuok
      3NSG-CONC-CONT-DU-*walk*
      'They two are walking'

(50) k-Ø-a-la-gɨn
      3NSG-CONC-CONT-DU-*fear*
      'They two are afraid'

The allomorph a- also occurs immediately preceding an m-initial verb (though not before a verb with any other initial consonant):

(51) l-Ø-a-mɨl
      3SG-CONC-CONT-*fall*
      'It is falling'

3.1.1.7. Number-of-subject prefixes. Apart from the distinction between l- 3SG and k- 3NSG, the person prefixes mark only the person of the subject and not its number. There is a separate set of prefixes marking number of the subject, and these are obligatory in South-west Tanna verbs (except in the impersonal construction to be discussed in 3.1.1.8. below). Singular number is unmarked; the other number prefixes, together with their allomorphs, are:

Verb-initial phoneme	Dual	Trial	Plural
/h/, non-high vowels	u-	lh-	s-
high vowels, consonants	la-	lh-	ha-

The trial prefix has a single allomorph, lh-, in all environments. The conditioning environment for DU and PL is the initial phoneme of the verb. High vowels group with consonants since they are subject to glide-formation rules (see 2.3 above) and are thus phonetic consonants in many cases in this environment. The reason for /h/ grouping with the non-high vowels is not clear.[13] Verbs with initial /h/ show an additional peculiarity, in that the dual prefix u- metathesises with the initial /h/ of the verb: thus underlying i-ak-am-u-hai *'we two are stabbing it'* is phonetically [yagámway] (from underlying /iakamhuai/) and not *[yàgɑmúhɑy].

Dual refers to two and only two actors, and trial to three and only three. Plural refers to four or more actors, and the plural marker can not be used if the number of actors is known to be less than four; however, the plural is the appropriate prefix to use if the exact number is not known.

(52) iliu k-ɨm-u-alel
      they:DU 3NSG-PST-DU-*stand*
      'The two of them stood up'

(53) piamil k-Ø-a-la-kwasɨg-kɨn
      woman:DU 3NSG-CONC-CONT-DU-*follow*-TRANS
      'The two women are following him'

(54) t-i-ak-lh-ɨvgɨn
      FUT-1EX-CONC-TR-*eat*
      'The three of us will eat'

(55) kɨlau tu-Ø-pi-am-ha-vɨn
      we:IN:PL FUT-1IN-SQ-CONT-PL-*go*
      'We will be going (later)'

(56) i-emn-s-helapu
      1EX-PST-PL-*blow:fire*
      'We blew the fire'

(57) t-Ø-ak-s-aam nakwokwa
      FUT-2-CONC-PL-*see book*
      'You will (all) see the book'

3.1.1.8. The impersonal construction. There is one context in which number prefixes must be dispensed with, and that is in the impersonal construction. This construction uses the person prefix k- 3NSG *without* further specification of number, to indicate the equivalent of passive-without-agent; fronting of the object NP is common in these cases:

(58) nai k-ɨmn-ɨlai ienpɨg
      tree 3NSG-PST-*cut night*
      'The tree was cut down during the night'

(59) k-uan-ol ta
      3NSG-PF-*do already*
      'It has already been done'

3.1.1.9. Directional suffixes. Directional suffixes (DIR) are optional in the South-west Tanna verb, in that not all verbs take them, and many verbs may or may not take them. Three verbs, however, *require* a directional suffix: one is vha- *'to give'*, which will be discussed below; the other two are two verbs of motion — asok- 'to go in the direction specified by the suffix', and sɨ- 'to come from the direction specified by the suffix'. Many other verbs which involve motion of some kind may take a directional suffix; verbs like vɨn *'to go'*, and ua *'to come'*, however, may not take a directional suffix — that is, such suffixes are redundant because the direction of motion is already explicit in the semantics of such verbs.

The South-west Tanna directional suffixes may be conveniently divided into three groups. The first group involves direction in relation to the participants in the speech-act:

        -pwa   towards speaker (DIR:1)
        -pna   towards addressee (DIR:2)
        -pɨn   away from both speaker, and addressee (DIR:3)

These may be illustrated as follows:

(60)   l-ɨm-ni-pwa...
       3SG-PST-*say*-DIR:1
       'He said to me ...'

(61)   tukw-l-Ø-lɨh nekw m-vɨn m-am-ɨtu-pɨn
       FUT-3SG-CONC-*carry yam* AND-*go* AND-CONT-*put*-DIR:3
       'He will take the yams and put them there'

The verb vha- *'to give'* must take one of these directionals:

(62)   t-i-ak-vha-pna mana kɨliik
       FUT-1SG-CONC-*give*-DIR:2 *fowl* DEM:IND
       'I will give you a chicken'

(63)   t-Ø-ak-vha-pwa
       FUT-2-CONC-*give*-DIR:1
       'You will give it to me'

The second set of directional suffixes refers to specific, compass-type directions:[14]

        -pihiu   *northwards* (DIR:N)
        -plaah   *southwards* (DIR:S)
        -vhiaak   *eastwards* (DIR:E)
        -vila   *westwards* (DIR:W)

(The suffix -pihiu has an allomorph -fiu when precided by a vowel.) These suffixes are used most commonly after the directional verbs asokw- *'to go to'* and sɨ- *'to come from'*:

(64)   pilavɨn l-ɨmn-asokw-vila ie tahik
       woman 3SG-PST-*go:to*-DIR:W LOC *sea*
       'The woman went (westwards) to/into the sea'

(65)   k-u-aiu m-la-sɨ-vhiaak m-la-ua
       3NSG-DU-*run* AND-DU-*come:from*-DIR:E AND-DU-*come*
       'The two of them came running from the east'

The third set of directional suffixes indicate direction upwards (also southwards) and downwards (also northwards):

```
-hakta     upwards (DIR:UP)
-iehou     downwards (DIR:DOWN)
```

For example:

(66) l-n-asokw-iehou ta
      3SG-PF-*go:to*-DIR:DOWN *already*
      'He has already gone down (or, gone north)'

3.1.1.10. Referential suffixes. In this set are two suffixes which refer back in some way to the subject. The two suffixes are:

```
-kwis     together, in association (ASSOC)
-atukw  { reciprocal (REC)
        { reflexive (REFL)
```

I have no examples of combinations of directional and referential suffixes; if the evidence from Lenakel (Lynch 1978b:42) is anything to go by, the ordering of these two sets of suffixes in relation to each other is probably not particularly strict.

The associative suffix -kwis indicates that the referents of the subject carry out the action of the verb together, in concert or association:

(67) kɨmlu tion t-i-uk-u-ɨvgɨn-kwis
      we:EX:DU *John* FUT-1EX-CONC-DU-*eat*-ASSOC
      'John and I will eat together'

The suffix -atukw has two, closely related, functions. It indicates that the action of the verb is reflexive:

(68) l-ɨmn-uh-atukw
      3SG-PST-*hit*-REFL
      'He hit himself'

and it also indicates reciprocality:

(69) iliu k-Ø-am-u-olkeikei-atukw `
      they:DU 3NSG-CONC-CONT-DU-*like*-REC
      'The two of them like each other'

Neither -kwis nor -atukw occurs with any frequency in South-west Tanna.

3.1.1.11. Transitive postclitic. The transitive marker -kɨn (TRANS) is in fact a postclitic and not a suffix; it occurs verb phrase-finally. However, in the large majority of verb phrases, this also means that it is verb-final; hence, I include it here among the suffixes. As will be seen in section 4.3. below, some verbs require the transitive postclitic -kɨn (which is -kɨn ∿ -kɨ before a consonant) when followed by an object NP, while others do not. Below are examples of verbs which require -kɨn TRANS:

(70) piamil k-a-la-kwasɨg-kɨn kwan ai
      woman:DU 3NSG-CONT-DU-*follow*-TRANS *fellow* DEM:PR
      'The two women were following the man'

(71) i-ak-am-gɨn-kɨn kuli
      1EX-CONC-CONT-*fear*-TRANS *dog*
      'I am frightened of dogs'

A number of verbs seem to have fused the transitive suffix, and always appear with it, even in citation. Examples are:

(72) alukɨn   *'to throw'*
      avhekɨn   *'to count, read'*
      ɨlkwɨlkɨn   *'to (cause to) drown'*
      oklhekɨn   *'to turn around'*
      avhlekɨn   *'to turn over'*

These verbs never appear without the final /kɨn/, and it is a moot point as to whether this /kɨn/ should be analysed as a transitive suffix or as a historical suffix which has fused with the root. For the purposes of presentation, I have taken the decision to gloss /kɨn/ in verbs such as those above as the transitive suffix in example sentences in the grammar; in the vocabulary list, however, /kɨn/ is written as part of the verb: thus alu-kɨn (*throw*-TRANS) in the grammar, but alukɨn in the vocabulary.

3.1.2. Verbal affixes (interrogative mode)

The structure of questions in South-west Tanna is discussed in section 4.4.1.2. below. As will be seen there, most questions use an interrogative form in one of the NPs of the sentence, or use the conjunction ua *'or'* without a following clause; in these two cases, verbs use the same range of affixes as in the declarative mode. However, other questions use verbal affixes which are restricted to the interrogative mode. There are two such affixes.

One of these is the directional suffix -hie DIR:WH. This occurs in the same position as the directional suffixes discussed in 3.1.1.9., and may be suffixed to the same range of verbs as those suffixes:

(73) n-ak-am-asokw-hie?
      2-CONC-CONT-*go:to*-DIR:WH
      'Where are you going?'

The other interrogative affix is the prefix hau- WH, which occurs between the continuative and number-of-subject prefixes. It is generally used when the speaker is asking the reason for an action:

(74) l-Ø-am-hau-aan kamaam?
      3SG-CONC-CONT-WH-*eat fish*
      'Why is he eating fish?'

(75) n-ak-am-hau-eliuok?
      2-CONC-CONT-WH-*walk*
      'Why are you walking?'

With verbs of specific motion, however, it may be used to ask for the direction as well as the reason of motion.[15]

(76) t-Ø-ak-hau-vɨn
      FUT-2-CONC-WH-*go*
      'Where are you going?', 'Why are you going?'

3.1.3. Verbal affixes (imperative mode)

There are no sets of affixes which are used only in the imperative mode. Indeed, the imperative mode uses rather fewer affixes than other modes.

Intentional, future, person-of-subject, and tense/aspect prefixes may not be used
in the imperative mode; the continuative prefix is only rarely used. Thus a verb
in the imperative takes only number-of-subject and, occasionally, continuative
prefixes, though the full range of suffixes is available:

(77)   s-ol!
       PL-*do*
       'Do it (all of you)!'

(78)   la-kwasɨg-pɨn-kɨn kuli kafa-k!
       DU-*follow*-DIR:3-TRANS *dog* POS-1SG
       '(You two), follow my dog!'

(79)   am-u-alel!
       CONT-DU-*stand*
       'Just keep on standing (you two)!'

3.1.4. Summary

      Verbs in all three modes take a number of sets of prefixes and suffixes.
Table VI listed the prefixes and suffixes used in the declarative mode; to
those need to be added the interrogative prefix hau- and the interrogative
directional suffix -hie. Table VII below summarises the range of affixes
which can be used in each mode: + and – indicate obligatory presence and
obligatory absence respectively, while (+) indicates optional presence.

TABLE VII: Affix-classes in each mode			
Prefixes	Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative
Intentional	(+)	(+)	–
Future	(+)	(+)	–
Person-of-Subject	+	+	–
Tense/Aspect	+	+	–
Continuative	(+)	(+)	(+)
Interrogative	–	+	–
Number-of-Subject	+	+	+
Suffixes			
Directional	(+)	(+)	(+)
Referential	(+)	(+)	(+)
Transitive	(+)	(+)	(+)

3.2. Nominals

South-west Tanna nominals may be categorised morphologically into three major classes: pronouns (showing person, number, and case distinctions); inalienable or directly possessed nouns (requiring a possessive suffix); and other nouns. Each of these classes is discussed in turn below, with some attention being paid to subclassification and irregularities.

3.2.1. Pronouns

Pronouns in South-west Tanna vary in form for person, number, and case. The full range of free pronoun forms is given in Table VIII; possessive pronominal suffixes will be discussed in the next section.[16]

TABLE VIII: Free pronouns					
Case	Person	Number			
		Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
Focal	1IN		kɨlau	kɨtasɨl	kɨtaua
	1EX	iou	kɨmlu	kɨmasɨl	kɨmaua
	2	iik	kɨmilu	kɨmisɨl	kɨmia
	3	in	iliu	ilisɨl	ilia
Object	1IN		alau	atasɨl	ataua
	1EX	iou	amlu	amasɨl	amaua
	2	iik	amilu	amisɨl	amia
	3	in	aliu	alisɨl	alia

Person and number distinctions in South-west Tanna have already been discussed in connection with the verb (section 3.1.1.), and require no further discussion here. The case distinction, however, needs some explanation. The term 'focal' is used to refer to those forms of a pronoun used when the pronoun stands alone in a sentence (e.g. as answer to a question). As will be seen, this form is also the form used as subject, and it contrasts with the 'object' form.

The object forms are used when the pronoun is the head of a NP which is (i) the object of a clause or (ii) preceded by a case-marker or preposition in a peripheral phrase (i.e. instrumental, dative, benefactive, etc.; see section 4. for clarification). Some examples:

(80) l-ɨm-nɨ́ahu aliu
3SG-PST-*prevent them*:DU:OBJ
'He stopped/blocked the two of them'

(81) pa l-ɨmn-aam amia
who 3SG-PST-*see you*:PL:OBJ
'Who saw you (all)?'

(82)   i-emn-ɨnkiaal kɨmi alisɨl
      1EX-PST-*speak* DAT *them*:TR:OBJ
      'I spoke to the three of them'

(83)   l-ɨm-ni tukw amlu ...
      3SG-PST-*say* DAT *us*:DU:OBJ
      'He said to us two ... '

Variation for case is only apparent in the non-singular pronouns; the singular object forms in Table VIII are identical to the focal forms. However, the third person singular pronoun shows a range of allomorphic variation when used as object which does not occur when it is used as a focal pronoun. First, in 3SG is regularly deleted when object of a verb, and only appears in object position in cases of very strong emphasis:[17]

(84)   i-ak-am-aam Ø
      1EX-CONC-CONT-*see him*
      'I (can) see it/him/her'

(85)   tu-k-Ø-s-ol Ø
      FUT-3NSG-CONC-PL-*do it*
      'They will do it'

Secondly, when preceded by the case-marker tukw, in 3SG has the allomorph un:

(86)   i-em-ni tukw un ...
      1EX-PST-*say* DAT *him*
      'I said to him ...'

The focal forms are used in non-object position: i.e. as subjects, and in most reduced sentences (e.g. answers to questions):

(87)   kɨmaua i-ak-am-s-ol
      we:EX:PL 1EX-CONC-CONT-PL-*do*
      'We are doing it'

(88)   pa l-ɨmn-ol? kɨmlu
      who 3SG-PST-*do?* *we*:EX:DU
      'Who did it?' 'The two of us'

Morphologically, there is a clear break between the singular and the non-singular forms. The singular forms appear to be morphologically simple, and although there is some evidence that the initial /i/ may have once been a prefix, it no longer functions as one. The non-singular forms, however, are morphologically complex, and consist of a root marking person and case, followed by a suffix marking number. The internal structure of the non-singular pronouns appears to be as follows:

Person and Case				Number	
kɨt-	1IN FOC	at-	1IN OBJ	lau/-lu/-u	DU
kɨm-	1EX FOC	am-	1EX OBJ	-asɨl/-sɨl	TR
kɨmi-	2 FOC	ami-	2 OBJ	-aua/-a	PL
ili-	3 FOC	ali-	3 OBJ		

It should be stressed, however, that the forms given in Table VIII function as units: i.e. neither the person-and-case elements nor the number elements may stand independently of each other.

3.2.2. Directly possessed nouns

It is common in Oceanic languages for one set of nouns to require relatively close possessive marking, while another set has more distant marking.[18] Close marking, often referred to as inalienable or direct possession, generally involves the possessor — at least, the pronoun possessor — being marked by an affix to the possessed noun; in most Oceanic languages, this affix is a suffix. Distant marking, often called alienable possession, often shows this suffix being attached to some other word in the NP (a possessive-marker).

South-west Tanna shows this distinction, as will become clear in section 4.2.4. A number of distinct subtypes of distant possession can be isolated, but none of these involves any change in the morphology of the noun itself; rather, possessive pronominal suffixes are attached to some other morpheme, as in:

(89) kuli kafa-k
      dog POS-1SG
      'My dog'

Close possession, on the other hand, involves suffixation of the possessed noun, as in:

(90) lɨm-k
      father-1SG
      'My father'

The forms *kuli-k *'my dog'* and *lɨm kafa-k *'my father'* are ungrammatical.

In direct possession, the following pronominal possessive suffixes are added to nouns:

TABLE IX: Possessive pronominal suffixes				
Case	Person	Number		
		Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
Possessive	1IN		-lau	-tasɨl	-taua
	1EX	-k	-mlu	-masɨl	-maua
	2	-m	-milu	-misɨl	-mia
	3	{-n / -ni}	-liu	-lisɨl	-lia

Although the singular forms differ, the morphological similarity between the possessive pronominal forms in Table IX and the focal and objective pronouns in Table VIII will be immediately apparent. (The two 3SG forms will be discussed below.)

The range of nouns to which these suffixes must be added can be at least partly defined semantically. Most kinship terms take these suffixes: e.g. lɨm- *'father'*, nɨsɨn- *'mother'*, nauin- *'sister (of a man)'*, mɨla- *'mother's brother'*, etc. Similarly, many parts of the body (kwalm- *'hand, arm'*, nuhu- *'leg, foot'*, tɨki- *'skin'*, nakanmop- *'liver'*, nɨpwagnhig- *'nose'*, etc.) and parts of a whole (nukwa- *'fruit'*, nua- *'root'*, ielkwaa- *'(in the) middle'*, nɨklee- *'roof'*, etc.) also take these suffixes directly. There are also certain other nouns, conceived of as parts of a whole, which are required to

take possessive suffixes; these include nanmw- *'shadow'*, nhag- *'name'*, and lɨki-
'voice'. On the other hand, there is a number of nouns which, on semantic grounds,
one might expect to belong to this class, but which in fact do not. These nouns,
which include ielmaan *'husband'*, pilavɨn *'wife'*,[19] kwotavha *'heart'*, pɨsasuul
'thumb', kwanoukóuk *'kidney'*, tila *'mast'*, and quite a few others, will be
discussed in section 4.2.4.4. below.

     Two forms of the third person singular suffix were given in Table IX. The
form -n occurs in all cases except (i) with words for siblings and (ii) the word
for child. The various sibling terms take -ni rather than -n: noule-ni *'his/her
older sibling of same sex'*, noulahi-ni *'his/her younger sibling of same sex'*.
Two sibling terms whose roots end in n simply take -i: mwan-i *'her brother'*,
nauin-i *'his sister'*. The word for *'child'* shows further irregularities: the
root nal- is used with 1SG and 2SG possessors (nal-k *'my child'*, nal-m *'your
child'*); with other possessors, the root ti- is used (thus ti-ni *'his/her
child'*, etc.).[20]

     There are, in addition, a few directly possessed nouns which are irregular.
These require the pronoun possessor being marked as an affix, but not in the
same way as in the majority of cases; in these words, the possessive pronominal
affix is suffixed to some other element, usually formally resembling one of the
possessive markers to be discussed in section 4.2.4., and this whole constituent
is then *prefixed* to the root. The following is an exhaustive list from my data;
roots are capitalised, and PRO indicates where the pronominal affix occurs:

ni-PRO-HAU	*'penis'*
kapa-PRO-IEL	*'father's sister's son (of male)'*
kapa-PRO-KAPWA	*'head'*
ni-PRO-KAUGA	*'chin'*
kapa-PRO-KÚA	*'anus'*
ni-PRO-KULA	*'brain'*
ni-PRO-LAKW	*'throat, neck'*
kapa-PRO-MWANIIP	*'dorsal fin'*
kapa-PRO-UA	*'vagina'*

I cannot suggest any historical *explanation* for these cases. However, I can
point to similar cases in all the Tanna languages, involving almost exactly
the same set of roots (cf. Lynch 1978b:87), and can only suggest that this
set of irregularities developed at the Proto-Tanna stage.

3.2.3. Other nouns

     As a general rule, other nouns are morphologically simple in that they
possess no inflectional morphology. However, certain human nouns are exceptions
to this general statement. While other nouns are invariable for number (number
being marked by a following modifier or in the verb), some human nouns show a
distinct plural form:

(91) Singular   Plural

     iame   *'the one (who)'*   nɨme

     ielmama   *'person'*   nelmama

Singular		Plural
ielmaan	*'man'*	nelmaan
pilavɨn	*'woman'*	nɨpilavɨn
pukaliakatɨɨt	*'boy'*	nɨpualiakatɨɨt
piakatɨɨt	*'girl'*	nɨpiakwoskwa
pa	*'who?'*	nɨpa
hualu	*'old man'*	nɨhualu / kwasɨhualu
piahualu	*'old woman'*	nɨpiahualu / kwasɨpiahualu

The plural generally involves the prefixing of n- or nɨ-, though a prefix kwas-
is observed in two instances, and there is also some evidence of other irregular
formations (cf. the plurals of *'boy'* and *'girl'*). These examples apart, however,
nominals which are neither pronouns nor directly possessed nouns show no
evidence of inflectional morphology.

3.2.4. Derivational morphology

The derivation of nouns from other word classes, and the formation of
compound nouns, are common processes in South-west Tanna, and this section will
examine each of these processes briefly.

3.2.4.1. Derivational affixes.

Nouns may be formed by attaching certain
derivational affixes to roots belonging to other word classes. There are four
such affixes:

i-	agentive (AG)
k-	instrumental (INST)
il-	identificatory nominaliser (NOM)
n- ... -ien	general nominaliser (NOM)

The agentive nominaliser i- (ie- before a consonant) is added to a verb root
to form an agentive noun:

(92) i-ɨklha   *'a thief'*
      AG-*steal*

      i-ɨnkiaal   *'a talker'*
      AG-*speak*

      ie-lɨkwun   *'one who knows'*
      AG-*know*

Similarly, the instrumental nominaliser k- (ka- before a consonant) is added
to a verb to form an instrumental noun:

(93) k-ɨlai   *'axe'*
      INST-*cut*

      ka-kɨl   *'digging-stick'*
      INST-*dig*

The identificatory nominaliser i l- forms nouns from adjectives and modifiers:

(94)   il-akwas   *'a/the old one'*
       NOM-*old*

       il-vi   *'a/the new one'*
       NOM-*new*

The general nominaliser is a discontinuous affix which forms a general or abstract noun from a verb or adjective. The affix involves prefixing n- and suffixing -ien to the verb or adjective root:

(95)   n-amelinu-ien   *'peace, calm'*
       NOM-*peaceful*-NOM

       n-ivgin-ien   *'eating, food'*
       NOM-*eat*-NOM

       n-amhokw-ien   *'fog, fogginess'*
       NOM-*foggy*-NOM

3.2.4.2. Compounding. In addition, nouns in South-west Tanna may be formed by compounding noun + noun, noun + adjective, or noun + verb:

(96)   nal-ipwai   *'nightmare'*   NOUN + NOUN
       thing-underworld

       pis-asuul   *'thumb'*   NOUN + ADJECTIVE
       finger-big

       nal-mlagh   *'animal'*   NOUN + VERB
       thing-be:alive

By far the most common source of compounding, however, involves two forms which are used as the first element of the compound:

(a)   kwa-, kwo-, nukwa-, nakwa-, nokwa-, nikwa-, in their various forms. These forms derive from nukwa- *'fruit'*, and have a general meaning of *'fruit of, product of'* in many compounds in which they occur:

(97)   kwa-nkwa-   *'seed'*   cf. nukwa- *'fruit'*

       kwa-nelaus   *'vein, sinew'*   cf. nelaus *'rope'*

In most such compounds, however, the second element seems to have ceased having any independent existence, and occurs only in the compound form:

(98)   nukwanee-   *'hair (on head)'*

       kwanhel-   *'egg'*

       kwanakau   *'rib'*

       nakwatana   *'valley'*

       kwanikiatu   *'outrigger boom'*

(b)   mwa-, mwei-, nimwa, nimwei- and related forms. These forms probably derive from nimwa *'house'*, and have a general meaning of *'covering, outside of'* in many compounds in which they occur:

(99)   nimwa-nvhaga   *'bow'*   cf. nivhaga *'bow and arrow'*

       nimw-akilakil   *'shore, beach'*   cf. nipakil *'sand'*

       nimwa-nsii-   *'buttocks'*   cf. nisii- *'excrement'*

As in the case with nukwa- compounds, many compounds with the derivatives of nimwa as the first element seem to have been lexicalised in South-west Tanna, the second element apparently no longer having any independent existence:

(100) nɨmweitaa-   *'back'*

      mwatelg-   *'ear'*

      mwankuiu   *'pandanus'*

3.3. Modifiers

Modifiers are words which normally follow the head noun in an NP or the verb in a VP.[21] They are morphologically simple, and this section will therefore not be concerned with their internal structure but with their subclassification.

3.3.1. General modifiers

General modifiers (GEN) may occur either in a verb phrase or in a noun phrase. Examples of two of these, vi *'new, newly'* and ɨma *'just, only'*, are given below:

(101) l-ua-ua vi
      3SG-PF-*come new*
      'He is newly arrived'

(102) in e nimwa vi
      it DEM:1 *house new*
      'This is a new house'

(103) l-Ø-am-ala ɨma
      3SG-CONC-CONT-*stay just*
      'He is still staying'

(104) kɨmlu ɨma tu-Ø-pi-ala
      *we:*EX:DU *just* FUT-3NSG-SQ-*stay*
      'Just the two of us will stay'

This class is probably an open class, but with a small membership. Other general modifiers are akwasɨg *'behind'*, ankap *'very, very much'* ialmɨh *'different(ly)'*, mala *'slow(ly)'*, kwiskwis *'together'*, etc.

3.3.2. Verbal modifiers

Verbal modifiers (VM) may occur only in VPs, and not in NPs. Two of these, pɨk *'a lot, very much'*, and ta *'completely, finished'*, are exemplified below:

(105) l-Ø-am-ɨvgɨn pɨk
      3SG-CONC-CONT-*eat very:much*
      'He eats a lot'

(106) i-akua-s-ol ta
      1EX-PF-PL-*do already*
      'We have already done it', *'We have finished doing it'*

This class is also small, but I have no evidence that it is a closed class.
Other VMs are la *'now, then'*, and lu *'trying to'*.

3.3.3. Nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers (NM) may only occur in NPs, and not in VPs. Examples
are given below of maul *'left'* and mɨsia *'dry'*:

(107) kwalm-n maul
      hand-3SG *left*
      'His left hand'

(108) nɨkien mɨsia kɨliik
      coconut dry DEM:IND
      'A dry coconut'

Again, this class may be closed, but I have no evidence that it is; other NMs
are favɨn *'which?'*, matukw *'right'*, and kalɨn (used in relationship terms:
see section 6).

3.3.4. Quantifiers

The class of quantifiers (QTY), which may only occur in NPs, contains
the numerals *'one'* to *'five'*:[22]

(109) kɨlikiana   *'one'*

      kɨlalu   *'two'*

      kɨsisɨl   *'three'*

      kuas   *'four'*

      kɨlkɨlɨp   *'five'*

The class also includes a number of other words: tɨksɨn *'some'*, kwatɨksɨn *'a few'*,
hialma *'next'*, kuhu *'how many?, how much?'*, mufaam *'all'*, etc.

3.3.5. Grammatical number markers

Another set of modifiers which may only appear in NPs is the set of
grammatical number markers (NUM). There are three of these:

(110) mil   'dual'

      misɨl   'trial'

      mɨna   'plural'

These modifiers are not required in a NP, even when the head of the NP is
non-singular. The number of the subject NP, for example, is marked as a
prefix to the verb, so a subject NP may or may not include a NUM as well.
Generally, when the number is important to the speaker or the context, then
either a numeral or a NUM (or both in combination) will be used; if the
number is not important, then no NUM will be used.

3.3.6. Demonstratives

Finally, there is a closed class of demonstratives (DEM). The list below is, I believe, complete:

(111) kɨliik   *'indefinite, a, some'*   (DEM:IND)

      e   *'this near speaker'*   (DEM:1)

      en   *'this, that, near addressee'*   (DEM:2)

      aan ∿ aa   *'that, yonder'*   (DEM:3)

      kwuse   *'this, that, indicated'*   (DEM:IDC)

      ai   *'the, this, that,* previously   (DEM:PR)
                                 referred to'

These modifiers normally occur in NPs:

(112) vha-pwa nal en
give-DIR:1 *thing* DEM:2
'Give me that (which you have/near you)'

(113) kwan ai l-Ø-am-olkeikei piakatɨɨt kwuse
fellow DEM:PR 3SG-CONC-CONT-*like girl* DEM:IDC
*'That/the man (we were talking about) likes that particular girl
(I am pointing to)'*

They are occasionally found in VPs, however:

(114) kwate en!
stay DEM:2
'Stay there (where you are)!'

3.4. Adjectives

Adjectives (ADJ) may be distinguished from modifiers in that they may take certain verbal affixes, and may thus stand as the sole constituent of a VP in a clause. On the other hand, they may be distinguished from verbs in that they may also occur without verbal affixes, and in their unaffixed form behave syntactically like modifiers, occurring in a NP following the head noun. The examples below show the adjectives esla *'sharp'* and amkɨmɨk *'dirty'* being used both verbally and non-verbally:

(115) nau e l-Ø-esla
knife DEM:1 3SG-CONC-*sharp*
'This knife is sharp'

(116) vha-pwa nau esla kɨliik!
give-DIR:1 *knife sharp* DEM:IND
'Give me a sharp knife'

(117) nal-k mufaam k-Ø-s-amkɨmɨk
child-1SG *all* 3NSG-CONC-PL-*dirty*
'All my children are dirty'

(118) vha-pɨn nepɨn amkɨmɨk aan!
give-DIR:3 *clothes dirty* DEM:3
'Give him those dirty clothes!'

Adjectives have been observed to occur with all the verbal prefixes except the intentional (which in any case seems to be extremely rare). They do not, however, take the verbal suffixes described in 3.1.1. above.

4. SYNTAX

4.1. Phrases

On the basis of their functions and their internal structure, a number of different phrase-types can be recognised in South-west Tanna. Each of these will be briefly discussed and exemplified below.

4.1.1. Verb phrases

Verb Phrases (VP) in South-west Tanna have the following structure:

(1)

$$VP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V + \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} VM \\ GEN \\ ADJ \end{array} \right\} \right) + (DEM) + (TRANS) \\ \\ ADJ + \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} GEN \\ VM \end{array} \right\} \right) \end{array} \right\}$$

The rule states that there are two basic types of VPs. One has as head a verb (i.e. verb root with appropriate affixes); optionally following the head appears a verbal modifier, a general modifier, or an adjective; this in turn may be followed by a demonstrative, with the transitive postclitic occurring finally in a VP. The other type of VP has an adjective (root + affixes) as its head; this may be followed by a general modifier or a verbal modifier.

Some examples of VPs showing various of these combinations are illustrated below. Slashes mark phrase-boundaries. Firstly, VPs with a V as head:

(2)   l-Ø-am-akwɨta
       3SG-CONC-CONT-*sit*
       'He is sitting down'

(3)   l-ua-ua vi
       3SG-PF-*come new*
       'He is newly arrived'

(4)   n-ak-am-eliuok mala
       2-CONC-CONT-*walk slowly*
       'You are walking slowly'

(5)   t-i-ak-ala e / ikɨn e
       FUT-1EX-CONC-*stay* DEM:1 / *place* DEM:1
       'I will stay here'

(6)   tagalua / l-n-ouiak ta kɨ / tɨki-n
       snake / 3SG-PF-*shed already* TRANS / *skin*-3SG
       'The snake has shed its skin'

Next, some examples of VPs with an adjective head:

(7)   l-Ø-vha
       3SG-CONC-*good*
       'It is good'

(8)   Ø-n-akwiliin ta
       3SG-PF-*full already*
       'It is full'

(9) k-Ø-u-alkatɨɨt ɨma
     3NSG-CONC-DU-*small just*
     'The two of them are only small'

4.1.2. Noun phrases

The basic structure of the South-west Tanna NP is given in the following rule:

(10)

$$NP \rightarrow N + (\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{GEN} \\ \text{NM} \\ \text{ADJ} \end{array} \right\}) + (NUM) + (QTY) + (DEM)$$

Noun phrases have nominals as heads, and all other constituents are optional. If these optional constituents occur, they occur in the following order: first, either a general modifier or a nominal modifier or an adjective; next, a grammatical number marker; then a quantifier; and lastly a demonstrative. Examples of various NP-types will first be given of NPs whose head nominal is a noun:

(11) i-emn-uh / pukah
      1EX-PST-*strike / pig*
      'I killed a/the pig'

(12) l-n-ol ta / nimwa vi
      3SG-PF-*make already / house new*
      'He has built a new house'

(13) vha-pwa / nau esla en!
      give-DIR:1 / *knife sharp* DEM:2
      'Give me that sharp knife (near you)!'

(14) pilavɨn mil ai / tu-k-Ø-la-ua
      woman DU DEM:PR / FUT-3NSG-CONC-DU-*come*
      'The two women will come'

(15) n-ak-am-aam / piakatɨɨt mil kɨlalu kwuse / ua?
      2-CONC-CONT-*see / girl* DU *two* DEM:IDC / *or*
      'Are you looking at those two girls there?'

In context, a head noun may be deleted and a quantifier may act as the head of a NP. Thus if the context included some discussion of two men who had gone away, then (16) would be grammatical:

(16) kɨlalu ai / tu-k-Ø-la-lelɨg
      two DEM:PR / FUT-3NSG-CONC-DU-*return*
      'The two will come back'

There are a few combinations of GEN + GEN which are acceptable within a NP. The most acceptable of these involve general modifiers like pɨk *'very much'* or ankap *'very'* as the second adjunct:

(17) i-emn-aam / nimwa vi ankap
      1EX-PST-*see / house new very*
      'I saw a very new house'

However, while informants will generally accept sentences with other combinations, such as (18) with ADJ + GEN:

(18) l-n-ol ta / nimwa vha vi
      3SG-PF-*make already / house good new*
      'He built a good new house'

it is much more common for South-west Tanna speakers to either verbalise the
adjective,

(19) l-n-ol- ta / nimwa vi / l-Ø-vha
      3SG-PF-*make already / house new/* 3SG-CONC-*good*
      'He built a good new house'

or to nominalise either the modifier or the adjective and remove it to an
appositional phrase:

(20) l-n-ol ta / nimwa vha / il-vi
      3SG-PF-*make already / house good /* NOM-*new*
      'He built a good new house'

    Now we turn to NPs whose head is a pronoun. Most commonly, pronoun heads
are unmodified:

(21) iliu / k-ua-la-su ta / nekw
      they:DU / 3NSG-PF-DU-*plant already / yam*
      'The two of them have planted the yams'

(22) i-emn-aam / iik
      1EX-PST-*see / you*:SG
      'I saw you'

However, pronouns may occur with the other NP constituents (except adjectives),
although not as commonly as nouns:

(23) kɨmlu ɨma / t-i-ak-la-vɨn
      we:EX:DU *just /* FUT-1EX-CONC-DU-*go*
      'Just the two of us will go'

(24) l-ɨmn-uh / alia mɨna
      3SG-PST-*strike /* *they*:OBJ:PL PL
      'He hit/killed them all'

(25) kɨtaua mufaam / tu-Ø-pi-ha-ua
      we:IN:PL *all /* FUT-1IN-SQ-PL-*come*
      'All of us will come'

(26) vah / in e!
      take / it DEM:1
      'Take this one!'

4.1.3. Location Phrases

    Location phrases (LP) indicate direction after a verb of specific motion
and location after other verbs. All LPs may be introduced by apwa which, though
optional, marks the following phrase as a LP. Three subtypes of LPs can be
identified:

(27)

$$LP \rightarrow (apwa) + \begin{cases} ik\dot{i}n + \begin{Bmatrix} MOD \\ ADJ \end{Bmatrix} \\ \text{locative noun} \\ ie + NP \end{cases}$$

The use of apwa is more common with LPs of the first two types; its use with the ie + NP type seems much less common.

The first subtype of LP uses the noun ikɨn *'place, location'* followed by a modifier or an adjective. Most commonly, a demonstrative follows ikɨn:

(28) l-Ø-am-ala / ikɨn e
      3SG-CONC-CONT-*live* / *place* DEM:1
      'He lives here'

(29) vah-pɨn / ikɨn aan!
      take-DIR:3 / *place* DEM:3
      'Take it over there'

(30) i-akn-aam ta / apwa ikɨn ai
      1EX-PF-*see already* / LOC *place* DEM:PR
      'I found it there (you-know-where)'

However, adjectives and other modifiers may also follow ikɨn:

(31) l-Ø-am-ala / apwa ikɨn vi
      3SG-CONC-CONT-*live* / LOC *place new*
      'He lives in a new place'

(32) l-Ø-am-ala / ikɨn ha
      3SG-CONC-CONT-*live* / *place bad*
      'He lives in a bad place'

The second kind of LP involves the use of a subclass of nouns which I call locative nouns. This subclass is defined by their behaviour in LPs: Locative nouns may occur alone as the head of a LP, while other nouns must take the case-marker ie. Locative nouns include the names of all places — e.g. Iounhanɨn (a village), Iakwukak (a village), Isagɨl (a government station) — and also a number of other nouns, of which the following list is an example:

(33) ipaka   *'near, nearby'*

      isokw   *'far, far away'*

      pihiu   *'north'*

      pɨlaah   *'south'*

      pihiaak   *'east'*

      pila   *'west'*

One or two regular nouns have special locative forms:

(34) ielkwanu   *'to, at, or in the village'*
                      (cf. lukwanu *'village'*)

      iimwa   *'at home, home, homewards'*
                      (cf. nimwa *'house'*)

As noted above, these nouns may occur as the heads of LPs, although they may be introduced by apwa:

(35) l-Ø-am-ala / apwa Iounhanɨn
      3SG-CONC-CONT-*live* / LOC *Iounhanɨn*
      'He lives at Iounhanɨn'

(36) lɨhu / apwa isokw!
      put / LOC *far*
      'Put it down a long way away'

(37)   t-i-ak-am-vɨn / ielkwanu
        FUT-1EX-CONC-CONT-*go* / LOC:*village*
        'I'm going to the village', *'I'm going home'*

    The third type of LP consists of a NP (as described in 4.1.2.) preceded
by the case-marker ie. This case-marker is a clitic (as are the others to be
discussed in later sections); it receives no stress in its own right, although
it may be stressed if, when considered as the first syllable of the following
noun, it fits the structural description of the stress-assignment rules (see
2.4. above). However, it will be more convenient for purposes of description
to maintain the fiction that ie (and also the other case-markers) are in fact
separate words.

    Examples of LPs of this sort, with NPs whose heads are nouns, are given
below:

(38)   l-Ø-am-eliuok / ie nɨpakɨl
        3SG-CONC-CONT-*walk* / LOC *sand*
        'He is walking on the beach'

(39)   l-Ø-am-ala / ie tukwas aan
        3SG-CONC-CONT-*live* / LOC *mountain* DEM:3
        'He lives on that mountain there'

(40)   n-ak-am-avɨn / ie n-asim-ien / ua?
        2-CONC-CONT-*go* / LOC NOM-*work:in:garden*-NOM / *or*
        'Are you going to the garden(s)?'

Example (38) clearly illustrates the point made earlier that LPs have directional
sense after a verb of specific motion (as in (40)) but a locative sense elsewhere
(e.g. (39)). The verb in (38), eliuok *'to walk'*, is not a verb of specific
motion, and thus (38) may only have a locative sense: walking *on* the beach.
For a directional sense to apply to a verb like eliuok, a verb of specific
motion would have to be conjoined; e.g.

(41)   l-Ø-am-eliuok / m-avɨn / ie nɨpakɨl
        3SG-CONC-CONT-*walk* / AND-*go* / LOC *sand*
        'He is walking to the beach'

    Before a pronoun, ie shows some allomorphic variation: ie becomes il
before the non-singular objective pronouns, with the third person non-singular
showing further morphophonemic changes:

        il + aliu   >   il eliu   (DU)

        il + alisɨl   >   il isɨl   (TR)

        il + alia   >   il elia   (PL)

Before the singular pronouns, ie has the form ila; further, the possessive forms
of the pronouns, and not the free forms, occur with this allomorph: thus ila-k
'to me', ila-m *'to you'*, ila-n *'to him/her/it'*.

(42)   nau ai / l-Ø-am-ala / ila-n
        knife DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-*live* / LOC-3SG
        'The knife is on it'

(43)   kwan ai / l-Ø-am-aiu / m-avɨn / apwa ila-k
        fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-*run* /AND-*go* / LOC LOC-1SG
        'That fellow is running to(wards) me'

4.1.4. Time phrases

Time phrases (TP) in South-west Tanna have the following structure:

(44)

$$\text{TP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{temporal noun} \\ \text{ie + NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

That is, TPs are composed either of a temporal noun, or of a NP introduced by the case-marker ie.

Temporal nouns are a subclass of nouns whose definition is similar to that of locative nouns dicussed in the previous section: that is, they are nouns which may occur alone as the head of a TP. Below are some examples of temporal nouns:

(45)   touei   *'today'*

       takwtakwun   *'now'*

       niɨv   *'yesterday'*

       naho   *'day before yesterday'*

       nhiksɨl   *'two days ago'*

       tukwienakwamɨl   *'tomorrow'*

       tukwnaho   *'day after tomorrow'*

       tukwnhiksɨl   *'two days hence'*

       naghɨn   *'when? (past)'*

       tukwnaghɨn   *'when? (future)'*

Some examples:

(46)   n-akn-ua / naghɨn?
      2-PF-*come* / *when:past*
      'When did you come'

(47)   i-emn-ɨvgɨn / pukah / niɨv
      1EX-PST-*feed* / *pig* / *yesterday*
      'I fed the pigs yesterday'

The other kind of TP consists of a NP preceded by the case-marker ie:

(48)   l-ua-ua / ie lukweha
      3SG-PST-*come* / TEM *daylight*
      'He came during daylight/during the daytime'

(49)   l-ɨmn-aan / kamaam / ie naha nɨpɨg?
      3SG-PST-*eat* / *fish* / TEM *what day*
      'When did he eat the fish?'

When the head of the NP is nɨpɨg *'day, time'*, the case-marker ie may be dispensed with:

(50)   nɨpɨg kape nehen / i-ak-lih / kuhuan
      time POS *rain* / 1EX-CONC-*collect* / *shellfish*
      'During the rain I collect shellfish'

(51)   l-Ø-am-aan / mana / nɨpɨg mufaam
      3SG-CONC-CONT-*eat* / *chicken* / *day all*
      'He always eats chicken', *'He eats chicken every day'*

4.1.5. Dative phrases

South-west Tanna dative phrases (DP) have the following structure:

(52)   DP → { tukw / kɨmi } + NP

That is, a dative phrase consists of a NP introduced by either the case-marker tukw or the case-marker kɨmi (which is kɨmi ∿ kɨm before a consonant).

The DP with kɨmi is used after verbs of giving:

(53)   tukw-1-Ø-vha-pwa / kɨmi iou
FUT-3SG-CONC-*give*-DIR:1 / DAT I
'He will give it to me'

Some verbs of speaking require kɨmi, while others require tukw:

(54)   i-emn-ɨnkiaal / kɨmi aliu
1EX-PST-*speak* / DAT *they*:DU:OBJ
'I spoke to them'

(55)   1-ɨm-ni / tukw lɨm-n
3SG-PST-*say* / DAT *father*-3SG
'He talked to his father'

4.1.6. Benefactive phrases

The benefactive phrase (BP) has the following structure:

(56)   BP → kape + NP

The BP is, then, a NP introduced by kape which also functions as a possessive-marker; see section 4.2.4.2. below for a discussion of its allomorphs. Below are examples of benefactive phrases:

(57)   n-ak-am-ol / kape lɨm-m / ua?
2-CONC-CONT-*do* / BENEF *father*-2SG / or
'Are you doing it for your father?'

(58)   1-ɨmn-asim / niɨv / kape nɨsɨn-n
3SG-PST-*work:in:garden* / yesterday / BENEF *mother*-3SG
'Yesterday he worked in the garden for his mother'

4.1.7. Instrumental phrases

South-west Tanna instrumental phrases (IP) consist of a NP preceded by the case-marker ie; that is:

(59)   IP → ie + NP

Examples:

(60)   t-i-ak-am-ɨlai / nai aan / ie kɨpas e
FUT-1EX-CONC-CONT-*cut* / tree DEM:3 / INST *axe* DEM:1
'I'm going to cut down that tree with this axe'

(61)   n-ɨmn-ol / ila-n / ua?
2-PST-*do* / INST-3SG / or
'Did you use it?', 'Did you do it with it?'

4.1.8. Causative phrases

Causative phrases (CP) are NPs introduced by the case-marker tukw:

(62) CP → tukw + NP

(63) i-ak-a-mha / tukw kamaam
      1EX-CONC-CONT-*sick* / CAUS *fish*
      'I am sick because of the fish'

(64) níamha / 1-Ø-as iou / tukw alia
      anger / 3SG-CONC-*bite I* / CAUS *they*:PL:OBJ
      'I am angry because of them (i.e. because of something they did)'

4.1.9. Case-markers: Summary

A number of case-markers were introduced in the preceding sections. These are listed again below for convenience, together with their allomorphs and their functions:

ie (il-, ila-)	location phrases time phrases instrumental phrases
tukw	dative phrases causative phrases
kɨmi (kɨm)	dative phrases
kape (see 4.2.4.2.)	benefactive phrases

4.2. Noun phrase expansions

The NP which forms the basis for most of the phrase-types discussed in section 4.1. may be expanded in various ways. In this section we shall examine coordination of NPs, relativisation, complex LPs, and possession.

4.2.1. Coordination

Any NP — and this includes any NP which is preceded by a case-marker in a LP, TP, etc. — may in fact consist of two or more conjoined NPs. Such NPs are conjoined by the following role:

(65) NP → NP + mɨne + NP + (mɨne)

That is, the conjunction mɨne *'and'* joins two NPs, and mɨne may also occur after the second NP. In fact, when only two NPs are conjoined, mɨne does not normally occur after the second NP; however, when three or more NPs are conjoined, mɨne will normally follow the last NP, and earlier occurrences of mɨne (except between the second-last and last NP) may be deleted.

(66) i-ak-olkeikei / kwalei mɨne nekw
      1EX-CONC-*like* / *sweet:potato and yam*
      'I like sweet potato and yam'

(67) 1-ɨmn-aan / kamaam mɨne mana
      3SG-PST-*eat* / *fish and chicken*
      'He ate fish and chicken'

(68)   i-emn-s-aam / kɨlhiavɨn, kamaam, ihi mɨne iakw mɨne
        1EX-PST-PL-*see* / *shark, fish, squid and turtle and*
        '*We saw sharks, fish, squid, and turtles*'

When one of the NPs to be conjoined is a pronoun, however, mɨne is not
used to link pronoun + NP. Instead, a pronoun with the person and number of
the whole conjoined NP stands first in that NP, and is followed by the non-
pronominal NP or NPs. Thus (69) is unacceptable:

(69)   *iou mɨne Tom / t-i-uk-u-ɨvgɨn
        I and Tom / FUT-1EX-CONC-DU-*eat*

Instead, a pronoun with the person and number of the whole conjoined NP (i.e.
kɨmlu 1EX:DU) stands first, and this is immediately followed by the conjoined
NP ('Tom').

(70)   kɨmlu Tom / t-i-uk-u-ɨvgɨn
        we:EX:DU *Tom* / FUT-1EX-CONC-DU-*eat*
        '*Tom and I will eat*'

When two (or more) non-pronominal NPs are conjoined with a pronoun, mɨne will
join the non-pronominal NPs:

(71)   kɨmasɨl Tom mɨne nal-n / t-i-ak-lh-ɨvgɨn
        we:EX:TR *Tom and child*-3SG / FUT-1EX-CONC-TR-*eat*
        '*Tom, his son and I will eat*'

4.2.2. Relativisation

    Relativisation in South-west Tanna involves the embedding of a clause (see
4.3.) within a NP or some phrase which includes a NP. A relative clause is
conjoined to the NP immediately following the noun which it describes. In the
examples below, the relative clause is separated from the rest of the NP by
square brackets.

(72)   i-emn-aam / ielmama [1-Ø-olkeikei ankap kamaam]
        1EX-PST-*see* / *person* [3SG-CONC-*like very fish*]
        '*I saw the man who likes fish a lot*'

(73)   i-emn-aam / ielmama [n-ɨmn-uh niɨv]
        1EX-PST-*see* / *person* [2-PST-*fight yesterday*]
        '*I saw the man who you fought yesterday*'

(74)   pilavɨn aa [1-Ø-am-asim] / tukw-1-Ø-ua / tukwienakwamɨl
        woman DEM:3 [3SG-CONC-CONT-*work:in:garden*] / FUT-3SG-CONC-*come* / *tomorrow*
        '*That woman who is working in the garden will come tomorrow*'

(75)   i-emn-aan / nekw na-i kwan ai [1-ɨmn-uh kafa-k pukah]
        1EX-PST-*eat* / *yam* POS:EAT-POS *fellow* DEM:PR [3SG-PST-*kill* POS-1SG *pig*]
        '*I ate the yam of the fellow who killed my pig*'

Relative clauses on the head noun nɨpɨg '*time*' yield a complex TP:

(76)   t-i-ak-ua / ie hospɨtɨl / (ie) nɨpɨg [t-i-ak-a-mha]
        FUT-1EX-CONC-*come* / LOC *hospital* / (TEM) *time* [FUT-1EX-CONC-CONT-*sick*]
        '*I will come to hospital when I am sick*'

    Relative clauses on the head noun ikɨn '*place*' yield a complex LP. The
situation is somewhat different here, however. The relative clause may begin
and end with ikɨn, as in (77); alternatively, either occurrence of ikɨn may be

omitted, with no change in the meaning, as in (78) and (79). However, both occurrences may not be omitted, as the ungrammatical (80) shows:

(77) t-i-ak-vɨn / ikɨn [l-okwiaai] ikɨn
      FUT-1EX-CONC-*go* / *place* [3SG-*cold*] *place*
      '*I go to a place which is cold*'

(78) t-i-ak-vɨn / ikɨn [l-okwiaai]

(79) t-i-ak-vɨn / [l-okwiaai] ikɨn

(80) *t-i-ak-vɨn / [l-okwiaai]

4.2.3. Complex location phrases

Certain complex LPs are merely NPs with relative clauses, and these were dealt with in the previous section. Others, however, are complex in a different way. Certain locative nouns (e.g. ipaka '*near*' and, isokw '*far*') may be followed by tukw + NP to give a complex LP:

(81) l-ɨmn-eliuok / ipaka tukw ‘kopwiel
      3SG-PST-*walk* / *near* DAT *stone*
      '*He walked near the stone*'

(82) l-Ø-am-ala / isokw tukw lɨm-n
      3SG-CONC-CONT-*live* / *far* DAT *father*-3SG
      '*He lives far away from his father*'

4.2.4. Possession

A NP may also be expanded by the addition of a following possessive phrase (PP):

(83) NP → NP + PP

The possessive phrases in South-west Tanna occur in a number of subtypes, but all may be conceived of as having the following underlying structure:

(84) PP → POS + NP

The NP which is followed by the PP refers to what is possessed; the PP itself contains a possessive-marker (POS) and the NP. If the NP is a pronoun, the pronominal suffixes given in 3.2.2. above are used. The various subtypes of possession will be examined individually.

4.2.4.1. Direct possession.

Direct (or inalienable) possession has already been briefly mentioned (section 3.2.2. above). In these phrases, when the possessor is a pronoun, the possessive marker is zero, and possessive pronominal forms are thus suffixed directly to the noun:

(85) lɨm-n
      father-3SG
      '*His father*'

(86) kwalm-lia
      hand-3PL
      '*Their hands*'

When the possessor is a noun, a construct suffix is added to the possessed noun. This suffix is -ɨ after a consonant-final directly possessed noun; after a noun ending in a, the suffix is -i; while after any other vowel the suffix is -∅:

(87) nɨsɨn-ɨ pilavɨn e
      mother-POS *woman* DEM:1
      'This woman's mother'

(88) nɨpwagnhig-ɨ kwan ai
      nose-POS *fellow* DEM:PR
      'The/that fellow's nose'

(89) nɨplaa-i nai
      body-POS *tree*
      'The trunk of the tree'

(90) mɨla-i Natou
      mother's:brother-POS *Natou*
      'Natou's (maternal) uncle'

(91) noulahi-∅ Magau
      younger:sibling-POS *Magau*
      'Magau's young brother'

(92) nuhu-∅ pukah
      leg-POS *pig*
      'The pig's leg'

In direct possession, the first (i.e. possessed) NP may not contain any adjective or modifier. Thus a phrase like the following is ungrammatical:

(93) *nal(-ɨ) amkɨmɨk pilavɨn e
      child(-POS) *dirty woman* DEM:1

Instead, a modifier must be nominalised and moved out of the PP, while an adjective must be nominalised or verbalised and moved out of the PP:

(94) nal-ɨ pilavɨn e / il-amkɨmɨk
      child-POS *woman* DEM:1 / NOM-*dirty*
      'This woman's dirty child(ren)'

(95) nal-ɨ pilavɨn e / l-∅-amkɨmɨk
      child-POS *woman* DEM:1 / 3SG-CONC-*dirty*
      'The woman's dirty child'

4.2.4.2. Active possession. Active (or inalienable) possession involves the use of overt possessive-markers joining the two NPs. In cases of pronoun possessors, the possessive pronominal suffixes are attached to these possessive-markers; when the possessor is not a pronoun, the possessive-marker occurs between the two NPs.

When the possession is to be eaten, the possessive-marker is na-. The construct suffix -i mentioned above is suffixed to na- before a noun possessor:

(96) nekw na-m
      yam POS:EAT-2SG
      'Your yam(s) (for eating)'

(97) nɨpwan na-i kwan ai
      banana POS:EAT-POS *fellow* DEM:PR
      'That fellow's banana(s) (for eating)'

When the possession is to be drunk, the marker ni- is used:

(98) nɨkien ni-k
      coconut POS:DRINK-1SG
      'My coconut(s) (for drinking)'

(99) nu ni pilavɨn aan
      water POS:DRINK *woman* DEM:3
      'That woman's water (for drinking)'

When the possession is to be planted, the marker nai- is used:

(100) nɨtel nai-lia
      taro POS:PLANT-3PL
      'Their taro (for planting)'

(101) kwalei nai lɨm-k
      sweet:potato POS:PLANT *father*-1SG
      'My father's sweet potato (for planting)'

When the possession is for neither eating, drinking, nor planting, (i.e. in the unmarked case), then the marker kape- is used; kape- has the allomorphs kapa- ∿ kafa- before the singular pronominal suffixes.

(102) nimwa kape-taua
      house POS-1IN:PL
      'Our house'

(103) kuli kape nɨsɨn-k
      dog POS *mother*-1SG
      'My mother's dog'

(104) nau kapa-n or nau kafa-n
      knife POS-3SG
      'His/her knife'

     The important feature in the use of these possessive-markers is the intention of the speaker or possessor — i.e. the use to which the possession is going to be put. Water for drinking would be possessed with ni-, for example, but water for washing with kape-; a coconut for eating would be possessed with na-, one for drinking with ni-, and one for selling with kape-; and so on.

     Like the other Tanna languages, South-west Tanna allows the possessor constituent to precede the possessed. This is particularly frequent when the possessor is a pronoun, and phrases like those below occur at least as frequently as their counterparts above without, as far as I have been able to ascertain, any semantic change:

(96a) na-m nekw   *'your yam(s) (for eating)'*

(98a) ni-k nɨkien   *'my coconut(s) (for drinking)'*

(100a) nai-lia nɨtel   *'their taro (for planting)'*

(102a) kape-taua nimwa   *'our house'*

(104a) kapa-n nau   *'his knife'*

The same is true to a much lesser extent when the possessor is a noun. A phrase like (103a) is certainly acceptable:

(103a) kape nɨsɨn-k kuli *'my mother's dog'*

However, firstly such a phrase is much less common than its counterpart (103) with possessor following possessed; and secondly, there is in this case a semantic shift — emphasis is being laid on the possessor, so that (103a) indicates that it is definitely my mother's dog, and certainly not anyone else's.

The indication of the high value a possessor places on his possession may also be indicated in a possessive phrase, although again this is not very frequent. In such cases, the structure of the (a) transforms above must be used, and the initial n of the noun deleted.[23]   The 'valued' forms of the (a) sentences above would be:

(96b)   na-m ekw   *'your favourite (kind of) yam (for eating)'*

(98b)   ni-k ɨkien   *'my favourite (kind of) coconut (for drinking)'*

(100b) nai-lia ɨtel   *'their best planting-taro'*

(102b) kape-taua imwa   *'our favourite house'*

(104b) kapa-n au   *'his prized knife'*

For those nouns which do not begin with n, such a distinction between ordinary and valued possession does not operate. Nor does the distinction operate with noun possessors, as far as I am aware.

4.2.4.3. Locative possession. A few nouns referring to locations are possessed with iimwa- (which takes the construct suffix -i when preceding a noun). This is not a particularly common construction-type in South-west Tanna; however, a few examples may be given:

(105)   ielkwanu iimwa-k
        LOC:*village* POS:LOC-1SG
        'To/at/in my village'

(106)   tana iimwa-i Misak
        place POS:LOC-POS *Misak*
        'Misak's place (in the sense of where he comes from, not necessarily where he is living)'

Example (105) shows the true locative sense of this marker, since the corresponding non-locative noun lukwanu can not be possessed with iimwa-, but only with kape-:

(107)   lukwanu kapa-k
        village POS-1SG
        'My village'

(108)   *lukwanu iimwa-k
        village POS:LOC-1SG

There is some evidence that PPs like (105) may also be transformed in the same way that active PPs are transformed:

(105a) iimwa-k ielkwanu   *'to/at/in my village'*

However, this transformation is much less common with locative possession. Furthermore, it seems not to be possible when the possessor is a noun:

(106a) *? iimwa-i Misak tana

There appears to be no valued variant of locative possession.

4.2.4.4. Passive possession. It was noted in 3.2.2. above that a number of nouns which, on semantic grounds, might be expected to participate in direct possession do not in fact do so. Instead, these nouns (which generally refer to parts of wholes) are possessed in a different manner, which I will call passive possession. All these nouns take ie as the possessive-marker, though some can use kape- as well:

(109) nɨmlakw ie napw
      ashes POS *fire*
      'The ashes of the fire'

(110) tɨpweua ila-n
      stomach POS-3SG
      'His/her/its stomach'

(111) kwanɨkiatu ie kɨnu (or kwanɨkiatu kape kɨnu)
      outrigger:boom POS *canoe*
      'The canoe's outrigger-boom'

(112) kwanaikwanai ie nuhu-k
      ankle POS *leg*-1SG
      'My ankle'

The semantic relationship between passive possession and location, which is also marked by ie, should be remarked upon.

4.2.4.5. Possessive-markers: Summary. For convenience, the various possessive-markers introduced in this section, together with their allomorphs and functions, are listed below:

-Ø (-ɨ, -i)	direct possession
kape- (kapa-, kafa-)	active possession (unmarked) passive possession (some cases)
na- (na-i)	active possession (marked: to be eaten)
ni-	active possession (marked: to be drunk)
nai-	active possession (marked: to be planted)
iimwa- (iimwa-i)	locative possession
ie (il-, ila-)	passive possession

4.3. Clauses

Two basic types of clauses can be identified in South-west Tanna: clauses which have no VP, and clauses with a VP. The latter can be further divided into intransitive, transitive, and negative clauses.

4.3.1. Verbless clauses

A number of South-west Tanna clause-types requires no VP. These clauses are generally identificatory in nature, and have functions which could be variously labelled as equational, appositional, locational, and temporal.

It is possible to consider such clauses as topic-comment clauses, where the comment is verbless.

Most verbless clauses require the presence of two phrases. The commonest patterns are as follows:

(113)

$$
\text{verbless clause} \rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{NP + NP} \\
\text{NP + LP} \\
\text{NP + PP} \\
\text{PP + NP} \\
\text{TP + NP}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

(In each case, the NP constituent may be simple or may be expanded according to the various processes outlined in 4.2.)

Examples of these clause-types follow:

(114) in e / iemasuul kɨliik   NP + NP
      he DEM:1 / *big:man* DEM:IND
      'He/this is a big-man'

(115) natou / ihie?   NP + LP
      Natou / where
      'Where is Natou?'

(116) pukah mɨna aan / kafa-k   NP + PP
      pig PL DEM:3 / POS-1SG
      'Those are my pigs', 'Those pigs are mine'

(117) kafa-n / nimwa   PP + NP
      POS-3SG / *house*
      '(It's) his house'

(118) niɨv / kamaam pɨk mɨna   TP + NP
      yesterday / fish very:much PL
      'Yesterday there were lots of fish'

Other clause-types occur, but are rarer; thus LP may precede NP in clauses like (115) if stress is being laid on the location; however, these are minor variations. The major types of verbless clauses are as illustrated above.

Negative verbless clauses do not occur. To make any of the verbless clauses above negative, a negative verb (such as lkak *'not to be'*) must be used, and the clause thus becomes intransitive verbal.

4.3.2. Verbal clauses

Clauses which require the presence of a VP are subdivided into intransitive, transitive, and negative clauses for the purposes of discussion.

4.3.2.1. Intransitive clauses.
An intransitive clause requires the presence of a VP, and also requires one NP preceding the VP: this may be referred to as the *core* of the clause, with the NP acting as subject of the VP and conditioning the choice of the person-of-subject and number-of-subject prefixes to the verb. There may in addition be a *periphery,* which could

contain one or more other phrases — a LP, TP, DP, BP, IP, or CP, but no other NPs. These peripheral phrases generally follow the verb. There appear to be no special ordering relations among these peripheral phrases, although benefactive phrases (introduced by kape) often immediately follow the VP, if only so as to avoid a possible interpretation as a possessive phrase (some of which are also introduced by kape). A general rule for intransitive clauses would thus be:

(119)

$$\text{intransitive clause} \rightarrow \text{NP} + \text{VP} + \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{LP} \\ \text{TP} \\ \text{DP} \\ \text{BP} \\ \text{IP} \\ \text{CP} \end{array}\right) + \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{LP} \\ \text{TP} \\ \text{DP} \\ \text{BP} \\ \text{IP} \\ \text{CP} \end{array}\right) + (\ldots)$$

The simplest examples of intransitive clauses are examples of cores only:

(120) piakatɨɨt ai / l-Ø-am-eliuok
girl DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-*walk*
'That girl is walking'

(121) pukah mɨna / k-Ø-a-s-ɨvgɨn
pig PL / 3NSG-CONC-CONT-PL-*eat*
'The pigs are eating'

(122) iou / i-emn-am-apɨl
I / 1EX-PST-CONT-*sleep*
'I was sleeping', 'I was asleep'

(123) nau e / l-Ø-esla
knife DEM:1 / 3SG-CONC-*sharp*
'This knife is sharp'

Peripheral clauses may be added to this core, although in practice not more than two or three ever occur in normal speech; further, it is unusual for peripheral clauses to occur if the head of the VP is an adjective:

(124) piakatɨɨt ai / l-Ø-am-eliuok / apwa ie nɨpakɨl
girl DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-*walk* / LOC LOC *sand*
'That girl is walking on the sand/beach'

(125) nai kɨlalu ai / l-Ø-lkak ai / touei
tree two DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-*not:be* DEM:PR / *today*
'Those two trees are not there today'

(126) lɨm-lia / l-n-ɨnkiaal ta / kɨmi nal-n mil
father-3DU / 3SG-PF-*speak already* / DAT *child*-3SG DU
'The father has already spoken to his two children'

(127) Magau / l-ɨmn-asim / niɨv / kape nɨsɨn-n
Magau / 3SG-PST-*work:in:garden* / *yesterday* / BENEF *mother*-3SG
'Yesterday Magau worked in the garden for his mother'

(128) kwan ai / l-ɨmn-hakta / ie nelaus
fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-*go:up* / INST *rope*
'The man climbed with a rope'

(129) pilavɨn kafa-k / l-Ø-a-mha / tukw kuhuan ai
wife POS-1SG / 3SG-CONC-CONT-*sick* / CAUS *shellfish* DEM:PR
'My wife is ill because of those shellfish'

While TPs may occur anywhere in the periphery after the VP, it is just as common for them to occur at the beginning of the clause, before the subject NP. Thus (130) is a possible variant of (127):

(130) niɨv / Magau / l-ɨmn-asim / kape nɨsɨn-n
      yesterday / Magau / 3SG-PST-*work:in:garden* / BENEF *mother*-3SG
      'Yesterday Magau worked in the garden for his mother'

If this fronted TP refers to a future time, the future prefix may be omitted from the verb:

(131) tukwienakwamɨl / nal-k / (tukw-)l-Ø-ua
      tomorrow / child-1SG / (FUT-)3SG-CONC-*come*
      'Tomorrow my son will come'

Other peripheral phrases may be fronted to this pre-subject position, but usually only in cases of strong emphasis. Thus (132) would be a possible variant of (124), but with emphasis on the LP:

(132) apwa ie nɨpakɨl / piakatɨɨt ai / l-Ø-am-eliuok
      LOC LOC *sand /girl* DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-*walk*
      'It is on the beach that the girl is walking'

When the semantics of the subject can be fully recovered from the person-of-subject and number-of-subject prefixes to the verb, the subject NP may be omitted. In practice, this means that (i) in discourse, subjects are often deleted; and (ii) when the subject is a pronoun, it is *usually* deleted, and is generally retained only in cases of emphasis. Contrast, for example, (133) with (134):

(133) n-ak-a-s-ɨvgɨn
      2-CONC-CONT-PL-*eat*
      'You are eating'

(134) kɨmia / n-ak-a-s-ɨvgɨn
      you:PL / 2-CONC-CONT-PL-*eat*
      'YOU are eating'

Such pronoun subject deletion is extremely common when the subject pronoun is first or second person. When it is third person, there is, naturally, greater potential for ambiguity, and context will determine whether the subject pronoun can be deleted without obscuring the semantics of the clause.

4.3.2.2. Transitive clauses.

Transitive clauses in South-west Tanna are similar in structure to intransitive clauses except that the core requires *two* NPs: a subject NP preceding the VP, and an object NP following the VP. The VP in a transitive clause may not have an adjective as its head. Peripheral phrases almost always follow the object NP.

(135)

$$
\text{transitive clause} \rightarrow \text{NP} + \text{VP} + \text{NP} + \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{LP} \\ \text{TP} \\ \text{DP} \\ \text{BP} \\ \text{IP} \\ \text{CP} \end{array} \right) + \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{LP} \\ \text{TP} \\ \text{DP} \\ \text{BP} \\ \text{IP} \\ \text{CP} \end{array} \right) + (\ldots)
$$

As with intransitive clauses, subject pronouns may be deleted. TPs are often fronted, other peripheral phrases are occasionally fronted.

Again, the simplest examples of transitive clauses are of cores only:[24]

(136) kuli aan / l-Ø-am-aan / nauga tɨksɨn
      dog DEM:3 / 3SG-CONC-CONT-*eat* / *meat some*
      'That dog is eating some meat'

(137) nɨ́amha / tukw-l-Ø-as / iou
      anger / FUT-3SG-CONC-*bite* / *me*
      'I will get angry'

(138) pukaliakatɨɨt e / l-Ø-am-gɨn-kɨn / kɨlhiavɨn
      boy DEM:1 / 3SG-CONC-CONT-*fear*-TRANS/*shark*
      'This boy is afraid of sharks'

These cores may be expanded by the addition of peripheral phrases. (Note also the omission of pronoun subject NPs in examples (140) and (141).)

(139) kwan ai / l-ɨmn-ɨlai / nai mɨna / kafa-k
      fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-*cut* / *tree* PL / BENEF-1SG
      'That man cut down the trees for me'

(140) tukwnaho / n-ak-ha-lɨhu / kopwiel e / ie iapiuan
      day:after:tomorrow / 2-CONC-PL-*put* / *stone* DEM:1 / LOC *river*
      'The day after tomorrow you will put this stone in the river'

(141) l-n-vha-pwa ta / pukah kɨlalu / kɨmi amlu / tukw lɨm-mlu
      3SG-PF-*give*-DIR:1 *already* / *pig two* / DAT *us*:EX:DU/CAUS *father*-1EX:DU
      'He gave the two of us two pigs because of our father (e.g. in compensation for his death, or as a repayment for something he did)'

(142) pukaliakatɨɨt / l-ɨmn-huopnii / kuli / ie nau
      boy / 3SG-PST-*kill* / *dog* / INST *knife*
      'A boy killed a/the dog with a knife'

A third person singular object pronoun is normally deleted. Its inclusion denotes emphasis; contrast (143) and (144):

(143) piakatɨɨt ai / l-ɨmn-am-kwasɨg-kɨn
      girl DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-CONT-*follow*-TRANS
      'The girl was following him'

(144) piakatɨɨt ai / l-ɨmn-am-kwasɨg-kɨn / in
      girl DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-CONT-*follow*-TRANS / *him*
      'It was him that the girl was following'

Other pronoun objects, however, may not normally be deleted:

(145) piakatɨɨt ai / l-ɨmn-am-kwasɨg-kɨn / aliu
      girl DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-CONT-*follow*-TRANS / *them*:DU:OBJ
      'The girl was following the two of them'

Out of context, example (143) can only refer to a singular third person pronoun object. In context, it is possible that example (143) could be used as an alternative to (145), but to avoid any possible ambiguity, (145) would be the preferred structure.

There are a few contexts in which the object can be fronted to sentence-initial position. This occurs quite often when the verb is impersonal (see 3.1.1.8. above), and may also occur when strong emphasis is being placed on the object. Example (146) below shows a fronted object with an impersonal verb, while (147) shows an emphatic fronted object:

(146) nɨpwan kafa-k / k-uan-ɨlai
      banana POS-1SG / 3NSG-PF-*cut*
      'My bananas have been cut down'

(147) kuli kafa-m / iou / t-i-ak-uh
      dog POS-2SG / *I* / FUT-1EX-CONC-*kill*
      'That dog of yours I'm going to kill'

4.3.2.3. Negative clauses. A negative clause contains the verb apwah, to which all verbal affixes are attached, followed by the nominalised form of the 'content-verb' which is to be negatived; the nominalisation takes the form of the discontinuous affix n-...-ien. A negative intransitive clause thus contains a NP (the nominalised verb) following the VP (apwah), and may also contain a number of peripheral phrases:

(148) negative
      intransitive → NP + negative VP + NOM-V + ...
      clause

The negative forms of examples (121), (123), (127), and (131) above are given below:

(149) pukah mɨna / k-Ø-a-s-apwah / n-ɨvgɨn-ien
      pig PL / 3NSG-CONC-CONT-PL-*not* / NOM-*eat*-NOM
      'The pigs are not eating'

(150) nau e / l-Ø-apwah / n-esla-ien
      knife DEM:1 / 3SG-CONC-*not* / NOM-*sharp*-NOM
      'This knife is not sharp'

(151) magau / l-ɨmn-apwah / n-asim-ien / niɨv / kape nɨsɨn-n
      Magau / 3SG-PST-*not* / NOM-*work:in:garden*-NOM / *yesterday* / BENEF *mother*-3SG
      'Yesterday Magau did not work in the garden for his mother'

(152) tukwienakwamɨl / nal-k / (tukw-)l-Ø-apwah / n-ua-ien
      tomorrow / *child*-1SG / (FUT-)3SG-CONC-*not* / NOM-*come*-NOM
      'My son won't come tomorrow'

Similarly, a negative transitive clause has the nominalised verb following the negative VP, with the object NP following this:

(153) negative
      transitive → NP + negative VP + NOM-V + NP + ...
      clause

The negative forms of (136), (137), (139), and (143) above are given below:

(154) kuli aan / l-Ø-am-apwah / n-aan-ien / nauga tɨksɨn
      dog DEM:3 / 3SG-CONC-CONT-*not* / NOM-*eat*-NOM / *meat some*
      'That dog is not eating any meat'

(155) nĭamha / tukw-l-Ø-apwah / n-as-ien / iou
      anger / FUT-3SG-CONC-*not* / NOM-*bite*-NOM / *me*
      'I will not get angry'

(156) kwan ai / l-ɨmn-apwah / n-ɨlai-aan / nai mɨna / kafa-k
      fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-*not* / NOM-*cut*-NOM / *tree* PL / BENEF-1SG
      'That man did not cut down the trees for me'

(157) piakatɨɨt ai / l-ɨmn-am-apwah / n-kwasɨg-kɨn-ien
      girl DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-CONT-*not* / NOM-*follow*-TRANS-NOM
      'The girl was not following him'

Note in (157) that the transitive suffix remains attached to the root of the nominalised verb; the same is true of other suffixes (e.g. directionals), though it is not true of the verbal prefixes:

(158) tukw-l-Ø-apwah / n-vha-pwa-ien / nɨtukw / kɨmi iou
      FUT-3SG-CONC-*not* / NOM-*give*-DIR:1-NOM / *sugarcane* / DAT *me*
      'He will not give me the sugarcane'

4.4. Sentences

    South-west Tanna sentences may be subdivided into simple sentences, containing one clause, and complex sentences, containing more than one clause. Each of these types has a number of subtypes.

4.4.1. Simple sentences

    Simple sentences contain one major clause, although a phrase within this clause may itself contain an embedded clause, as discussed in 4.2.2. above. In this section we will briefly examine declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentences.

    4.4.1.1. Declarative sentences. A South-west Tanna declarative sentence contains a verbless, intransitive, transitive, or negative clause and does not contain any of the distinguishing features of interrogative or imperative sentences, as discussed below. Nearly all the examples given in 4.3. above were examples of declarative sentences, and it seems unnecessary to further exemplify this sentence-type here.

    Declarative sentences are also characterised by a particular intonation-pattern. Generally, the end of a declarative sentence shows slowly falling intonation, with a slight rise on the last stressed syllable in the sentence; thus:

(159) kwan ai / l-ɨmn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu
      fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-*kill* / *pig* / LOC:*village*
      'That man killed a pig in the village'

    4.4.1.2. Interrogative sentences. Interrogative sentences are of three basic types. First, the tag ua *'or'*, when added to the end of a declarative sentence, makes the sentence interrogative:[25]

(160) kwan ai / l-ɨmn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu / ua?
      fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-*kill* / *pig* / LOC:*village* / *or*
      'Did that man kill a pig in the village?'

(161) n-ak-am-aan / mana / ua?
      2-CONC-CONT-*eat* / *chicken* / *or*
      'Are you eating chicken?'

(162) tukw-l-Ø-ua / ua?
      FUT-3SG-CONC-*come* / *or*
      'Will he come?'

Questions of this type show rising intonation at the end of the sentence, with a slight wavering fall on the ua:

(160a) kwan ai / l-ɨmn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu / ua

   The second type of question uses one of the interrogative verbal affixes: either the interrogative prefix hau- or the interrogative directional suffix -hie. Since these were discussed in some detail in section 3.1.2. above, we will give just one example of each:

(163) kwan ai / l-ɨmn-hau-uh / pukah / ielkwanu?
      fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-WH-*kill* / *pig* / LOC:*village*
      'How/why did that man kill a pig in the village?'

(164) lɨm-m / l-Ø-am-asokw-hie?
      father-2SG / 3SG-CONC-CONT-*go:to*-WH
      'Where is your father going?'

Intonation-patterns for this type of question are the same as for statements:

(163a) kwan ai / l-ɨmn-hau-uh / pukah / ielkwanu

   The third type of question uses a special interrogative word in one of the non-verbal phrases in the sentence. The interrogative words which can be so used are:

pa (plural nɨpa)	'who?, whom?'
naha	'what?'
naghɨn	'when? (past)'
tukwnaghɨn	'when? (future)'
ihie	'where?'
favɨn	'which?, where?' (modifier)

Some examples follow:

(165) pa / l-ɨmn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu?
      who / 3SG-PST-*kill* / *pig* / LOC:*village*
      'Who killed a pig in the village?'

(166) n-ɨmn-aam / pa?
      2-PST-*see* / *who*
      'Whom did you see?'

(167) n-ɨmn-uh / pukah kape nɨ-pa?
      2-PST-*kill* / *pig* POS PL-*who*
      'Whose pigs did you kill?'

(168) nɨsɨn-m / l-Ø-am-elhakɨn / naha?
      mother-2SG / 3SG-CONC-CONT-*look:for* / *what*
      'What is your mother looking for?'

(169) l-Ø-a-mha / tukw naha?
      3SG-CONC-CONT-*sick* / CAUS *what*
      'Why is he sick?'

(170) naghɨn / l-ɨmn-ua?
      when:past / 3SG-PST-*come*
      'When did he come?'

(171) tukwnaghɨn / tukw-l-Ø-ua?
      when:future / FUT-3SG-CONC-*come*
      'When will he come?'

(172) pukah mɨna / ihie?
      pig PL / *where*
      'Where are the pigs?'

(173) n-ak-am-ala / ikɨn favɨn?
      2-CONC-CONT-*live* / *place which*
      'Where do you live?'

The intonation-patterns in sentences such as these are the same as for
declarative sentences, except that the pitch rises rather higher on the
interrogative word:

(165a) pa / l-ɨmn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu

(167a) n-ɨmn-uh / pukah kape nɨ-pa

4.4.1.3. Imperative sentences. Imperative sentences are of two types,
regular and polite. Regular imperative sentences have the same structure as
declarative sentences, except that the subject NP is usually omitted; it may,
however, be present as a kind of vocative initiator of the sentence, but in
such cases it is usually separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause:

(174) s-akwɨta!
      PL-*sit*
      'Sit down (all of you)!'

(175) aan / n-ɨvgɨn-ien na-m!
      eat / NOM-*eat*-NOM POS:*eat*-2SG
      'Eat your food!'

(176) kɨmia, s-akwɨta!
      you:PL, PL-*sit*
      'All of you, sit down!'

(177) tion, aan / n-ɨvgɨn-ien na-m!
      John, eat / NOM-*eat*-NOM POS:*eat*-2SG
      'John, eat your food!'

Intonation-patterns for such imperative sentences are similar to those in
declarative clauses, in that they end in a rise-fall; however, the general
fall over the whole sentence is much greater than that in a declarative
sentence:

(175a) aan / n-ɨvgɨn-ien na-m

Polite imperatives use the future tense, with or without subject NP, and
the verbal modifier lu *'trying: to'*:

(178) t-Ø-ak-s-akwɨta lu!
      FUT-2-CONC-PL-*sit trying:to*
      'Would you all mind sitting down?'

(179) tion, t-Ø-ak-aan lu / n-ɨvgɨn-ien na-m!
      John, FUT-2-CONC-*eat trying:to* / NOM-*eat*-NOM POS:*eat*-2SG
      'John, please eat your food!'

The intonation pattern for such sentences is similar to that of regular
imperatives, although the sharpness of the fall is perhaps not so great.

4.4.2. Complex sentences

Complex sentences consist of at least two clauses, which are either
independently conjoined or are in a relation of dependence one upon the other.
A number of types of complex sentences will be discussed below.

4.4.2.1. Connected or sequential action.

When two clauses represent
connected actions, they may be joined by the conjunction kɨni *'and'*:

(180) lɨm-k / l-ɨmn-ua / kɨni / i-em-la-vɨn / ie hospɨtɨl
      father-1SG / 3SG-PST-*come* / *and* / 1EX-PST-DU-*go* / LOC *hospital*
      'My father came and the two of us went to the hospital'

If the actions are sequential and the speaker wishes to indicate this fact, then
the tense/aspect prefix epi- (see 3.1.1.5.) must be used in the verb of the
second clause:

(181) lɨm-k / l-ɨmn-ua / kɨni / i-epi-la-vɨn / ie hospɨtɨl
      father-1SG / 3SG-PST-*come* / *and* / 1EX-SQ-DU-*go* / LOC *hospital*
      'My father came and then the two of us went to the hospital',
      'Once my father had come, the two of us went to the hospital'

In narrative discourse, kɨni is frequently followed by the demonstrative
ai DEM:PR or by the verbal modifier ɨma *'just'* + ai, with the sense *'and next,
and then'*. (Note that ɨma has an allomorph ɨmi before ai.) Numerous examples
of these combinations can be found in the two texts in the next section,
especially 5.2.

Where the subject of the second verb in a connected or sequential action
sentence is either the same as the subject of the first verb or else meets the
other requirements laid down in section 3.1.1.4. above, the person-of-subject
prefix m- AND will occur on the second (and subsequent) verbs, and in these
cases kɨni may be omitted:

(182) l-ɨmn-uh / mana / m-vaan / m-aan / kɨni / m-apɨl
      3SG-PST-*kill* / *chicken* / AND-*roast* / AND-*eat*/ *and* / AND-*sleep*
      'He killed the chicken, roasted and ate it, and then went to sleep'

4.4.2.2. Adversative sentences.

In an adversative sentence, the second
clause is introduced by melɨg *'but'*. The verb of the second clause may take
the prefix m- AND under the same conditions as clauses introduced by kɨni *'and'*:

(183) i-emn-ua / niɨv / melɨg / n-ak-lkak
      1EX-PST-*come* / *yesterday* / *but* / 2-CONC-*not:be*
      'I came yesterday but you weren't here'

(184) l-ɨmn-elhakɨn / kuli kapa-n / melɨg / m-am-apwah / n-aam-ien
     3SG-PST-*look:for* / *dog* POS-3SG / *but* / AND-CONT-*not* / NOM-*see*-NOM
     '*He looked for his dog but he couldn't find it*'

4.4.2.3. Alternative sentences. In an alternative sentence, the clauses are joined by ua '*or*'; again, m- AND may be used in the second clause under the conditions discussed above:

(185) l-ɨmn-avɨn / ie nɨpe / ua / m-ɨmn-am-ol / ielkwanu?
     3SG-PST-*go* / LOC *dance* / *or* / AND-PST-CONT-*do* / LOC:*village*
     '*Did he go to the dance or stay at home?*'

4.4.2.4. Reason sentences. In a reason sentence, the second clause is introduced by melɨginai '*because*':[26]

(186) l-ɨmn-avɨn / Imlau / melɨginai / níamha / l-Ø-am-as / nɨsɨn-n mɨne lɨm-n
     3SG-PST-*go* / *Imlau* / *because* / *anger* / 3SG-CONC-CONT-*bite* / *mother*-3SG *and*
     father-3SG
     '*He went to Imlau because his mother and father are angry*'

4.4.2.5. Quotative sentences. Quotative sentences contain a verb of speaking in the first clause and the quotation in the final clause. They often, in addition, contain the quotative verb ɨma before the quotation:

(187) l-ɨm-ni / kɨmi iou / m-ɨma / 't-Ø-ak-lelɨg lu'
     3SG-PST-*say* / DAT *me* / AND-*quote* / FUT-2-CONC-*go:back trying:to*
     '*He said to me, "Would you please go back?"*'

4.4.2.6. Purpose sentences. Purpose sentences contain a clause introduced by the conjunction mɨma '*that*':

(188) t-i-ak-vɨn / ie tukwas / mɨma / iou / t-i-ak-aam
     FUT-1EX-CONC-*go* / LOC *mountain* / *that* / *I* / FUT-1EX-CONC-*see*
     '*I will go to the mountain so that I can see for myself*'

4.4.2.7. Sentential complements. Complements are also introduced by mɨma '*that*':[27]

(189) i-ak-hetelakɨn / mɨma / tukw-l-Ø-apwah / n-ua-ien
     1EX-CONC-*know* / *that* / FUT-3SG-CONC-*not* / NOM-*come*-NOM
     '*I know that he won't come*'

(190) i-ak-olkeikei / iik / mɨma / t-Ø-ak-avhiu / kafa-k / nimwa
     1EX-CONC-*want* / *you* / *that* / FUT-2-CONC-*build* / BENEF-1SG / *house*
     '*I want you to build me a house*'

4.4.2.8. Conditional sentences. When the condition relates to the future, the conditional clause is introduced by tukwmah *'if'*; the main clause may be preceded by toko *'then'*:

(191) tukwmah / t-i-ak-au / tukwienakwam‡l / toko / t-Ø-ak-aam / iou
      if / FUT-1EX-CONC-*come* / *tomorrow* / *then* / FUT-2-CONC-*see* / *me*
      'If I come tomorrow, (then) you will see me'

(192) tukwmah / nehen / l-Ø-lkak / t-i-ak-apwah / n-ala-ien / ielkwanu
      if / *rain* / 3SG-CONC-*not:be* / FUT-1EX-CONC-*not* / NOM-*stay*-NOM / LOC:*village*
      'If it doesn't rain, I won't stay at home'

Past (and therefore contrary-to-fact) conditions have the same structure, except that the conditional clause is introduced by kipimah *'if'*:

(193) kipimah / nehen / l-epi-p / ni‡v / toko / iou / iimwa
      if / *rain* / 3SG-SQ-*rain* / *yesterday* / *then* / *I* / LOC:*house*
      'If it had rained yesterday, then I would have stayed at home'

(194) kipimah / nehen / l-epi-apwah / n-p-ien / ni‡v / toko / i-epi-v‡n / ie n‡pe
      if / *rain* / 3SG-SQ-*not* / NOM-*rain*-NOM / *yesterday* / *then* / 1EX-SQ-*go* /
         LOC *dance*
      'If it hadn't rained yesterday, then I would have gone to the dance'

5. TEXTS

      The two stories below were told to me by Tom Hiua, of Iounhan‡n village. Each text is given morpheme-by-morpheme in South-west Tanna (N‡vhaal dialect), with corresponding morpheme-by-morpheme English glosses; a slash in the South-west Tanna text representens a clause boundary. Notes on the text and a free English translation follow.

5.1. N‡varu

1   N‡varu m‡ne Nula — kapa-n pilav‡n ai   N‡varu,
    N‡varu *and* *Nula —* POS-3SG *wife*   DEM:PR *N‡varu,*

    kapa-n ielmaan Nula — k-‡m-u-akw‡ta   apwa pihiaak
    POS-3SG *husband* *Nula —* 3NSG-PST-DU-*sit* LOC *east*

    ielkwan n‡p‡g iahul Ø-n-am-eliuok   / m-ua /
    LOC:*bush* *time* *volcano* 3SG-INCH-CONT-*walk*   AND-*come*

    m-akw‡ta ie pihiu (Lamwinu) / m-telhau ik‡n /
    AND-*sit* LOC *north* *(Lamwinu)* AND-*go:out* *place*

5   m-am-asokw-hakta   / m-n-am-asokw-vhiaak   / kopwiel
    AND-CONT-*go:to*-DIR:UP AND-INCH-CONT-*go:to*-DIR:E *stone*

    m‡na mufaam t‡ks‡n k-s-aap   / m-s-asokw-pihiu /
    PL *all* *some* 3NSG-PL-*run:away* AND-PL-*go:to*-DIR:N

    t‡ks‡n m-s-asokw-hakta   / t‡ks‡n k-s-aap   /
    some AND-PL-*go:to*-DIR:UP *some* 3NSG-PL-*run:away*

    m-am-ha-v‡n   ikuplaah / k‡ni kapa-n pilav‡n N‡varu
    AND-CONT-PL-*go* *Whitesands* *and* POS-3SG *wife* *N‡varu*

    na-tukw-l-ni-p‡n   tukw Nula / pwah la / k‡lau
    INT-FUT-3SG-*say*-DIR:3 DAT *Nula* *let* *now* *we*:IN:DU

10   k-la-telhau   / tukwmah iahul   l-ua   / m-u-akwatelu-kɨn
       1IN-DU-*go:out*   *if*   *volcano* 3SG-*come*   AND-DU-*stay:hide*-TRANS

       alau   / melɨginai pilavɨn in l-am-gɨn   pɨk   /
       us:IN:DU:OBJ *because* *woman* *she* 3SG-CONT-*fear* *very:much*

       m-u-hekɨmteel / l-ni-pɨn   tukw kapa-n ielmaan / i-ua /
       AND-DU-*get:up* 3SG-*say*-DIR:3 DAT POS-3SG *husband* ?-*come*

       m-ula   / kapa-n ielmaan l-ni-pɨn   tukw un   /
       AND-*go:first* POS-3SG *husband* 3SG-*say*-DIR:3 DAT *her*

       l-ɨma   / i-ua m-ula   / kɨni ai   in
       3SG-*quote* ?-*come* AND-*go:first* *and* DEM:PR *she*

15   l-am-aiu   okwupwɨn / m-u-aiu   / m-u-aiu   / m-u-aiu   /
       3SG-CONT-*run* *in:front* AND-DU-*run* AND-DU-*run* AND-DU-*run*

       Ø-n-elhelha   / mɨma kapa-n ielmaan l-am-eliuok mala /
       3SG-PF-*look:back* *that* POS-3SG *husband* 3SG-CONT-*walk* *slow*

       l-ni-pɨn   tukw un / l-ɨma   / i-ua   / m-ula   /
       3SG-*say*-DIR:3 DAT *him* 3SG-*quote* ?-*come* AND-*go:first*

       melɨg l-ɨma   / ula   / kɨlau   ɨma k-la-vɨn etamwheekw
       but 3SG-*quote* *go:first* *we*:IN:DU *just* 1IN-DU-*go* *place*

       kɨlikiana / k-u-aiu   / m-la-sɨ-vhiaak   / m-la-vɨn /
       one   3NSG-DU-*run* AND-DU-*come:from*-DIR:E AND-DU-*go*

20   m-la-vɨn / m-la-vɨn / m-u-ala   ipaka tukw tahik /
       AND-DU-*go* AND-DU-*go* AND-DU-*stay* *near* DAT *sea*

       l-elhelha   / m-aam kapa-n hualu   / l-am-kwasɨg
       3SG-*look:back* AND-*see* POS-3SG *old:man* 3SG-CONT-*follow*

       mala ɨma / l-akwlɨg   ila-n   / eliuok / m-ua   /
       slow just 3SG-*talk:harsh* LOC-3SG *walk*   AND-*come*

       kɨlau   kwiskwis ɨma / melɨg l-ɨma   / am-okwupwɨn   /
       we:IN:DU *together just* *but* 3SG-*quote* CONT-*be:in:front*

       kɨlau   ɨma k-la-vɨn / k-la-vɨn   lenkalkal tahik /
       we:IN:DU *just* 1IN-DU-*go* 3NSG-DU-*go* LOC:*side* *sea*

25   l-elhelha   / m-aam   / l-kwasɨg / l-ɨma   / ula   / aiu
       3SG-*look:back* AND-*see* 3SG-*follow* 3SG-*quote* *go:first* *run*

       okwupwɨn kɨlau   mukwis / kapa-n pilavɨn l-aiu   okwupwɨn /
       in:front we:IN:DU *together* POS-3SG *wife* 3SG-*run* *in:front*

       m-asokw-vila   ie tahik / m-elhelha   / m-aam kapa-n
       AND-*go:to*-DIR:W LOC *sea* AND-*look:back* AND-*see* POS-3SG

       ielmaan / Ø-n-am-akwɨta   pihiaak / l-ɨma   /
       husband 3SG-INCH-CONT-*sit* *east*   3SG-*quote*

       t-Ø-ak-ua   ua? / melɨg l-ɨma   / am-kwate en   /
       FUT-2-CONC-*come or*   *but* 3SG-*quote* CONT-*stay* DEM:2

30   pwah / i-ak-am-kwate   / am-kwate en   / pwah /
       let 1EX-CONC-CONT-*stay* CONT-*stay* DEM:2 *let*

       n-elmama tu-k-Ø-s-eliuok   / m-s-hakta   ie tukl-m
       PL-*person* FUT-3NSG-CONC-PL-*walk* AND-PL-*go:up* LOC *top*-2SG

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m-s-ɨvkii              kapa-m-kapwa  /  nauniin ai
AND-PL-defecate:on     POS-2SG-head     end      DEM:PR
```

Free Translation

    Nɨvaru and Nula — Nɨvaru was the wife and Nula the husband — were sitting in the bush in the east at the time when the volcano was walking around, when it came and sat down in the north at Lamwinu, and then left there and went south and then east — when all the stones ran away, some to the north, some to the south, and some to Whitesands. Well, Nɨvaru started to say to Nula, "Let's leave for the volcano might come and cover us up", for she was a woman and very frightened. So they got up and she said to her husband, "Come, you go first". But her husband said to her, "Come, you go first". And so she ran in front, and the two of them ran and ran and ran and when she looked back she saw that her husband was walking slowly, so she said to him, "Come, go in front", but he said, "You go first; the two of us are going to the same place". The two of them ran from the east and went on and stopped beside the sea; and she looked back and saw her husband way behind, following very slowly; and she spoke crossly to him, "Walk here so the two of us are together". But he said, "Just go in in front; the two of us will go as we are". They went to the edge of the sea, and she looked back and saw him behind and said, "You go and run in front so that the two of us are together". But the wife ran in front and went into the sea and looked back and saw her husband beginning to sit down on the shore, and she said, "Are you coming?". But he said, "Just you stay there and let me stay here". But she said, "You just stay there and people will come on top of you and shit on your head". And that's the end.

Notes

3   nɨpɨg iahul Ø-n-am-eliuok: The next text gives some background on when the volcano was walking around.

5   Note the use of -hakta DIR:UP to mean *'south'*.

8   ikuplaah: Whitesands is on the central east coast of Tanna.

9   na-tukw-l-ni-pɨn shows the one occasion in which the intentional prefix na- was freely elicited.

11   in: The pronoun subject used for emphasis.

12   i-ua: I was unable to find the meaning or function of i- (which occurs, always with this verb, in a few other places in the text).

21   hualu *'old man'* is often used, in a respectful sense, for *'husband'*.

22   akwlɨg is one of a few verbs which take datives with ie.

23   kwiskwis: Note the relationship with -kwis ASSOC (and cf. also mukwis in 26).

31,   Nɨvaru was turned into stone, and can still be seen offshore at Blacksand
32   Beach, south of Imlau. Nula, however, was also turned into stone, but since he remained onshore, people could walk around in the bush and defecate on top of him.

5.2. Mwig

1   k-am-olpe lakwukak mɨne lounhanɨn / kɨni
3NSG-CONT-*dance Iakwukak and Iounhanɨn and*

mwig l-ua ie nɨpe / m-s-olpe / kɨni ai
earthquake 3SG-*come* LOC *dance* AND-PL-*dance and* DEM:PR

Ø-n-vhiaak / m-n-am-avɨn / kɨni piamil kɨlalu
3SG-PF-*go:east* AND-PF-CONT-*go and woman*:DU *two*

k-a-la-kwasɨg-kɨn / kɨni m-u-olipɨn / l-am-nɨahu
3NSG-CONT-DU-*follow*-TRANS *and* AND-DU-*follow* 3SG-CONT-*block*

5   aliu / kɨni ai k-u-apwah / m-am-u-alel
them:DU:OBJ *and* DEM:PR 3NSG-DU-*refuse* AND-CONT-DU-*stand*

l-vhiaak / m-telhau-pɨn lounhanɨn / kɨni ai
3SG-*go:east* AND-*go:out*-DIR:3 *Iounhanɨn and* DEM:PR

k-u-olipɨn / kɨni ai l-am-nɨahu aliu / melɨg
3NSG-DU-*follow and* DEM:PR 3SG-CONT-*block them*:DU:OBJ *but*

k-u-apwah / m-am-u-olkeikei / kɨni k-lh-vhiaak /
3NSG-DU-*refuse* AND-CONT-DU-*like and* 3NSG-TR-*go:east*

m-lh-vɨn / kɨni ɨmi ai l-ol nehen / l-am-uh
AND-TR-*go and just* DEM:PR 3SG-*make rain* 3SG-CONT-*hit*

10   alisɨl / k-lh-vɨn / m-lh-vɨn / m-lh-vɨn / m-lh-elieti
them:TR:OBJ 3NSG-TR-*go* AND-TR-*go* AND-TR-*go* AND-TR-*arrive*

ikɨn apwa iimwa-n ikɨn / kɨni ɨmi ai l-eivi
place LOC POS:LOC-3SG *place and just* DEM:PR 3SG-*pull:out*

napwɨl / kɨni m-lh-aulu-pɨn / kɨni l-ala / m-eivi
wall and AND-TR-*enter*-DIR:3 *and* 3SG-*stay* AND-*pull:out*

mun kɨliik / kɨni ai k-lh-aulu-pɨn / kɨni ai
again DEM:IND *and* DEM:PR 3NSG-TR-*enter*-DIR:3 *and* DEM:PR

l-eivi iame n-faam-ien / kɨni ai
3SG-*pull:out the:one* NOM-*be:all*-NOM *and* DEM:PR

15   k-lh-aulu-pɨn / kɨni ɨmi ai piamil
3NSG-TR-*enter*-DIR:3 *and just* DEM:PR *woman*:DU

k-n-u-okwiaai / kɨni l-hel napw / k-u-olkapkɨn /
3NSG-INCH-DU-*cold and* 3SG-*blow fire* 3NSG-DU-*do:like:that*

k-u-akwɨta / m-u-olkapkɨn / m-la-vɨn / m-la-vin /
3NSG-DU-*sit* AND-DU-*do:like:that* AND-DU-*go* AND-DU-*go*

kɨni ai m-n-a-la-vikouiam / kɨni ɨmi ai
and DEM:PR AND-INCH-CONT-DU-*sleepwalk and just* DEM:PR

l-hakta / m-ɨkel ie luau / kɨni m-ɨlu-kilavɨn /
3SG-*go:up* AND-*hang* LOC *ridgepole and* AND-*hang-flying:fox*

20   kɨni ai nɨml-n l-iel / kɨni nelam-n mɨne
and DEM:PR *eye*-3SG 3SG-*come:out and tongue*-3SG *and*

l-iel / kɨni ai nhinakwa-n l-am-ɨlukwɨliel /
3SG-*come:out and* DEM:PR *spittle*-3SG 3SG-CONT-*rain*

kɨni ɨmi ai k-u-akwɨta / m-am-u-apɨl /
and just DEM:PR 3NSG-DU-*sit* AND-CONT-DU-*sleep*

```
        m-am-u-ɨlɨg              nhinakwa-n    /   l-am-ɨlukwɨliel   /   kɨni  ɨmi
        AND-CONT-DU-perceive     spittle-3SG       3SG-CONT-rain         and   just

        ai      k-u-ɨlha     /   mɨma  tu-k-Ø-u-ol          /   m-u-aam       /
        DEM:PR  3NSG-DU-wake      that  FUT-3NSG-CONC-DU-do      AND-DU-see

25      l-am-ɨkel        /   kɨni  ɨmi  ai      nelam-n      mɨne  nɨml-n
        3SG-CONT-hang        and   just DEM:PR  tongue-3SG   and   eye-3SG

        l-ua-iel         /   kɨni  ɨmi  ai      k-u-hekɨmteel    /
        3SG-PF-come:out      and   just DEM:PR  3NSG-DU-get:up

        m-u-aiu      /   m-la-vɨn    ie    (kona     ie    napwɨl)   nɨkɨs    ie
        AND-DU-run       AND-DU-go   LOC   (corner   POS   wall)     corner   POS

        napwɨl   /   kɨni  ɨmi  ai      l-ɨta       ɨmi   ai        /
        wall         and   just DEM:PR  3SG-let:go  just  DEM:PR

        m-iohu        /   m-ɨlɨpw     aliu         /   m-vɨn    ɨmi  ai       /
        AND-jump:down     AND-follow  them:DU:OBJ      AND-go   just DEM:PR

30      m-lɨh         kɨliik   /   m-ahipwu     /   kɨni  m-am-aan     /   m-aan   /
        AND-pick:up   DEM:IND      AND-smash        and   AND-CONT-eat     AND-eat

        m-apwah      nɨsinau-n      /   l-am-akwɨta   /   kɨni  m-lɨh
        AND-refuse   intestine-3SG      3SG-CONT-sit      and   AND-pick:up

        mun     kɨliik   /   m-ilaptelakɨn   /   m-ahipwu     /   m-am-aan     /
        again   DEM:IND      AND-hold            AND-smash        AND-CONT-eat

        m-aan     ai      /   m-apwah      nɨsinau-n      /   l-am-akwɨta   /
        AND-eat   DEM:PR      AND-refuse   intestine-3SG      3SG-CONT-sit

        kɨni  ai      m-elpwu    nɨtukw      /   nɨtukw      ai        /
        and   DEM:PR  AND-snap   sugarcane       sugarcane   DEM:PR

35      m-apwupw-kɨn             /   m-apwupw             /   m-apwupw-kɨn
        AND-clean:mouth-TRANS        AND-clean:mouth          AND-clean:mouth-TRANS

        ai      /   kɨni  ai      k-hen       nhag-n      ai       kɨma
        DEM:PR      and   DEM:PR  3NSG-call   name-3SG    DEM:PR   like

        n-apwupw-kape-mwig                 /   kɨni  ai      k-am-ahu       /
        NOM-clean:mouth-POS-earthquake        and   DEM:PR  3NSG-CONT-plant

        k-elieti      touei   /   nauniin   ai
        3NSG-arrive   today       end       DEM:PR
```

Free Translation

        There was a dance at Iakwukak and Iounhanɨn, and Mwig (the earthquake)
came to it, and they all danced. And then Mwig went away to the east. But
two women were following him, and they followed him but he stopped them and
wouldn't let them follow him. So they stopped and he went east and left
Iounhanɨn. And they followed him and he stopped them, but they didn't want
to be stopped, because they liked him. So the three of them went off to the
east, and he made it rain and it rained on them. They went on and on and
eventually arrived at his place. And he pulled out the wall and they went
in. And he stayed and then pulled out more of the wall and they went in.
And he pulled out all the wall and they went in. Then the two women began
to feel cold, so he blew into the fire, and they sat there like that, on

*and on until they began to sleepwalk. So he climbed up and hung from the ridgepole
— hung like a flying-fox. And his eyes fell out, and his tongue also, and his
spittle rained down. And the two women who were sleeping felt his spittle
raining down and woke up and tried to see what was happening. He was hanging
there and his tongue and his eyes had fallen out. So the two of them got up
and ran to the corner of the wall. But he let go and jumped down and followed
them. Then he picked up one and crushed her and ate her, but he did not want
the intestines, so they stayed there. And then he picked up the other one and
held her and crushed her and ate her, but he did not want the intestines so
they stayed there. Then he broke some sugarcane and cleaned out his mouth with
it. And they call that place 'Mwig's mouth-cleaning', and they plant things
there still today. And that's the end.*

Notes

This story is about the time when the volcano and the earthquake were
wandering Tanna trying to find somewhere to settle down.

3   piamil: Probably a contraction of pian mil (women DU).

14   iame seems to be cognate with relative-clause introducers in other
       Tanna languages, but does not seem to be functioning in the same way
       here.

19   m-ɨlu-kilavɨn: Note one of the very few verbs compounded of verb +
       noun; luau: a Lenakel form.

27   (kona ie napwɨl) is an intrusion of a Bislama word kona; the South-west
       Tanna word nɨkɨs was remembered almost immediately afterwards. Note,
       however, that the Bislama loan adapts to the grammatical system — in
       this case, passive possession.

31,   The significance of the intestines remaining behind is not apparent
33   to me.

6. VOCABULARY

6.1. South-west Tanna vocabulary

This section contains a list of almost eight hundred South-west Tanna
lexical and grammatical morphemes. The grammatical category of each morpheme
is given immediately after the morpheme itself: V = verb, A = adjective,
N = noun, M = modifier. Where data are insufficient to decide whether a
given morpheme is a verb or an adjective, the abbreviation V/A has been used.
Morphemes without such a category indicator will generally be grammatical
affixes of some kind.

Alphabetisation follows the English system; kw follows k, mw follows
m, pw follows p, and ɨ follows i. Subscript numerals identify homophonous
but semantically unrelated forms (e.g. aan_1 *'to eat'*, aan_2 *'that (yonder)'*).
Different but related meanings of the same form are indicated by numerals
(e.g. aiu *'1. to flow; 2. to run'*).

Other abbreviations are as follows:

adj.	adjective	n.	noun
cf.	cross-reference to other items	obj.	object
		PRO	marks possessive suffix
exc.	exclusive	s.o.	someone
inc.	inclusive	sth.	something
intr.	intransitive	tr.	transitive
k.o.	kind of	var.	variant of, allomorph of
LwB	loan from Bislama	voc.	vocative
LwL	loan from Lenakel	'...'	form given thus can not be further specified

A

a- var. of am- continuative aspect prefix

aa$_1$ V var. of av$\dot{\imath}$n *to go*

aa$_2$ M var. of aan$_2$ *that (yonder)*

aalh V *to laugh*

aam$_1$ V *to urinate*

aam$_2$ V *to see, to find*

aan$_1$ V *to eat* (tr.)

aan$_2$ M *that (yonder)*; ik$\dot{\imath}$n aan *there*

aap V *to run away*

agka N *anchor* (LwB)

ahipwu V *to smash*

ahu V *to plant*

ahum V *to dive*

ai M *the, this, that* (previously referred to)

aikuaas V *to wash sth.*

ainéin V *not to know, to be ignorant of*

aiu V 1. *to flow*
        2. *to run*

ak- concurrent aspect prefix

akapil V *to break*

aki V *to scratch*

aklhak$\dot{\imath}$n V *to steal*

akn- 1. inchoative aspect prefix
      2. var. of akuan- perfective aspect prefix

akua-, akuan- perfective aspect prefix

akw V *to be blind*; n$\dot{\imath}$ml-n l-akw *he is blind*

akwapwa V *to be thirsty*

akwas A *old (of things)*

akwas$\dot{\imath}$g M *behind*

akwateluk$\dot{\imath}$n V *to stay and hide*

akweuun V/A *to be grey, of hair*

akwi V *to wash s.o., to bathe s.o.*

akwiliin A *full, of a thing*

akw$\dot{\imath}$ta V *to sit*

akw$\dot{\imath}$takw$\dot{\imath}$ta V/A *to be round*

akwl$\dot{\imath}$g V *to speak harshly or crossly to*

akwlha A *yellow*

al V 1. *to swim*
      2. *to wash oneself* (intr.)

ala V *to live, to dwell*

alau N *us* (dual inc. obj.)

alel V *to stand* (intr.)

alha V *to be awake*

alia N *them* (plural obj.)

aliepomh A *long*

alisɨl N *them* (trial obj.)

aliu N *them* (dual obj.)

aliuan V/A *to be warm*

alɨplaai V *to split*

alkipɨn V *to push*

alkɨtɨɨt A *small*

alukɨn₁ V *to throw*

alukɨn₂ V *to forget*

am- continuative aspect prefix

amako V *to dance (of women only)*

amasɨl N *us* (trial exc. obj.)

amaua N *us* (plural exc. obj.)

amha V/A *to be thick*

ami V *to urinate*

amia N *you* (plural obj.)

amialil V *to urinate*

amilu N *you* (dual obj.)

amisɨl N *you* (trial obj.)

amɨlɨlha V *to dream*

amɨv V *to heal*

amkalɨv V *to be hungry*

amkɨmɨk A *dirty*

amlɨmla A *blue, green*

amlu N *us* (dual exc. obj.)

amnhaakw V *to sweat*

amnum V *to drown, to sink* (intr.)

amwa V *to want, to intend*

amwha V *to suck*

ankap M *very, very much*

apgapɨg M *commonplace, of no importance*

apien V *to smell* (intr.), *to stink;*
  apien vha *fragrant*

apɨg A *black*

apɨl V *to sleep*

apomh A *loud*

aptɨg A *wet*

apual V *to boil* (intr.), *to be boiling*

apus V *to be tired, exhausted*

apwa₁ V *to be bald*

apwa₂ V *to be cooked*

apwa₃ location phrase introducer

apwah₁ V negative verb, *not*

apwah₂ V *to refuse, not to want*

apwaihasɨgɨvɨn V *to taste*

apwan₁ V/A *to be hot*

apwan₂ A *hard* (= *not soft*)

apwanapwan A *hard* (= *not soft*)
  (cf. apwan₂)

apwupw V *to clean out the mouth or clean one's teeth after eating*

as V *to bite; to burn* (tr., *of a fire*)

asanɨn A *strong*

asiis A *full* (*of a person*)
  (cf. esiis)

asiisasiis A *fat* (adj.) (cf. asiis)

asim V *to garden, to work in the garden*

asɨgpɨn V *to circumcise*

asɨk V *to hit, to shoot, to pound*

asɨktaa V *to open*

asɨtɨlakɨn V *to clench the teeth*

asokw- V *to go in a specified direction* (must take a directional suffix)

atasɨl V *us* (trial inc. obj.)

ataua V *us* (plural inc. obj.)

atite V *to go down, to descend*

atiuun V *to show*

atɨmw V *to pinch*

atmunmún V *to murmur, to mumble*

-atukw 1. reciprocal suffix
       2. reflexive suffix

aulupɨn V *to go in, to enter*

avhekɨn V *to count, to read*

avhiu V *to build*

avhlekɨn V *to turn sth. over*

avilɨg V/A *thin*

avɨn V *to go*

avkɨkɨn V *to drag*

avlɨg V *to wrap, to wrap up*

E

e M *this (near speaker)*; ikɨn e *here*

eai V 1. *to float, to drift*
2. *to swim (in a particular direction)*

eaihakta V *to float* (cf. eai + -hakta)

eapɨn V *to hunt*

eau V *to cry, to weep*

ehiag V *to breathe*

ehiagehiag V *to pant* (cf. ehiag)

ehiu A *sour*

ehua A *big, wide, fat*

eikwa V *to lie, to tell lies*

eivi V *to pull sth. out or aside*

elag N *a fly*

eleita V *to be better, best*; l-vha ankap m-eleita *she is very beautiful*

elfa V *to be lazy*

elgaavh V *to spit*

elhakɨn V *to look for*

elhelha V *to look back*

elieti V *to arrive, to reach*

eliuok V *to walk*

elkwaig V *to hide* (intr.), *to be hidden*

elpwu V *to snap, to break by snapping*

eluelua V/A *to be light* (= *not heavy*)

em-, emn- var. of ɨmn- past tense prefix

en M *this, that (near addressee)*

enmwan V *to fall (of dew)*

enoeno V/A *to be mad, crazy*

epi- sequential aspect prefix

es V *to copulate, to have sexual intercourse*

esiis V *to swell up, to be thick*

esla A *sharp*

etagɨl V *to cough*

etamwheekw N *place*; etamwheekw kɨlikiana *the same place*

etapɨg V *to shut, to close*

etkwatukw A *straight, right* (= *correct*)

etout V *to tie or wear a lavalava*

euaiu V *to go down, to descend*

eukweukw V *to blow strongly (of the wind)*

F

faam V *to be all*; n-faam-ien *everything*

fakta N *above*

favɨn M *which?*; ikɨn favɨn *where?*

-fiu var. of -pihiu *northwards*

G

gɨn V *to fear, to be afraid*

H

ha A *bad*

ha- V plural prefix

hai V *to stab*; nɨamha l-am-hai X *X is angry*

haimilen V *to hurry*

haio V *to ask*

hakta V *to go up, to ascend*

-hakta *upwards, southwards*

hau- interrogative prefix

-hau N *penis* (ni-PRO-hau)

hauan A *white*

hekɨmteel V *to get up (as from sleeping)*

hekɨn V/A *sweet*

hel V *to blow sth.*; hel naiu *to blow a conch*

hen V *to call, to name*

hetelakɨn V *to know (sth. or s.o.)*

helapu V *to blow a fire* (cf. hel)

hialma M *next*

-hie *where?*

hospɨtɨl N *hospital* (LwB)

hualu₁ N *old man, husband*

hualu₂ A *old (of persons)*

huau A *red*

hueihuaa M *fast, quick(ly)*

huopnii V *to kill*

I

i-₁   first person exclusive prefix

i-₂   agentive prefix

-i   construct possessive suffix

iahukw N *rat*

iahul N *volcano*

iaklha N *a thief* (cf. i-₂, aklhakɨn)

iakw N *turtle*

ialmɨh M *different*

iame N *the one (who)* (plural nɨme)

iapiuan N *river*

ie   case-marker, marking
    1. location phrases
    2. time phrases
    3. passive possession
    4. instrumental phrases

ie-   var. of i-₂ agentive prefix

-iehou *downwards   northwards*

iel V *to come out*

-iel N *father's sister's son (male speaking)* (kapa-PRO-iel)

ielan N *daytime, day as opposed to night*

ielki- N *to the place of*; ielki nasimien *to the garden*

ielkwaa- N *middle*

ielkwan N *in the bush*

ielkwanu N *at, to, or in the village*

ielkweha N *midday*

ielmaan N *man (= male), husband*

ielmama N *person*

ielmoou N *saltwater eel*

iemasuul N *big man, chief*

iemwa N *mother!* (voc.)

ienaiu N *evening*

Ienɨtɨm N *Aneityum (or Anatom) (island)*

ienpɨg N *night*

ienpɨgenpɨg N *morning* (cf. ienpɨg)

ienpɨgɨlu N *midnight* (cf. ienpɨg)

iesaietɨk N *scorpion*

ietana N *below*

ietapeka N *shallow water, the shallows*

ihi N *squid, octopus*

ihie N *where?*

iielia N *spider*

iik N *you (singular)*

iimwa N *at home, homewards*

iimwa-, iimwai possessive-marker (location)

iimwalɨm N *dance-ground, kava-drinking area* (Bislama nakamal)

ikɨn N *place, location*; ikɨn e *here*; ikɨn aan *there*; ikɨn favɨn *where?*

ikuplaah N *the Whitesands (eastern) side of Tanna* (cf. -plaah)

il-, ila var. of ie case-marker

ilaptelakɨn N *to hold*

ilia N *they (plural)*

ilisɨl N *they (trial)*

iliu N   *they* (dual)

in N   *he, she, it, him, her*

iohu V   *to jump down*

iou N   *I, me*

ipaka N   *near, nearby, close* (to)

ipwai N   *underworld;* nal ipwai *dream*

isokw N   *far*

iva V   *to fly, to jump*

ɨ

-ɨ   construct possessive suffix

ɨhuai V   *to divide, to separate*

ɨkav V   *to twist, to bend*

ɨkel V   *to hang* (intr.)

ɨlai V   *to cut*

ɨlha V   1. *to wake up* (cf. alha)
          2. *to be born*

ɨlɨg V   *to perceive: thus to hear, to feel, to smell* (sth.);
   i-ak-am-ɨlɨg l-apien *I can smell it*

ɨlɨl V   *to braid*

ɨlɨp V   *to stand sth. upright*

ɨlɨpw V   *to follow*

ɨlkɨs V   *to tie*

ɨlkwɨlkɨn V   *to sink or drown sth.*

ilu₁ V   *to hang* (intr.); ɨlu-kilavɨn *to hang like a flying-fox*

ɨlu₂ V/A   *to be deaf*

ɨlukwɨliel V   *to fall like raindrops*

ɨm-   var. of ɨmn- past tense prefix

ɨma₁ V   quotative verb, *to say* (followed by a quotation)

ɨma₂ M   *only, just*

ɨmha V   *to be sore, to be in pain*

ɨmhil V   *to be sore* (of the body)

ɨmi   var. of ɨma₂ *only, just*

ɨmɨg V   *to pant, to be short of breath*

ɨmɨl V   *to lie down*

ɨmɨtɨt V/A   *to be rotten*

ɨmla V/A   *to be cold*

ɨmn-   past tense prefix

ɨnkiaal V   *to speak*

ɨpɨknap V   *to be dark*

ɨpsaah V/A   *many*

ɨpwia A   *smooth*

ɨrouapɨg V   *to lightning* (LwL)

ɨsianɨsian V   *to pound*

ɨspiil V   *to clean, to wipe;*
   i-ak-am-ɨspiil iou *I am wiping myself, I am drying myself*

ɨta V   *to leave, to let go*

ɨtu V   *to put, to put down*

ɨvgɨn V   *to feed, to eat* (intr.)

ɨvɨt V   *to wash sth.*

ɨvkaa V   *to defecate*

ɨvkasɨvkas V   *to itch, to be itchy*

ɨvkii V   *to defecate on*

ɨvkɨl V   *to play*

ɨvsau V   *to tell a story*

ɨvsɨk V/A   *to be dry;* ɨvsɨk tukw X *to look after X after his circumcision*

ɨvsɨkɨvsɨk A   *hard* (= *not soft*) (cf. ɨvsɨk)

ɨvtelakɨn V   *to be narrow*

ɨvtetelakɨn V   *to squeeze* (cf. ɨvtelakɨn)

K

k-₁   first person inclusive prefix

k-₂   third person non-singular prefix

k-₃   instrumental prefix

-k   *my*

ka-   var. of k-₃ instrumental prefix

kafa-   var. of kape- possessive-marker and benefactive-marker

kaha N *grandparent*

kaka N *brother!* (voc.)

kakɨl N *adze, digging-stick* (cf. kɨl)

kalɨn M as in lɨm-n kalɨn *his paternal uncle* (i.e. one he calls father but not his true father)

kalpa N *club* (used in war)

kalualua N *thunder*

kamaam N *fish*; kamaam-kapa-nukna *porpoise*

kapa- var. of kape- possessive-marker and benefactive-marker

kape-, kape 1. possessive-marker (unmarked)
             2. case-marker, marking benefactive phrases

kapkɨn M *'like that'*

-kapwa N *head* (kapa-PRO-kapwa)

kasaua N *headrest, pillow*

kasɨk N *k.o. ant* (large)

-kauga N *chin* (ni-PRO-kauga)

kavhevhau N *hat*

kel N *louse*

kilavɨn N *flying-fox*

kilíl N *a fan*

kipimah conjunction, *'if'*, marking past contrary-to-fact conditions

-kɨ var. of -kɨn transitive postclitic

kɨl V *to dig*

kɨlai N *axe* (cf. k-₃ + ɨlai)

kɨlalu M *two*

kɨlau N *we* (dual inc.)

kɨlhiavɨn N *shark*

kiliik M indefinite adjunct: *a, some* (cf. kɨlikiana)

kɨlikiana M 1. *one*
             2. *the same*

kɨlkɨl V *to blow gently* (of the wind)

kɨlkɨlɨp M *five*

kɨma *like, as*

kɨmasɨl N *we* (trial exc.)

kɨmaua N *we* (plural exc.)

kɨmhau N *star*

kɨmi case-marker, marking dative phrases

kɨmia N *you* (plural)

kɨmilu N *you* (dual)

kɨmisɨl N *you* (trial)

kɨmlu N *we* (dual exc.)

-kɨn transitive postclitic

kɨni conjunction, *'and'*, joining clauses

kɨnu N *canoe, boat* (LwB)

kɨpas N *axe*

kɨsalkwaskwah N *baby bird*

kɨsisɨl M *three*

kɨtasɨl N *we* (trial inc.)

kɨtaua N *we* (plural inc.)

kɨvlaiu N *grasshopper*

kom N *a comb* (LwB)

kona N *corner* (LwB)

kopwiel N *stone*

koupwa N *fence*

kovamtɨmta N *small child*

-kúa N *anus* (kapa-PRO-kúa)

kuas M *four*

kuhu M *how much?, how many?*

kuhu- N *father's sister, mother's sister, wife's mother*

kuhuan N *shellfish*

-kula N *brain* (ni-PRO-kula)

kuli N *dog*

KW

kwa N *chap, fellow* (kwan before a vowel)

kwakwa A *short*

kwalei N *sweet potato*

kwaleikwalei N *sweet potato* (cf. kwalei)

kwalkwau N *ridgepole*

kwalm- N *hand, arm, branch*

kwan N var. of kwa *chap, fellow*

kwanagei N *story, legend*

kwanai N *rafter(s)*

kwanaikwanai N *ankle*; kwanaikwanai ie nuhu-k *my ankle*

kwanaikwaskwas N *small rafters* (cf. kwanai)

kwanakau N *rib*

kwanelaus N *vein, sinew* (cf. nelaus)

kwanemwɨn N *earth-oven*

kwanetan N *small rafters*

kwanhau N *spear*

kwanhel- N *egg*

kwanhelɨn N *bay, harbour*

kwanɫkiatu N *outrigger-boom of canoe*

kwankwa- N *seed, fruit*

kwankwulkwul N *stanchions on outrigger*

kwanmetau N *fish-hook*

kwanmɨlh N *citrus*

kwanouier- N *testicle*

kwanoukóuk N *kidney*

kwanpalam N *arrow*

kwanun- N *seed of breadfruit*

kwasɫg₁ V *to follow, to be or go behind*

kwasɫg₂ *then, next*

kwatavha N *club (for killing pigs)*

kwate V *to stay*

kwatetal N *bamboo pipes (musical)*

kwatɫksɨn M *a few*

-kwis associative suffix

kwiskwis M *together* (cf. kwis)

kwɨlpas N *heel*

kwɨlu N *tooth*

kwotavha N *heart*

kwughen N *god*

kwuh V *to weave*

kwuse M *this, that* (indicated)

L

l- third person singular prefix

la M *now, then*

la- dual prefix

laan V *to dawn, to be light*; l-n-am-laan *it is dawn(ing)*, l-ua-laan *it is already light*

lai V *to rub*

-lakw N *throat, front of neck* (ni-PRO-lakw)

lamustahik N *foam (in the sea)*

lapalapa N *lavalava, sarong* (LwB)

lau N *canoe, boat*

-lau *our* (dual inc.)

lelɨg V *to come back, to go back, to return*

lenkalkal- N *to, at or on the side of* (cf. nɨkalkal-)

lh- trial prefix

lhi V *to sew*

-lia *their* (plural)

lielie N *spiderweb, cobweb*

lih V *to collect shellfish*

likamnum N *deep water, the deep*

-lisɨl *their* (trial)

-liu *their* (dual)

lɨgpúal V *to belch*

lɨh V *to carry*

lɨhu V *to put, to put down*

lɨki- N *mind, voice*; lɨki-k l-am-uh *I am thinking*

lɨkinál N *the bush*

lɨkwun V *to know*

lɨm- N *father, father's brother*

lɨmɨl N *float of outrigger*

lɨmus N *seaweed*

lɨpu- N *grandparent*

lkak V *not to be, not to be there*

lu M *trying to;* l-am-ni-pɨn lu ...
he is trying to say ...

lua V *to vomit*

luantahik N *lobster, crayfish*

lúatu N *north-east wind*

lúatúamlaai N *north wind*

lúatumwɨtua N *north-west wind*

lukwaikamaam N *freshwater eel*

lukwanu N *village*

lukweha N *broad daylight*

M

m- same or identifiable subject
prefix

-m *your* (singular)

magkou N *mango* (LwB)

makua N *moon*

mala M *slow(ly)*

malamala M *soft*

mama N *mother!* (voc.)

mana N *bird, chicken, fowl*

mas V *to be low tide*

-masɨl *our* (trial exc.)

matukw M *right* (hand or side)

-maua *our* (plural exc.)

maul M *left* (hand or side)

melaimelai N *rainbow*

melɨg conjunction, *'but'*, joining
clauses

melɨginai conjunction, *'because'*
joining clauses

mha V *to die, to be sick*

-mia *your* (plural)

mil M dual marker in noun phrases

-milu *your* (dual)

misɨl M trial marker in noun phrases

-misɨl *your* (trial)

mɨl₁ N *sun*

mɨl₂ V *to fall*

mɨla- N *mother's brother*

mɨma conjunction, *'that'*,
1. introducing purpose clauses
2. introducing sentential
complements

mɨna M plural marker in noun phrases

mɨne conjunction, *'and'*, joining
noun phrases

mɨsia M *dry*, as in nɨkien mɨsia
dry coconut(s)

mlagh A *to live, to be alive;* nal
mlagh *animal*

-mlu *our* (dual exc.)

mufaam M *all*

mukupu- N *grandchild*

mukupuka N *great-grandchild*

mukwis M *together* (cf. -kwis)

mumuk N *mosquito*

mun M *again*

MW

mwaiako N *manioc, tapioca*

mwakal N *spider*

mwalamwala N *ant*

-mwaniip N *dorsal fin* (kapa-PRO-
mwaniip)

mwankuiu N *pandanus*

mwanvhilɨk N *grass* (cf. nɨvhilɨk)

mwatelg- N *ear*

mwatíkalo N *worm*

mwig N *earthquake*

N

n-$_1$ second person prefix

n-$_2$ 1. var. of akuan- perfective
aspect prefix
2. var. of akn- inchoative
aspect prefix

-n   *his, her, its*

n-...-ien   discontinuous nominalising
affix

na-$_1$ intentional prefix

na-$_2$ possessive-marker (possession
to be eaten)

nage N   *almond, canarium* sp.

naghеn N   *when?* (past)

naha N   *what?*

nahi- N   *breast, milk*

naho N   *the day before yesterday*

nai$_1$ N   *tree*

nai$_2$ var. of na-$_2$ possessive-marker
(possession to be eaten)

nai$_3$ var. of nai- possessive-marker
(possession to be planted)

nai-   possessive-marker (possession
to be planted)

naienhu- N   *shin, tibia*

naiu N   *conch shell, conch trumpet*

nakanmop- N   *liver*

nákapun N   *net for fishing*

nakwatana N   *valley*

nakwokwa N   *book*

nal N   *thing, something;* nal mlagh
animal; nal ipwai *dream*

nal- N   *child;* used only in first
and second singular — with other
possessors the form ti- is used

nalam- N   *flame*

namkеmеk N   *dirt* (cf. amkеmеk)

namsu N   *story*

namtеgai N   *mud, swamp*

namwan- N   *brother, father's brother's
son, mother's sister's son (woman
speaking)*

nanmw- N   *shadow, spirit (of a person)*

napua N   *cloud*

napw N   *fire*

napwag- N   *hole in sth.* (e.g. in
tree, rock, but not a hole in the
ground)

napwеl N   *wall (of a house)*

napwok N   *betelnut palm*

natoga N   *east wind*

nau N   *knife*

nauga N   *meat, flesh*

nauin- N   *sister, father's brother's
daughter, mother's sister's
daughter (man speaking)*

neai N   *sky*

nehe- N   *juice of;* nehe nеkien
coconut water, coconut milk

nehen N   *rain*

nekw N   *yam, year*

nelam- N   *tongue*

nelaus N   *rope*

nelpul- N   *the top of*

nelpwa N   *fat* (n.), *grease*

neluankapien N   *war*

nenmwan N   *dew* (cf. enmwan)

nepеn N   *clothes*

nerouaiipien N   *lightning* (LwL)

netetau N   *tattoo*

nhag- N   *name*

nhel- N   *mouth*

nhenapw N   *smoke* (cf. napw)

nhenеml- M   *tears* (cf. nehe-, nеml-)

nhiksеl N   *the day before the day
before yesterday* (cf. kеsasеl)

nhinakwa- N   *spittle*

ni$_1$ V   *to say;* ni nеpe *to sing*

ni$_2$, ni-   possessive-marker
(possession to be drunk)

níaku V   *to block, to prevent, to
obstruct*

níamha N *anger*; níamha l-am-hai X / X *is angry*

niɨv N *yesterday*

nilh- N *thorn*

nimwa N *house*

nimwa- N *nest (of a bird)*

nivɨn N *a sail*

nɨgal N *salt*

nɨk- N *nape of the neck*

nɨkal- N *side, edge*

nɨkalkal- N *the side of*

nɨkap- N *cheek*

nɨkava N *kava*

nɨkavkav- N *wing*

nɨkien N *coconut*

nɨkɨlkɨlii- N *bone*

nɨkɨs N *corner*

nɨklee- N 1. *chest (anatomical)* 2. *roof (of a house)*

nɨkom *no*

nɨkouisɨl N *midrib of a coconut frond*

nɨkpɨs N *sandalwood* (LwL?)

nɨlɨgɨvi- N *fingernail, toenail*; nɨlɨgɨvi kwalm- *fingernail*; nɨlɨgɨvi nuhu- *toenail*

nɨm V *to drink*

nɨmataag N *wind*

nɨmel N *breadfruit*

nɨmɨl N *hole (in the ground)*

nɨml- N *eye, face*; vah nɨml-n *to buy*

nɨmlakw N *ashes*

nɨmlɨnhel- N *jaw* (possibly nɨml + nhel-)

nɨmokwlúl N *dust*

nɨmomweinhel- N *beard* (cf. nhel-)

nɨmoptana N *ground, island*

nɨmwakɨlakɨl N *beach, shore*

nɨmwal- N *leaf*

nɨmwansii- N *buttocks*

nɨmwanvhaga N *bow (weapon)*

nɨmwapw N *a sore*

nɨmwativhata N *shelf*

nɨmweitaa- N *back*

nɨmwulmwulnhel- N *beard* (cf. nhel-)

nɨmwulnɨml- N *eyebrows* (cf. nɨml-)

nɨpakɨl N *sand*

nipalnai N *a stick* (cf. nai$_1$)

nipe N *song*; ni$_1$ nɨpe *to sing*

nɨpelaap N *west wind*

nɨpikou- N *tail*

nɨpɨg N *day* (= period of 24 hours), *time*

nɨpɨn N *banyan*

nɨplaa- N *body, trunk (of tree)*; nɨplaa-i nai$_1$ *tree trunk*

nɨplɨg- N *navel*

nɨpwagnhig- N *nose* (cf. napwag-)

nɨpwan N *banana*

nɨpwana- N *forehead*

nɨpwataknɨva- N *thigh*

nɨpwataknua- N *neck (front and back)*

nɨsi- N *excrement*

nɨsinau- N *guts, intestines*

nɨsîu N *lake*

nɨsɨn- N *mother*

nɨtau- N *blood*

nɨtel N *taro*

nɨtɨp N *basket*

nɨtukw N *sugarcane*

nɨvea N *a paddle*

nɨvei- N *back of the head*

nɨvhilɨk N *grass*; nɨvhilɨk ha *weeds* (cf. mwanvhilɨk)

nɨvig- N *bark (of a tree)*

nɨvsauien N *story* (cf. ɨvsau)

nɨvsilua N *doorway*

nɨvtai- N *the (other) side of*

noulahi- N *younger sibling of same sex as speaker; also, child of father's brother or mother's sister of same sex but younger than speaker*

noule- N *older sibling of same sex as speaker; also, child of father's brother or mother's sister of same sex but older than speaker*

nu N *fresh water*

nua-$_1$ N 1. *shoulder*
2. *neck, especially near the shoulder*

nua-$_2$ N *root*

nuhu- N *leg, foot*

nukna N *poison, sorcery;* kamaam-kapa-nukna *porpoise*

nukwa- N *fruit*

nukwaau M *a large number, very many, a crowd of*

nukwanee- N *hair (on the head)*

nukwlaskap N *fire-stick*

nukwtou N 1. *k.o. bracken (Bislama* blakpam)
2. *arrow (made from* blakpam)

nukwul- N *knee, elbow;* nukwul-ɨ kwalm- *elbow;* nukwul-ɨ nuhu- *knee*

nukwumus N *hunger;* nukwumus l-as iou *I am hungry*

num V *to bury*

numl- N *hair (on the body), fur, feathers*

O

ok V *to call out;* ok l-apomh *to call out loudly*

okiahu V *to be proficient at, to know how to do sth. well*

oklhekɨn V *to turn around;* i-ak-am-oklhekɨn iou *I am turning around*

okwaai V *to pull weeds, to pull up grass*

okwaakw V *(of the eyes) to have cataracts*

okwag V *to be open*

okwai V *to weed*

okwiaai V *to be cold*

okwiaaikwiaai V *to shiver, to be feverish (cf.* okwiaai)

okwɨte V *to have yaws*

okwlakwul V *to be afraid*

okwlen V *to call out*

okwnii V *to poison fish*

okwupwɨn$_1$ N *in front of*

okwupwɨn$_2$ V *to be or go in front of, to precede, to lead*

ol V *to do, to make*

olhmɨnakɨn V *'to be like that'*

olipɨn V *to follow*

olkapkɨn V *to be or do 'like that' (cf.* ol + kapkɨn)

olkeikei V *to want, to like*

olpe V *to dance (of men only); (cf.* ol + nɨpe)

omwhen V *to choose*

ouaah *yes*

ouakɨl V *to put one's arms around*

ouiak V *to shed the skin*

oulhiaa V *to lose*

outɨn V/A *difficult, hard (= not easy)*

P

pa N *who?, whom?*

peau N *a wave*

pi- *var. of* epi- *sequential aspect prefix*

pia- N 1. *sibling of same sex, or child of father's brother or mother's sister of same sex — relative age not relevant*
2. *friend*

piahualu N *old woman* (cf. pian + hualu)

piakatɨɨt N *girl*

piamil N *to women* (cf.pian, mil)

pian N var. of pilavɨn *woman, wife*

pianielmɨs N *widower*

pihiaak N *the east*

pihiu N *the north*

-pihiu *northwards*

pila N *the west*

pilavɨn N 1. *woman, wife*
2. *father's sister's daughter (man speaking)*

pɨk M *a lot, very much*

pɨlaah N *the south*

-pɨn *away from speaker and addressee*

pɨsasuul N *thumb* (cf. pɨspɨs-)

pɨspɨs- N *finger, toe;* pɨspɨs-ɨ kwalm- *finger;* pɨspɨs-ɨ nuhu- *toe*

-plaah *southwards* (cf. pɨlaah)

-pna *towards addressee*

pnaal V/A *big*

pukah N *pig*

pukaliakatɨɨt N *boy*

purum N *broom* (LwB)

pus V/A *blunt, dull*

PW

-pwa *towards speaker*

pwah V *to let, to allow*

pwai N *south/south-west wind*

pwam V/A *to be heavy*

pwoupwauk N *butterfly*

S

s- *plural prefix*

siosio N *tidal wave*

sɨ- V *to come from a specified direction* (must take a directional suffix)

sɨg V *to wake s.o. up*

sɨkavh N *bêche-de-mer*

su V *to plant*

suatukw N *road, path*

sul V *to comb*

T

t- *future prefix*

ta M *already, finished, completed*

tagalua N *(sea)-snake*

tahik N *sea*

takwtakwun N *now*

tapaka N *tobacco* (LwB)

tapɨg N *door*

-tasɨl *our (trial inc.)*

tata N *father! (voc.)*

-taua *our (plural inc.)*

tavheta N *mat*

telhau V *to go out*

ti- N *child* (used with all possessors except first and second person singular, when nal- is used)

tihi- N *flower*

til V *to string (as fish)*

tila N *mast*

tɨgai V *to swallow*

tɨk V *to hiccup;* lɨki-k l-am-tɨk *I am hiccupping*

tɨki- N *skin, bark*

tɨkinau N *bamboo* (cf. tɨki-, nau)

tɨksɨn M *some*

tɨmtɨm V *to be high tide*

tɨpage- N *crotch*

tɨpu- N *belly*

tɨpweua N *stomach*

tɨpwoluelua N *lung(s)*

toko *then, and so, therefore*

tokolau N *south-east wind*

touei N *today*

toulhaai N *whale*

tu- var. of t- future prefix

tukl- N *the top of*

tukw case-marker, marking
    1. dative phrases
    2. causative phrases

tukw- var. of t- future prefix

tukwas N *mountain*

tukwienakwamɨl N *tomorrow*

tukwmah conjunction, *'if'*, marking future conditions

tukwnaghɨn N *when?* (future) (cf. naghɨn)

tukwnaho N *the day after tomorrow* (cf. naho)

tukwnhiksɨl N *the day after the day after tomorrow* (cf. nhiksɨl)

tupwnhel- N *lip* (cf. nhel-)

U

u- dual prefix

ua₁ V *to come (towards speaker)*

ua₂ 1. conjunction, *'or'*, joining noun phrases and clauses
    2. question-tag

ua- var. of akuan- perfective aspect prefix

-ua N *vagina* (kapa-PRO-ua)

ualu V *to crush with the teeth*

uan- var. of akuan- perfective aspect prefix

uh V *to hit, to strike, to fight*; lɨki-k l-am-uh *I am thinking*

uhum V/A *to be closed, to be shut*

uk- var. of ak- concurrent aspect prefix

ula V *to come (to addressee)*

uokw V *(of a fire) to burn* (intr.)

uokwus V *to bear offspring (of an animal)*

uun V *to answer*

V

vaan V *to roast, to cook by roasting* (tr.); *(of person) to burn sth.*

vah V *to hold in the hand*; vah nɨml-n *to buy*

vha₁ A *good*; apien vha *fragrant*; vha ankap *beautiful*

vha₂ V/A *to be clean*

vha- V *to give* (must take directional suffix; cf. vhapɨn, vhapna and vhapwa below)

vhapɨn V *to give to him/her/it/them* (cf. vha- + -pɨn)

vhapna V *to give to you* (cf. vha- + -pna)

vhapwa V *to give to me/us* (cf. vha- + -pwa)

vhiaak V *to go east* (cf. pihiaak)

-vhiaak *eastwards* (cf. pihiaak)

vi₁ V *to pull*

vi₂ M *new*

vikɨn V *to boil* (tr.), *to cook by boiling* (tr.)

vikouiam V *to sleepwalk*

-vila *westwards* (cf. pila)

vin N *saltwater eel*

vipɨn N *to pour*

vɨlaakw N *stringray*

vɨn V *to go*

vɨnɨs N *flying-fish*

6.2. English finder list

This list is merely an index to the South-west Tanna vocabulary in 6.1., and is not intended as a dictionary of any kind; the full meanings, grammatical categories, etc. of the South-west Tanna forms will be found in 6.1. and not in this section. Further, grammatical affixes, etc., have generally been omitted from this list.

The same abbreviations will be used as were used in 6.1. English verbs will be followed by 'to', and English nouns by 'a' when there may be some confusion as to whether verb or noun is intended (e.g. 'fly, to', 'fly, a'); when no confusion exists, 'to' and 'a' will not be used.

A

a kɨliik

above fakta

adze kakɨl

afraid gɨn, okwlakwul

again mun

alive mlagh

all mufaam, faam

allow pwah

almond nage

already ta

anchor agka

and kɨni, mɨne

Aneityum lenɨtɨm

anger nⁱamha

angry nⁱamha l-am-uh

animal nal mlagh

ankle kwanaikwanai

answer uun

ant mwalamwala, kasɨk

anus -kúa

arm kwalm-

arrive elieti

arrow kwanpalam, nukwtou

as kɨma

ascend hakta

ashes nɨmlakw

ask haio

aunt kuhu-

awake alha

axe kɨpas, kɨlai

B

back nɨmweitaa-

back of head nɨvel-

bad ha

bald apwa$_1$

bamboo tɨkinau

bamboo pipes kwatetal

banana nɨpwan

banyan nɨpɨn

bark (of tree) nɨvig-, tɨki-

basket nɨtɨp

bathe (tr.) akwi

bay kwanhelɨn

be behind kwasɨg$_1$

be in front okwupwɨn

be like that olkapkɨn, olhmɨnakɨn

beach nɨmwakɨlakɨl

bear offspring uokwus

beard nɨmwulmwulnhel-, nɨmomweinhel-

because melɨginai

bêche-de-mer sɨkavh

behind akwasɨg

belch lɨgpúal

belly   tɨpu-

below   ietana

bend   ɨkav

best   eleita

betel   napwok

better   eleita

big   pnaal, ehua

big-man   iemasuul

bird   mana, kɨsalkwaskwah

bite   as

black   apɨg

blind   akw

block, to   níahu

blood   nɨtau-

blow   kɨlkɨl, eukweukw *(wind)*; hel
  helapu

blue   amlɨmla

blunt   pus

boat   kɨnu, lau

body   nɨplaa-

boil   vikɨn (tr.), apual (intr.)

bone   nɨkɨlkɨlii-

book   nakwokwa

boom   kwanɨkiatu

born, be   ɨlha

bow (weapon)   nɨmwanvhaga

boy   pukaliakatɨɨt

bracken sp.   nukwtou

braid, to   ɨlɨl

brain   -kula

branch   kwalm-

breadfruit   nɨmel

break   akapil, elpwu

breast   nahi-

breathe   ehiag

broom   purum

brother   namwan-, noulahi- noule-,
  pia-, kaka

burn   as, vaan (tr.), uokw (intr.)

bury   num

bush, the   lɨkinál, ielkwan

but   melɨg

butterfly   pwoupwauk

buttocks   nɨmwansii-

buy   vah nɨml-n

C

call   hen, ok, okwlen

canarium sp.   nage

canoe   lau, kɨnu

carry   lɨh

cataracts   okwaakw

chap   kwa, kwan

cheek   nɨkap-

chest   nɨklee-

chicken   mana

chief   iemasuul

child   nal-, ti-, kovatɨmta

chin   -kauga

choose   omwhen

circumcise   asɨgpɨn

citrus   kwanmɨlh

clean, to   ɨspiil, apwupw

clean, be   vha$_2$

clench teeth   asɨtɨlakɨn

close to   ipaka

close, to   etapɨg

closed   uhum

clothes   nepɨg

cloud   napua

club   kalpa, kwatavha

coconut   nɨkien

cold   okwiaai, ɨmla

collect shellfish   lih

comb, to   sul

comb, a kom

come ua_1, ula, sɨ- (from), lelɨg (back), iel (out)

commonplace apgapɨg

completed   ta

conch shell   naiu

cook   vikɨn, vaan (tr.), apual (intr.)

cooked $apwa_2$

copulate   es

corner   nɨkɨs, kona

cough, to   etagɨl

count   avhekɨn

cousin   noule-, noulahi-, -iel, pilavɨn

crayfish   luantahik

crazy   enoeno

crotch   tɨpage-

crowd, of   nukwaau

crush   ualu (with teeth)

cry   eau (= weep), okwlen (= call)

cut   ɨlai

D

dance   olpe (men), amako (women)

dance-ground   iimwalɨm

dark   ɨpɨknap

dawn, to   laan

day   nɨpɨg, ielan

daylight   lukweha

daytime   ielan

deaf $ɨlu_2$

deep   likamnum

defecate   ɨvkaa, ɨvkii

descend   euaiu, atite

dew   nenmwan

die   mha

different   ialmɨh

difficult   outɨn

dig   kɨl

digging-stick   kakɨl

dirt   namkɨmɨk

dirty   amkɨmɨk

dive   ahum

divide   ɨhuai

do   ol

do like that   olkapkɨn

dog   kuli

door   tapɨg

doorway   nɨvsilua

dorsal fin   -mwaniip

downwards   -iehou

drag   avkɨkín

dream, a   nal ipwai

dream, to   amɨlɨlha

drift   eai

drink   nɨm

drown   ɨlkwɨlkɨn (tr.), amnum (intr.)

dry   ɨvsɨk

dry coconut   nɨkien mɨsia

dull   pus

dust   nɨmokwlúl

E

ear   mwatelg-

earth-oven   kwanemwɨn

earthquake   mwig

east   pihiaak

east wind   natoga

eastwards   -vhiaak

eat aan_1, ɨvgɨn

edge   nɨkal-

eel   ielmoou, vin, lukwaikamaam

egg   kwanhel-

elbow   nukwul-
enter   aulupɨn
evening   ienaiu
excrement   nɨsi-
exhausted   apus
eye   nɨml-
eyebrows   nɨmwulnɨml-

F

face   nɨml-
fall   mɨl$_2$, ɨlukwɨliel; enmwan *(dew)*
fan, a   kilíl
far   isokw
fast   hueihuaa
fat, be   ehua, asiisasiis
fat (=grease)   nelpwa
father   lɨm-, tata
fear, to   gɨn
feather   numl-
feed, to   ɨvgɨn
fellow   kwa, kwan
fence   koupwa
feverish   okwiaaikwiaai
few   kwatɨksɨn
fight   uh
fin   -mwaniip
find   aam$_2$
finger   pɨspɨs-
fingernail   nɨlɨgɨvi-
finished   ta
fire   napw
fire-stick   nukwlaskap
fish   kamaam
fish-hook   kwanmetau
five   kɨlkɨlɨp
flame   nalam-
flesh   nauga

float, to   eai, eaihakta
float, a   lɨmɨl
flow   aiu
flower   tihi-
fly, to   iva
fly, a   elag
flying-fish   vɨnɨs
flying-fox   kilavɨn
foam   lamustahik
follow   ɨlɨpw, olipɨn, kwasɨg$_1$
foot   nuhu-
forehead   nɨpwana-
forget   alukɨn$_2$
four   kuas
fowl   mana
fragrant   apien vha
friend   pia-
in front   okwupwɨn
fruit   nukwa-, kwankwa-
full   asiis, akwiliin
fur   numl-

G

garden, to   asim
garden, a   nasimien
get up   hekɨmteel
girl   piakatɨɨt
give   vha-, vhapɨn, vhapna, vhapwa
go   vɨn, avɨn, aa$_1$, asokw-
go back   lelɨg
go behind   kwasɨg
go down   euaiu, atite
go east   vhiaak
go in front   okwupwɨn
go inside   aulupɨn
go out   telhau
go up   hakta

god   kwughen

good   vha$_1$

grandchild   mukupu-

grandparent   lɨpu-, kaha

grass   mwanvhilɨk, nɨvhilɨk

grasshopper   kɨvlaiu

grease   nelpwa

great-grandchild   mukupuka

green   amlɨmla

grey (hair)   akweuun

ground   nɨmoptana

guts   nɨsinau-

H

hair   nukwanee- *(head)*, numl- *(body)*

hand   kwalm-

hang   ɨlu$_2$, ɨkel, ɨlu-kilavɨn

harbour   kwanhelɨn

hard   ɨvsɨkɨvsɨk, apwan$_2$, apwanapwan *(not soft)*, ^{2}outɨn *(not easy)*

hat   kavhevhau

he   in

head   -kapwa, nɨvel-

heal   amɨv

hear   ɨlɨg

heart   kwotavha

heavy   pwam

heel   kwɨlpas

her(s)   in, -n

here   ikɨn e, ikɨn en, -pwa, -pna

hiccup   tɨk

hide (intr.)   elkwaig

hidden   akwatelukɨn

high tide, be   tɨmtɨm

him   in

his   -n

hit   uh, asɨk

hold   vah, ilaptelakɨn

hole   nɨmɨl, napwag-

home (wards)   iimwa

hook   kwanmetau

hospital   hospɨtɨl

hot   apwan$_1$

house   nimwa

how much/many?   kuhu

hunger   nukwumus

hungry   nukwumus l-as, amkalɨv

hunt   eapɨn

hurry   haimilɨn

husband   hualu, ielmaan

I

I   iou

if   tukwmah, kipimah

indefinite   kɨliik

intend   amwa

intestines   nɨsinau-

island   nɨmoptana

it   in

itch   ɨvkasɨvkas

its   -n

J

jaw   nɨmlɨnhel-

juice   nehe-

jump   iva, iohu

just   ɨma$_2$, ɨmi

K

kava   nɨkava

kava-drinking area   iimwalɨm

kidney   kwanoukóuk

kill   huopnii

knee   nukwul-

knife   nau

know   lɨkwun, hetelakɨn; okiahu (*well*); ainéin (*not know*)

L

lake   nɨsíu

laugh   aalh

lavalava   lapalapa

lazy   elfa

lead, to   okwupwɨn

leaf   nɨmwal-

leave   telhau, ɨta

left (hand)   maul

leg   nuhu-

legend   kwanagei

let   pwah

let go   ɨta

lie (tell)   eikwa

lie (down)   ɨmɨl

light   eluelua (*not heavy*), laan (*not dark*)

lightning, to   ɨrouapɨg

lightning   nerouaiipien

like, to   olkeikei

like (= as)   kɨma

'like that'   kapkɨn

lip   tupwnhel-

live   mlagh (*= alive*), ala (*= dwell*)

liver   nakanmop-

lobster   luantahik

location   ikɨn

long   aliepomh

look   elhakɨn (*for*), elhelha (*back*) ɨvsɨk (*after*)

lose   oulhiaa

a lot   pɨk

loud   apomh

louse   kel

low tide, be   mas

lung(s)   tɨpwoluelua

M

mad   enoeno

make   ol

man/male   ielmaan

mango   magkou

manioc   mwaiako

many   ɨpsaah, nukwaau

mast   tila

mat   tavheta

me   iou

meat   nauga

midday   ielkweha

middle   ielkwaa-

midnight   ienpɨgɨlu

midrib   nɨkouisɨl

milk   nahi-

mind   lɨki-

moon   makua

morning   ienpɨgenpɨg

mosquito   mumuk

mother   nɨsɨn-, mama, iemwa

mother-in-law   kuhu-

mountain   tukwas

mouth   nhel-

mud   namtɨgai

mumble   atmunmún

murmur   atmunmún

my   -k

N

nakamal iimwalɨm

name, to hen

name, a nhag-

nape nɨk-

narrow ɨvtelakɨn

navel nɨplɨg-

near ipaka

neck nɨk-, -lakw, nua-$_3$
  nɨpwataknua-

negative verb apwah$_1$

nest nimwa-

net nákapun

new vi$_2$

next hialma, kwasɨg$_2$

night ienpɨg

no nɨkom

north pihiu

north wind lúatúamlaai

north-east wind lúatu

northwards -pihiu, -fiu, -iehou

north-west wind lúatumwɨtua

nose nɨpwagnhig-

not apwah$_1$

not to be lkak

not to know ainéin

not to want apwah$_2$

now la, takwtakwun

O

octopus ihi

old hualu, akwas

old man hualu

old woman piahualu

one kɨlikiana

the one who iame

only ɨma$_2$, ɨmi

(P column)

open, to asɨktaa

open, be okwag

or ua$_2$

our (exc.) -mlu, -masɨl, -maua

our (inc.) -lau, -tasɨl, -taua

outrigger lɨmɨl *(float)*, kwanɨkiatu
  (boom)

oven kwanemwɨn

P

paddle, a nɨvea

pain, be in ɨmha

pandanus mwankuiu

pant ɨmig, ehiagehiag

path suatukw

penis -hau

perceive ɨlɨg

person ielmama

pig pukah

pillow kasaua

pinch atɨmw

pipes (musical) kwatetal

place (noun) etamwheekw, ikɨn,
  ielki-

plant, to ahu, su

play ɨvkɨl

poison nukna

poison, to okwnii

porpoise kamaam-kapa-nukna

pound, to asɨk, ɨsianɨsian

pour vipɨn

precede okwupwɨn

prevent níahu

proficient okiahu

pull vi$_1$, eivi, okwaai

push alkipɨn

put (down) lɨhu, ɨtu

put arms around ouakɨl

Q

quick(ly)   hueihuaa

R

rafters   kwanai, kwanetan, kwanaikwaskwas

rain, to   p

rain, the   nehen

rainbow   melaimelai

rat   iahukw

reach   elieti

read   avhekɨn

red   huau

refuse, to   apwah$_2$

return   lelɨg

rib   kwanakau

ridgepole   kwalkwau

right (hand)   matukw

right   etkwatukw *(= correct)*

river   iapiuan

road   suatukw

roast, to   vaan

roof   nɨklee-

root   nua-$_2$

rope   nelaus

rotten   ɨmɨtɨt

round   akwɨtakwɨta

rub   lai

run   aiu

run away   aap

S

sail, a   nivɨn

salt   nɨgal

same   kɨlikiana

sand   nɨpakɨl

sandalwood   nɨkpɨs

sarong   lapalapa

say   ni$_1$, ɨma$_1$

scorpion   iesaietɨk

scratch, to   aki

sea   tahik

seaweed   lɨmus

see   aam$_2$

seed   kwankwa-, kwanun-

separate, to   ɨhuai

sew   lhi

shadow   nanmw-

shallow   ietapeka

shark   kɨlhiavɨn

sharp   esla

she   in

shed skin   ouiak

shelf   nɨmwativhata

shellfish   kuhuan

shin   naienhu-

shiver   okwiaaikwiaai

shoot   asɨk

shore   nɨmwakɨlakɨl

short   kwakwa

short of breath   ɨmig

shoulder   nua-$_1$

show   atiuun

shut, to   etapɨg

shut, be   uhum

sibling of same sex   pia-, noulahi-, noule-

sick   mha

side   nɨkal-, nɨkalkal-, lenkalkal-, nɨvtai-

sinew   kwanelaus

sing   ni$_2$ nɨpe

sink   ɨlkwɨlkɨn (tr.), amnum (intr.)

sister   nauin-, noulahi-, noule-, pia-

sit   akwɨta

skin   tɨki-

sky   neai

sleep   apɨl

sleepwalk   vikouiam

slow(ly)   mala

small   alkɨtɨɨt

smash   ahipwu

smell, to   apien (intr.), ɨlɨg (tr.)

smoke   nhenapw

smooth   ɨpwia

snake   tagalua

snap   elpwu

so   toko

soft   malamala

some   tɨksɨn, kɨliik

something   nal

song   nɨpe

sorcery   nukna

sore, be   ɨmha, ɨmhil

sore, a   nɨmwapw

sour   ehiu

south   pɨlaah

south wind   pwai

south-east wind   tokolau

southwards   -plaah, -hakta

south-west wind   pwai

speak   ɨnkiaal

spear, a   kwanhau

spider   mwakal, iielia

spiderweb   lielie

spirit   nanmw-

spit   elgaavh

spittle   nhinakwa-

split   alɨplaai

squeeze   ɨvtetelakɨn

squid   ihi

stab   hai

stanchions   kwankwulkwul

stand   alel (intr.), ɨlɨp (tr.)

star   kɨmhau

stay   kwate, akwatelukɨn

steal   aklhakɨn

stick, a   nɨpalnai

stingray   vɨlaakw

stomach   tɨpweua

stone   kopwiel

story   kwanagei, namsu, nɨvsauien

straight   etkwatukw

strike   uh

string, to   til

strong   asanɨn

suck   amwha

sugarcane   nɨtukw

sun   mɨl

swallow   tɨgai

swamp   namtɨgai

sweat, to   amnhaakw

sweet   hekɨn

sweet potato   kwalei, kwaleikwalei

swell up   esiis

swim   al, eai

T

tail   nɨpikou-

talk harshly   akwlɨg

tapioca   mwaiako

taro   nɨtel

taste   apwaihasɨgɨvɨn

tattoo   netetau

tears   nhenɨml-

tell lies   eikwa

tell story   ɨvsau

testicle   kwanouier-

that   mɨma, aan$_2$, aa$_2$, ai, en, kwuse

the   ai

their   -lia, -lisɨl, -liu

them   aliu, alisɨl, alia

then   la, toko, kwasɨg$_2$

there   ikɨn en, ikɨn aan$_2$, -pɨn, -pna

therefore   toko

they   iliu, ilisɨl, ilia

thick   esiis, amha

thief   iaklha

thigh   nɨpwataknɨva-

thin   avilɨg

thing   nal

think   lɨki-n l-am-uh

thirsty   akwapwa

this   e, en, ai, kwuse

thorn   nilh-

three   kɨsisɨl

throat   -lakw

throw   alukɨn$_1$

thumb   pɨsasuul

thunder   kalualua

tibia   naienhu-

tidal wave   siosio

tide   mas *(be low)*, tɨmtɨm *(be high)*

tie   ɨlkɨs, etout

time   nɨpɨg

tired   apus

tobacco   tapaka

today   touei

toe   pɨspɨs

toenail   nɨlɨgɨvi-

together   -kwis, kwiskwis, mukwis

tomorrow   tukwienakwamɨl

tongue   nelam-

tooth   kwɨlu-

top   nelpul-, tukl-

tree   nai$_1$

trunk   nɨplaa-

trying to   lu

turn   oklhekɨn *(self)*, avhlekɨn *(sth.)*

turtle   iakw

twist   ɨkav

two   kɨlalu

U

uncle   mɨla-, lɨm- kalɨn

underworld   ipwai

unimportant   apgapɨg

upwards   -hakta

urinate   aam$_1$, ami, amialil

us (exc.)   amlu, amasɨl, amaua

us (inc.)   alau, atasɨl, ataua

V

vagina   -ua

valley   nakwatana

vein   kwanelaus

very   ankap, pɨk, eleita

village   lukwanu, ie!kwanu

voice   lɨki-

volcano   iahul

vomit   lua

W

wake up   ɨlha *(intr.)*, sɨg *(tr.)*

walk   eliuok

wall   napwɨl

want   olkeikei, amwa; apwah₂ (*not want*)

war   neluankapien

warm, be   aliuan

wash   ɨvɨt, aikuaas *(sth.)*, al *(self)*, akwi *(s.o.)*

water   nu

wave, a   peau, siosio

we (exc.)   kɨmlu, kɨmasɨl, kɨmaua

we (inc.)   kɨlau, kɨtasɨl, kɨtaua

wear lavalava   etout

weave   kwuh

web   lielie

weed, to   okwai

weeds   nɨvhilɨk ha

weep   eau

west   pila

west wind   nɨpelaap

westwards   -vila

wet, be   aptɨg

whale   toulhaai

what?   naha

when?   naghɨn (past), tukwnaghɨn (future)

where?   -hie, ihie, ikɨn favɨn

which?   favɨn

white   hauan

Whitesands   ikuplaah

who?   pa

whom?   pa

wide   ehua

widower   pianielmɨs

wife   pilavɨn, pian

wind   nɨmataag

wing   nɨkavkav-

wipe   ɨspiil

woman   pilavɨn, pian, piamil

work in garden   asim

worm   mwatîkalo

wrap (up)   avlɨg

Y

yam   nekw

yaws, have   okwɨte

year   nekw

yellow   akwlha

yes   ouaah

yesterday   niɨv

you   iik, kɨmilu, amilu, kɨmisɨl, amisɨl, kɨmia, amia

your   -m, -milu, -misɨl, - mia

NOTES

1. See Lynch (1978a:718-719) for further discussion and elaboration.

2. I was unable to elicit any name for this dialect. The tribal group who speak it are known as the Nelpwaai-mɨne (-mɨne being an associative suffix used in tribal names), and this is where the name Nelpwaai comes from. Nɨvhaal and Nɨvai are, however, names of the dialects.

3. My own data (Lynch 1978a:720) show a higher figure (73%) between the Nɨvhaal dialect and Lenakel, but this is almost certainly due to elicitation in Lenakel.

4. Research was supported by the East-West Center and the University of Papua New Guinea. I would like to thank Terry Crowley for his comments on an earlier draft of this grammar.

5. Of the 'dento-alveolar' sounds, t and s are dental, and the others are alveolar (but see also the discussion concerning v and r). The symbol g is used for the velar nasal [ŋ] since this is the common symbol in the orthographies of many of the languages of Vanuatu; all of the languages of Southern Vanuatu use g for [ŋ]. The phonological rules of South-west Tanna are very similar to those of Lenakel, of which Lynch (1975) is a detailed description.

6. The phonemic status of the mid central vowel was not recognised by early missionaries in designing orthographies for the Tanna languages, and so no traditional symbol exists; the symbol ɨ is used in publications on Lenakel (see bibliography), and is used here for that reason.

7. The phoneme /h/ is not considered a non-vowel in the devoicing environment where it undergoes crasis with a preceding consonant; thus /oklhekɨn/ [ɔglɛ̥gən] *'to turn'* is considered to have a medial cluster of only two consonants.

8. It should also be pointed out here that /ɨ/ is the only vowel which may not occur word-finally.

9. Theoretically, a class of exclamations/interjections should be included as a fifth major class including, inter alia, ouaah *'yes'*, nɨkom *'no'*, and a number of other items. I have decided to dispense with any detailed treatment of these items in this grammar outline. Conjunctions and case-marking prepositions are not treated as *major* word classes, and are discussed in the appropriate subsections of section 4.

10. Sound correspondences established in Lynch (1978a) include the following: Proto-Oceanic *t > South-west Tanna (Nɨvhaal) l, *d > l, *p > v, *m > m, *n > n, *ŋ > g, *s > h, *q and *k lost in some environments.

     This accreted initial vowel is a feature of the whole Southern Vanuatu subgroup (Lynch 1978a:757), and the fact that it once must have been a prefix can also be shown by an examination of the verb in Sie (Erromango) (Lynch 1981b). However, I have not as yet been able to assign a clear function to it in the languages of the subgroup.

11. The homophony between the 1IN and 3NSG forms is not a peculiarity of South-west Tanna but is found in all the languages of Tanna.

12.   See Lynch (1978a:758) for a suggestion that this marker derives historically from the Proto-Oceanic conjunction *ma *'and'*.

   No tense/aspect markers appear in many of the verbs given in the examples in this section. These examples mainly come from narrative discourse; and in any context where the tense/aspect is obvious, it need not be overtly marked. In fact, tense/aspect markers rarely follow the prefix m-, for this very reason.

13.   There is some evidence that South-west Tanna /h/ has recently moved further leftwards in words, so that some cases of medial /h/ have subsequently moved to initial position. Compare South-west Tanna helapu *'blow a fire'*, nhe- *'smoke'*, kuhu *'how many'*, and mha *'sick, die'* with Whitesands (East Tanna) ahlapu, nah-, kuvah, and mɨs respectively. The evidence needs to be further examined; however, if there was a general leftward shift of /h/, it may explain why the /h/ is virtually ignored in the morphophonemics of the number prefixes.

14.   Compare these suffixes with the locative nouns pihiu *'the north'*, pɨlaah *'the south'*, pihiaak *'the east'*, and pila *'the west'*.

15.   Note that since eliuok is not a verb of specific motion (i.e. it implies no specific direction), (75) can *not* mean *'Where are you walking?'*.

16.   Apart from the expected phonological differences (e.g. r for Nivhaal l), Nɨvai dialect pronoun forms show one significant difference from the Nɨvhaal forms: the presence of an initial i in the focal non-singular pronouns — e.g. ikarau 1IN:DU, ikamuru 1EX:DU, ikamisɨr 2TR, etc.

17.   The Ø allomorph is represented here in examples (84) and (85) in order to illustrate this deletion; in other examples elsewhere in the text, however, it will not be written in.

18.   See, for example, Lynch (1973, 1981a) and Pawley (1973) for a discussion of this.

19.   The fact that the basic meaning of ielmaan is *'man'* and that of pilavɨn is *'woman'* is relevant here.

20.   The Nɨvai dialect seems to show a greater range of use of the 3SG allomorph -ni: the small amount of data I have available suggests that -ni is used with all kinship terms which take direct possession, while -n is used with non-kinship terms in direct possession.

21.   In previous discussions of the grammar of Tanna languages (e.g. Lynch 1978b), this class was labelled 'adjuncts'. However, the similarity between 'adjuncts' and 'adjectives' is such that I have substituted the term 'modifier' for 'adjunct'.

22.   Numerals between six and nineteen are formed by compounding on the base 'five' and using the ligature mɨ: thus kɨlkɨlɨp-mɨ-kɨlkɨlɨp-mɨ-kɨlalu 'twelve'. Twenty is formed on the base l-lkak ielmama (3SG-*not:be person*): l-lkak ielmama kɨlikiana mɨ-kuas (literally, one person is not, and four) 'twenty-four'. Needless to say, numerals above five are not frequently used, having largely been replaced in normal conversation by borrowings from Bislama.

23.   Noun-initial n derives historically from a Proto-Oceanic article *na. In the Tanna languages, this *na has been fused at the beginning of many nouns in the form n or n + vowel, and it is now part of the noun. In South-west Tanna, 36.5% of the nouns listed in the vocabulary in section 6 begin with n; the next most frequent initial phonemes are i with 11.7% (cf. i- 'agentive prefix'), k with 11.4% (cf. k- 'instrumental prefix'), and kw with 9.1%.

24.   Recall the discussion in 3.1.1.11. above where it was pointed out that, in a transitive clause, certain verbs *require* the transitive postclitic -kɨn (e.g. gɨn in (138)), while others do not (e.g. aan in (136), as in (137)).

25.   This question-type is really a reduction of an alternative sentence (see 4.4.2.3. below): *"That man killed a pig in the village or (he didn't kill a pig in the village)?"* It is convenient, however, to treat such questions as simple rather than complex sentences.

26.   The conjunction melɨginai *'because'* looks formally like a compound of melɨg *'but'* + in 3SG + ai DEM:PR, and comparative evidence suggests that this is correct: cf. Lenakel merouinka *'because'* (merou *'but'*, in 3SG, ka DEM:PR). However, the form in South-west Tanna seems to be monomorphemic synchronically (as do its cognates in Lenakel and other Tanna languages).

27.   It is possible that the conjunction is (or was) m-ɨma (AND-quotative: verb); again, there is some comparative evidence for this, though the form is synchronically monomorphemic.

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