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**MALUA BAY: A DESCRIPTION OF THE MALUA BAY
LANGUAGE**

(MALEKULA, VANUATU)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements

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by

KANAUHEA JANION WESSELS

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Abstract

Malua Bay: A description of the Malua Bay language (Malekula, Vanuatu) is a synchronic study of the Malua Bay language variety spoken in the village of Malua Bay, in Northwest Malekula, Vanuatu. The data for this project was collected in the village of Malua Bay over the course of two field trips in 2012 and 2013. This study also provides an account of Traditional Ecological Knowledge [TEK] in Malua Bay with relevance to children, and the implementation of TEK into Early Childhood Education [ECE] through the medium of vernacular language. The linguistic account provides a description of the phonological system of the language, with bilabial and palatal glides and complex pre-nasalised segments, where the complex pre-nasalised segments contrast with plain segments. The language also contains a six-vowel distinction. The basic syllable shape (C)V(C) is maintained in the language, and re-syllabification can occur through complex changes including segment deletion. The nominal system displays a semantic distinction between alienable/inalienable possession, which is commonly found in Oceanic languages. Verbal morphology in Malua Bay exhibits mood-prominence, where verbal predicates are marked for either realis or irrealis mood. Further aspectual meaning is specified through extra verbal morphology. Negation is marked discontinuously in Malua Bay with a verbal prefix and a post-verbal negative particle. An accusative system is displayed where intransitive and transitive subjects are treated in the same way, while transitive objects are marked separately.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

-	Separate morpheme
.	Separates words in a multi-word gloss
[MLL...]	Data reference
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
A	Agent
ANA.DEM	Anaphoric demonstrative
CAUSE	Causative marker
COMPL	Completive marker
CONT	Continuative marker
DEM	General demonstrative
DEM.LOC	Locative demonstrative
DEM.TEMP	Temporal demonstrative
DEM1	Proximate demonstrative
DEM2	Intermediate demonstrative
DEM3	Distant demonstrative
DRINK	Drink classifier
DUP	Reduplicative prefix
DUR	Durative marker
EXCL	Exclusive
FOOD	Food classifier
GEN	General genitive marker
GEN.HUM	Human genitive marker
HeadN	Head noun
IMP	Imperfective marker
INCL	Inclusive
INTENS	Intensity marker
IRR	Irrealis mood prefix
LICE	Lice classifier
LOC	Locative marker

LOC.on	Locative marker 'on top'
LOC.HUM	Human locative marker
MC	Main clause
NEG1	Negative prefix
NEG2	Negative particle
NOM	Nominalising suffix
NP	Noun phrase
OBJ	Object marker
OBJ.HUM	Human object marker
Obl	Oblique
OPT	Optative mood prefix
PL	Plural
PLACE	Place classifier
POSS	Possessive
PREP	Preposition
PRO.DEM	Demonstrative pronoun
R	Recipient
RC	Relative clause
S	Subject
SG	Singular
SUB	General subordinator
T	Theme
TEMP	Temporal marker

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis presents an ethnographic study of traditional ecological knowledge, and a preliminary grammar sketch of the language of Malua Bay, a language spoken on Malekula Island in Vanuatu.

1.1 The general research context

Vanuatu, formerly known as the New Hebrides, is an archipelagic nation in the South Pacific Ocean consisting of 83 islands (Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade (MFAT), 2011). This nation was first populated by Melanesian people over 3,000 years ago (Kirch, 2000), and today it is a nation of rich linguistic and cultural diversity. The total population of Vanuatu is just over 234,000 people (Vanuatu National Statistics Office, 2009), with the majority of people living in small rural communities. Malekula is the second largest island in the archipelago of Vanuatu, with a population of 22,934 (Vanuatu National Statistics Office, 2009). Malua Bay, the site of the research, is situated in the north-west of Malekula, on the northern border of the Big Nambas territory. According to Lynch and Crowley (2001) there are an estimated 500 speakers of the Malua Bay language.

1.2 The linguistic research context

Linguistically, Vanuatu is one of the most densely diverse nations in the world, with the highest number of indigenous languages per head of population. Malekula island is home to 24 actively spoken languages, and can lay claim to a further 15 moribund or extinct languages (Lynch & Crowley, 2001). Bislama (Melanesian Pidgin) is also spoken on Malekula

in many contexts (Barbour, 2010). The language of Malua Bay is an oral language with no current writing system. This language has never been studied or documented before, with the exception of a list of kinship terms collected by Deacon (1934) and a short word list developed by Tryon (1976). The SIL *Ethnologue* record of Malua Bay (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2013) states alternative names for the language including Espiegle's Bay and Middle Nambas. The exact relationship between these varieties has not yet been studied. It may be the case that each name indicates a local dialect, or a distinct language.

1.3 Genetic affiliation

Malua Bay, like the other languages of Malekula, is an Austronesian language. The Austronesian language family is one of the two largest language families in the world (the Benue-Congo family is the other language family, in Africa) in terms of language members (Lynch, 1998; Lynch, Ross, & Crowley 2002). Proto Oceanic [POc] is a sub-group of the Austronesian family, and the genetic relationship between the two is displayed in Figure 1-1. Malua Bay can further be described as a member of the POc family. The genetic relationship between POc and Malua Bay is displayed in Figure 1-2.

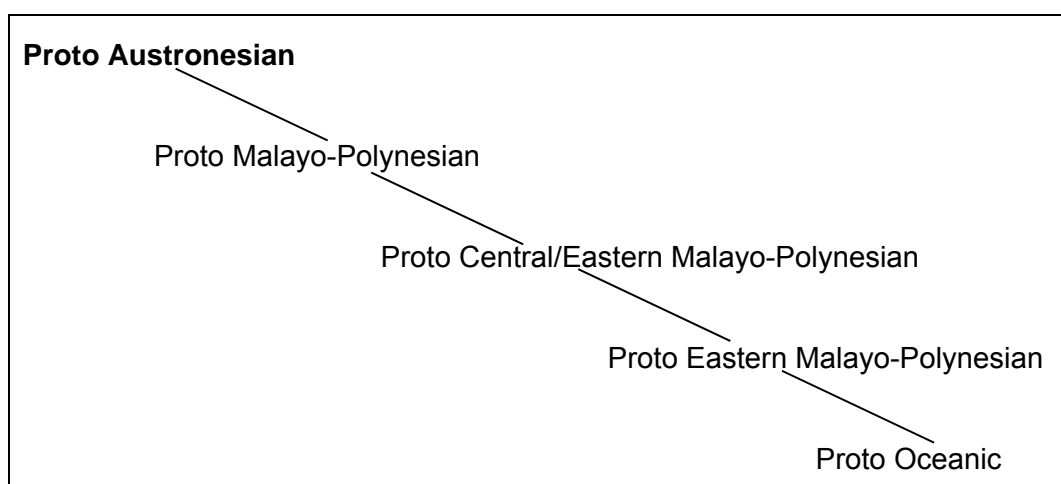


Figure 1-1: The genetic relationship of Proto Oceanic to Proto Austronesian
(Adapted from Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002, p.4))

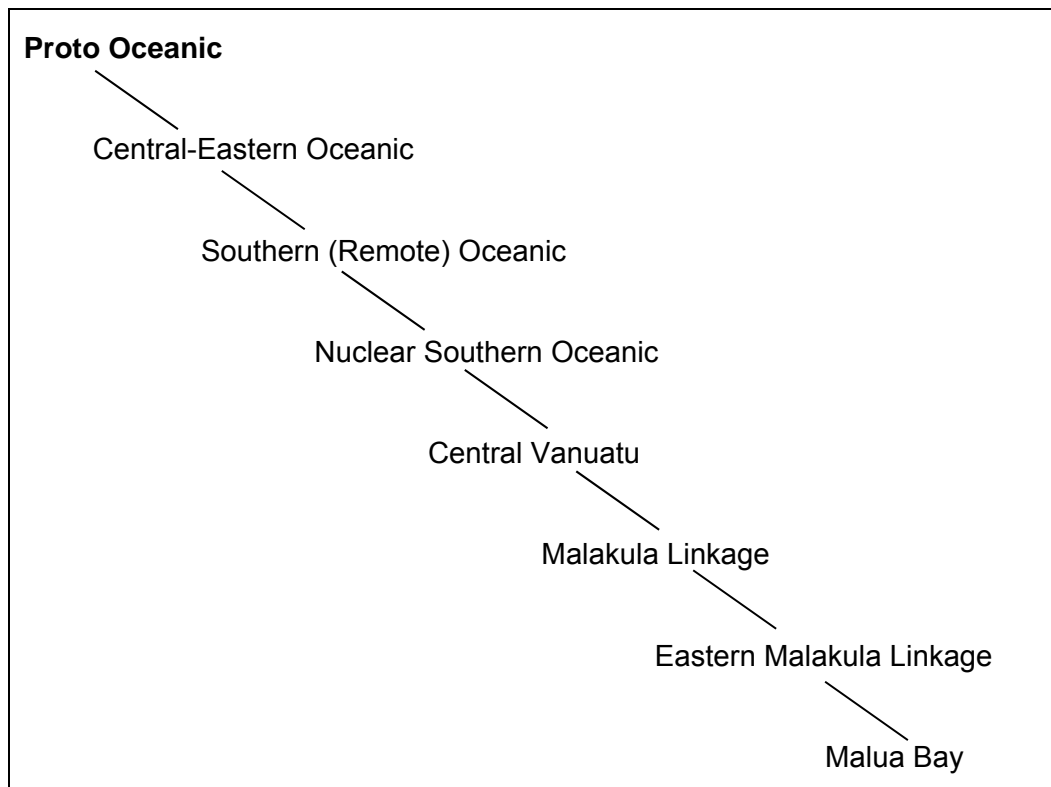


Figure 1-2: The genetic relationship of Malua Bay to Proto Oceanic
 (Adapted from SIL *Ethnologue* (Lewis et. al., 2013), Lynch (1998, p.48), and Lynch
 (2012))

As shown in Figure 1-2, the languages of Malekula belong to the Central Eastern Oceanic (CEOc) grouping of Proto Oceanic (POc), and furthermore belong to the Southern Oceanic linkage of CEOc, but more specifically to the Central Vanuatu linkage. Within the Central Vanuatu linkage there is subordinate level, the Malakula¹ linkage that divides between the Western Malakula linkage and the Eastern Malakula linkage. The main Malakula linkage encompasses all of the languages found on the island of Malekula.

The evidence for this affiliation can be seen in Table 1-1 in the similarity of lexical items attested in this language description and the semantically equivalent reconstructed Proto Oceanic forms.

¹ Malekula has alternative spelling/pronunciation of *Malekula* or *Malakula*. In this thesis the form *Malakula* is only used when referring to the linkages of Proto Oceanic. All other instances will use the form *Malekula*.

Proto Oceanic	Malua Bay	Gloss
*rua	iru	'two'
*pati, *pat	ivat	'four'
*lima	iləm	'five'
*patu	nəvet	'stone'
*tasik	ⁿ des	'sea, saltwater'
*saliR	sal	'float'
*lanjit	lanj	'wind, air'
*mata[-]	nemta-	'eye'
*mai, *ma	me	'come'
*pano	van	'go'
*na-ñoRap, *qa-na-ñoRap	nanov	'yesterday'
*panua	nəvanu	'place, land'
*taŋa	ⁿ daŋ	'basket'
*keli	xil	'dig, harvest (tubers)'
*tunu	tin	'cook by roasting'

Table 1.1: Reconstructed Proto Oceanic forms (from Lynch, Ross & Crowley 2002, and Ross, Pawley & Osmond 1998, 2007) and their Malua Bay equivalents collected during field work for this project.

According to Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002) there are 17 languages belonging to the Malakula linkage. However, not all of these languages have been documented. Those which have been documented in some way include Nese (Crowley, 2006c) in the north-west of Malekula, Atchin (Cappel & Layard, 1980) in the north-east of the island, and Uripiv (McKerras, 2005) which is also in the north-east. Aulua (Paviour-Smith, 2005a, 2005b; Paviour-Smith & Makenzie, 2005) is a language spoken in south-east along the coast, which is bordered by the undocumented languages Rerep, Letemboi (an interior language), and Bumbar. Port Sandwich (Charpentier, 1979; 1982) is spoken in the south-east of the island, Big Nambas (Fox, 1979) in the north-west, Vinmavis (with the alternative name of Neve'ei) (Musgrave, 2007) on the central west coast, Unua (Pearce, 2005) in the south, and finally Nāti (Crowley, 1998) in the south-west of Malekula. Documented languages belonging to the interior parts of Malekula include Neverver (Barbour, 2012), Dirak (Brotchie, 2004), Avava (Crowley, 2006a), Naman (Crowley, 2006b), as well as Tape (Crowley, 2006d).

Because this study is a small synchronic project, I will not look into the relationship between the Malua Bay language and the neighbouring language variety of Espiegles Bay. Nor will I consider in detail the relationship between Malua Bay and any other language varieties that have been documented to date. However, I speculate that the language variety spoken in Malua Bay and the language variety spoken in Espiegle's Bay are dialects of the same language. Tryon (1976) also collected a wordlist from the Petarmur [Petarmul] language. This language has similar vocabulary to that collected by him on the Malua Bay language. The relationship between Malua Bay and Petarmul is not established in Tryon's work. During conversation in my fieldwork, I discovered that the current inhabitants of Malua Bay originally lived in the dense inland area of Petarmul. They have only recently, over the past two to three decades, migrated to the coastal settlement of Malua Bay predominantly for religion. They have established their community in the coastal village. I believe that the language spoken in Petarmul is the original language variety spoken by current Malua Bay speakers. Due to the migration of people to the Malua Bay coast, and the subsequent close contact between speakers in Malua Bay and Espiegle's Bay, the language variety of Malua Bay has most likely undergone change. Thus, the current Malua Bay variety differs slightly from the Petarmul variety, and appears to be dialectally related to the Espiegle's Bay language variety.

1.4 Field work

The grammar sketch and ethnographic information presented in this thesis are the outcome of sixteen weeks of fieldwork, spread over one longer field trip in 2012, and one shorter field trip in 2013. In the following sections, I present an account of the processes that I followed in order to organise and complete the field work component of this Master's project. I will focus on the modes of entry into the community, how I made my presence known in the community, as well as participating in community events, how the community responded to me, and the nature of the relationships that I formed while in the community.

1.4.1 *Field trip preparation*

In 2011 contact was made with Gayleen Tarosa, a speaker of the Espiegle's Bay language variety spoken in north-west Malekula in Vanuatu, who agreed to be the language consultant for a practical phonology course. This was a post-graduate level course delivered by the Department of General and Applied Linguistics at the University of Waikato, under the guidance and supervision of Dr. Julie Barbour. In this course students were required to collect raw linguistic data through elicitation and text recording. Students were then required to transcribe and translate the data, and then use technical linguistic software to digitise and analyse the data. From these processes a phonological sketch of the Espiegle's Bay language variety was produced by each student. One of the requirements of the course was to produce a community literacy resource that could be implemented into early childhood and/or primary education. Gayleen, the language consultant, made contact with the Espiegle's Bay community and was able to explain the benefits of the course and pass on the resources to the local community. Through this, a high interest was expressed by the Espiegle's Bay community and neighbouring Malua Bay community. Although a written letter of consent was not received from the community to carry out the research, the community made a commitment to hosting researchers at the local school in Malua Bay for the duration of the field research. This commitment was expressed via personal communication with Gayleen Tarosa, and indicated in an email to my supervisor, Dr. Julie Barbour.

In preparation for my trip into the field I continued to work on the Espiegle's Bay language so that I could gain more understanding about the vocabulary and sentence structures of the language in the hope that this would help with my understanding of the Malua Bay language once I arrived and started working with the community. In addition to this, I would spend between two to three hours a week with Gayleen Tarosa, at her home in Hamilton, learning about different cultural aspects of the northwest of Malekula, appropriate ways to behave and dress in the villages, and how to do things in a manner that would not be offensive to

the people and their culture. While describing these different aspects of island life, Gayleen also taught me Bislama (Melanesian Pidgin).

1.4.2 *The first field trip (August – December 2012)*

I departed for my first field trip on August 16th 2012. On Malekula Island, my key contact in Lakatoro, the main business hub of Malekula, was Noel Nathan, the hospital manager for the Malampa (Malekula-Ambrym-Paama) province. He arranged for my transport to and from the airport, as well as local transport to the north-west region of the island, to Malua Bay. When spending weekends away from the village in Lakatoro, I stayed with Noel and his family in their home. Noel is from the neighbouring Espiegle's Bay village.

Throughout the first field trip in August 2012 - December 2012 my host was Jerryson Hosea from the Big Nambas village, Lekhan. Jerryson was also the principal of the Malua Bay Adventist School. I stayed with him and his wife Ireen from Espiegle's Bay, and their young daughter Jerin. The community had recently built a local guest house in order to accommodate any visitors to the village, so I was able to use the guest house during this extended field trip, which was situated right next to the principal's house, by the school. In relation to the village, the guest house was situated in an isolated area. One of the village settlements is located at the north-end of the village, at the top of a rise, and the second settlement is located at the south-end of the village, across the river, at the entrance to the Big Nambas territory. The guest house is located in the middle of these two settlements with only the local school and teaching houses close by. Both villages are several hundred metres away from the guest house.

During my first field trip, access to participants was difficult. My purpose for going to the village had not been made public knowledge until the week prior to my arrival. As a foreigner coming into a remote village naturally the community members were wary of me and my intentions for being there. In addition to this, I was situated in a place isolated from community members and initially, I rarely had anyone to show me around.

As a young, unmarried female it is always advised that you have an escort with you when walking around the village, especially in the first few weeks until you have established yourself in the community. Because both the husband and wife of my first host family worked at the school every day I was unable to go out and meet community members on my own.

In order to make myself seen in the village I made sure to attend as many church services and activities as possible, as the church is a focal point of daily village life in Malua Bay. So I participated wherever possible, and this included joining the children in different Sabbath School classes, singing with the mothers at church services, speaking in my own Māori language at church when asked, and joining in with the youth group for singing and marching practices. Despite not always knowing what was being said, and what was going on, I had to make myself seen and known in the community. Through this process I was able to talk to a larger number of people and explain the purpose of me being in the village and how the villagers could contribute to the project if they wanted to do so.

Eventually I came in contact with the teacher of the Veleles Model Kindergarten at Wal, Emilyn Ruben, and we arranged to meet at the kindergarten so I could explain what I was doing to her and her family. As this happened I was also able to help her with teaching ideas in the classroom, I was able to meet the kindergarten students, and in turn meet some of their parents too.

Once I had established networks within the Malua Bay community, data collection began. I was able to approach different members of the community to ask if they would be interested in participating in the project. Elicitation work was something that happened constantly with a large number of community members, and was often something that took place during big custom celebrations or *lafet* while people were sitting around. People would give me vocabulary and I was able to ask questions about specific words.

Before any recordings were made, I sought oral consent from the participant/s, explaining to them the nature of the research, what the recordings would be used for, and that they had the right to access this

material when they wanted. I asked many of the elders in the village if they would like to contribute to the project by telling stories. I would suggest them different topics to talk about, but would leave the final decision up to them about the story topic, and more often than not they would talk about something different. I was able to make recordings with most of the older men in the village Morrisen Delay, Belden Joe, Edwin Jonas, and Belden Daniel. Unfortunately I was unable to record stories of Albert Delay and Shepherd Vane because of their ill health and travel outside of the village. When transcribing these stories I would ask some of the younger community members to help, but if they were unsure about particular words we would go back to the older speakers and ask them for explanations or descriptions of the terms used.

Recordings were made of some of the mothers and fathers in the community too but it was often hard to convince them that their knowledge of their language was 'good enough' for the project. The age group of the mothers and fathers was approximately 23-40 years old. A common theme I noticed with the middle and younger generations was that they did not think language was good enough, or that their speaking style was suitable for the type of work I was conducting. They advised me to go and speak with the older speakers in the community. In time I was able to explain that I needed an overview of the language used by the whole community, young and old, both male and female in order for the project to be successful. This was often a long process so I would leave the speakers to decide if they wanted to be recorded or not and come back at a later date to find out their answer. If the answer was no I would ask if they could help in other ways with elicitation or transcription.

It was quite a while through this first field trip when I found out that there was another kindergarten across the river on the opposite side of the village. I managed to get in contact with the teacher there, Eslyn Jonas, and I spent time with her and both her mother and father-in-law talking about the kindergarten and fortunately doing some recordings. Getting to know the children at both kindergartens also helped as they often wanted me to walk them home, allowing me to meet their parents and talk to them

about what I was doing and asking if they would like to participate in the project.

During this period of data collection, through recordings and elicitation, data was also collected for a special ethno-linguistic topic on Traditional Ecological Knowledge [TEK]. Data for this smaller project was collected through semi-structured interviews while in the village. A more detailed description of this topic is presented in chapter 2 of this thesis.

During this field trip, despite the difficulties I first faced interacting with community members, I formed some very good relationships. Because of my close location to the school I built up a rapport with many of the secondary students, especially the boarding students from Atchin, and a few students from Wyn and Lekhan. In time I got to meet many of their parents from the surrounding villages, from Wyn at the end of the road in the Big Nambas territory all the way to Atchin in the north-east of Malekula.

I became good friends with the mothers and their husbands on the other side of the river, especially Waina, Eslyn, and Judith, and I would go to their homes to do my work and at the end of it be laughing and joking with everybody. On my return trip to the village in 2013, it seemed like these relationships were even stronger and it felt like I had never left.

I formed some very strong relationships with people outside of the Malua Bay speaking community while in the village. These were with the Meltesaul and Isaac families, but especially with the mothers of the families Esneth Meltesaul and Sarah Isaac. Esneth and her husband Mark, both from Atchin in the north-east of Malekula, lived right next to the school, by the secondary classrooms, as Esneth is the English teacher. Sarah and her husband Esau, both from the island of Tanna in southern Vanuatu, lived further down on the school property. Esau was the French teacher. They lived right next door to the home of my host family, so they were my neighbours. These two women would always make sure I had plenty to eat, they would always check up to see that my work was progressing, and they would walk with me to visit different community members so that I could get interviews done, do some elicitation and

recordings. They opened their homes to me on a regular basis and treated me like I was a part of their family. I always felt welcomed, and on occasion would even spend a weekend, or a week sleeping and eating with them and their families. They were definitely my family away from home.

When I first arrived in the village the first response I felt from the community was one of curiosity. Of course being an outsider coming in to such a small remote place, that was understandable. I then felt that people were either scared or quite shy to come and talk to me. But what I realised later was that they were unsure about speaking English to me as they doubted the knowledge they had of English, and they did not know that I could understand and speak basic Bislama at the time.

Eventually I felt like I was a part of the community and would be called on to help with church activities such as organizing the Sabbath School concert, painting at the school, baking for the visiting church groups, and even decorating the school for the end of year graduation.

By the end of my first trip I believe I was accepted as part of the community and was treated as such. These relationships remained strong and when I returned for my second trip, it was like having a family reunion.

1.4.3 The second field trip (June – July 2013)

My host family during my second field trip in June 2013-July 2013 were Belden Joe and his wife Jelin-Rose, along with their sons Patik, Willie, and Kensley, their wives Mari, Lisa, and Agathe, and the two babies Jalin and Jopeth. This family lives at the top, north-end of the village at Wal, and I was accommodated in the house belonging to Belden and Jelin-Rose's second eldest son, John, who lives in Port Vila.

During the second field trip the access to community members was much easier. I was situated in the heart of the village and had already built networks and strong relationships in the community, I was able to come and go as I wished. As there is also a store situated at Wal it is a very

busy place with people coming and going all the time. In order to have cellular reception people must also go to Wal and sit in the Joe family's plantation to find cellular coverage, so there are always people at Wal to talk to. In addition to this, the Thursday morning market takes place across the road from Wal and the people from the bush at Petarmul would always come to Wal to rest and eat before making their long journey back up the bush. So this too gave me better access to speakers I would not get to see on a daily basis.

I would try to spend time with the different families, talking with them and getting to know them, playing with their children, and always eating with them all. As I would walk around the village someone would always be around and they made sure I was okay, asking where I was going and continually offering me food to ensure my stay was a comfortable one. I was invited to dinner at a different family's home nearly every night so I could share a meal with them and so we could spend time talking and catching up on each other's lives.

During my second field trip, contact was made with Numa Fred, the director of the Cultural Centre based in Lakatoro. Numa Fred received my research fee for the Malekula Cultural Centre.

1.5 Transcription, translation, and annotation

Transcription, translation, and annotation initially took place at the guest house, where I was staying with Ireen Hosea. Once I got to know more people in the village I tried to share this work around. I spent time at Wal with Emilyn Ruben, Patik, Willie, and Kensley Joe who helped transcribe their own stories, as well as stories told by their parents. On occasion I would go across the river to the Jonas family where Eslyn and Judith Jonas would help with the transcription and translation of texts at the Romsesehe Kindergarten. Edna Jonas and her father Roger, along with her sister Rolyn would also help with transcription and translation in their home, or underneath the big mango tree outside their home. A big part of the transcription, translation, and annotation however, took place in

the kitchen of Lucy Delay; and when her husband Fredson was home, we would sit outside under the shade and he would help with transcription, translation, and elicitation.

Once back in New Zealand the primary data was organised using two free open source software programmes. Texts were transcribed using 'Transcriber' (<http://trans.sourceforge.net>) where recordings were broken up. The transcribed and translated material was assigned to each sound segment. 'Toolbox 1.6.1' from SIL (<http://www-01.sil.org/computing/toolbox>) was used to organise the lexicon, interlinearise texts, and produce a word list. The lexemes are recorded using the orthographic description (see section 3.5) of the phonological system of the language. They are characterised by their part of speech (word class), classified by appropriate semantic domain, and assigned an equivalent English gloss or description. Notes were also made where necessary and the Bislama equivalent given where appropriate.

Frameworks of language description, deriving from General Linguistics and Linguistic Typology were employed to interpret the linguistic data. In particular Crowley and Bowen (2010) were used in helping with phonological descriptions, publications by Crowley, Lynch, Siegel, and Piau (1995), Payne (1997, 2006), Andrews (2007a, 2007b), Dryer (2007a, 2007b), and König and Siemund (2007) were also consulted for the grammatical description of the Malua Bay language. In addition, the Avava (Crowley, 2006a), Naman, (Crowley, 2006b, Neverver (Barbour, 2012), and Lolovoli (Hyslop, 2001) grammars were consulted in the description of the Malua Bay language.

1.6 Project ethics

Because this project involved human research participants, I made an application for ethical consent for this study to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences' Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Waikato. Ethical approval was granted on the 12th May 2012 (see Appendix A).

An application for research consent was submitted to the Vanuatu Cultural Council (VCC) by my supervisor, Dr. Julie Barbour, seeking consent for research under the project '*Exploring Mood in the Oceanic Languages of Vanuatu*'. The data collected during my field trips to Malua Bay will contribute to the corpus used by Dr. Barbour in her larger comparative research project, however the primary focus of this work was for the purposes of this master's project. A research permit was granted to Dr. Barbour on the 28th June 2012 to carry out data collection for her larger project, and as such I was permitted to undertake field work in Malua Bay (see Appendix B). On August 10th 2012 I received a separate research permit naming me as the single researcher of my project (see Appendix C). Upon arrival in Vanuatu contact was made with Mrs Henline Mala at the Vanuatu Cultural Centre in order to complete the research agreement between myself and the Cultural Centre.

My fieldwork was guided by the following principles (Dwyer, 2006):

1. Do no harm (including unintentional harm)
2. Reciprocity and equity
3. Do some good (for the community as well as for science)
4. Obtain informed consent before initiating research
5. Archive and disseminate your data and results

The first principle was adhered to by being culturally sensitive during my field trips. To be culturally sensitive meant that I avoided taboo subjects, I made sure to have a chaperone when going to unfamiliar places, and always followed the example of those around me to make sure that I was not being insensitive or offending anyone through my actions. When conducting data collection, control was given to the participants allowing them to decide which topics would be discussed, and which topics I could record. They were also given the right not to answer any questions asked of them.

Reciprocity and equity played an important role during my field trips. In terms of equity I made sure that the participants knew that what they had to say was indeed important, and I would ask open-ended questions

that gave them control over the amount of information they shared with me, also, whether or not they shared any information with me. If they chose to change the direction of my questioning, then that was also up to the participants. The principle of reciprocity was upheld when village members shared their language, their customary stories, and culture with me. I in turn would share my language, culture, traditional stories, and history with them finding similarities in the cultures and languages, which enabled a relationship to form between myself and the community members.

The work that has come of this project, for the community and for science, is the compilation of local community views on Traditional Ecological Knowledge (see sections 2.3-2.8 of this thesis) that allowed me to identify solutions to local problems (see sections 2.8.2 and 2.9). Additionally, a grammar sketch has been produced (see chapters 3 to 6) on the Malua Bay language variety, as well as the production of literacy outputs (see Appendices D and E).

Informed oral consent was obtained before recordings were conducted. All information pertaining to the project was explained to the participants, and they were given the final decision of whether they agreed to be recorded or not.

The sound files, images, and completed thesis will be archived with the Vanuatu Cultural Council once this project is completed. Copies of data and images will also be returned to the Malua Bay community. On my return field trip in 2013 draft literacy materials were returned to the village with the draft materials being introduced into the early childhood education systems already set-up in the village. There are also planned publications for sections of this thesis, one of which will be completed with my supervisor.

1.7 Thesis outline

This thesis comprises six chapters. The first chapter of the thesis outlines the general research context and linguistic research context of this project. It describes the physical context of Vanuatu, and expands further into the linguistic background of Malekula Island, and the village of Malua Bay. The genetic relationship between Malua Bay and Proto Oceanic is established, and subsequently the relationship between Malua Bay and the Austronesian language family. A chronological description is then given on the two field trips conducted for this project. Following from this, a description of the methods of translation and transcription of the data collected during these field trips is given. Finally, an outline of the ethical procedures carried out for this project is given, and the principles that guided the project are explained.

Chapter two presents a special ethno-linguistic topic on Traditional Ecological Knowledge [TEK]. In this study I describe what the people of Malua Bay believe to be traditional ecological knowledge, people's attitudes towards this knowledge, and their beliefs about what types of traditional ecological knowledge are of relevance to children.

Chapters three to six present the grammar sketch of Malua Bay. In chapter three, the phonological system of the language variety of Malua Bay is described.

In chapter four, an account of the noun phrase structure of Malua Bay is given, looking at the pro-nominal and nominal forms of the language. Additionally, nominal derivation and nominal modifiers are explained, as well as co-ordinated nominal constructions.

In chapter five, a description of the verb phrase is given. This chapter on verb phrase structure considers verbal inflection, verbal derivation, a description of the verbal complex and its verbal modifiers, and finally the structure of the verb phrase in Malua Bay.

In chapter six, the final chapter of this thesis, clause structures in Malua Bay are explored. In particular, the structure of verbal clauses in this language is considered, as well as the non-core arguments in Malua

Bay. Furthermore, interrogative and imperative constructions are discussed, along with clausal modifiers, and non-verbal constructions.

The appendices have content pertaining to the ethical consent gained from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences' Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Waikato, as well as research permits from the Vanuatu Cultural Centre allowing this project to take place. In addition, there are draft literacy materials that have been given to the speech community to look over. A word list that has been put together throughout this project is presented, and the appendices conclude with extracts from the text corpus.

Chapter 2

Traditional Ecological Knowledge [TEK]

In this chapter, I present an exploration of the views of a selection of Malua Bay residents on the importance of Traditional Ecological Knowledge [TEK]. The focus of this exploration is on aspects of TEK that have the potential to be introduced into Early Childhood Education [ECE] in Malua Bay, and in Vanuatu more generally. The relevance of this exploratory study to the study of the Malua Bay language is that the Malua Bay language is the ideal medium for the instruction of indigenous knowledge.

TEK is defined by Fikret Berkes and his colleagues as “a cumulative body of knowledge, belief and practice, evolving by adaptive practices and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment” (Berkes, 2008, p.7). This definition describes the kinds of knowledge discussed in this chapter.

2.1 TEK Research on Malekula

Joe McCarter (2012) carried out an extensive study of TEK, in which he explored the perceptions of the value of traditional ecological knowledge on Malekula Island, Vanuatu, in relation to formal schooling. McCarter wanted to understand how TEK might be integrated into the formal school curricula of Vanuatu. For his doctoral thesis, McCarter conducted research in six communities, in four different areas of Malekula: Urupiv, Unmet, Tisvel, Dixon Reef, Lawa, and Wintua.

McCarter carried out a number of semi-structured interviews throughout his research. In 2008 he conducted semi-structured interviews with 49 informants: 27 were TEK experts, 12 were teachers, and 10 were Port Vila-based officials. From this group of interviewees, 37 of the informants were male, and 12 were female. The purpose of these

interviews was to assess the importance of TEK to the formal school system of Vanuatu (McCarter, 2012, p.185).

Following on from these interviews, a further group of 18 'expert informants' from Lawa, Dixon Reef, Tisvel, and Unmet (the four focus communities) were interviewed using semi-structured interviews. The interviews informed pilot studies to ensure intelligibility and salience of questions for further detailed interviews. Four of the informants were VCC fieldworkers (Vanuatu Cultural Centre); seven were chiefs; four were school teachers; and the other three held various positions within the church or community bodies. Of the 18 informants 14 were male, and four were female (McCarter, 2012, p.155).

In order to seek information and understanding about the *kastom* schools in three of the four focus communities (Lawa, Unmet, and Dixon Reef) a further 15 semi-structured interviews were carried out. Five interviewees were from Lawa, five from Unmet, and five from Dixon Reef; of all the participants only one was female (McCarter, 2012, pp.206-207).

When participants were asked what they thought to be appropriate areas of TEK for teaching in the classroom, McCarter (2012) identified six discrete domains of knowledge that his participants expressed for inclusion into the formal school system as taught subjects. Three of these areas, medicine, agriculture and construction, include theoretical and practical TEK skills and knowledge that participants felt were not being transmitted to younger generations effectively. This knowledge and these skills are at risk of being lost. The participants also noted that these three areas of knowledge could be taught in the classroom by local resource people which would "increase intergenerational knowledge of these subject domains; would make the younger generation more 'useful' in the community environment; and would increase their self-reliance" (McCarter & Gavin, 2011, p.16).

Two other domains identified by the participants were resource management and respect. The participants expressed concern that appropriate norms and values be continually transmitted to younger generations with the purpose of maintaining cohesion in the community environment. This is very important to ensure the maintenance of natural

resources, especially those in areas considered *tabu* (sacred or forbidden). This in turn would encourage and promote suitable attitudes between different people, and the property and belongings of others (McCarter, 2012, p.190).

The final domain identified by participants in McCarter's work, and one that was seen as being the most commonly discussed area for inclusion into the formal schooling system, is the area of vernacular languages. The participants noted that medicinal plant knowledge, social titles, and agricultural techniques, as well as many other types of local knowledge and skills, can be implicitly taught through vernacular language as they are embedded within the language itself (McCarter, 2012, p.190).

McCarter's (2012) project served as a model for the smaller study that I carried out while engaged with language documentation in the Malua Bay community.

2.2 TEK Project in Malua Bay

The TEK component of the Malua Bay project is just one portion of the larger study of the Malua Bay language that I have carried out. The link between language and TEK comes through the potential to teach TEK through the medium of the vernacular language.

The TEK focus in this project differed to the work carried out by McCarter (2012), in that I focussed primarily on attitudes towards the introduction of TEK into Early Childhood Education (ECE) through the local vernacular language. McCarter (2012) was more interested in understanding the processes of variation, change and maintenance of TEK on Malekula Island in Vanuatu, and in turn how TEK could be included into the formal school curriculum. A second key difference was the gender difference between myself and McCarter. Being a young female researcher, there was the possibility that participants would give me different kinds of responses to questions than they might to a male researcher. There could also be a difference in the gender of willing participants. In total McCarter conducted semi-structured interviews with 82 participants, 17 of whom were female.

Currently there are two kindergartens situated in Malua Bay: one primarily teaching in Bislama (Melanesian Pidgin), and the other primarily teaching in the Malua Bay vernacular. Literacy and numeracy in both kindergartens are taught in a mixture of English and the dominant kindergarten language. From the observations made during my initial four months in the field, even within the vernacular kindergarten, there is no material that introduces any form of TEK into the classroom. Rather, I observed that much of the time spent by students in the classroom followed a western model of learning where the students remain seated indoors, completing tasks set by the teacher, with a focus on English recognition in preparation for primary education. The children, in both kindergartens, would recite the English alphabet with a corresponding word for each letter; however they were often unable to recognise letters in isolation. In addition they would also recite multiplications of one and two in sequence starting from the lowest possible multiplication in English, but again they were unable to do the math equations outside of the rhythm used. Apart from the instruction being in either the vernacular language or Bislama, most of the learning in both kindergartens was English oriented.

2.2.1 *Semi-structured interviews*

In the TEK component of my project, my interest was in finding out what constituted TEK to Malua Bay speakers, and whether TEK content was considered suitable for transmission to children in ECE settings. Accordingly, I carried out a series of semi-structured interviews with community members.

In order to find interview participants, I approached different members of the community, such as parents, teachers, and church members, and asked them if they would like to participate in an interview regarding the local environment and language. The interview process, including the questions and recording of the interview, was explained to these potential participants, and once they had agreed in principle to participate in the interview process a list of eight questions were given to them to consider. The eight interview questions were as follows:

1. What names of things in the environment should small children, two to seven years old, know?

Wanem nem blong ol samting long envaeromen ol smol pikinini, tu kasem seven yia, bael oli shud save?

2. What things in the environment should children, two to seven years old, know how to do?

Wanem ol samting we i stap long envaeromen ol smol pikinini, tu kasem seven yia, bae oli shud save blong mekem?

3. What knowledge about the environment are children, men, and women all allowed to know?

Wanem save abaotem ol samting long envaeromen ol pikinini, ol man, mo ol woman oli gat raet blong save long hem?

4. What sort of things do you want children to be learning at kindy when they are two to seven years old?

Wanem ol samting yu wantem ol pikinini blong lanem taem oli stap long kindy taem oli tu kasem seven yia?

5. Do you think it is important that children first start learning in their own language when they first start going to kindy? Why?

Yu ting se hemi impotan se ol pikinini oli lan long lanwis blong olgeta taem oli fas redi blong go long kindy? Sapos yes, sapos no, wanem risen?

6. What sort of things about the local environment and language do you want children, two to seven years old, to be learning when they start kindy?

Wanem samting abaotem local envaeromen mo lanwis yu wantem ol pikinini, tu kasem seven yia, blong lanem taem oli stap long kindy?

7. What barriers are there for education in the local language, especially for children two to seven years old?

Wanem ol samsamting we oli save blokem edukesin long lokal lanwis, espeseli blong ol pikinini tu kasem seven yia?

8. Can you describe how you think the language of Malua Bay is now? And how you would like see it in the future, especially in terms of education?

Yu save talem lelbet wanem tinting blong yu abaotem lanwis blong Malua Bay naoia? Mo hao nao yu wantem lukim long fuja, espeseli taem yumi stap tokbaotem edukesin?

The questions were translated into Bislama in consultation with the English teacher of the local high school who is a Ni-Vanuatu woman from Malekula. This meant that participants could choose to be interviewed in English or Bislama. They were also invited to respond in the Malua Bay language. Once the participants had received the questions, a time was arranged between the participant and the researcher to meet in order to carry out the interviews.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner. Because the participants had been given the key questions days prior to the interviews being conducted, they were able to think about the questions posed, and consider and formulate their responses to the questions. They also had the opportunity to consider whether or not they would like to answer any or all of the questions.

In total, I carried out ten interviews. Details of participants are presented in Table 2-1 below. Names have been omitted, in order to ensure that the participants are less identifiable.

Participant number and classification	Language used by participant	Interview length
1. Male Teacher 1	Bislama	25'.33"
2. Male Teacher 2	English	28'.12"
3. Father	Bislama	8'.31"
4. Senior Female Teacher	English	19'.52"
5. Junior Female Teacher	Bislama	10'.54"
6. Female Church Leader	Bislama	6'.51"
7. Pastor	Bislama	7'.58"
8. Principal	English	9'.10"
9. Young Mother	Bislama	8'.41"
10. Kindy Teacher	Malua Bay	12'.17"

Table 2-1: TEK Interview Participants

Of the ten participants, five were given the questions in English, and the other five were given an equivalent translated version of the eight questions in Bislama. It was the decision of the participants to have the questions in either English or Bislama. During the interview process I would ask the question, giving the participant time to respond with their answer. Sometimes I asked further questions to encourage the participants to elaborate about a certain topic, provide further explanation, or clarify a previous answer. The interview conducted in the Malua Bay language (Participant 10: Kindy teacher) was transcribed in the field and is used as part of the grammatical corpus for this project. After completing the interviews, and on my return to New Zealand, I transcribed and translated the remaining interviews.

After transcription and translation, I carried out a thematic analysis, guided by the key themes identified in McCarter's (2012) work. Through this analysis process, almost all of McCarter's themes came to light in the community members' views on TEK in terms of children, and especially early childhood education. Five key areas – agriculture, construction, resource management, respect, and vernacular language – were expressed as important TEK areas to the local people of Malua Bay for children, especially those old enough for kindergarten. The analysis was supported by my ethnographic observations and participation in the daily life of Malua Bay families for the four-month period of my first field trip. These areas reflected five of the six discrete domains of TEK expressed by the participants in McCarter's (2012) work in other areas of Malekula, with the exception of local medicine. It is likely that medicine and medicinal practices were not shared and discussed with me as they are privileged knowledge. I noticed in the village that this form of knowledge is only passed on by experts in the area to selected individuals. This form of knowledge is not widely known or freely shared, and especially not with a female outsider.

2.3 Agriculture²



Photo 1: Teaching planting yams in school garden.

The first theme that emerged from my thematic analysis of interviews was Agriculture. Agriculture is central to the daily lives of the community. During my field work I observed that most edible resources are grown by individual families in their family gardens. For a child, knowing where their family's garden is situated is very important. One participant commented that *'children should know their family's garden boundary and know what is planted in their garden'* (Male Teacher 1). To *'know what is planted'* is complex, and involves a detailed knowledge of the names and characteristics of plants, as well as successful techniques for growing the plants, appropriate planting times, and the life cycle of each plant in general.



Photo 2: Teacher and students planting yams in school garden

² Participant quotations have been translated from Malua Bay and Bislama into Standard English, and non-standard English has been standardised for ease of reading.

It is considered to be the responsibility of parents and close family members to teach the children these things, along with spatial information about where their gardens are, who the neighbouring gardens belong to, and how to maintain the garden by keeping it tidy. These are all lessons that are taught to children by following the example set out by their family members. As another participant commented, *'in the garden they [the children] start weeding ... because they have watched their parents doing it'* (Male Teacher 2). Agriculture was a key theme of McCarter's research; knowledge of traditional calendars, agricultural techniques, and respect for appropriate social restrictions were seen as salient to TEK and its transmission to younger generations (McCarter, 2012, p.190).

2.4 Construction



Photo 3: Two men building a house.

Following on from agriculture, another integral theme that emerged through the interview process was Construction. Construction in the village is characterised as work performed only by the male members of the community. Female community members, however, also contribute to the formation of a home by weaving mats to place throughout the house, by helping with the weaving of bamboo for the walls of the house, as well as the pinning of thatch to be used as roofing for the houses. *'All boys should know how to make all kinds of things, play stores, cut bamboo, and make small toys. And all girls should know how to weave mats and fans, and make laplap'* (Young Mother). Children *'learn from what they see around them, and what they watch from their parents. So things like cooking, weaving, building; these basic things. They have to use their hands in*

doing things they have watched from members of their family' (Male Teacher 2).



Photo 4: Man and woman weaving bamboo walls for a house.

The importance of learning about the correct resources for house building, the method of resource preparation, as well as the skills of constructing a house is integral to the daily lives of the village community. This knowledge is taught to children by allowing them to observe and also to learn by making their own small projects. Boys are expected to learn how to make toy houses and sheds, while girls are expected to learn various weaving styles and techniques. Again, many of these activities are initially taught to the children by allowing them to observe such things taking place and slowly introducing them to the use of different implements, tools and resources to carry out the tasks. As a senior female teacher puts it, *'from this age they just watch. They [parents] want their children to sit around and watch the local way of doing things like preparing food, making local houses and canoes. They are really allowed to know about building local things'*.



Photo 5: Woman weaving a patterned and coloured mat.

Through these processes children build up their knowledge and skills base and are able to add to them through practice. This can teach them what resources are needed for different activities, and how each resource is to be used. *'All children, all big men, and all big women should have knowledge about how to use the things around them. What are the trees used for...which bamboo is good for building a house'* (Pastor). This form of environmental knowledge is important to the local community.

The simple practices of teaching children about the surrounding resources, such as trees and plants, their characteristics and uses, will allow children to maintain such knowledge as they grow older. The maintenance and revitalisation of TEK knowledge and skill may directly impact on communities and their adaptive capacities especially in terms of traditional methods of house construction (McCarter, 2012; Campbell, 2006).

2.5 Resource Management



Photo 6: Two girls fishing in a canoe.

Resource management was another theme that was evident in the analysis of the interviews conducted. Malua Bay is a very remote area, so resource management is vital to the maintenance of everyday life in the community. Being a coastal community it is imperative that resource management is taught to the children at a young age, teaching them how to look after the water and the food sources that it brings. *'All of the knowledge about the environment [children should know] is not to destroy the trees, to not dispose of used and unused metals into the sea, to not dispose of any kind of rubbish into the sea. Don't throw food scraps or old*

iron tools into the sea' (Male Teacher 1). Knowledge like this is significant to children as it helps them understand about maintaining the resources they have now, so that they remain for the future. It will teach the children that not spoiling the environment will help maintain it for longer periods of time, allowing them to use its resources. *'I think that they [children] should all know how to look after the environment, especially all of the trees so that they are not spoiled. And they should also know that somebody like God, He created the environment so they should respect it'* (Female Church Leader). By teaching the children to look after things such as trees in the environment they are being given a wealth of knowledge. The trees constantly provide them with food, shelter, and heat, basic things that are essential to living in a remote village like Malua Bay. *'They should learn how to take care of all things in the environment, and they should also learn to control what things surround them in their place that they live in. This will help them to live'* (Pastor). In McCarter's work he establishes that the recognition of appropriate ownership and restrictions on natural resources is important to resource management and that "the institutions that surround TEK are the key means of maintaining order and governing natural resources in these communities" (McCarter, 2012, p.196).

2.6 Respect

A theme that was quite evidently expressed throughout my thematic analysis was the theme of Respect. Respect encompasses all facets of TEK; respect for people, respect for the environment, and respect for the land and belongings of others. *'All children should have respect for all things'* (Father).

To honour and respect people, especially one's elders is very important in the lives and custom of the Malua Bay community, and wider Ni-Vanuatu culture as noted during my field trips. *'Children have to respect and honour elders. It's very important that children learn some of these values from the first stage of their education'* (Male Teacher 2). A physical way of showing this respect is explained by a junior female teacher where *'it is a tradition that you must teach to them [children] that when they walk past someone they bend slightly or show respect, or show them that you*

respect them'. Showing and giving respect, especially to elders, is revealed to be an extremely important value in the Malua Bay community. If taught at a young age, it teaches children to honour their elders, to honour each other, value their possessions and the possessions of others, to hold people in high esteem, and to treat others as they too would like to be treated.

All people, including children, should have respect for the environment. *'All children should have the knowledge to respect the environment...children should have respect for the area of another man's yard'* (Male Teacher 1). To respect other people, their possessions and property shows the attitudes and values of an individual. In terms of children, this is a reflection of their upbringing and family values. It is considered to be the parents' responsibility to teach the children about their surrounding environment, including the homes and properties of others, so that they understand where boundaries are and can learn to appreciate and respect them. *'You do not damage the belongings of another man on his property. You go and you must ask before you go to his property. You must go with respect'* (Male Teacher 1). The link between the environment and respect is also expressed here, *'all fathers, and all mothers, everyone, we must know how to teach all of the children about the environment that surrounds us so that they have respect for it'* (Father).

Within the context of respect the two male teachers who were interviewed also discussed how different values are also important when talking about respect. *'I want my children to learn some values, some better ways in behaviour or even being. Obedience, love, care, and all these values are very important for them to learn so they have respect'* (Male Teacher 2). In addition to these values, the other teacher found it very important to teach children to care for one another and learn to be social with each other through the sharing of food. *'He [the child] must know how to share food. Sharing food helps him to build up his social skills and teaches him to be kind. When he socialises with all of the children at school, he must learn to share food'* (Male Teacher 1). As joining together to share meals, and most customary practices involve

sharing of food, this is indeed an important lesson for children to learn. In the Malua Bay context, sitting together and sharing food is a social skill that will teach children to share with those around them, to give to others who are without, and to be thankful for what they have. It will also teach them kindness; to be kind to others, and to accept kindness shown towards them. Respect is the “fostering of appropriate attitudes and values to property, people, and natural resources” (McCarter, 2012, p.190) and this is something that needs to be taught and transmitted to the younger generations.

2.7 Vernacular Language

Vernacular language was the final theme that became evident through my thematic analysis of the interviews conducted. The importance of vernacular language to the Malua Bay community is very high, as it is more than just their own language variety; it represents a deeper sense of belonging. *‘Children, they must not lose their customary language. It is their identity, a connection to their place. Their language is their identity’* (Male Teacher 1). The ability to speak your own vernacular language in Vanuatu is to show that you know who you are and where you are from; it is more than just the ability to speak another language. The vernacular language of the community is embedded in the everyday workings of the community from agricultural techniques and social titles, to customary practices (McCarter, 2012). However there is a growing concern in the local Malua Bay community that the language may be lost if no action is taken in order to preserve the language. *‘It is very important that we teach the children [language] because there are so many who don’t know about the language...they have stopped using their language’* (Female Church Leader). McCarter (2012) notes that linguistic skill, vernacular literacy, and the learning of *kastom* (or *traditional*) stories and histories are important for the inclusion into curriculum.

Proficiency in a vernacular language fosters a sense of connection to place and land...if a person is not able to describe the boundaries of their family land in the vernacular, they risk losing much of their legitimate claim to the land (McCarter, 2012, p.191).

Within the community there have been acknowledgements of a number of issues which have caused a decline in the language use of younger generations, making it difficult to constantly use the language in their daily activities. *'Parents aren't concerned enough about talking in language, they only use Bislama. Bislama until they die'* (Male Teacher 1). This statement encompasses many of the concerns expressed by the community. There is so much use of the Bislama language that people rely on it heavily and it has become easier to use than to speak in their vernacular language. *'If in the coming years, maybe five to six years, people from Malua Bay will have forgotten the language because there is too much Bislama in the home'* (Male Teacher 1). *'Everyone only uses Bislama. Bislama is a local language that everyone understands, but it is important that all children learn their own language'* (Father). Because of the nature of the language and its strong ties to the people as an identity marker, and giving them a sense of belonging to their place, participants feel that there need to be changes made to encourage the community to increase their use of language across all contexts. *'We need to train the children so that they don't lose their language. They need to understand that language is part of their identity; that is it. We need to encourage [everyone] to make the language greater'* (Father). The use of Bislama is also discussed by McCarter (2012) in his study stating that "on Malekula, some participants (mostly younger) preferentially use Bislama in the village environment over the local vernacular..." (p.101).

Another issue noted by a number of community members that often impacts on the vernacular language use in the home and community, is intermarriage. *'So one of the barriers I found, is that intermarriage contributes [to vernacular language not being taught and spoken]'* (Principal). The women who marry into the village do not originally come from Malua Bay and therefore often have their own vernacular language from their home place, as well as Bislama, as a tool for communicating outside their own speech community. Because the only common language between the husband and wife is usually Bislama, it becomes the language of communication. Often it stays as the main language used in the home when children come into the family. *'It comes to this time, us younger people, we get married, we take our wives [from other places], we*

live, and that is it now. We stop using language, and we just use Bislama' (Father).

Another participant noted that teachers often move out about and rarely stay and teach in their own village, or even island they originate from. They will only use Bislama as a mode of communication and in turn they begin to forget their own language. *'Some of us who don't live in the same place, because we are teachers, we tend to forget. We don't practice our own language and our kids are affected in that area'* (Male Teacher 2).

The final issue expressed by community members, and noted by two of the participants interviewed, was that the main reason for the vernacular language not being transmitted to the younger generation, is *'because parents are not interested in teaching their children in the local language'* (Principal), or that parents do not have enough time to teach the children about the language.

All parents, they don't have the time to spend with their children teaching them about language. Parents aren't encouraging their children to speak in language. This is a barrier. This is a big failure by all parents. They should know. Parents must encourage their children to know the names of things in their own language (Male Teacher 1).

2.8 Vernacular Education

All participants agreed that introducing the vernacular language into the formal education system, at least at the early childhood level, was a good idea.

I think that they should all know how to read and write in language, too. Yes, I think that it is very important that they are taught how to talk in language, how to read, and how to write in their own language (Female Church Leader).

By doing so it would support the children through to primary school, giving them a good foundation in their mother tongue. *'So I think that it is very important that they speak in their language...it will help them when they*

first come to school at that age. They will understand it better because Bislama doesn't help too much' (Senior Female Teacher).

2.8.1 Educational barriers for vernacular teaching/learning

There were many issues discussed by participants that described barriers faced by the community in introducing vernacular language into the teaching and learning of early childhood education. One issue that arose was that if Bislama is the main language spoken by the children, it will be difficult for them to learn the language. *'All of the children don't talk enough language. It is only Bislama. It causes a barrier for children to learn everything in the local language'* (Female Church Leader).

An issue identified by two participants was one regarding the early childhood teachers in the kindergartens. *'I think that a barrier to vernacular education is the teachers. They don't train, and [they] teach their own way'* (Pastor). The need for teacher training is also supported by another father who states that teachers need more training to learn about the vernacular language.

I think the problem here is that all of the teachers need to do courses. They must know how to compose in the language, they must know how to read and write in the language, and also speak in the language. This is a problem at kindy level; teachers have no training (Father).

A junior female teacher and female kindergarten teacher both expressed their concern that a lack of resources in the classroom makes the learning environment boring for the children and hard for the teacher to teach. *We don't have anything that we can use with the children at school. We have nothing. There is only a little that we can use with them'* (Kindy Teacher). A perceived lack of resources also makes some subjects harder for children to grasp.

When we don't have resources to teach with at school, or especially in the kindy, if we don't have the resources to teach them all, they won't understand. But if we have resources to use to teach them

all, we can show them, then we can tell them the names of things, and they will understand (Junior Female Teacher).

The greatest barrier for vernacular education identified by some of the participants was the mixture of languages in the community. *'There are so many different languages. In my opinion, there are so many different languages used in the village, especially when parents are from different islands'* (Senior Female Teacher). Because there are often a number of languages spoken in one community it can become difficult for children to identify which language exactly is the one that needs to be spoken. *'They all mix [the languages]. Sometimes parents, all the mothers are from one language, all the fathers are from another language and this causes problems for the children'* (Female Church Leader). There is a view then, that when the children are being taught in the vernacular language it needs to be explicit and not mixed with either Bislama or English, or other vernacular varieties. *'An issue is mixing the language. There should be no mix of language with Bislama, and language with English'* (Young Mother).

In addition to this, a teacher not knowing the local vernacular language causes a great barrier for education in the vernacular. *'The teacher too needs to know the language. Because some of them teach in Bislama, or teach in English, because they don't know the language. Now that is a problem'* (Pastor). This concern is also shared by the Principal:

If the teacher comes from the same village, I mean where the language is, then she or he can teach the language, but if the teacher comes from different places and he doesn't know the language, then it will be quite hard for them to teach the language (Principal).

2.8.2 Ways to support vernacular education

Following the key issues identified by the participants as barriers for education in the vernacular language, two participants offered different methods to help work through the problems.

In order to help maintain a level of language suitable for early childhood education, and to ensure correct language is being used *'all teachers must be 'manples', therefore directly from the village or community'* (Pastor). When the teacher finds it difficult to teach certain aspects of the curriculum to the children, or they do not have the cultural or linguistic knowledge to teach certain things, the teacher should *'just take local people to teach the children the names of things, custom, and the language that goes with the custom'* (Pastor). When the teacher is unsure of the names of things, they should go and ask someone who knows. *'The teacher must know language. The teacher should know the names of things in language. And if they don't, they should go and ask the elders who do know, and ask them to come [and help]'* (Pastor). These responsibilities are not only the responsibilities of the teacher, but of the parents and the wider community. Everyone needs to be helping and encouraging the children to learn the language, the parents to speak to their children in the language, and the teachers to help develop that language through education. *'People in the community need to encourage one another, especially the kindy teacher, so that the children will know that language is very good'* (Male Teacher 1).

The main themes identified in the interviews on TEK are all intertwined and require a balance between them all in order to maintain the traditional knowledge associated with each domain. Construction requires a knowledge of resource management in order for it to continue in the future. Agricultural practices require knowledge of boundaries and procedures, and respect for other people's properties. These domains of knowledge can all be taught and learnt in early childhood education as they are rooted in the vernacular language itself. Perhaps the most important change that needs to take place is to see the wider community as a classroom, and to place value on the lessons that are learned outside the kindergarten building.

2.9 Conclusion

Through the interviews conducted, and through my own observations during my two field trips, it is evident that the local Malua Bay community value their language and traditions. It is also apparent that there is an abundance of knowledge considered appropriate and relevant to ECE, specifically the areas of agriculture, construction, resource management, respect, and vernacular language. However, there is also concern about the transmission of this knowledge, which echoes McCarter's finding that "interviewees perceive there to have been major changes in both the setting and the methods of cultural TEK transmission on Malekula" (McCarter, 2012, p.174).

The biggest barriers that face the community to rebuild TEK, and introduce TEK into ECE through the medium of vernacular language are language knowledge itself, a perceived lack of resources, and a lack of teacher training. If the areas of knowledge are not passed down to the younger generations, then they will die along with the people containing such knowledge. Thus, it seems the community must find ways to overcome these barriers.

Given the nature of comments from community members, and my own observations, as well as those of my supervisor (Julie Barbour, pers. comm.), the strategies to overcome these barriers lie within the community itself:

- members who are knowledgeable in key TEK areas can be invited to teach the children and/or their teachers about their local knowledge
- local resources and materials can be included as educational tools in the classroom, making learning interesting for the children
- children can be taken out into the environment to experience and learn about the environment first hand.

The integration of vernacular language and TEK teaching in the formal school system would ensure that students developed a sense of

membership of their own particular clan, village, and island (McCarter, 2012; Niroa, 2004). These strategies will help to break down the most important barrier of all: the perception that formal education must be conducted through a language like English, and concerned exclusively with a western curriculum.

Chapter 3

Phonology

This chapter describes the phoneme inventory, phonotactics, stress patterns, and phonological processes found in the speech patterns of Malua Bay speakers. In addition to this, a working orthography is proposed.

3.1 Phoneme Inventory

The phoneme inventory of Malua Bay contains eighteen consonants along with a six-vowel system. It does not contain labialised stops found in many Oceanic languages (Lynch et. al, 2002), including languages on the eastern side of Malekula (Crowley, 2006a; 2006b; Musgrave, 2007), however pre-nasalised voiced stops are present in the phoneme inventory, as well as a pre-nasalised affricate.

3.1.1 Consonant phonemes

The consonant phoneme inventory is displayed in Table 3-1 with the manner and place of articulation of each phoneme. There are eighteen consonant phonemes containing eleven obstruents and seven sonorants. The consonant phonemes are confirmed by showing contrast between phonetically similar sounds in sub-minimal pairs, and in some cases minimal pairs as illustrated in 3.1.1.1 to 3.1.1.7.

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR
Nasals	m		n		ŋ
Plain Plosives	p		t		k
Pre-nasalised Plosives	b		d		g
Fricatives		v	s		x
Plain Affricates				tʃ	
Pre-nasalised Affricates				dʒ	
Trills			r		
Laterals			l		
Glides	w			j	

Table 3-1: The Malua Bay consonant inventory

3.1.1.1 *Nasals*

There are three nasal consonants in Malua Bay contrasting at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation. These nasals all contrast in syllable initial and syllable final position.

- (3.1) /m/ and /n/ and /ŋ/
- /me/ 'come'
 - /ne/ 'of, from'
 - /ŋe/ 'ANA.DEM'

 - /tʃum/ 'make kissing noise'
 - /xun/ 'fill'
 - /na.^mbun/ 'day'

- (3.2) /m/ and /n/
- /mes/ 'dead'
 - /nes/ 'cook in bamboo'
 - /mot/ 'peck (of chicken)'
 - /nok/ 'boat, canoe'
 - /mitʃ/ 'tie, fasten'
 - /ni.niv/ 'everything'
 - /mim/ 'wet'
 - /min/ 'drink'

/li.li.lam/	'many'
/mə.tan/	'because'
/ ⁿ dʒə.ŋom/	'2SG.mouth'
/lom.ton/	'well'

(3.3) /n/ and /ŋ/

/nen/	'here'
/ŋer/	'remove leaf from plant'
/nim/	'house'
/ŋin/	'PREP'
/mə.ne/	'can, able'
/nə.ŋe/	'some'

/ ⁿ dan /	'ground, soil'
/ ⁿ daŋ/	'basket'
/ron/	'and, with'
/moŋ/	'cough'
/mun/	'put laplap in hole'
/na.tuŋ/	'top (of s.t)'

(3.4) /m/ and /ŋ/

/min/	'drink'
/ŋin/	'PREP'
/ma.ru/	'orphan'
/ŋar/	'cry'
/mo.ro/	'man'
/ŋor/	'snore'

/ra.rom/	'wet'
/moŋ/	'cough'
/tʃim/	'drip, leak (water)'
/ ^m be.tiŋ.tiŋ/	'musical instrument'
/na.xam/	'fire'
/laŋ/	'wind, air'

3.1.1.2

Plain plosives

The plain plosives occur at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation. These plosives are voiceless in nature and have minimal aspiration. These phonemes contrast in syllable initial and syllable final position.

(3.5) /p/ and /t/ and /k/

/pir/	'break, split'
/tir/	'start'
/kir/	'scrape away'
/ ⁿ dap/	'head area in grave'
/wo.rat/	'cry'
/ ⁿ ɔ̃ʒə.lak/	'brother-in-law'

(3.6) /p/ and /t/

/par/	'green, raw'
/ta.te/	'father'
/pek/	'search'
/tev/	'call out'
/pi.pil/	'close (s.t)'
/ti.tin/	'cook'
/ne. ^m bap/	'k.o axe'
/vat/	'four'
/na.top/	'celebration'
/kot.kot/	'small'
/rup/	'kill'
/laut/	'in the garden'

(3.7) /t/ and /k/

/ta.va/	'extended family'
/kal.kal/	'yam platform'

/tur/	'stand'
/kur/	'cook'
/ ^m ba.tən/	'head (of tree)'
/na.kər/	'1PL.INCL'
/vet/	'weave'
/plek/	'like'
/mo.xot/	'island cabbage'
/nok/	'boat, canoe'
/ku.ku.rut/	'crow (of chicken)'
/kuk/	'hide'

(3.8) /p/ and /k/

/pol/	'finish'
/kol/	'flow (of liquid)'
/pi.pil/	'close'
/kitʃ.kitʃ/	'peel'
/put.wat/	'grandmother'
/kur/	'cook'
/lep.lep/	'cook in earth oven'
/pek/	'search'
/xop/	'jump'
/le.wok/	'k.o banana'
/laŋ ruɾrup/	'cyclone'
/lu.luk/	'cover body part'

3.1.1.3 *Pre-nasalised plosives*

The voiced plosives occurring at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation have homorganic pre-nasalisation. They show contrast with the plain plosives due to voicing and pre-nasalisation. These phonemes only show contrast in syllable initial position, and are not attested syllable finally.

(3.9) /^mb/ and /ⁿd/ and /ⁿg/
 /^mbar.lax/ 'traditional grass skirt'
 /ⁿda.xop/ 'wave (at sea)'
 /ⁿga.ka/ 'yam'

(3.10) /^mb/ and /ⁿd/
 /^mba.san/ 'work'
 /ⁿda.xar/ 'European'
 /^mbet.mial/ 'police'
 /ⁿdeŋ.tar/ 'belongings'
 /^mbə.tev/ 'breadfruit'
 /ⁿdə.ko.ko/ 'a little'

(3.11) /ⁿd/ and /ⁿg/
 /ⁿdan/ 'ground, soil'
 /ⁿga.ka/ 'yam'
 /ⁿdə.ko.ko/ 'a little'
 /ⁿgə.re/ 'fruit bat'
 /ⁿdo.pon/ 'rooster'
 /ⁿgol.vat/ 'bamboo tongs'

(3.12) /^mb/ and /ⁿg/
 /^mba.xo/ 'circumcision'
 /ⁿga.ro.ran/ 'make noise'
 /^mbə.xe/ 'boar'
 /ⁿgə.sən/ '3SG.nose'

The pre-nasalised plosives and plain plosives show contrast at the places of articulation when in syllable initial position, but only plain plosives occur at the ends of words (see 3.1.1.2).

- (3.13) /^mb/ and /p/
 /^mba.xe/ 'shark'
 /par/ 'green, raw'
 /^mbe.tiŋ.tiŋ/ 'k.o drum'
 /pe.pe/ 'mother'
 /^mbə.xe/ 'boar'
 /pə.pen/ 'break (s.t.)'

- (3.14) /ⁿd/ and /t/
 /ⁿda.və.rex/ 'children'
 /tax.pos/ 'cover with wet bags'
 /ⁿde.ŋe/ 'thing'
 /ter.ter/ 'strong'
 /ⁿdo.ponŋ/ 'rooster'
 /to/ 'put'
 /ⁿdu.wen/ 'another'
 /tux/ 'pound'

- (3.15) /ⁿg/ and /k/
 /ⁿga.ka/ 'yam'
 /kal.kal/ 'yam platform'
 /ⁿgə.re/ 'fruit bat'
 /kə.le/ 'again'
 /ⁿgol.vat/ 'bamboo tongs'
 /kol/ 'flow (of liquid)'

The pre-nasalised plosives contrast with nasals in syllable initial position, but only plain nasals are found at the ends of words (see section 3.1.1.1).

- (3.16) /^mb/ and /m/
 /^mba.xatʃ/ 'sleeping mat'
 /ma.raŋ/ 'dry'
 /^mbe.te.tʃir/ 'coconut broom'

/me.səx/	‘cooked’
/ ^m bə.ləm/	‘2SG.shoulder’
/mə.la.kel/	‘young’
/ ^m bis.ro/	‘k.o yam’
/mi.min/	‘ask’
/ ^m bo.ron/	‘3SG.ear’
/mo.xot/	‘island cabbage’
/ ^m bu.va.les/	‘soft bamboo’
/mul/	‘return’

(3.17) /ⁿd/ and /n/

/ ⁿ da.voa/	‘sea almond’
/na.vəl/	‘moon, month’
/ ⁿ des/	‘sea, salt water’
/ne.tʃil/	‘small knife’
/ ⁿ də.ko.ko/	‘a little’
/nə.vet/	‘stone’
/ ⁿ dot.wat/	‘hen’
/no.ran/	‘food’
/ ⁿ du.ŋus/	‘torch, lantern’
/nu.we/	‘water’

(3.18) /ⁿg/ and /ŋ/

/ ⁿ gol.vat/	‘bamboo tongs’
/ŋor/	‘snore’

3.1.1.4 *Fricatives*

There are three fricatives in Malua Bay that contrast at the labio-dental, alveolar, and velar places of articulation. The labio-dental fricative is voiced, and the alveolar and velar phonemes are voiceless. The voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ is often devoiced at morpheme-final boundaries producing [f]. The alveolar fricative is a voiceless phoneme [s]. The velar fricative /x/ has underlying voiceless production. It is often produced as [ɣ]

between vowels, but this is not always the case. There are also few occurrences noted where the velar fricative /x/ is produced as [k]. This is a very rare allophone, which is not seen to be produced by all Malua Bay speakers, and is quite sporadic in its distribution. The fricative phonemes contrast in syllable initial, and syllable final positions.

(3.19) /v/ and /s/ and /x/

/van/	'go'
/san/	'3SG.POSS'
/xa.nas/	'sweet'
/lav/	'to plant'
/xə.pas/	'hot'
/vi.nax/	'steal'

(3.20) /v/ and /s/

/val/	'walk'
/sal/	'float'
/ver/	'to dry'
/ser/	'1PL.INCL.POSS'
/sav/	'dance'
/xa.nas/	'sweet'
/sev/	'draw (water)'
/res/	'pluck (fowl)'
/suv/	'blow'
/us/	'hold'

(3.21) /s/ and /x/

/sus.ri/	'follow'
/xus.ŋin/	'shake'
/sə.tev/	'rake garden'
/xə.wel/	'eight'

/so.som/	'sister'
/xo.xo/	'wash'
/xə.pas/	'hot'
/lem.sax/	'up'
/la.məs/	'in the bush'
/xə.tʃə.rəx/	'sneeze'
/tax.pos/	'cover with wet bags'
/rox/	'bend over'

(3.22) /v/ and /x/

/ver/	'to dry'
/xer/	'write'
/var.var/	'pray'
/xar/	'3PL'
/vu/	'bear fruit'
/xun/	'fill'
/lev/	'take'
/lex/	'marry'
/ov/	'lay egg'
/tox/	'stay'
/suv/	'blow'
/tux/	'pound'

3.1.1.5 *Affricates*

Malua Bay has two palato-alveolar affricates in its consonant inventory. One is voiceless and occurs syllable initially and syllable finally. The other affricate is voiced and has homorganic pre-nasalisation. In the data collected, it only occurs in morpheme initial position. Thus these two affricates contrast in syllable initial position.

(3.23)	/tʃ/ and / ⁿ dʒ/	
	/tʃa.ləŋ/	'outside'
	/ ⁿ dʒal/	'road'
	/tʃə.ro/	'shoot (with gun)'
	/ ⁿ dʒə.le/	'top (of s.t)'
	/tʃov/	'fall'
	/ ⁿ dʒo.tʃo/	'other side'

3.1.1.6 *Liquids*

The alveolar trill /r/ and the alveolar lateral /l/ together make the category of liquids for Malua Bay. The alveolar trill is often reduced to a flap [ɾ] during rapid speech. The two liquids contrast syllable initially and syllable finally.

(3.24)	/r/ and /l/	
	/rə.wat/	'thatch'
	/ləm/	'five'
	/ra.xəm/	'crab'
	/laŋ/	'wind, air'
	/ro.ro.ren/	'morning'
	/po.loŋ/	'light (fire)'
	/sar/	'3PL.POSS'
	/sal/	'float'
	/wor/	'be born'
	/lol/	'stay'
	/wer/	'say, tell'
	/lel.tan/	'down'

3.1.1.7 *Glides*

The bilabial semi-glide /w/ and the palatal glide /j/ are not widely distributed in the Malua Bay language. The two phonemes only contrast in syllable initial position.

- (3.25) /w/ and /j/
 /ja.ke/ 'collect'
 /le.khə.wan/ 'foetus'
 /jat/ 'sit'
 /na.xə.was/ 'digging stick'
 /je.lex/ 'heat over fire'
 /wer.wer.ik/ 'small, tiny'
 /jes/ 'tear'
 /wes.kaul/ 'hibiscus flower'

3.1.2 Vowel inventory

Table 3-2 shows the vowel inventory of Malua Bay consisting of six vowels; two front vowels, two central vowels, and two back vowels.

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

Table 3-2: The Malua Bay vowel inventory

With the exception of /ə/, there are vowel-initial morphemes for all Malua Bay vowels. Because the imperative uses an uninflected verb root, these morpheme initial vowels can also be word-initial.

- (3.26) /a/
 /al.ma.nax/ 'weather'

- (3.27) /e/
 /er.ma.re/ 'up, towards the bush'
 /rem/ 'pull weeds'

(3.28) /ə/
/xə.tʃə.rəx/ 'sneeze'

(3.29) /i/
/iev/³ 'pull, paddle'
/xil/ 'dig'
/ne.ni/ 'coconut'

(3.30) /o/
/otʃ/ 'eat'
/tʃov/ 'fall, drop'
/xo.xo/ 'wash'

(3.31) /u/
/us/ 'hold'
/rup/ 'kill'
/ru/ 'two'

The mid-back vowel /o/ is typically realised as [o] but is infrequently produced as the 'open-o' [ɔ]. The high-back vowel /u/ is realised slightly lower as [ʊ]. The following data sets demonstrate the contrast between the vowel phonemes:

(3.32) /a/ and /i/
/laŋ/ [laŋ] 'air, wind'
/liŋ/ [liŋ] 'pour'

³ The verb *iev* 'pull, paddle' does not take the form 'yev'. When the verb is inflected with third person plural subject, or first person plural inclusive subject with the subject prefix *re/rë*, the subject prefix loses its vowel and attaches to the verb as *r-iev* 'They paddled' or 'We (incl) paddled'.

(3.33)	/e/ and /ə/		
	/ ^m betev/	[^m betev]	'sugarcane'
	/ ^m bətev/	[^m bətev]	'breadfruit'

(3.34)	/o/ and /u/		
	/kol/	[kol]	'flow (of liquid)'
	/kul/	[kʊl]	'sing'

The following data set demonstrates all vowels contrasting in the same environment, between two alveolar lateral consonants.

(3.35)	[lalam]	'big'
	[lele]	'first born, eldest'
	[ləʌwe]	'away, off'
	[lilip]	'k.o yam'
	[lol]	'stay, live'
	[lʌlɪn]	'roll (leaves)'

Vowel length is not phonemic in Malua Bay.

3.2 Phonotactics

The syllable 'is the unit in terms of which phonological systems are organised' (Katamba, 1989). Section 3.2 will look at the basic type and structure of syllables in Malua Bay, and the possible phoneme groupings that can form these syllables.

3.2.1 *Basic syllable type*

The data in from this project produced the following the canonical rule for syllables in Malua Bay: $\sigma \rightarrow (C)V(C)$

Therefore canonical syllables in Malua Bay have a single vowel as the most sonorant element in the nucleus, and a single consonant in the

onset and coda. The combinations below demonstrate that syllables can be either open or closed.

(3.36)	CV	/ne/	'of, from'
	VC	/us/	'hold'
	CVC	/tʃev/	'move'

Syllables of only a single vowel segment are not attested in Malua Bay; syllables, at the very least, must either take a consonant in the onset or in the coda.

3.2.2 Syllable structure

This section will look at the possible segment combinations and arrangements contained in syllables of Malua Bay.

3.2.2.1 Single segments

Consonant segments and their positions in syllables were discussed in section 3.1.1 above. The majority of consonants occur in syllable initial and syllable final positions. The exceptions to this rule are the pre-nasalised voiced affricate [ʎ] only occurring in syllable initial position, the glides [j] and [w], and pre-nasalised plosives which are only attested to occur in syllable initial position. The remaining consonants are attested to occur in syllable initial and final positions.

Single vowel segments and their positions were discussed in section 3.1.2. All vowels can form the peak of a syllable but must co-occur with either an onset or a coda consonant, or both. Schwa /ə/ obligatorily takes an onset consonant.

3.2.2.2 Consonant clusters

The basic syllable type proposed in section 3.2.1 implies that syllable initial consonant clusters are not permitted in Malua Bay. However the following examples violate this rule:

- (3.37) [plek] 'like'
 [sla] 'arrive'
 [vle.lex] 'daughter-in-law'
 [nen.dratʃ] 'beam (of house)'
 [vril] 'shoot (with bow/arrow)'
 [dra.xa] 'big'

- (3.38) [sxal] 'one'
 [star] 'help'

These words all produce syllable initial consonant clusters violating the basic syllable structure of the language. It can be noted that the examples in (3.37) breaking this basic rule follow a general form of /CIV/ or /CrV/.

		<i>Least Sonority</i>							
1	↑ ↓	voiceless obstruents	p	t	k	x	s	ʃ	
2		voiced obstruents	^m b	ⁿ d	^ŋ g	ⁿ dʒ	v		
3		nasals	m	n	ŋ				
4		liquids	l	r					
5		glides	j	w					
6		vowels	a	e	ə	i	o	u	
		<i>Greatest Sonority</i>							

Table 3-3: The Sonority Hierarchy for Malua Bay (adapted from Katamba, 1989, p.158)

The // and /r/ phonemes make up class of sounds called liquids. If we take into account the Sonority Hierarchy (Katamba, 1989) it can be seen that the insertion of a liquid (L) after the initial consonant follows the contour of the sonority hierarchy; where the sound segments become

more sonorous as they move upwards towards the nucleus of the syllable, the vowel. This can be represented as follows:

CV → CLV

Gussenhoven and Jacobs (2005) describe the sonority profile where “the sonority of a syllable increases from the beginning of the syllable onwards, and decreases from the beginning of the peak onwards” (p.138). This shows that the contours followed by the CLV structures employed in Malua Bay do in fact increase in sonority as established in Table 3-3 with the sonority hierarchy of Malua Bay.

However, the rule set out above does not take into account the two examples displayed in (3.38). Again, when considering the sonority hierarchy and the sonority profile, these examples show evidence of a syllable initial consonant cluster plateau. The first consonant /s/ in both examples is positioned at the bottom of the sonority hierarchy, being one of the least sonorous phonemes. It is then followed by another phoneme similarly placed on the hierarchy as one of the least sonorous phonemes. In terms of a contour, this pattern creates a plateau where a ‘flat-line’ is created from one consonant phoneme to the next before the contour moves upwards towards the sonorous peak, the vowel in the nucleus of the syllable.

3.2.2.3 *Diphthongs and vowel sequences*

When two vowels occur in the nucleus of the syllable they are articulated as diphthongs. There are three diphthongs attested in Malua Bay; /ae/, /ai/, and /au/.

(3.39) /ae/ [ae]
 /xaen/ [xaen] ‘3SG’

(3.40) /ai/ [ai]
 /denjevai/ [de.ŋe.vai] ‘celebration, feast’
 /painav/ [pai.nav] ‘pineapple’

(3.41)	/au/	[aʊ]	
	/laut/	[laut]	'in the garden'
	/naul/	[naʊl]	'paint'
	/naus/	[naʊs]	'pawpaw'
	/naus/	[naʊs]	'rain'
	/naut/	[naut]	'garden, place'
	/naut/	[naut]	'how?'
	/nautsɔl/	[naut.sɔl]	'together'
	/weskaul/	[wes.kaul]	'hibiscus'

The following three sets show the two vowel sequences /ie/, /oa/ and /ua/ that are articulated as two syllables.

(3.42)	/ie/	[i.e]	
	/iev/	[i.ev]	'pull, paddle'

(3.43)	/oa/	[o.a]	
	/ ⁿ davoa/	[ⁿ da.vo.a]	'sea almond'

(3.44)	/ua/	[ʊ.a]	
	/ ^m buak/	[^m bʊ.ak]	'taro variety'

3.2.2.4 *Reduplication*

Reduplication occurs in the Malua Bay in three different patterns; full CVC reduplication, partial CVC- reduplication, and initial CV- reduplication. Below are examples of full CVC reduplication with their simplex forms:

(3.45)	/xer/	'write'	/xer.xer/	'write'
	/kitʃ/	'peel'	/kitʃ.kitʃ/	'peel'
	/nam/	'good'	/nam.nam/	'very good'

The following data set shows partial CVC- reduplication.

(3.46)	/ ⁿ dʒa.re/	‘small’	/ ⁿ dʒar.tʃa.re ⁴ /	‘small’
	/təra/	‘old’	/tər.təra/	‘old, mature’

The following examples show partial CV- initial reduplication.

(3.47)	/sə.xe/	‘nothing’	/sə.sə.xe/	‘nothing’
	/tin/	‘cook’	/ti.tin/	‘roast’
	/tu.xun/	‘well, good’	/tu.tu.xun/	‘well, good’

3.3 Stress

Stress is not phonemically contrastive in Malua Bay. Auditory analysis, using Transcriber, found that stress in disyllabic (3.48), trisyllabic (3.49), and polysyllabic (3.50) lexemes falls syllable-initially unless there is a mid central vowel /ə/ occupying the first syllable, whereby stress then falls on the next syllable that does not contain the /ə/ phoneme. If however the morpheme only contains the mid central vowel at the syllable nucleus (nuclei), stress falls on the first syllable (3.51).

(3.48)	/'a.xon/	‘here’
	/' ^m bel.ka/	‘k.o yam’
	/mə.'ne/	‘can, able’
	/' ^m bo.nos/	‘rubbish’
	/'tʃa.ləŋ/	‘outside’
	/' ⁿ de.səm/	‘brother’
	/' ⁿ gol.vat/	‘bamboo tongs’
	/tʃə.'ro/	‘shoot (with gun)’
	/'kotʃ.kotʃ/	‘scratch’
	/lə.'xex/	‘return (home)’
	/'rop.lux.lux/	‘wild kava’
	/pə.pə.'kak/	‘chicken cackle’

⁴ The word initial pre-nasalised voiced affricate /ⁿdʒ/ becomes the voiceless affricate /tʃ/ morpheme-medially.

/nə.'wo.wor/ 'star'
/sə.sə.'re/ 'learn'

(3.49) /'wer.wer.ik/ 'small, tiny'
/'to.xo.ron/ 'cover'
/sə.'ŋa.vəl/ 'ten'
/'vex.pə.rev/ 'soon'
/'wo.pə.rox/ 'utensil'
/tər.tə.'ra/ 'old, mature'

(3.50) /rə.'ne.si.sax/ 'rice'
/pə.'ri.ri.rev/ 'long'
/'pu.ni.xə.wen/ 'six days ago'
/nə.'xar.xar.ən/ 'love'

(3.51) /'rə.lən/ 'egg'
/'xə.tʃə.rəx/ 'sneeze'

3.4 Phonological Processes

This section looks at the many phonological processes that take place during speech production by Malua Bay Speakers. These processes are: epenthesis, devoicing, haplology, syncope and apocope, lenition, geminate reduction, vowel harmony, and complex changes, as described by Crowley and Bowen (2010).

3.4.1 *Epenthesis*

Epenthesis is the addition of a sound segment between consonants. In Malua Bay it is very common for an epenthetic [d] to be articulated before the alveolar trill /r/. In most cases the articulation of [d] can also cause an epenthetic [n] due to the homorganic pre-nasalisation on the phoneme /d/, however this does not always occur.

(3.52)	epenthetic /d/		
	/ren/	[nd ren]	'time'
	/renəŋe/	[^d renəŋe]	'sometimes'
	/noran ran/	→ [^d ran]	'food.3SG'
	/rente/	[nd rente]	'when'

An epenthetic mid central vowel /ə/ also occurs in some environments separating two consonants across morpheme boundaries.

(3.53)	epenthetic /ə/		
	/ja-kuk lalen/	[ja-kuk ə'lalen/]	'I will hide inside'

Additionally, an epenthetic mid low vowel /a/ occurs across morpheme boundaries, following the verbal subject prefix, and before the verb *mul* 'return' or the verb *lol* 'live, stay'. In cases where a verbal subject prefix ends with a vowel, that vowel changes to the mid low vowel /a/. However, this form of epenthesis does not occur when the verb *mul* follows directly after the third person singular verbal subject prefix *i-*.

(3.54)	epenthetic /a/		
	/bər-mul/	[^m bər ^a -mul]	'we (excl) returned'
	/rə-mul/	[^{r^a} -mul]	'they returned'
	/bər-lol/	[^m bər ^a -lol]	'we (excl) live'
	/rə-lol/	[^{r^a} -lol/]	'we (incl) live'

3.4.2 Devoicing

During rapid speech there are often occurrences where morpheme final /v/ is devoiced and becomes [f]. It is not the case that this occurs regularly, but it does occur nonetheless.

(3.55)	/rovrov/	[rovrof]	'afternoon'
	/niniv/	[ninif]	'everything'
	/lav/	[laf]	'plant, grow'
	/sasuv/	[sasuf]	'swim'

/tʃov/	[tʃof]	'fall, drop'
/rəlev/	[rələf]	'they take'

3.4.3 *Haplology*

Haplology is the phenomenon where a sequence of two similar syllables is reduced to just one syllable. The following data set shows examples of this in Malua Bay.

(3.56)	/rə.ro.ŋo/	[ro.ŋo]	'they heard'
	/nam.ro.ren/	[namoren]	'good morning'
	/rə.riax/	[riax]	'they were shocked'

3.4.4 *Syncope and apocope*

Syncope, the loss of a morpheme-medial sound segment, and apocope, the loss of a morpheme-final sound segment are processes that occur during rapid speech by Malua Bay speakers (Crowley and Bowen, 2010, pp.27-28).

(3.57)	syncope		
	/s-van/	[s-an]	'will go'
	/sxa/	[sa]	'one'
	/nəraŋte/	[nənte]	'when'
(3.58)	apocope		
	/i-sa-tox/	[i-sa-to]	'it will stay'
	/nə-les/	[nə-le]	'I see'
	/rə.toxorən/	[rə.toxoro]	'they cover'

In Malua Bay apocope also occurs with the negative prefix [pe-] or [pë-] where the morpheme final vowel is lost (see section 5.2 for more details on negation). In the examples displayed below after apocope occurs the negative prefix attaches itself to the first prefix (subject) to form

a closed syllable of a previously open syllable. This is not a systematic process, but an optional process that occurs depending on the speaker.

- | | | | |
|--------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| (3.59) | /i-pə-nam-te/ | [ip-nam-te] | 'it is not good' |
| | /i-pə-təra-te/ | [ip-təra-te] | 'he is not old' |
| | /nə-pe-skul-te/ | [nəp-skul-te] | 'I didn't study.' |

In the following examples, also involving negation, the morpheme final vowel of the negative prefix is again lost, but the negative prefix then attaches itself to the following verbal root. Note also that this creates a consonant cluster (discussed previously in section 3.2.2.2).

- | | | | |
|--------|---------------|-------------|----------------------|
| (3.60) | /n-pə-lev-te/ | [n-plev-te] | 'I didn't take (it)' |
|--------|---------------|-------------|----------------------|

The next example shows the loss of final -VC.

- | | | | |
|--------|-------------------|-------|-----------|
| (3.61) | loss of final -VC | | |
| | /tesəx/ | [tes] | 'wake up' |

In these examples it shows that the lost vowel either is, or could be schwa /ə/.

3.4.5 *Lenition*

Weakening of a sound is called 'lenition'. It appears in the data that lenition occurs with the alveolar trill /r/ being weakened to the alveolar flap /r/.

- | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| (3.62) | /i-metərporpor/ | [i-metərporpor] | 'she dreamed' |
| | / ⁿ dʒare/ | [ⁿ dʒare] | 'small' |
| | /rələn/ | [rələn] | 'egg' |

3.4.6 *Geminate reduction*

Geminate consonants are a sequence of two identical consonants. Geminate reduction occurs where geminate pairs are reduced to a single consonant segment. It appears in this language that geminate consonants are not permitted and thus geminate sequences are reduced to a single consonant segment during speech. This process applies across morpheme boundaries as well as where geminate pairs are reduced to a single phoneme.

(3.63)	/brə-s-sasuv/	[brə-sasuv]	'we (excl) will swim'
	/xar rə-rom/	[xa rə-rom]	'they thought'
	/i-te pi/	[i-te pi]	'it's already germinating'
	/rə-p-paste-te/	[rə-paste-te]	'they do not work'

3.4.7 *Vowel harmony*

Vowel harmony is the assimilation of a vowel segment to become more like a preceding or following vowel segment. In Malua Bay there is regressive vowel harmony; this means that there is a force that causes a change in a preceding sound segment. This can be thought of simply as the changing force occurring from right to left. Schwa is particularly susceptible to vowel harmony.

(3.64)	/brə.otʃ/	[broʃʃ]	'we (excl) eat'
	/rə-kəlo/	[ro-kolo]	'they carried'
	/rə.pəp.otʃ.te/	[rə-pop-otʃ-te/]	'they couldn't eat'
	/xə-pep-or-te/	[xə-pop-or-te]	'don't you (sg) eat!'

3.4.8 *Complex changes*

For the purpose of this section, complex sound changes will be established as multiple phonological changes occurring at the same time across morpheme boundaries. The following data set shows examples where geminate consonants (also similar consonants; ie nasals) across morpheme boundaries have been reduced to a single consonant followed by the process of syncope whereby a single phoneme is lost.

- (3.65) geminate reduction and syncope
- | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| /nə-van nə-xoxo/ | [nə-van xoxo] | 'I go and I wash' |
| /ren nə-xoxo/ | [ren xoxo] | 'when I wash' |
| /bər-pəloŋ naxam/ | [ər-pəloŋ xam] | 'we (excl) light a fire' |

The following data set shows an example of syncope, where a single sound segment is lost along with vowel harmony, where a vowel segment assimilates to become more like another. In this case it is regressive vowel harmony (discussed previously in section 3.4.7) where the schwa is affected.

- (3.66) syncope and vowel harmony
- | | | |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| /nəmərə iru/ | [nəmru iru] | 'two people' |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|

The following example (3.67) shows syncope, where a sound is lost morpheme medially, and haplology, where two similar syllables are reduced to one.

- (3.67) syncope and haplology
- | | | |
|--------------|----------|--------------|
| /nəmərə iru/ | [nəmərɪ] | 'two people' |
|--------------|----------|--------------|

3.5 Orthography

The following tables show the proposed orthographic representation of each phoneme, their phonemic forms, and their phonetic realisations. This working orthography is phonemic and is based on the speech production of the project participants.

Consonants				
Phonetic Realisation	Phonemic Form	Orthographic Representation	Example	English Gloss
[m]	/m/	m	metërporpor	'dream'
[n]	/n/	n	nambung	'day'
[ŋ]	/ŋ/	ng	ngir	'laugh'
[p]	/p/	p	pëne	'maternal uncle'
[t]	/t/	t	tech	'cut'
[k]	/k/	k	koron	'give'
[^m b]	/b/	b	bakhe	'shark'
[ⁿ d]	/d/	d	denge	'thing'
[ⁿ g]	/g/	g	gaka	'yam (gen)'
[v]	/v/	v	varvar	'pray'
[s]	/s/	s	sakh	'climb'
[x]	/x/	kh	khar	'3PL'
[tʃ]	/tʃ/	ch	chalëng	'outside'
[ⁿ dʒ]	/dʒ/	j	jëlak	'brother-in-law'
[r]	/r/	r	rëlën	'egg'
[l]	/l/	l	lëm	'five'
[j]	/j/	y	yat	'sit'
[w]	/w/	w	wekëkal	'lizard'

Table 3-4: Consonant orthography

Vowels				
Phonetic Realisation	Phonemic Form	Orthographic Representation	Example	English Gloss
[i]	/i/	i	iev	'pull, paddle'
[e]	/e/	e	ermare	'upwards'
[ə]	/ə/	ë	metër	'sleep'
[a]	/a/	a	ambe	'where?'
[o]	/o/	o	och	'eat'
[u]	/u/	u	us	'hold'

Table 3-5: Vowel orthography

Diphthongs and Vowel Sequences				
Phonetic Realisation	Phonemic Form	Orthographic Representation	Example	English Gloss
[ae]	/ae/	ae	khaen	'3SG'
[ai]	/ai/	ai	dengevai	'feast, celebration'
[au]	/au/	au	naut	'garden'
[oa]	/oa/	oa	davoa	'sea almond'
[ie]	/ie/	ie	iev	'pull, paddle'
[ʊa]	/ua/	ua	buak	'taro variety'

Table 3-6: Diphthong and vowel sequence orthography

The orthography that has been put together for Malua Bay is predominantly based on the English orthographic system as the school situated in Malua Bay is taught through English-medium. Because Bislama lacks some of the phonemic contrasts that Malua Bay has, the orthographic system used in Bislama does not always fit with what is required for Malua Bay. For example, Bislama only has the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate /tʃ/ in the language which is assigned 'j' as its orthographic representation. However, Malua Bay has both voiceless and prenasalised voiced palato-alveolar affricates, /tʃ/ and /ⁿdʒ/, where the 'j' representation would be better suited to the prenasalised voiced palato-alveolar segment found in Malua Bay. It is for this reason that the English orthographic system has been drawn on as a guide for forming the orthography for the Malua Bay language. The digraph 'ch' common in English for use in words like *church*, *chance*, and *lunch*, is used to orthographically represent the voiceless palato-alveolar segment /tʃ/. The prenasalised voiced palato-alveolar affricate /ⁿdʒ/ is orthographically represented using the symbol 'j'. This symbol is used for words in English like *jar*, *judge*, and *jump*, to represent the same sound segment (without prenasalisation) as /ⁿdʒ/ in Malua Bay.

There are diacritics used on the mid central vowel /ə/, being represented as 'ë', to make a distinction from the mid-front vowel, /e/.

The digraph 'ng' is used to represent the /ŋ/ segment. This representation is used in Bislama and English in words such as *sing*, *long*, and *writing*.

The prenasalised voiced plosives occurring at the bilabial /^mb/, alveolar /ⁿd/, and velar /^ŋg/ places of articulation keep the same phonetic symbol for their orthographic representations, without the superscript homorganic nasal.

The velar fricative /x/ is somewhat difficult to give an orthographic representation to. The digraph 'kh' is used in other Malekula languages such as Naman (Crowley, 2006b), Neve'ei (Musgrave, 2007), and Neverver (Barbour, 2012) to represent the velar fricative, so it has also been adopted here for use in Malua Bay.

To represent the palatal approximant /j/ the 'y' from English will be used. This symbol is used in English words such as *young*, *yell*, and *yawn*.

Sample literacy materials have been prepared using the draft community orthography proposed (see Appendices D and E for literacy materials). The people in the village have all seen the materials and have given very positive feedback on what has been produced. The community as a whole are very excited to see their language written and they have already started incorporating a lot of the work into the two kindergartens situated in the village.

From this point onwards the proposed orthographic representations of the phonemes will be used throughout the thesis, unless otherwise stipulated.

Chapter 4

Noun Phrase

This chapter describes the behaviour of Malua Bay pronouns and the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns. It then describes the internal make-up of noun phrases.

4.1 Pronouns

Independent pronouns, displayed below in Table 4-1, constitute a closed set which distinguishes between categories of first, second, and third person, and which also marks a two-way number distinction of singular and plural. In the category of first person plural, a distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive pronouns.

	Singular		Plural
1	<i>khonu</i>	Incl.	<i>nakër</i>
		Excl.	<i>kënem</i>
2	<i>nokh</i>		<i>kem</i>
3	<i>khaen</i>		<i>khar</i>

Table 4-1: Malua Bay independent pronouns

The independent pronouns displayed in Table 4-1 can occur pre-verbally, positioned to the left of the verb, serving the subject of a verb (4.1 - 4.4).

- (4.1) *khaen i-metër pi*
3SG 3SG-sleep already
'He was already asleep.' [MLL.17.SD/ref.012]

(4.2) *khar rē-tērav rē-metērwal*
3PL 3PL-get.up 3PL.deep.sleep
'They got up then fell into a deep sleep.' [MLL.17.SD/ref.012]

(4.3) *kem kēr-lev denge kha*
2PL 2PL-take thing DEM
'You (all) took that thing.' [MLL.14.MD/ref.028]

(4.4) *kēnem bēr-lav rēwat*
1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-grow thatch
'We (excl) grow thatch.' [MLL.01.MD/ref.02]

Independent pronouns can also be positioned post-verbally, serving as the object of a transitive verb (4.5 - 4.8). There is no distinction made between subject and object pronoun forms.

(4.5) *rē-s-rup khaen*
3PL.INCL-IRR-kill 3SG
'We will kill him.' [MLL.17.SD/ref.012]

(4.6) *nakēr rē-sēsēre khar*
1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-teach 3PL
'We teach them.' [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.029]

(4.7) *i-kēlesur khonu na*
3SG-look.after 1SG now
'It looks after me now.' [MLL.01.MD/ref.030]

(4.8) *nē-laekem nokh*
1SG-like 2SG
'I like you.' [MLL.14.MD/ref.005]

The independent pronouns can also serve as the indirect object of a ditransitive verb (4.9) and (4.10). As such, they are introduced by preposition, and occur post-verbally following the direct object.

(4.9) *moro skhal i-s-me i-s-koron nēvet*
 man one 3SG-IRR-come 3SG-IRR-give money
lalam chi khonu
 big LOC.HUM 1SG
 ‘A man will come and he will give a lot of money to me.’
 [MLL.54.LD/ref.009]

(4.10) *moro i-me i-koron nēvet skhal ngi khonu*
 man 3SG-come 3SG-give money one PREP 1SG
 ‘(A) man comes and gives money to me.’ [MLL.54.LD/ref.010]

Independent pronouns can also act as the object of prepositions, following directly after a preposition (4.11 - 4.14).

(4.11) *i-ririakh ngi khar*
 3SG-shock PREP 3PL
 ‘He was shocked by them.’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.10]

(4.12) *rë-sla kële chi khaen*
 3PL-arrive again LOC.HUM 3SG
 ‘They returned (arrived) to him again.’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.006]

(4.13) *ale tate i-wer ngi kënem*
 so father 3SG-say PREP 1PL.EXCL
 ‘So father spoke to us.’ [MLL.12.KJ/ref.003]

(4.14) *so lalam ngi kem*
 thanks big PREP 2PL
 ‘Thank you (all) very much.’ [MLL.39.SJ/ref.013]

4.2 Nouns

Nouns form an open set of lexemes that can act as the only occupant of a noun phrase position in a clause. Nouns co-occur with noun phrase modifiers, and they can refer to possessors and possessed items in possessive constructions.

The example in (4.10) above, a ditransitive construction, shows the use of a subject noun phrase comprising a noun, as well as a direct object noun phrase comprising a modified noun phrase. The indirect object is expressed as a pronominal form.

4.2.1 *Nominal derivation*

This section of nominal derivation looks at compounding and affixation. The section on compounding includes loose and tight compounds, and the section on affixation discusses nominalisation.

4.2.1.1 *Compounding*

In Malua Bay there are two types of nominal compounds found: loose compounds and tight compounds. With the majority of compound words, the compounded meaning is relatable to the meanings of the constituent elements.

The compounded elements of loose compounds 'retain their phonological independence as separately stressed words in structurally tightly linked units where no other constituents can intervene between the two parts of the compound' (Crowley, 2006c, p.63). Loose compounds are formed on the basis of the Oceanic pattern of HEAD + MODIFIER (Lynch et. al., 2002), with the head being a noun and the modifier coming from a number of different word classes.

The following set shows examples of compounds with a nominal head and a nominal modifier, where the left-hand noun is the head and the

right-hand noun is the modifier. Loose compounds are thus left-headed endocentric compounds.

(4.15)	<i>bolko</i> 'hole'	+	<i>nëvet</i> 'stone'	→	<i>bolko nëvet</i> 'cave'
	<i>jëme</i> 'worm'	+	<i>neni</i> 'coconut'	→	<i>jëme neni</i> 'coconut worm'
	<i>nëmat</i> 'snake'	+	<i>des</i> 'sea'	→	<i>nëmat des</i> 'sea snake'
	<i>dang</i> 'basket'	+	<i>noran</i> 'food'	→	<i>dang noran</i> 'food basket'
	<i>nok</i> 'canoe'	+	<i>dan</i> 'ground'	→	<i>nok dan</i> 'truck'
	<i>nuwe</i> water	+	<i>navos</i> boil	→	<i>nuwe navos</i> 'pus'

The two following examples show a pattern of a nominal head followed by a possessed nominal modifier.

(4.16)	<i>nevlo</i> 'skin'	+	<i>jëngo-m</i> 'mouth-2SG'	→	<i>nevlo jëngom</i> 'your (sg) lips'
	<i>bolko</i> 'hole'	+	<i>nachë-n</i> 'faeces-3SG'	→	<i>bolko nachën</i> 'his/her anus'

Some loose compounds also take a modifier that is either an adjective or an uninflected stative verb as shown in the examples below.

(4.17)	<i>nim</i> 'house'	+	<i>kotkot</i> 'small'	→	<i>nim kotkot</i> 'toilet'
	<i>neni</i> 'coconut'	+	<i>marang</i> 'dry'	→	<i>neni marang</i> 'dry coconut'
	<i>nesisakh</i> ant	+	<i>mial</i> red	→	<i>nesisakh mial</i> red ant
	<i>nesu</i> 'milk'	+	<i>terter</i> 'strong'	→	<i>nesu terter</i> 'thick milk/cream'
	<i>nakhanim</i> 'door'	+	<i>kotkot</i> 'small'	→	<i>nakhanim kotkot</i> 'window'

The two following compounds are examples of loose compounding where the modifier is an uninflected verb.

(4.18)	<i>lang</i> 'air, wind'	+	<i>ruprup</i> 'kill'	→	<i>lang ruprup</i> 'cyclone'
	<i>nuwe</i> 'water'	+	<i>sarsar</i> 'fall down'	→	<i>nuwe sarsar</i> 'waterfall'

The examples below are loose compounds that take the local noun *lemsakh* 'up' as the modifying constituent of the compound word.

(4.19)	<i>nasup</i> 'chief'	+	<i>lemsakh</i> 'up'	→	<i>nasup lemsakh</i> 'God'
	<i>nėvanu</i> 'place'	+	<i>lemsakh</i> 'up'	→	<i>nėvanu lemsakh</i> 'Heaven'

In terms of productivity, loose compounds appear to be quite productive in Malua Bay. Tight compounds on the other hand are not as productive or widely used throughout the data collected for this project.

The example below in (4.20) is an example of tight compounding where there is a nominal head followed by a nominal modifier. In this case the head noun is reduced from *rĕlĕn* ‘egg’ to ‘*rĕn*’, and the identical geminate nasals across morpheme boundaries are reduced to just one /n/.

(4.20) *rĕlĕn* + *nesisakh* → *rĕnesisakh*
 ‘egg’ ‘ant’ ‘rice’

The example in (4.21) also shows the reduction of geminate nasals across morpheme boundaries being reduced to a single nasal /n/.

(4.21) *nĕmta-n* + *nial* → *nĕmtanial*
 ‘eye-3SG’ sun ‘time’

The example in (4.22) has a nominal head followed by a stative verbal modifier. In this example the geminate nasals across the morpheme boundaries are reduced to the initial nasal of the following modifier and the preceding vowel is dropped. There is also a vowel shift in the nominal head.

(4.22) *bate-n* + *mial* → *betmial*
 ‘head-3SG’ ‘red’ ‘police’

The examples of tight compounds above further differ from loose compounds as their semantic heads occur outside of the construction, making them exocentric compounds.

4.2.1.2 Affixation

In this section the topic of affixation in Malua Bay is discussed. In particular I will discuss how nominalisation works.

In addition to the derivational process of noun compounding in Malua Bay, morphologically complex nouns can be derived by affixation. Nouns are productively derived from verbs by the addition of the nominalising suffix *-an*. The derived nouns correspond to the activity expressed by the verb root. The examples below show the possibilities of de-verbal nouns in Malua Bay.

(4.23)	<i>titin</i>	→	<i>titin-an</i>
	‘cook’		‘cooking’
	<i>rom(rom)</i>	→	<i>romrom-an</i>
	‘think’		‘thought’
	<i>lekh</i>	→	<i>lekh-an</i>
	‘marry’		‘marriage’
	<i>morov</i>	→	<i>morov-an</i>
	‘alive’		‘life’
	<i>rovrov</i>	→	<i>rovrov-an</i>
	‘play’		‘fun, games’
	<i>roch</i>	→	<i>roch-an</i>
	‘sick, ill’		‘sickness, illness’

The examples below in (4.24) and (4.25) show the use of *titin* ‘cook’ as a verb taking verbal morphology, marked with the subject marker prefixed on the verb. The example in (4.26) shows the use of *titin* ‘cook’ with *-an*, the nominalising affix, attached as a suffix.

(4.24) *brë-ve* *nakham* *brë-titin* *nalok*
 1PL.EXCL-make fire 1PL.EXCL-cook pudding
 ‘We (excl) make a fire then we (excl) cook the pudding.’
 [MLL.18.LD/ref.006]

(4.25) *n-sa-lol* *po* *lim* *n-s-titin*
 1SG-IRR-stay just in.the.house 1SG-IRR-cook
 ‘I will just stay inside the house and I will cook.’
 [MLL.47.JJ/ref.005]

(4.26) *i-rongomëne* *pi* *denge* *polpol* *i-plek* *nuwa*
 3SG-know COMPL thing many 3SG-like water
san *titin-an*
 3SG.POSS cook-NOM
 ‘She already knows things like her water and cooking.’
 [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.020]

Below are examples of *rom(rom)* ‘think’ used as a verb taking a verbal subject prefix. The examples in (4.29) and (4.30) both show the use of *romroman* ‘thought’ as a possessum immediately followed by a possessive pronoun.

(4.27) *ra-ri* *plek* *kha* *rë-rom* *rë-wo* *te*
 3PL-look like DEM 3PL-think 3PL-say SUB
davërékh *nge* *ra-mes*
 children ANA.DEM 3PL-dead
 ‘They look like that, and they think and say that those children are dead.’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.007]

(4.28) *khonu* *në-nogat* *romrom-an* *ne* *basan*
 1SG 1SG-not.have think-NOM PREP work
 ‘I did not have any thoughts about a job.’ [MLL.53.LD/ref.006]

(4.29) *romrom-an sok i-nam te davërekh*
 think-NOM 1SG.POSS 3SG-good SUB children
kha rë-sësëre nale
 DEM 3PL-learn language
 ‘My thoughts are, it is good that these children learn language.’
 [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.027]

(4.30) *n-laekem te n-s-ve jarchare nalok,*
 1SG-like SUB 1SG-IRR-make small pudding
oltaem nënge romrom-an sok
 all.the.time LOC think-NOM 1SG.POSS
 ‘I liked to make small puddings; it was always in my thoughts.’
 [MLL.55.LD/ref.010]

In the two examples below the verb *lekh* ‘marry’ is shown to take verbal morphology in the form of a subject prefix attached the verb. There is however no textual data that shows the use of *lekh-an* ‘marriage’ in a noun phrase.

Through conversations with Malua Bay speakers, and elicitation, the form *lekhan* was collected for ‘marriage’.

(4.31) *khonu n-s-me po n-sa-lekh po*
 1SG 1SG-IRR-come just 1SG-IRR-marry just
 ‘I will just come and I will just get married.’ [MLL.53.LD/ref.007]

(4.32) *na-lekh po afta n-me n-gat davërekh*
 1SG-marry just then 1SG-come 1SG-have children
 ‘I just married then I came to have children.’
 [MLL.53.LD/ref.011]

The two examples here in (4.33) and (4.34) show the use of *morov* as a verb, and further in (4.35) with the nominalising suffix attached to the verb *morov-an* becomes a de-verbal noun, in a possessive construction.

(4.33) *pepe sok i-ve po, denge navon po*
 mother 1SG.POSS 3SG.be just thing nothing just
i-pete morov
 3SG-not alive
 ‘My mother is just, just nothing, not alive.’ [MLL.14.MD/ref.006]

(4.34) *i-nam po so pepe sam i-pete*
 3SG-good just so mother 2SG.POSS 3SG-not
morov
 alive
 ‘It’s ok, so your mother is not alive.’ [MLL.14.MD/ref.007]

(4.35) *rante n-kotkot rovrov-an sok te nē-ve*
 when 1SG-small play-NOM 1SG.POSS SUB 1SG-make
nēnge morov-an sok khonu n-laekem te
 LOC alive-NOM 1SG.POSS 1SG 1SG-like SUB
n-s-rovrov ngi nalok
 1SG-IRR-play PREP pudding
 ‘When I was small, my fun that I use to make in my life – I liked to
 play with pudding.’ [MLL.53.LD/ref.003]

4.2.2 Possession

This section focuses on possession in Malua Bay. In Malua Bay there is a distinction made between directly possessed nouns, which are inalienably related to their possessor, and indirectly possessed nouns, which are alienably related to their possessor.

4.2.2.1 Directly possessed nouns

In Oceanic languages it is common for direct possession to be used with integral body parts that cannot be removed, objects that cannot be separated, and with some kinship terms (Lynch, 1998). This type of possession implies that the possessor has little or no control over the fact

of possession. In Malua Bay direct possession involves a possessor and possessum, where the possessum is expressed as a bound nominal root with the possessor obligatorily attached as a possessive suffix. The table below displays the paradigm of possessive determiner suffixes used for direct possession in Malua Bay.

	Singular		Plural
1	-(V)k	Incl.	-(e)r
		Excl.	-(e)nem
2	-(V)m		-(e)mi
3	-(V)n		-(a)r

Table 4-2: Malua Bay possessive determiner suffixes

As previously mentioned, body parts are a core category of direct possession, and such is the case in Malua Bay. The examples below display the use of body parts as nominal roots with the possessive suffix obligatorily attached.

(4.36)	1 st Person	2 nd Person	3 rd Person
	<i>bërsëlkhë-k</i>	<i>bërsëlkh-am</i>	<i>bërsëlkh-ar</i>
	throat-1SG.POSS	throat-2SG.POSS	throat-3PL.POSS
	'my throat'	'your (sg) throat'	'their throats'
	<i>jëngo-r</i>	<i>jëngo-mi</i>	<i>jëngo-n</i>
	mouth-1PL.INCL.POSS	mouth-2PL.POSS	mouth-3SG.POSS
	'our (incl) mouths'	'your (pl) mouth'	'his/her mouth'
	<i>nëvre-nem</i>	<i>nëvr-am</i>	<i>nëvr-ar</i>
	arm-1PL.EXCL.POSS	arm-2SG.POSS	arm-3PL.POSS
	'our (excl) arms'	'your (sg) arm'	'their arms'
	<i>lekhëv-ak</i>	<i>lekhëv-emi</i>	<i>lekhëv-an</i>
	stomach-1SG.POSS	stomach-2PL.POSS	stomach-3SG.POSS
	'my stomach'	'your (pl) stomachs'	'his/her stomach'

In addition to body parts, kinship terms such as ‘daughter, son’ and ‘granddaughter, grandson’ are also directly possessed in Malua Bay.

(4.37)	<i>netë-k</i>	<i>netë-m</i>	<i>netë-n</i>
	child-1SG.POSS	child-2SG.POSS	child-3SG.POSS
	‘my child’	‘you (sg) child’	‘his/her child’
	 <i>nokhopë-nem</i>	 <i>nokhopë-mi</i>	 <i>nokhopë-r</i>
	g.child-1PL.EXCL.POSS	g.child-2PL.POSS	g.child-3PL.POSS
	‘our (excl) grandchild’	‘your (pl) grandchild’	‘their grandchild’

4.2.2.2 Indirectly possessed nouns

With indirect possession, the possessive pronoun is not attached to the possessed noun, the possessum. Instead it is attached to a bound classifier morpheme. The relationship here between the possessor and possessum is characterised as being remote, or alienable (Lynch, 1998). Indirectly possessed nouns imply that the possessor has control over the possession or the fact of possession, unlike direct possession where this is not the case.

Malua Bay uses a general classifier marker *s-* with the possessive determiner suffixes found in Table 4-2 to form general possessive determiners. These forms can be seen in Table 4-3 where the general possessive classifier *s-* attaches to the possessive determiner suffixes.

	Singular		Plural
1	<i>s-ok</i>	Incl.	<i>s-er</i>
		Excl.	<i>s-enem</i>
2	<i>s-am</i>		<i>s-em</i>
3	<i>s-an</i>		<i>s-ar</i>

Table 4-3: Malua Bay general possessive forms

When the general possessive classifier is attached to the possessive determiner suffixes, the initial optional vowel of the suffix becomes obligatory, taking the forms displayed in Table 4-3. The second

person plural suffix form loses its morpheme-final /i/. The possessive forms in Table 4-3 are used as general possessors in Malua Bay occurring post-nominally, as seen in the examples below.

(4.38) *romrom-an sok*
think-NOM 1SG.POSS
'My thoughts.' [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.027]

(4.39) *nale sar*
language 3PL.POSS
'Their language.' [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.027]

(4.40) *skul senem*
school 1PL.EXCL.POSS
'Our (excl) school.' [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.039]

(4.41) *kastom barlakh ser*
custom grass.skirt 1PL.INCL.POSS
'Our (incl) traditional grass skirts.' [MLL.06a.DM/ref.009]

In the following example we see how superior kinship terms in Malua Bay are treated differently to subordinate kinship terms (example 4.37). Superior kinship terms are coded indirectly, by using the general possessive classifier attached to the corresponding possessive determiner suffix. Subordinate kinship terms however, use nominal roots with an attached possessive determiner suffix.

(4.42) *tate sok, pupu san*
father 1SG.POSS grandfather 3SG.POSS
'My father, his grandfather.' [MLL.17.SD/ref.04]

In addition to the general possessive classifier in Malua Bay there is also a series of semantically distinguished bound classifiers. The classifier occurs as a bound morpheme with a possessive determiner attached as a

suffix to mark person and number. Like the general possessive determiner, these other classifier forms also mark the possessed noun post-nominally. Below is a list of classifiers and the semantic classes that they mark.

(4.43)	<i>s-</i>	GENERAL
	<i>r-</i>	FOOD
	<i>nēm-</i>	DRINK
	<i>n-</i>	LICE
	<i>meŋg-</i>	PLACE

Table 4-4 below shows the full paradigm using the food classifier *r-* followed by the possessive determiner suffixes. This classifier can be used for all edible fruit and vegetables, as well as cooked meat.

	Singular		Plural
1	<i>r-ok</i>	Incl.	<i>r-er</i>
		Excl.	<i>r-enem</i>
2	<i>r-am</i>		<i>r-em</i>
3	<i>r-an</i>		<i>r-ar</i>

Table 4-4: Malua Bay food possessive forms

The following examples describe how the classifier *r-* is used in conjunction with dependent pronominal suffixes to show the indirect possession of food. As Table 4-4 indicates, the dependent determiner suffixes are attached to the classifier, rather than the food nominal.

(4.44) *nembikh r-am*
 meat FOOD-2SG.POSS
 ‘Your meat.’ [MLL.17.SD/ref.019]

(4.45) *noran r-enem*
 food FOOD-1PL.EXCL.POSS
 ‘Our (excl) food.’ [MLL.49.JRJ/ref.007]

The classifier *r-* can also be used with a possessive suffix, but without a preceding possessum noun.

(4.46) *rë-s-lev luwe r-ar*
 3PL-IRR-take away FOOD-3PL.POSS
 ‘They will take away their food.’ [MLL.51.JRJ/ref.013]

When asking who any particular food belongs to, the classifier *r-* with the possessive determiner suffixes can be given as a simple answer, for example *rok* ‘my food’, *rar* ‘their food’, *renem* ‘our (excl) food’.

Malua Bay also has a full paradigm of the drink classifier *nëm-* with the attached possessive determiner suffixes. This classifier is used for all types of drink, water, juice, and coconut, as well as sugarcane.

	Singular		Plural
1	<i>nëm-ak</i>	Incl.	<i>nëm-er</i>
		Excl.	<i>nëm-enem</i>
2	<i>nëm-am</i>		<i>nëm-emi</i>
3	<i>nëm-an</i>		<i>nëm-ar</i>

Table 4-5: Malua Bay drink possessive forms

The following example shows how the classifier *nëm-* is used in conjunction with the third person plural dependent possessive determiner to show the indirect possession of drink.

(4.47) *elda rë-s-lev luwe nëm-ar ale*
 elder 3PL-IRR-take away DRINK-3PL.POSS then
diken rë-s-lev luwe nëm-ar
 deacon 3PL-IRR-take away DRINK-3PL.POSS
 ‘The elders took away their drinks then the deacons took away their drinks.’ [MLL.51.JRJ/ref.016]

The classifier for lice *n-* is very specific and despite making efforts to elicit other combinations, no other structures have been identified to date. The examples below describe how the classifier *n-* is used in conjunction with indirect possessive determiner suffixes to show the indirect possession of lice.

(4.48) *nakhët n-am*
lice LICE-2SG.POSS
'Your (sg) lice.' [MLL.29.MD/ref.009]

(4.49) *nakhët n-ak*
lice LICE-1SG.POSS
'My lice.' [MLL.29.MD/ref.010]

Below is an example that shows the use of the classifier *meIng-* with the third person plural possessive determiner suffix attached to show the indirect possession of place. This was the only form in the corpus, and it may be the case that this is simple direct possession, because there is no preceding possessum noun.

(4.50) *rente divain servis i-sa-pol rë-s-van nënge*
when divine.service 3SG-IRR-finish 3PL-IRR-go PREP
meIng-ar
PLACE-3PL.POSS
'When Divine Service is finished they (bread and wine) will go on to their place.' [MLL.51.JRJ/ref.011]

4.3 Nominal Modifiers

This section will look at the possible nominal modifiers in Malua Bay. Nominal modifiers fall into three major categories, these being numerals and quantifiers, adjectives, and determiners. Nominal modifiers in Malua Bay generally occur post-nominally, however there are two pre-nominal modifiers, *jare* 'small' and *jarchare* 'small', attested in the Malua Bay corpus (see section 4.3.4).

4.3.1 Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers are modifiers that occur post-nominally in Malua Bay. They will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

4.3.1.1 Numerals

The numerals set out in Table 4-4 below displays the basic cardinal numbers in Malua Bay. Basic numerals two to nine in Malua Bay are apparently inflected with the third person singular verbal prefix. There are no examples of numbers with other types of verbal morphology, and this inflection does not occur on the basic numerals one and ten.

Basic Numerals	
1	<i>skhal</i>
2	<i>iru</i>
3	<i>itil</i>
4	<i>ivat</i>
5	<i>ilëm</i>
6	<i>ikhëwen</i>
7	<i>ikhembit</i>
8	<i>ikhëwel</i>
9	<i>ikesëv</i>
10	<i>sëngavël</i>

Table 4-6: Malua Bay basic numerals

Numerals can function as nominal modifiers that follow immediately after the modified noun.

- (4.51) *tate i-khil gaka ne wik skhal*
 father 3SG-dig yam TEMP week one
 ‘Father dug the yams for one week.’ [MLL.10.EJ/ref.014]

- (4.52) *nëmëre iru rë-me rë-rongo te denge*
 people two 3PL-come 3PL-hear SUB thing
nge i-kul
 ANA.DEM 3SG-sing
 ‘Two people came and they heard that that thing was singing.’
 [MLL.17.SD/ref.011]

In some instances the basic numeral loses its verbal prefix and is reduplicated, still modifying the nominal head.

- (4.53) *i-yat veve i-wo te nokhopë-n*
 3SG-sit DUR 3SG-say SUB grandchild-3SG.POSS
ruru rë-pëp-van te sek ngin bolko nëvet
 two 3PL-NEG1-go NEG2 IMP PREP cave
 ‘He lived on and on and he said that his two grandchildren were not to go to the cave.’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.003]

In this next example the numeral *itil* ‘three’ also loses its verbal prefix and is reduplicated, but here it acts merely as a noun; the verbal object.

- (4.54) *n-us tiltil i-plek kha*
 1SG-hold three 3SG-like DEM
 ‘I hold three like this.’ [MLL.01.MD/ref.021]

The numeral *skhal* ‘one’ in Malua Bay can also act as an indefinite determiner. It is used to identify a singular noun which it modifies post-nominally.

- (4.55) *vesal i-gat denge tëra skhal*
 once.upon.a.time 3SG-have thing old one
 ‘Once upon a time there was an old man.’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.002]

- (4.56) *nimiar skhal rente i-lol chi mama*
 female one when 3SG-live LOC.HUM mother
san ron tate san, denge polpol
 3SG.POSS and father 3SG.POSS thing all
khaen pi i-sësëre
 3SG COMPL 3SG-learn
 ‘A woman, when she lives with her mother and her father, there are many things she has already learnt.’ [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.018]

The basic numerals in Table 4-4 are used in open-ended counting system. Numerals from 11 to 19 can be expressed as compounds containing the basic numeral *sëngavël* ‘ten’ followed by the form *rëmane*, followed by the basic numerals 1-9, as shown below.

(4.57)	11	<i>sëngavël rëmane skhal</i>
	12	<i>sëngavël rëmane iru</i>
	13	<i>sëngavël rëmane itil</i>
	14	<i>sëngavël rëmane ivat</i>
	15	<i>sëngavël rëmane ilëm</i>
	16	<i>sëngavël rëmane ikhëwen</i>
	17	<i>sëngavël rëmane ikhembit</i>
	18	<i>sëngavël rëmane ikhëwel</i>
	19	<i>sëngavël rëmane ikhesëv</i>

Decades from twenty to ninety are expressed using the compounding form *ngovil* followed directly by the basic numerals; however, the basic numerals lose the third person singular subject marker *i-*.

(4.58)	20	<i>ngovil ru</i>
	30	<i>ngovil til</i>
	40	<i>ngovil vat</i>
	50	<i>ngovil lëm</i>
	60	<i>ngovil khëwen</i>
	70	<i>ngovil khembit</i>
	80	<i>ngovil khëwel</i>
	90	<i>ngovil khesëv</i>

The form *rëmane* again is used followed by the basic numerals to express intermediate numerals within these decades.

(4.59)	35	<i>ngovil til rëmane ilëm</i>
	49	<i>ngovil vat rëmane ikhesëv</i>
	71	<i>ngovil khembit rëmane skhal</i>
	92	<i>ngovil khesëv rëmane iru</i>

The form for ‘one hundred’ is *ngov sēngavël*. By using the form *rëmane* the basic numerals can be added to one hundred. There is however no data to express centuries above 100, i.e 200, 500, 800. The compound for ‘one thousand’ is said to be ‘one hundred ten times’ *ngov sēngavël rëmane ngov sēngavël*.

(4.60)	100	<i>ngov sēngavël</i>
	101	<i>ngov sēngavël rëmane skhal</i>
	156	<i>ngov sēngavël rëmane ngovil lëm rëmane ikhëwen</i>

4.3.1.2 Quantifiers

There is a small set of post-modifying quantifiers found in noun phrases in Malua Bay, including the following:

(4.61)	<i>lililam</i>	‘many’
	<i>nēnge</i>	‘some’
	<i>polpol</i>	‘all’
	<i>niniv</i>	‘all’
	<i>po</i>	‘only, just’
	<i>nginer</i>	‘PL’

The following examples demonstrate the use of *lililam* as a nominal post-modifier.

(4.62)	<i>mëtan</i>	<i>khanen</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>skul</i>	<i>nëmëre</i>	<i>lililam</i>	<i>rë-me</i>
	CAUSE	here	PREP	school	people	many	3PL-come
	‘Here, because of the school many people come.’						
	[MLL.44.EsJ/ref.028]						

(4.63)	<i>ranēnge</i>	<i>n-chëper</i>	<i>nëvet</i>	<i>lililam</i>	<i>i-plek</i>
	sometimes	1SG-reach	money	many	3SG-like.that
	<i>en</i>	<i>nēnge</i>	<i>nëvra-k</i>		
	DEM	PREP	hand-1SG		
	‘Sometimes I regain a lot of money like this in my hands.’				

[MLL.54.LD/ref.005]

The example below in (4.64) shows the use of *nēnge* to express the meaning of ‘some’.

- (4.64) *brē-te rēwat nēnge te i-tērtēra*
1PL.EXCL-cut thatch some SUB 3SG-mature
‘We (excl) cut some thatch that is mature.’ [MLL.01.MD/ref.004]

The following examples show the use of *niniv* and *polpol* expressing the meaning of ‘all’.

- (4.65) *khonu po na nē-traem bes te jē-ve*
1SG just now 1SG-try best SUB 1SG.IRR-do
denge niniv
thing all
‘It is just me now; I try my best to do everything.’
[MLL.08.ER/ref.008]

- (4.66) *khanen nēmēre polpol rē-gat kopra*
DEM.TEMP people all 3PL-have copra
‘Now everyone has copra.’ [MLL.14.MD/ref.022]

- (4.67) *n-lav denge polpol lalen*
1SG-grow thing all inside
‘I grow everything inside.’ [MLL.39.SJ/ref.008]

The meanings of ‘just’ and ‘only’ are expressed in Malua Bay using the nominal post-modifier *po*, as seen in (4.68) and (4.69).

- (4.68) *khonu po na*
1SG just now
‘It is just me now.’ [MLL.08.ER/ref.008]

- (4.69) *tate sok po i-këlesur khonu*
 father 1SG.POSS only 3SG-look.after 1SG
 ‘Only my father looked after me.’ [MLL.53.LD/ref.009]

Finally, *nginer* is used in the examples below to pluralise a noun phrase.

- (4.70) *tate nginer te rë-me rë-wolwol sek ngi*
 father PL SUB 3PL-come 3PL-buy IMP PREP
noran ra-mul sek ngi nim sar
 food 3PL-return IMP LOC house 3PL.POSS
 ‘The fathers that came and bought the food all returned to their homes.’ [MLL.EsJ.48/ref.012]

- (4.71) *n-rov sek nim, nim se dakhar*
 1SG-make IMP house house GEN.HUM European
nginer te rë-s-metër lalen
 PL SUB 3PL-IRR-sleep inside
 ‘I made houses, houses of Europeans that they will sleep in.’
 [MLL.52.EV/ref.015]

- (4.72) *n-s-këlësür po netë-k nginer na*
 1SG-IRR-look.after just child-1SG PL now
 ‘I will just look after my children now.’ [MLL.53.LD/ref.012]

4.3.2 Adjectives

Adjectives constitute a small set of post-nominal in Malua Bay.

The following is the set of adjectives attested in the Malua Bay corpus, followed by examples of their use in text.

(4.73)	<i>mëlakel</i>	‘young’
	<i>tëra</i>	‘big, old, mature’
	<i>drakha</i>	‘big’
	<i>rëlukh</i>	‘other, another’
	<i>mol</i>	‘short’
	<i>përirirev</i>	‘long’
	<i>namnam</i>	‘very good’

(4.74) *i-les nimiar mëlakel iru*
 3SG-see female young two
 ‘He saw the two young women.’ [MLL.10.EJ/ref.008]

(4.75) *i-ve nalok tëra skhal*
 3SG-make pudding big one
 ‘He made a big pudding.’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.010]

(4.76) *n-s-tekh naut veve i-s-finisim naut*
 1SG-IRR-rake garden DUR 3SG-IRR-finish garden
drakha
 big
 ‘I will continually rake the garden until the big garden is finished.’
 [MLL.09.ER/ref.005]

(4.77) *jë-khil nim rëlukh lëkhen*
 1SG-IRR-dig house another again
 ‘I will build (dig) another house again.’ [MLL.01.MD/ref.031]

(4.78) *gaka mol lëkhen i-sësëkhe gaka përirirev po*
 yam short again 3SG-nothing yam long only
 ‘Short yams are not used, only long yams.’ [MLL.23.RD/ref.014]

- (4.79) *kem kër-yat nënge naut namnam skhal*
 2PL 2PL-sit PREP place very.good one
 ‘You’re (pl) living in a very good place.’ [MLL.14.MD/ref.028]

There are a very small number of stative verbs in Malua Bay that can also act as adjectives, post-modifying a noun. The following examples show how the stative verbs *lalam* ‘big’ and *kotkot* ‘small’ act as adjective-like forms, modifying nominals by immediately following a noun.

- (4.80) *rë-riakh ngin nakha lalam i-tur*
 3PL.shock PREP tree big 3SG-stand
 ‘They were shocked at the big tree standing.’
 [MLL.14.MD/ref.013]

- (4.81) *khonu n-s-lokh neng lalam skhal*
 1SG 1SG-IRR-carry name big one
 ‘I will carry an important name.’ [MLL.28.MD/ref.017]

- (4.82) *kheri kha po jëchëlvarën kotkot te n-rongote*
 here DEM just story small SUB 1SG-want
jë-wer khanen roran
 1SG.IRR-tell DEM.TEMP morning
 ‘This here is just a small story that I want to tell this morning.’
 [MLL.50.JRJ/ref.019]

- (4.83) *n-mas n-s-koron blesing kotkot i-s-van*
 3SG-must 1SG-IRR-give blessing small 3SG-IRR-go
chi nasup lemsakh
 LOC.HUM chief up
 ‘I must give a small blessing that will go to God.’
 [MLL.54.LD/ref.010]

The examples displayed below demonstrate the use of the words *lalam* ‘big’ and *kotkot* ‘small’ as inflected stative verbs in Malua Bay.

- (4.84) *ně-lalam romrom-an sok te ně-me*
 1SG-big think-NOM 1SG.POSS SUB 1SG-come
ně-lalam ně-skul ně-van ngi skul
 1SG-big 1SG-study 1SG-go PREP school
 ‘I was big, my thoughts were that I would get bigger and I would study and go to school.’ [MLL.53.LD/ref.003]

- (4.85) *kem kër-lev nale i-lalam*
 2PL 2PL-take language 3SG-big
 ‘You (all) learn (take) a language that is big.’
 [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.061]

- (4.86) *bër-titin renem i-kotkot*
 1PL.EXCL-cook food.1PL.EXCL 3SG-small
 ‘We cooked our food that was small.’ [MLL.46.JJ/ref.006]

- (4.87) *n-rongote n-s-wer rante n-kotkot*
 1SG-want 1SG-IRR-tell when 1SG-small
 ‘I want to tell of when I was small.’ [MLL.53.LD/ref.013]

4.3.3 Demonstrative determiners

Demonstratives locate nouns in space and/or time with reference to the speaker and the addressee. A demonstrative system that is common in many Oceanic languages is a three-way directional-locational-temporal distinction that corresponds to the three grammatical persons (Lynch, 1998). In Malua Bay this three-way distinction occurs with the proximate demonstrative *khanen*, the intermediate demonstrative *kha*, and the distant demonstrative *ekhe*. Malua Bay also makes use of an anaphoric demonstrative *nge* which marks a noun as having been previously mentioned.

Proximate	Intermediate	Distant	Anaphoric
<i>en</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>ekhe</i>	<i>nge</i>
'this' DEM1 (near speaker)	'that' DEM2 (near addressee)	'that' DEM3 (away from addressee and speaker)	'the' ANA.DEM (previously mentioned)

Table 4-7: Malua Bay demonstratives

(4.88) *basan sok ngin gaka en*
work 1SG.POSS PREP year DEM1
'My work for this year.' [MLL.08.ER/ref.010]

(4.89) *i-sa-tep nenge dope-k kha*
3SG-IRR-germinate PREP grave-1SG.POSS DEM2
'It will grow on my grave.' [MLL.14.MD/ref.018]

(4.90) *brë-van bëra-lol po ngin nim ekhe*
1PL.EXCL-go 1PL.EXCL-stay just LOC house DEM3
'We (excl) just went and stay in that house.' [MLL.35.RxD]

(4.91) *nokhopë-n ruru nge rë-p-vanëng te*
grandchild-3SG.POSS two ANA.DEM 3PL-NEG1-listen NEG2
'His two grandchildren didn't listen.' [MLL.07.ER/ref.004]

The intermediate demonstrative *kha* also serves as a general demonstrative. It is commonly used anaphorically, and is very widely distributed in the data collected for this project with the anaphoric function.

(4.92) *romrom-an sok i-nam te davërekh*
think-NOM 1SG.POSS 3SG-good SUB children
kha rë-sësëre nale
DEM2 3PL-learn language
'My thoughts are, it is good that these children learn language.'
[MLL.44.EsJ/ref.027]

(4.93) *rente rë-van lalen bolko nëvet kha nëvet tëra*
 when 3PL-go inside hole stone DEM2 stone big
kha i-chov
 DEM2 3SG-fall
 ‘When they went inside the cave, that big stone fell.’
 [MLL.07.ER/ref.006]

(4.94) *kënem brë-ve nalok kha na*
 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-make pudding DEM2 now
 ‘We make that pudding now.’ [MLL.18.LD/ref.011]

Malua Bay also makes use of demonstrative pronouns *khanen* and *enkha* which can both stand alone, functioning as the subject of a verb. These two forms do not appear to have distinct functions from each other.

(4.95) *khanen i-ve buvet, khanen i-ve*
 PRO.DEM 3SG-be hard.bamboo PRO.DEM 3SG-be
buvales
 soft.bamboo
 ‘This is the hard bamboo, and this is the soft bamboo.’
 [MLL.02.BJ/ref.003]

(4.96) *enkha i-ve storian ne tuwe lamës*
 PRO.DEM 3SG-be story GEN before in.the.bush
 ‘This is a story of before in the bush.’ [MLL.17.SD/ref.003]

4.3.4 Pre-nominal Modifiers

The pre-nominal modifier *jare* is only attested modifying the nominal *davërëkh* ‘child(ren)’ in the textual corpus, and the pre-nominal modifier *jarchare* is only attested modifying the nominal *nalok* ‘pudding’ in the textual corpus. The two forms are very similar phonologically, and *jarchare* may be a partially reduplicated form of *jare* with internal devoicing occurring on the initial voiced affricate.

(4.97) *jare davërëkh rë-lev pi*
 small children 3PL-take COMPL
 ‘The small children have already taken (the eggs).’
 [MLL.12.KJ/ref.008]

(4.98) *brë-s-van brë-s-ve jarchare nalok*
 1PL.EXCL-IRR-go 1PL.EXCL-IRR-make small pudding
 ‘We (excl) would go and make small puddings.’
 [MLL.55.LD/ref.005]

4.3.5 *Relative Clauses*

Andrews defines the relative clause as “a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC” (2007, p.206).

In Malua Bay there are two patterns used in forming relative clauses. The first pattern does not take a relative subordinator, but the second pattern takes the relative subordinator *te*. The strategy used for marking the referential NP in both relative clause patterns, in the embedded relative clause, is gapping.

4.3.5.1 *Relative clauses without a relative subordinator*

Malua Bay displays a pattern that allows an inflected stative verb to function as a relative clause. In these constructions, the head noun of the main clause is gapped as the subject of the relative clause, followed by the stative verb. There are very few examples of this type of relative clause in the corpus; however the examples below demonstrate the use of this pattern in Malua Bay.

In the first example, the noun phrase *nale* ‘language’ is the object of the main clause. The relative clause is introduced by the stative verb *lalam* ‘big’. In the relative clause the co-referential subject NP *nale* ‘language’ is gapped.

- (4.99) [kem kër-lev [nale]_{HeadN}]_{MC} Ø [i-lalam]_{RC}
 2PL 2PL-take language 3SG-big
 ‘You (all) learn (take) a language that is big.’
 [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.061]

The next example shows the NP *nakha lalam* ‘big tree’ in the main clause as the object of the preposition. The stative verb *tur* ‘stand’ introduces the relative clause. In the relative clause the co-referential subject NP is gapped.

- (4.100) [rë-riakh ngin [nakha lalam]_{HeadN}]_{MC} Ø [i-tur]_{RC}
 3PL.shock PREP tree big 3SG-stand
 ‘They were shocked at the big tree that was standing (there).’
 [MLL.14.MD/ref.013]

In the following example, the head noun of the main clause is *renem* ‘our (excl) food’ which is the object of the verb. The relative clause is introduced by the stative verb *kotkot* ‘small’, and the co-referential subject of the relative clause is gapped.

- (4.101) [bër-titin [renem]_{HeadN}]_{MC} Ø [i-kotkot]_{RC}
 1PL.EXCL-cook food.1PL.EXCL 3SG-small
 ‘We cooked our (excl) food that was small.’
 [MLL.46.JJ/ref.006]

In each of these examples, the gapped head of the relative clause is the sole argument of the intransitive stative verb. This structure is very similar to the structure presented in section 4.3.2 where uninflected stative verbs behave as adjectival modifiers of nouns.

- (4.104) [n-rov sek nim, [nim se
 1SG-make IMP house house GEN.HUM
 dakhar nginer]_{HeadN}]_{MC} [te rë-s-metër lalen Ø]
 European PL SUB 3PL-IRR-sleep inside
 ‘I made houses, houses of Europeans that they will sleep in.’
 [MLL.52.EV/ref.015]

The next example shows that the *rëwat* ‘thatch’ is the object head noun in the main clause. The relative clause is introduced by *te*, the relative subordinator. The head noun of the main clause then acts as the subject of the relative clause, where it is gapped.

- (4.105) [brë-te [rëwat]_{HeadN}]_{MC} nënge te Ø
 1PL.EXCL-cut thatch some SUB
 i-tërtëra
 3SG-mature
 ‘We (excl) cut some thatch that is mature.’
 [MLL.01.MD/ref.004]

The example in (4.106) uses the noun phrase *nale* ‘language’ as the head noun of the main clause. The relative clause is marked by the relative subordinator *te*, and the direct object of the ditransitive verb in the relative clause is gapped, being the co-referential noun phrase of the main clause.

- (4.106) [i-plek nale]_{HeadN}]_{MC} [te khë-koron Ø kële
 3SG-like language SUB 2SG-give again
 ngi kënem]_{RC}
 OBJ 1PL.EXCL
 ‘It’s like the language that you give to us.’
 [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.060]

In example (4.107), the subject noun phrase in the main clause is ‘people’. This information is not given in the example however it can be retrieved from prior contextual information. It is also inflected on the verb

as a subject prefix (third person plural). The subject is then gapped in the relative clause, as is the object of the relative clause which is co-referential to the object noun phrase in the main clause (*waen* ‘wine’).

- (4.107) [*rë*_{HeadN-s-lev} *waen* *rë-s-koron* *ngi* *nëmëre*]_{MC} [*te*
 3PL-IRR-take wine 3PL-IRR-give OBJ people SUB
 Ø_{Subj} *rë-s-min* Ø_{Obj}]_{RC}
 3PL-IRR-drink
 ‘They will take the wine, and they will give (it) to the people who
 will drink (it).’ [MLL.51.JRJ/ref/010]

In this final example, *nuwe* ‘water’ is the subject noun phrase, and also the head noun of the main clause. This head noun is referenced in the relative clause as the object of a preposition, where it is gapped.

- (4.108) [*nuwe*]_{HeadN}]_{MC} [*te* *rë-kurkur* *ngin* Ø]_{RC}
 water SUB 1PL.INCL-cook PREP
 ‘Water that we cook with.’ [MLL.02.BJ/ref.008]

4.4 Co-ordinate noun phrase constructions

Complex nominal phrases can contain two or more simple noun phrases linked by the conjunction *ron* ‘and’ in Malua Bay. By joining two nominal phrases together in this way, they express a single semantic relationship which is referenced as a single subject prefix on the verb, agreeing with the person and number of the conjoined subjects.

Examples of co-ordinate noun phrase constructions are given below.

- (4.109) *nëmëre* *Petarmul* *ron* *Tipter* *rë-lev-lev* *khar*
 people Petarmul and Tipter 3PL- DUP-take 3PL
 ‘People of Petarmul and Tipter took each other.’
 [MLL.24.RD/ref.020]

- (4.110) *kënem ron Kanau bër-yat bër-kich taro*
 1PL.EXCL and Kanau 1PL.EXCL-sit 1PL.EXCL-peel taro
 ‘Us and Kanau, we (excl) sit and peel taro.’ [MLL.18.LD/ref.004]

4.5 Noun phrase structure

This chapter concludes with the general structure of the noun phrase, as shown in the formula below, followed by examples.

NOUN	+	(ADJECTIVE)	+	(NUMBER QUANTIFIER)	+	(RELATIVE CLAUSE DEMONSTRATIVE)
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The example below shows the positions available to an adjective and numeral following a noun. The adjective takes the position directly following the noun, and the following position is filled by a numeral.

- (4.111) *i-les [nimiar mëlakel iru]_{NP}*
 3SG-see female young two
 ‘He saw the two young women.’ [MLL.10.EJ/ref.008]

In this next example, the quantifier *nënge* ‘some’ is positioned after the noun but directly in front of the relative clause.

- (4.112) *brë-te [rëwat nënge te i-tërtëra]_{NP}*
 1PL.EXCL-cut thatch some SUB 3SG-mature
 ‘We (excl) cut some thatch that is mature.’ [MLL.01.MD/ref.004]

This final example demonstrates the position of the demonstrative after a numeral.

- (4.113) [*nokhopě-n* *ruru nge*]_{NP} *rě-p-vaněng*
 grandchild-3SG.POSS two ANA.DEM 3PL-NEG1-listen
te
 NEG2
 ‘His two grandchildren didn’t listen.’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.004]

The examples above confirm that adjectives occur directly after the noun (4.111), numerals and quantifiers fill the second available position after the noun (4.111 and 4.112), and that demonstratives and relative clauses occur in a position after numerals and quantifiers (4.112 and 4.113). There is no evidence in the corpus that shows the relative position of relative clauses and demonstratives, only that they both occur in a position following numerals and quantifiers. It is highly possible that relative clauses and demonstratives fill the same position and therefore do not occur together in a noun phrase. As a final comment, there are no examples where all three nominal modifying positions are employed to modify a noun.

Chapter 5

Verb Phrase

This chapter describes the morphological behaviour of verbs in Malua Bay, including verbal inflection and verbal derivation. It will also describe the behaviour of related constituents in the verb complex.

5.1 Verbal Inflection

In most cases, verbs are obligatorily marked with a subject in Malua Bay. However, in second person singular imperatives, the use of a subject prefix on the verb root is optional, and often only used for emphasis (see section 6.4 for details on imperative constructions). When a subject prefix is indexed on the verb, it signifies the categories of person and number of the subject. The categories of person and number are not indexed on the verbal object. Negation is marked discontinuously by means of a prefix, of which follows the subject prefix and precedes the verb root, while a negative particle appears post-verbally. Irrealis marking occurs following the subject prefix and precedes the verb root. There is also a second order prefix that precedes the verb root which expresses a meaning of deep desire or strong belief. Below is a formula demonstrating the morphotactic options available on Malua Bay verbs, followed by examples.

(SUBJECT PREFIX) + (NEGATIVE₁ / (IR)REALIS / OPTATIVE) + ROOT + (NEGATIVE₂)

This first example displays the use of the third person singular prefix on the verb.

- (5.1) *khaen i-metër*
3SG 3SG-sleep
'He is asleep.' [MLL.17.SD/ref.011]

Here, an example of verbal negation is used to show the discontinuous negative marking on Malua Bay verbs. The negative prefix element, *pěp-*, occurs as a second order prefix on the verb, while the negative particle *-te*, occurs after the verb.

- (5.2) *rě-pěp-van te*
 3PL-NEG1-go NEG2
 ‘They couldn’t go.’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.003]

This example shows how the irrealis prefix *s(a)-* is used in Malua Bay. It occurs between the subject prefix and the verb root.

- (5.3) *khonu n-sa-mul khanen*
 1SG 1SG-IRR-return DEM.TEMP
 ‘I will return now.’ [MLL.47.JJ/ref.002]

The other second order prefix available in Malua Bay is *be-/bě-*. This prefix indicates a deep desire for something to happen in the future, so much so, that the speaker knows for sure that it will happen. This prefix occurs directly after the verbal subject prefix, and immediately precedes the verb. It replaces the morpheme *s(a)-*.

- (5.4) *kënem bër-rongo te bër-pe⁵-rup nëmeki*
 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-hear SUB 1PL.EXCL-OPT-kill namanggi
 ‘We (excl) heard that we intend to kill namanggi.’
 [MLL.28.MD/ref.003]

5.1.1 Subject marking

Table 5-1 below displays the verbal subject prefixes available in Malua Bay where a distinction is made between the categories of first, second, and third person, and which also mark a two-way number distinction of singular and plural. In the case of the first person plural

⁵ The optative prefix *be-* becomes voiceless *pe-* following another verbal prefix. See section 5.1.4 for more detail on this form.

category, Malua Bay makes a distinction between inclusive and exclusive verbal subject prefixes.

	Singular		Plural
1	<i>nV-</i>	Incl.	<i>rë-</i>
		Excl.	<i>brë-/bër-</i>
2	<i>khë-</i>		<i>kër-</i>
3	<i>i-</i>		<i>rë-</i>

Table 5-1: Malua Bay verbal subject prefixes

The following examples display the use of subject prefixes on the verb in Malua Bay.

(5.5) *khar rë-van*

3PL 3PL-go

‘They went.’ [MLL.09.ER/ref.009]

(5.6) *khë-to lalen nial*

2SG-put inside sun

‘You put it (pandanus) in the sun.’ [MLL.05.DM.ref.003]

(5.7) *nakër rë-s-rongomënete*

1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-IRR-understand

‘We (incl) will understand.’ [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.016]

(5.8) *pupu sar i-ririakh ngi khar*

grandfather 3PL.POSS 3SG-shock LOC 3PL

‘Their grandfather was shocked at them.’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.010]

5.1.2 *Realis and irrealis mood marking*

Like many Malekula languages that make a distinction between realis and irrealis subject prefixes (Barbour, 2012; Crowley, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d; Musgrave, 2007) Malua Bay also makes a distinction between realis and irrealis mood constructions. However, realis and

irrealis mood markers do not occur on the subject prefix of the verb in Malua Bay, instead they occur as second order verbal prefixes encoding the reality of an event or situation. Realis constructions are marked by zero, while irrealis constructions are overtly encoded.

- (5.9) Realis Ø-
 Irrealis s-

Realis mood constructions are found with events or situations that have definitely happened and concluded events or situations that are taking place at the time of speech, as well as events or situations that occur habitually. However, it is also possible to mark habitual events in the future, with irrealis marking.

The following are examples of realis constructions.

- (5.10) *khë-vet i-ve dang*
 2SG-weave 3SG-be basket
 ‘You (sg) wove it to be a basket.’ [MLL.05.DM/ref.004]

- (5.11) *Elsa i-och sek kumala*
 Elsa 3SG-eat IMP sweet.potato
 ‘Elsa is eating sweet potato.’ [MLL.35.RxD]

- (5.12) *rë-sav sek ngin*
 3PL.dance IMP PREP
 ‘They (habitually) dance with it (traditional shaker).’
 [MLL.06b.DM/ref.005]

- (5.13) *nerator i-ve skhal*
 nerator 3SG-be one
 ‘Nerator is one (design).’ [MLL.02.BJ/ref/013]

Irrealis mood constructions are events or situations that may occur after the time of speech. They are also possible events, or situations a speaker knows will occur habitually after the time of speech.

The following are examples of future constructions where irrealis is encoded by the second order verbal prefix *s(a)-*.

- (5.14) *khonu n-sa-mul khanen n-s-van n-s-lev*
 1SG 1SG-IRR-return DEM.TEMP 1SG-IRR-go 1SG-IRR-take
dengtar senem
 things 1PL.EXCL.POSS
 'I will return now and I will go and take our (excl) clothes.'
 [MLL.47.JJ/ref.002]

Khanen 'here', as shown in (5.14), can be used to express 'here' both spatially and temporally.

- (5.15) *i-sa-tokh gaka i-sa-lëm i-s-khëwen*
 3SG-IRR-stay year 3SG-IRR-five 3SG-IRR-six
 'It will stay for five or six years.' [MLL.01.MD/ref.022]

- (5.16) *rë-s-usum sek rë-s-yat nëngan chalëng*
 1PL.INCL-IRR-use IMP 1PL.INCL-IRR-sit LOC outside
 'We (incl) will (habitually) use it to sit on outside.'
 [MLL.04.DM/ref.011]

There is also a first person singular verbal prefix of the shape *jë-* or *ja-*, that is used in future time constructions reflecting the irrealis mood in Malua Bay (5.17(and (5.18).

- (5.17) *jë-metër lalen jë-van lalen jë-titin*
 1SG-IRR-sleep inside 1SG-IRR-go inside 1SG-IRR-cook
lalen
 inside
 'I will sleep inside, I will go inside, and I will cook inside.'

[MLL.01.MD/ref.027]

- (5.18) *jë-van* *jë-lev* *neni*
1SG.IRR-go 1SG.IRR-take coconut
'I will go and I will take a coconut.' [MLL.21.JRJ/ref.005]

It is also used in the complement clause of verbs of wanting, as in (5.19) and (5.20).

- (5.19) *n-rongote* *jë-ve* *naut*
1SG-want 1SG.IRR-make garden
'I want to do the garden.' [MLL.09.ER/ref.002]

- (5.20) *n-rongote* *jë-wer* *stori* *ne* *naut*
1SG-want 1SG.IRR-tell story GEN garden
'I want to tell a story about the garden.' [MLL.39.SJ/ref.002]

The singular first person appears to be the only category in Malua Bay that has its own first order portmanteau irrealis subject prefix; all other persons are required to use the second order irrealis prefix *s(a)-*. The singular first person is not limited however by this prefix and still has the ability to use the first person subject prefix displayed in Table 5-1 followed by the second order future prefix. Examples of these forms, from natural recorded speech, are given below.

- (5.21) *khonu* *n-s-lokh* *neng* *lalam* *skhal*
1SG 1SG-fut name big one
'I will carry a big name.' [MLL.28.MD/ref.017]

- (5.22) *n-s-tech* *po* *navëch* *n-s-khil* *gaka*
1SG-IRR-cut just banana 1SG-IRR-dig yams
'I will just cut bananas and I will dig yams.' [MLL.47.JJ/ref.004]

- (5.23) *n-sa-lekh po*
 1SG-IRR-marry just
 ‘I will just marry.’ [MLL.53.LD/ref.007]

In Malua Bay imperatives are not overtly marked and therefore they display a realis mood, which is uncommon in Malekula languages. Malekula languages predominantly mark imperatives with irrealis mood (Barbour, 2012; Crowley, 2006a; 2006b; 2006c; 2006d; Musgrave, 2007). Realis imperatives are illustrated below in Malua Bay.

- (5.24) *yat leltan*
 sit down
 ‘Sit down!’ [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

- (5.25) *khë-sësëre jare davërëkh ngi nale*
 2SG-teach small children LOC language
 ‘You (sg) teach the small children in the language.’
 [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.028]

- (5.26) *kem iru kër-van kër-khokho nëvre-mi*
 2PL two 2PL-go 2PL-wash hand-2PL
 ‘You two go and wash your hands.’

See section 6.4 for more on imperative constructions.

5.1.3 Negative marking

Negation is marked discontinuously in Malua Bay. There is a verbal prefix element that occurs of the shape *p(e/ë)-* or *pe/ëp-*, and a post-verbal particle *te*. The negative prefix element occurs following the subject prefix and preceding the verb root, while the negative post-verbal particle occurs following the verb root. If there is post-verbal modification, the

negative particle will occur after any Class 1 verbal modifiers (see section 5.3.1 for post-verbal modifiers).

5.1.3.1 *Standard negation*

In Malua Bay standard negation occurs with the negative prefix *p(e/ë)-* attached to the verb following the subject prefix. The negative particle *te* then occurs following the verb.

(5.27) *në-p-skul lomton te*
1SG-NEG1-school well NEG2
'I didn't school well.' [MLL.53.LD/ref.007]

(5.28) *khar rë-p-lanem te nale ser*
3PL 3PL-NEG1-learn NEG2 language 1PL.INCL.POSS
'They don't learn our (incl) language.' [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.036]

(5.29) *khë-pë-les te*
2SG-NEG1-see NEG2
'You (sg) don't see (it).'

(5.30) *naut te i-p-melëk te n-s-van lamës*
place SUB 3SG-NEG1-dark NEG2 1SG-IRR-go in.the.bush
'The place isn't dark, so I will go to the bush.' [MLL.47.JJ/ref.003]

5.1.3.2 *Inability and prohibition*

There is a second type of negation evident in Malua Bay that marks inability and prohibition. When constructions of these types occur, the negative prefix takes the shape *pe/ëp-*, while the post-verbal negative particle remains as *te*.

When Class 1 post-verbal modifiers occur in a verbal construction, the post-verbal particle *te* occurs post-verbally following any modifiers.

Presented below is an example with a post-verbal modifier that expresses an inability to perform the action of the verb.

- (5.31) *i-pëp-van mēne te mētan i-roch*
3SG-NEG1-go able NEG2 CAUSE 3SG-sick
'She can't go to school because she is sick.'

This next example expresses prohibition.

- (5.32) *moro rē-pëp-van te Opel*
people 3PL-NEG1-go NEG2 Opel
'People are not to go to Opel.' [MLL.10.EJ/ref.010]

When the intensifier *mu* occurs in a negative construction, the negative particle remains closer to the verb, followed by the intensity marker.

- (5.33) *kër-pëp-van te mu lalen bolko nëvet kha*
2PL-NEG1-go NEG2 INTENS inside hole stone DEM
'You (pl) are not to go inside that cave!' [MLL.07.ER/ref.012]

In negative imperatives (prohibitives) verbs are still negated in this way, with discontinuous negative marking.

- (5.34) *khë-pep-yat te leltan*
2SG-NEG1-sit NEG2 down
'Don't you (sg) sit down!' [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

In the data collected for this project, there is no evidence of irrealis constructions being negated which suggests that the negative prefix and the irrealis prefix fill the same structural position.

5.1.4 Optative mood marker *be-*

The verbal prefix *pe/be-* has extremely limited distribution in the textual corpus collected for this project. This prefix is optative in nature, expressing a meaning of deep desire by the speaker, or of an extremely strong belief by the speaker that an event or action will occur. The source of the desire or belief must be taken from surrounding contextual information given by the speaker. This morpheme reflects irrealis mood and therefore does not co-occur with the irrealis marker *s(a)-*, inflected on the verb.

In the example below the source of the desire can be taken from the preceding verb and its subject prefix.

- (5.35) *n-rongo be-wer so lalam te khë-me*
 1SG-want OPT-say thanks big SUB 2SG-come
nakhanim te i-ve sok
 door SUB 3SG-be 1SG.POSS
 ‘I really want to say thank you very much that you came to my house.’
 [MLL.52.EV/ref.002]

The source of the desire in this example is taken from previous contextual information where the speaker is talking about himself.

- (5.36) *n-rov sek nim ... bë-rov nim i-plek*
 1SG-make IMP house ... OPT-make house 3SG-like
bugalou te dakhar rë-sa-lol lalen
 bungalow SUB European 3PL-IRR-live inside
 ‘(I) really wanted to make houses like bungalows that
 Europeans would live in.’ [MLL.52.EV/ref.016]

In this next example the source of the desire differs from the person who will actually perform the action. In this case a father desires that his son perform a grading ceremony, *namanggi*.

- (5.37) *i-wo te be-rup nēmeki ... i-wo n-rongote*
 3SG-say SUB OPT-kill namanggi ... 3SG-say 1SG-want
Alec i-s-rup nēmeki
 Alec 3SG-IRR-kill namanggi
 ‘He said that I will kill *namanggi*. He said I want Alec (speaker)
 to kill *namanggi*’ [MLL.10.EJ/ref.002]

The source of the desire or belief in this example can be taken from the possessive construction, *basan sok* ‘my work’, it can also be taken from the preceding and following contextual information.

- (5.38) *i-nomogat basan sok te be-ve*
 3SG.not.have work 1SG.POSS SUB OPT-do
 ‘There is no work of mine that I desire to do.’
 [MLL.53.LD/ref.011]

The limited examples here expressing the use of the optative verbal prefix *pe/be-* show that it is only used to replace the first person singular form. However, when used with the first person plural exclusive form (5.4), the subject prefix remains as an inflection on the verb, suggesting that this form is a second order prefix like irrealis.

- (5.39) *kēmem bër-rongo te bër-pe-rup*
 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-hear SUB 1PL.EXCL-OPT-kill
nēmeki
 namanggi
 ‘We (excl) heard that we intend to kill *namanggi*.’
 [MLL.28.MD/ref.003]

5.2 Verbal Derivation

This section on verbal derivation looks at aspects of reduplication. The patterns of reduplication will be demonstrated through the use of Malua Bay lexicon.

5.2.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is a process of verbal affixation in Malua Bay. There are three patterns of reduplication in Malua Bay: full CVC reduplication, partial CVC- reduplication, and initial CV- reduplication.

(5.40) full CVC reduplication

<i>kher</i>	→	<i>kher-kher</i>	‘write’
<i>kich</i>	→	<i>kich-kich</i>	‘peel’
<i>nam</i>	→	<i>nam-nam</i>	‘(very) good’
<i>kir</i>	→	<i>kir-kir</i>	‘scrape away’
<i>lav</i>	→	<i>lavlav</i>	‘grow, plant’
<i>mul</i>	→	<i>mulmul</i>	‘return’
<i>mol</i>	→	<i>molmol</i>	‘short’
<i>wus</i>	→	<i>wuswus</i>	‘white’
<i>rom</i>	→	<i>romrom</i>	‘think’
<i>van</i>	→	<i>vanvan</i>	‘go’
<i>lev</i>	→	<i>levlev</i>	‘take’

(5.41) partial CVC- reduplication

<i>cheren</i>	→	<i>cher-cheren</i>	‘throw, scatter’
<i>tëra</i>	→	<i>tër-tëra</i>	‘old, mature’

(5.42) initial CV- reduplication

<i>riakh</i>	→	<i>ri-riakh</i>	‘shock’
<i>sëkhe</i>	→	<i>së-sëkhe</i>	‘nothing’

Reduplication can indicate actions of reciprocity where a number of participants engage in the same activities with other participants. For example:

- (5.43) *nëmëre Petarmul ron Tipter rë-lev-lev khar*
people Petarmul and Tipter 3PL-DUP-take 3PL
‘People of Petarmul and Tipter took each other.’
[MLL.24.RD/ref.020]

Another function of reduplication is to show that an action takes places over an extended time period.

(5.44) *ale i-pol ra-mul-mul*
 then 3SG-finish 3PL-DUP-return
 ‘Then when it was finished they returned (home) (over a period of time). [MLL.51.JRJ/ref.024]

(5.45) *i-khil davëkh nge i-van-van*
 3SG-dig yam.mound ANA.DEM 3SG-DUP-go
i-van-van i-ve davëkh nge
 3SG-DUP-go 3SG-make yam.mound ANA.DEM
 ‘He dug the yam mound; he went on and on, and on and on making that yam mound.’ [MLL.10.EJ/ref.006]

(5.46) *ale i-van-van i-me n-lalam*
 then 3SG-DUP-go 3SG-come 1SG-big
 ‘It (time) went on and on and it came (to the time) where I was big.’ [MLL.53.LD/ref.008]

These few examples suggest that reduplication is an inflectional process, contributing aspectual information to the clause.

5.3 Verbal Complex

There are constituents that are closely related to verbal heads in Malua Bay; these constituents will be looked at in this section.

5.3.1 Post-verbal modifiers

A number of constituents occur in close proximity to verbs as post-modifiers within verbal complexes. These post-verbal modifiers often express aspectual meaning pertaining to the particular verb they modify.

Malua Bay appears to have two classes of post-verbal modifiers. The first class occurs very close to the verb, and even before the negative particle. These modifiers show a direct modification of the verb. The second class of modifiers are distanced slightly from the verb in comparison to Class 1 modifiers. They do not occur before the negative particle, and tend to mark the verbal situation with aspectual meaning.

(5.47)	Class 1		Class 2	
	<i>mëne</i>		<i>sek</i>	<i>niniv</i>
	<i>lomton</i>		<i>pi</i>	<i>luwe</i>
	<i>tukhun</i>		<i>lopo</i>	<i>kële</i>
			<i>po</i>	<i>mu</i>
			<i>chilling</i>	

The range of post-verbal modifiers are described in further detail below.

5.3.1.1 *mëne* 'ability'

Mëne is used as a post-verbal modifier in Malua Bay to describe the ability of the verbal subject to perform the action of the verb.

(5.48)	<i>i-chëpen</i>	<i>mëne</i>	<i>ngi</i>	<i>nale</i>	<i>ser</i>
	3SG-count	able	LOC	language	1PL.INCL.POSS
	'S/he can count in our (incl) language.' [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.034]				

This post-modifier can also be used in future time constructions.

(5.49)	<i>rë-s-raitem</i>	<i>mëne</i>	<i>neng</i>	<i>sar</i>
	3PL.INCL-IRR-write	able	name	3PL.POSS
	'They will be able to write their names.' [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.022]			

- (5.50) *rë-s-kherkher mēne*
 3PL-IRR-write able
 ‘They will be able to write.’ [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.022]

When this post-modifier is used in a negative construction, the post-modifier occurs directly after the verb and the second negative element *-te* follows after the post-modifier. The post-verbal modifier occurs inside the negative construction. In a negative construction this post-modifier describes the inability of the verbal subject to perform the action of the verb.

- (5.51) *i-pëp-van mēne te mētan i-roch*
 3SG-NEG1-go able NEG2 CAUSE 3SG-sick
 ‘She can’t go to school because she is sick.’

- (5.52) *khaen i-pëp-me mēne te*
 3SG 3SG-NEG1-come able NEG2
 ‘S/he can’t come.’

5.3.1.2 *lomton* ‘well’

In Malua Bay the post-verbal modifier *lomton* expresses how well the action of the verb has been performed.

- (5.53) *brë-khor neni brë-wis*
 1PL.EXCL-scratch.coconut coconut 1PL.EXCL-squeeze
lomton
 well
 ‘We (excl) scratch the coconut and we (excl) squeeze it well.’
 [MLL.18.LD/ref.007]

- (5.54) *n-yake lomton toti nen*
 1SG-collect well rubbish here
 ‘I collect up the rubbish here well.’ [MLL.39.SJ/ref.005]

(5.55) *bër-ve lomton naut senem*
 1PL.EXCL-do well garden 1PL.EXCL.POSS
 ‘We did our garden well.’ [MLL.50.JRJ/ref.015]

(5.56) *rë-s-to lomton khar*
 3PL-IRR-put well 3PL
 ‘They will put them (wine and bread) (down) well.’
 [MLL.51JRJ/ref.008]

When *lomton* is used in a negative construction it occurs directly after the verb, and directly preceding the post-verbal negative element *-te* which follows after *lomton*.

(5.57) *në-p-skul lomton te*
 1SG-NEG1-school well NEG2
 ‘I didn’t school well.’ [MLL.53.LD/ref.007]

5.3.1.3 *tukhun* ‘well’

The post-verbal modifier *tukhun* only occurs once in the corpus. In the example below it is used to describe how a future action will be performed well.

(5.58) *rë-s-us tukhun jëpon tre*
 3PL-IRR-hold well half tray
 ‘They will hold the sides of the tray well.’ [MLL.21.JRJ/ref.012]

There are a number of factors that make it difficult to determine into which category of verbal modifiers *tukhun* belongs. As mentioned previously, it is possible for Class 1 modifiers to occur before the negative particle. It is also mentioned in section 5.1.3 that appears that irrealis constructions cannot be negated. Due to the above construction being in the irrealis mood it cannot be established if a realis form, using *tukhun*, would allow the modifier to occur before the negative particle. However,

due to this being the only example in the corpus, it is difficult to distinguish which class of modifiers this form belongs to. Due to this form appearing to modify the verb in a semantically similar way to *lomton* (section 5.3.1.2), it has been classified as a Class 1 modifier.

5.3.1.4 *sek* ‘imperfective’

The ‘habitual’ and ‘continuous’ aspectual meanings can be expressed in Malua Bay by using the post-verbal imperfective modifier *sek*. When *sek* is used to express the habitual aspect it expresses a situation where an action is viewed as lasting over an extended period of time, or an action that is repeated on a regular basis. The habitual aspect can also be expressed in future events (5.60).

(5.59) *rë-sav sek ngin*
 3PL.dance IMP with
 ‘They (habitually) dance with it (traditional shaker).’
 [MLL.06b.DM/ref.005]

(5.60) *renënge rë-khokho ngi brokh te*
 sometimes 1PL.INCL-wash with pot SUB
rë-titin sek nëngan
 1PL.INCL-cook IMP LOC
 ‘Sometimes we (incl) wash with it (coconut husk) the pots that we (incl) cook in.’ [MLL.20.JRJ/ref.009]

(5.61) *rë-sësëre sek khar nënge skul*
 1PL.INCL-teach IMP 3PL LOC school
 ‘We (always) teach them at school.’ [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.024]

(5.62) *rë-s-usum sek rë-s-yat nëngan chalëng*
 1PL.INCL-IRR-use IMP 1PL.INCL-IRR-sit LOC outside
 ‘We (incl,) will use it to sit on outside.’ [MLL.04.DM/ref.011]

When an ongoing situation is expressed *sek* is used to express the continuous aspect.

- (5.63) *rente i-iev sek lang denge kha tu i-kul*
when 3SG-pull IMP air thing DEM too 3SG-sing
po sek
just IMP
'When he breathed, that thing just continued to sing.'
[MLL.17.SD/ref.010]

- (5.64) *i-khëchri sek dan*
3SG-scratch IMP ground
'She continually scratched the ground.' [MLL.12.KJ/ref.019]

5.3.1.5 *pi* 'completive'

The marker *pi* expresses a completive meaning in Malua Bay. It can also occur as a second post-modifier, following *niniv* 'everything' (see also section 5.3.1.6).

- (5.65) *Morrisen khar Edwin rë-yat pi leltas*
Morrisen 3PL Edwin 3PL-sit COMPL seaside
'Morrisen and them, Edwin, they already live by the sea.'
[MLL.23.RD/ref.010]

- (5.66) *nakha lalam i-tur chi nëvet i-chov pi*
tree big 3SG-stand LOC stone 3SG-fall COMPL
leltan
down
'The big tree that stood by the stone had already fallen down.'
[MLL.14.MD/ref.013]

(5.67) *khar rē-rongomēne pi nale sar*
 3PL 3PL-know COMPL language 3PL.POSS
 ‘They already know their language.’ [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.027]

(5.68) *khaen i-metēr pi*
 3SG 3SG-sleep COMPL
 ‘He was already asleep.’ [MLL.17.SD/ref.012]

(5.69) *jare davērēkh rē-yake niniv pi*
 small children 3PL-collect everything COMPL
 ‘The small children had already collected everything.’
 [MLL.12.KJ/ref.014]

5.3.1.6 lopo ‘continuative’

A continuative meaning can be expressed in Malua Bay by using the post-verbal modifier *lopo* ‘still’. *Lopo* can also be used to express the beginning of a new event or action while another is still taking place (5.71 and 5.72).

(5.70) *pupu se Javen i-morov lopo*
 grandfather GEN.HUM Javen 3SG-alive CONT
 ‘Javen’s grandfather was still alive.’ [MLL.50.JRJ/ref.007]

(5.71) *lang ruprup kha i-me rente rē-wer lopo*
 wind kill DEM 3SG-come when 3PL-say CONT
te khanen nen nēmēre rē-sasa te lang
 SUB DEM.LOC here people 3PL-prepare SUB wind
i-s-me
 3SG-IRR-come

‘The cyclone came when they were still saying that here, people were preparing for the cyclone to come.’ [MLL.50.JRJ/ref.004]

(5.72) *khar rë-rom leletëra i-këlkëlo lopo*
 3PL 3PL-think great-grandfather 3SG-open.eyes CONT
 ‘They thought that great-grandfather was still awake.’
 [MLL.17.SD/ref.011]

(5.73) *ren në-khokho lopo rë-rup betingting ne*
 time 1SG-wash CONT 3PL-beat k.o drum PURP
pasa
 fundraiser
 ‘While I was still washing, they hit the drum for the fundraiser.’
 [MLL.48.EsJ/ref.008]

5.3.1.7 *po* ‘limiter’

The post-verbal modifier *po* is a limiter, expressing the meanings of ‘just’ or ‘only’.

(5.74) *n-s-këlësür po netë-k nginer na*
 1SG-IRR-look.after just child-1SG PL now
 ‘I will just look after my children now.’ [MLL.53.LD/ref.012]

(5.75) *n-sa-lol po lim n-s-titin*
 1SG-IRR-stay just in.the.house 1SG-IRR-cook
 ‘I will just stay inside the house and I will cook.’
 [MLL.47.JJ/ref.005]

(5.76) *pepe sok i-ve ... denge navon po i-pete*
 mother 1SG.POSS 3SG.be ... thing nothing just 3SG-not
morov
 alive
 ‘My mother is just nothing, not alive.’ [MLL.14.MD/ref.006]

(5.77) *na-lekh po afta n-me n-gat davëřekh*
 1SG-marry just then 1SG-come 1SG-have children
 ‘I just married then I came to have children.’
 [MLL.53.LD/ref.011]

5.3.1.8 *chiling* ‘all, everything’

The meaning of ‘all’ or ‘everything’ can be expressed in Malua Bay by using the post-verbal modifier *chiling*.

(5.78) *bëra-or chiling ne pasa*
 1PL.EXCL-eat everything GEN fundraiser
 ‘We (excl) ate everything from the fundraiser.’
 [MLL.48.EsJ/ref.013]

In the next example, the post-verbal modifier *chiling* modifies the subject of *sasuv* ‘swim’, and then it modifies the object of *och* ‘eat’.

(5.79) *brë-sasuv chiling bëra-och chiling bëř-van*
 1PL.EXCL-swim all 1PL.EXCL-eat all 1PL.EXCL-go
lim
 in.the.house
 ‘We (excl) all swam, we (excl) ate everything, then we (excl) went inside.’ [MLL.45.EsJ/ref.013]

This modifier is also used to modify non-verbal constituents, as seen in the following example.

(5.80) *dengtar sok chiling*
 thing 1SG.POSS all
 ‘All of my things.’ [MLL.52.EsJ/ref.018]

5.3.1.9 *niniv* ‘everything’

Niniv is also used in Malua Bay to express the meaning of ‘all’ or ‘everything’.

(5.81) *khaen i-khil niniv*
3SG 3SG-dig all
‘He dug it all up.’ [MLL.10.EJ/ref.015]

(5.82) *rë-te niniv*
3PL-cut everything
‘They cut everything.’ [MLL.14.MD/ref.025]

This modifier can also occur with other verbal modifiers in the verbal complex. In the example below *niniv* occurs before the post-modifier *pi* ‘already’.

(5.83) *jare davërëkh rë-yake niniv pi*
small children 3PL-collect everything COMPL
‘The small children had already collected everything.’
[MLL.12.KJ/ref.014]

The following example shows how *niniv* is used as the second post-verbal modifier in the verbal complex following the post-verbal modifier *luwe* ‘away’.

(5.84) *jë-lev luwe niniv ne nevlo-n*
1SG.IRR-take away all of skin-3SG
‘I will take away all of its skin.’ [MLL.21.JRJ/ref.006]

In example (4.65), the modifier *niniv* is also used as a nominal modifier.

5.3.1.10 *luwe* ‘away’

The post-verbal modifier *luwe* ‘away’ is often used in Malua Bay to describe the nature of the action of the verb, where an object is removed in some way from something else.

- (5.85) *ně-s-tech pumken jě-lev luwe*
 1SG-IRR-cut pumpkin 1SG-IRR-take away
 ‘I will cut the pumpkin and I will take (it) away.’
 [MLL.21.JRJ/ref.006]

- (5.86) *bër-me bër-tech luwe batën afta*
 1PL.EXCL-come 1PL.EXCL-cut away head then
bër-rolem
 1PL.EXCL-roll
 ‘We (excl) come and we (excl) cut away the head then we (excl) roll (it).’ [MLL.19.LD/ref.003]

- (5.86) *i-s-lev luwe kaliko*
 3SG-IRR-take away material
 ‘S/he will take away the material.’ [MLL.51.JRJ/ref.009]

The following example shows that the post-verbal modifier *luwe* can also be followed by the post-verbal modifier *niniv* ‘all’.

- (5.88) *i-khëchri luwe niniv blangket ngin khar*
 3SG-scratch away all blanket LOC 3PL
 ‘She scratched away all of the blanket on them’
 [MLL.12.KJ/ref.023]

- (5.89) *i-van i-mot luwe khekheri kha*
 3SG-go 3SG-peck away there DEM
 ‘She went and pecked away right there.’ [MLL.12.KJ/ref.027]

5.3.1.11 *kële* ‘repetitive’

The repetitive aspect can be expressed in Malua Bay using the post-verbal modifier *kële* ‘again’.

(5.90) *bër-avestem kële gaka te brë-s-och*
 1PL.EXCL-harvest again yam SUB 1PL.EXCL-IRR-eat
kële

again

‘We (excl) harvest the yams again that we will eat again.’

[MLL.09.ER/ref.012]

(5.91) *i-plek nale te khë-koron kële ngi*
 3SG-like language SUB 2SG-give again LOC
kënem

1PL.EXCL

‘It’s like the language that you give to us.’ [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.060]

(5.92) *ale bëra-mul kële*
 then 1PL.EXCL-return again

‘Then we (excl) returned again.’ [MLL.46.JJ/ref.007]

(5.93) *në-van kële Santo na-lol kële gaka iru*
 1SG-go again Santo 1SG-live again year two

‘I went again to Santo and I stayed again for two years.’

[MLL.52.EV/ref.013]

(5.94) *bër-rëkhes kële nim bër-me chalëng*
 1PL.EXCL-open again house 1PL.EXCL-come outside

‘We (excl) opened the house again and we (excl) came outside.’

[MLL.45.EsJ/ref.009]

It is very common in Malua Bay speech acts that *kële* is followed by a second post-verbal modifier *mu*, which is used for intensity in a construction.

(5.95) *nëvet nge i-me kële mu lemsakh*
 stone DEM 3SG-come again INTENS up
 ‘The stone came up again.’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.008]

(5.96) *n-sul kële mu*
 1SG-burn again INTENS
 ‘I completely burnt it again.’ [MLL.39.SJ/ref.005]

5.3.1.12 *mu* ‘intensifier’

When intensity is added in Malua Bay the post-verbal modifier *mu* is added in to the verbal complex.

(5.97) *rë-van mu rë-riakh ngin nakha lalam*
 3PL-go INTENS 3PL-shock LOC tree lalam
 ‘They go and they are shocked at the big tree.’
 [MLL.14.MD/ref.013]

When this post-verbal modifier is added to a negative construction, it does not appear directly after the verb like some of the other post-verbal modifiers, instead it occurs directly after the negative suffix *-te* attached to the verb.

(5.98) *i-pep-les te mu rëlën nato nge*
 3SG-NEG1-see NEG2 INTENS egg chicken ANA.DEM
 ‘S/he couldn’t see the chicken egg at all.’ [MLL.12.KJ/ref.007]

(5.99) *n-pop-van te mu lamés*
 1SG-NEG1-go NEG2 INTENS in.the.bush
 ‘I mustn’t go at all to the bush.’ [MLL.47.JJ/ref.005]

The post-verbal intensity marker can also be used in prohibitive constructions.

(5.100) *khë-pëp-to te mu lëtan*
 2SG-NEG1-put NEG2 INTENS down
 ‘Don’t (you SG.) put that down!’ [MLL.10.EJ/ref.020]

(5.101) *kër-pëp-van te mu lalen bolko nëvet kha*
 2PL-NEG1-go NEG2 INTENS inside hole stone DEM
 ‘Don’t (you pl.) go inside that cave!’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.012]

5.4 Verb phrase structure

This chapter concludes with the general structure of the verb phrase, as shown in the formula below, followed by examples.

(SUBJECT PREFIX)	+	(NEGATIVE 1 (IR)REALIS OPTATIVE)	+	VERB	+	(MODIFIER 1)	+	(NEGATIVE 2)	+	(MODIFIER 2)	+	(OBJECT)
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The following example demonstrates the use of the third person singular subject prefix on the verb, as well as the use of the Class 2 post-verbal modifier *sek*, followed by an object.

(5.102) *Elsa i-och sek kumala*
 Elsa 3SG-eat IMP sweet.potato
 ‘Elsa is eating sweet potato.’ [MLL.35.RxD]

The next example shows the use of the first person singular subject prefix in addition to the irrealis mood marker *s-* inflected on the verb, followed by an object.

(5.103) *n-s-van* *n-s-lev* *dengtar* *senem*
 1SG-IRR-go 1SG-IRR-take things 1PL.EXCL.POSS
 ‘I will go and take our (excl) clothes.’ [MLL.47.JJ/ref.002]

This example displays the use of the first person singular subject prefix, discontinuous negative marking, as well as a Class 1 verbal modifier.

(5.104) *ně-p-skul* *lomton* *te*
 1SG-NEG1-school well NEG2
 ‘I didn’t school well.’ [MLL.53.LD/ref.007]

In this final example, the use of the subject prefix *běr-* is inflected on the verb, as well as the optative mood marker *be-* (*pe-*) on the second verb *rup* ‘kill’, followed by an object.

(5.105) *kěnem* *běr-rongo* *te* *běr-pe-rup*
 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-hear SUB 1PL.EXCL-OPT-kill
němeki
namanggi
 ‘We (excl) heard that we intend to kill namanggi.’
 [MLL.28.MD/ref.003]

These examples confirm that the formula established above is the verb phrase structure adhered to in Malua Bay.

Chapter 6

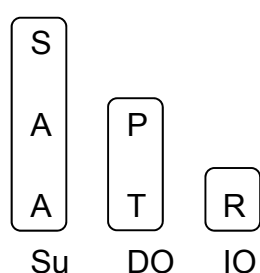
Clause Structure

This chapter looks at the structure of clauses in Malua Bay. It will focus on verbal clauses such as single argument (intransitive), two argument (transitive), and three argument (ditransitive) clauses. Additionally the encoding of non-core arguments and clausal modifiers will be discussed, as well as interrogative and imperative constructions. Finally, non-verbal clauses in Malua Bay will be discussed.

6.1 Verbal Clauses

A, P, and S are grammatical functions used when describing verbs and their core arguments. The A function is carried out by the agent/actor of a prototypical transitive construction, and the P function is carried out by the patient/undergoer of a prototypical transitive construction. The S function is carried out by the single argument of an intransitive construction. When looking at ditransitive constructions, Dryer (2007) extends the grammatical functions to include the labels T and R to describe the theme-like argument 'T', the prototypical direct object, and the recipient-like argument 'R', the prototypical indirect object in a language like English.

According to Dryer's (2007) method for labelling intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive constructions, Malua Bay shows the following accusative system.



The subject of an intransitive verb and the agent/actor of transitive and ditransitive verbs are grammatically marked in the same way. The patient/undergoer of a transitive verb and the theme of a ditransitive verb are grammatically marked as direct object. The recipient of a ditransitive verb is grammatically marked as indirect object. Subject, direct object, and indirect object are all marked separately in Malua Bay.

6.1.1 *Single argument constructions - intransitive*

In a single argument construction with an intransitive verb, the sole argument is encoded grammatically as the subject which is inflected on the verb with agreement marking as a verbal prefix. This is demonstrated in the following example with a pronominal subject.

- (6.1) *tuwe* [khaen]_S *i_S-yat*
 before 3SG 3SG-sit
 ‘Before, he lived.’ [MLL.17.SD /ref.004]

In example (6.2) below, the subject noun phrase, S, is placed before the verb and is inflected on the verb as a verbal prefix.

- (6.2) [*pupu se Javen*]_S *i_S-morov lopo*
 grandfather GEN.HUM Javen 3SG-alive still
 ‘Javen’s grandfather was still alive.’ [MLL.50.JRJ/ref.007]

Often the subject noun phrase is suppressed when the referent can be retrieved from previous contextual information. When the subject noun phrase is suppressed, it is still inflected on the verb through the pre-verbal subject marker.

- (6.3) *brë_S-metër*
 1PL.EXCL-sleep
 ‘We (excl) slept.’ [MLL.46.JJ /ref.011]

Intransitive constructions may encode non-core arguments in the oblique position, which occurs post-verbally. Obliques are introduced by a preposition, while local nouns occur as plain adjuncts.

In the example below, the non-core argument *nuwe* ‘water’ occurs in the oblique position. It is introduced by the preposition *lalen* ‘inside’. The clause does not require the oblique argument in order for the construction to be complete; it remains an optional part of the clause.

- (6.4) *ně_S-van* *ně_S-khokho* *lalen* *nuwe*
 1SG-go 1SG-wash in water
 ‘I went and washed in the river.’ [MLL.48.EsJ /ref.007]

The following example illustrates how a local noun, *lames* ‘in the bush’, is not introduced by a preposition, but still remains in the oblique position as a plain adjunct. Again, this noun is not required to make the construction complete.

- (6.5) *ren* *Sunde* *roren* *běr_S-tesėkh* *běr_S-van*
 time Sunday morning 1PL.EXCL-wake 1PL.EXCL-go
lamės
 in.the.bush
 ‘On Sunday morning we woke up and went to the bush.’
 [MLL.48.EsJ/ref.002]

6.1.2 Two argument constructions - transitive

In transitive constructions with two core arguments, the actor/agent argument grammatically functioning as A is encoded as subject. It is positioned pre-verbally and is inflected on the verb as a subject prefix. The patient/undergoer argument grammatically functioning as P is encoded in the direct object position following the verb.

- (6.6) [*kėnem*]_A *běr_A -lav* [*rėwaf*]_P
 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-grow thatch
 ‘We grow thatch.’ [MLL.01.MD/ref.002]

In the following example, the Agent of the transitive verb, *jare* *davërëkh* ‘small children’ is treated in the same way as the subject of an intransitive verb. The subject noun phrase (Agent) is placed before the verb and is inflected on the verb as a verbal prefix.

The Patient of the transitive verb is treated differently from the Subject and Agent. The Patient occurs directly after the verb. The verb is uninflected for object, and the object itself receives no special morphological marking.

- (6.7) [*jare davërëkh*]_A ... *rë_A-lev* [*rëlën nato*]_P
 small children ... 3PL-take egg chicken
 ‘The small children took the chicken eggs.’ [MLL.12.KJ/ref.012]

Much like the intransitive constructions, transitive constructions can also suppress the subject noun phrase where the referent can be retrieved from previous contextual information, and the subject referent is simply inflected in the subject prefix on the verb.

The example below in (6.8) shows how the subject noun phrase occurs before the verb, and following this clause the subject noun phrase is suppressed in the clause because that information can be taken from the previous context.

- (6.8) [[*moro*]_A *rë_A-ve* [*kopra*]_P]₁ [*rë_A-ve* [*manī*]_P]₂
 people 3PL-make copra 3PL-make money
 People they make copra. They make money.
 [MLL.26.KnJ/ref.002]

These examples, of one and two core argument constructions show that Malua Bay does use an accusative system that distinguishes between the coding of S and A as subject, and the coding of P as object.

6.1.3 Three argument constructions - ditransitive

In ditransitive constructions, the agent argument is grammatically coded as subject, in the same way that intransitive S and transitive A are coded. The subject occurs pre-verbally and is also referenced with a subject prefix on the verb. The grammatical function T is encoded as direct object which occurs post-verbally. The grammatical function R is encoded as indirect object. It follows the T argument and is introduced by the general object marker *ngi(n)*, or the human object marker *chi*.

In ditransitive constructions, the Theme, taking direct object position, is treated in the same way as a Patient of a transitive verb. The Theme occurs directly after the verb, positioned on the left side of the verb, with no further morphological coding.

In example (6.9) below the general object marker *ngin* introduces the indirect object. The following example in (6.10) is a very similar construction that occurs with irrealis mood, however in this construction the indirect object is introduced by the object marker *chi* which can only be used with a human subject actioning a motion verb (see section 6.2.2 for more examples of *chi*). The realis/irrealis mood contrast in these examples does not affect the object marker that is used. It appears that the universal object marker *ngin* can be used freely and is not dependent on the subject and/or noun, but that the use of *chi* is dependent on the animacy of the subject and the semantics of the verb.

(6.9) [moro]_A *i-me* *i-koron* *nëvet* *skhal* *ngi*
 man 3SG-come 3SG-give money one OBJ
*khonu*_R
 1SG

‘The man came and gave money to me.’ [MLL.54.LD/ref.010]

(6.10) *moro* *skhal* *i_A-s-me* *i-s-koron* [nëvet
 man one 3SG-IRR-come 3SG-IRR-give money
lalam]_T [*chi* *khonu*]_R
 big OBJ.HUM 1SG

'A man will come and he will give a lot of money to me.'

[MLL.54.LD/ref.009]

Another way that ditransitive constructions appear to be expressed is by the T argument being gapped in the ditransitive clause when that information is easily retrieved from previous contextual information. In each example below, the first clause introduces a participant, which serves as the gapped theme of the second clause.

(6.11) *i_A-lev* [*mani*]_T *i_A-koron* Ø [*ngi khaen*]_R
3SG-take money 3SG-give OBJ 3SG
'He took money and gave it to him.' [MLL.10.EJ/ref.003]

(6.12) *rĕ_A-s-lev* [*waen*]_T *rĕ_A-s-koron* Ø_T [*ngi nĕmĕre*]_R
3PL-IRR-take wine 3PL-IRR-give OBJ people
te rĕ-s-min *nĕngete* *rĕ_A-s-lev* [*bred*]
SUB 3PL-IRR-drink and.then 3PL-IRR-take bread
rĕ_A-s-koron Ø_T [*ngi nĕmĕre*]_R *te rĕ-s-och*
3PL-IRR-give OBJ people SUB 3PL-IRR-eat
'They will take the wine, and they will give (it) to the people that will drink (it), and then they will take the bread and they will give (it) to the people that will eat (it).' [MLL.51.JRJ/ref.010]

(6.13) *so rante khĕ-wol i-pol* *ale khĕ-lev*
so when 2SG-sell 3SG-finish then 2SG-take
[*mani sam*]_T *ron risit* *o roplat*] *rĕ_A-koron*
money 2SG.POSS with receipt or paper 3PL-give
Ø_T [*ngi nokh*]_R
 OBJ 2SG

'So when you have finished selling, then you take your money with the receipt, or paper they give to you.' [MLL.26.KsJ/ref.016]

- (6.14) *ně-věle* [nalok]_T *n_A-lema* Ø_T [*ngi kindly*]_R
 1SG-cut laplap 1SG-bring OBJ kindly
 ‘I cut the laplap and brought (it) to the kindly.’
 [MLL.48.EsJ/ref.009]

In the corpus, there are in fact very few instances of a ditransitive clause that follows the basic clause structure of *A-T-R*. Instead, in the examples below, the subject of the main clause is the co-referential direct object of the relative clause, and therefore appears to be gapped in the relative clause.

- (6.15) [*nale*] *te khě_A-koron kële* Ø [*ngi kënem*]_R
 language SUB 2SG-give again OBJ 1PL.EXCL
 ‘Language that you give again to us.’ [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.060]

- (6.16) *i-ve* [*blessing skhal*]_T *te* [*nasup lemsakh*]_A
 3SG-be blessing one SUB chief up
i_A-koron Ø_T [*ngi khonu*]_R
 3SG-give OBJ 1SG
 ‘It is a blessing that God gave to me.’ [MLL.54.LD/ref.011]

To re-iterate the method of patterning by Dryer (2007), it is apparent that Malua Bay has an accusative pattern that treats S and A arguments in the subject position in the same way, and as separate from direct objects; that treats P and T arguments in the direct object position in the same way, and that treats R arguments in the indirect object position as separate from both subject and direct object arguments.

6.2 Non-core Arguments

Non-core arguments are encoded as obliques. Obliques are introduced by prepositions unless the oblique is a local noun, in which case no extra morphology is required. If the prepositional object can be

retrieved from previous contextual information then it can be gapped, however the preposition must still remain.

6.2.1 Local nouns

The following list displays a small set of /n/ initial common nouns that can become local nouns by changing the initial sound segment from /n/ to //l/. When the local nouns occur in the oblique position they are not introduced by a preposition.

(6.17)	common nouns		local nouns
	<i>nakham</i>	'fire'	<i>lakham</i> 'in/on the fire'
	<i>nim</i>	'house'	<i>lim</i> 'in the house'
	<i>naut</i>	'place, garden'	<i>laut</i> 'in the garden'
	<i>namës</i>	'bush, forest'	<i>lamës</i> 'in the bush'

The following examples show the contrast between the use of the common noun form and the local noun form. There are no examples of *names* being used in the textual corpus; however this form was collected during elicitation sessions.

(6.18) *bër-pëlong* [nakham]_P
 1PL.EXCL-light.fire fire
 'We (excl) lit the fire.' [MLL.19.LD/ref.003]

(6.19) *bër-to* [navëch renem]_P [lakham]_{Obi}
 1PL.EXCL-put banana food.1PL.EXCL-POSS on.the.fire
 'We put our bananas (for eating) on the fire.'
 [MLL.45.EsJ/ref.016]

(6.20) *ale jë-ve lëkhen [nim sok]_P*
 then 1SG.IRR-make again house 1SG.POSS
 'Then I will make my house again.' [MLL14.MD/ref.033]

(6.21) *bëra-mul me [lim]*_{Obl}
 1PL.EXCL-return come in.the.house
 ‘We (excl) came back inside the house.’ [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.014]

(6.22) *bër-ve lomton [naut senem]*_P
 1PL.EXCL-do well garden 1PL.EXCL.POSS
 ‘We (excl) did (cleaned) our garden well.’ [MLL.50.JRJ/ref.15]

(6.23) *bër-van [laut senem]*_{Obl}
 1PL.EXCL-go in.the.garden 1PL.EXCL.POSS
 ‘We went inside our garden.’ [MLL.50.JRJ/ref.014]

(6.24) *rë-van [lames]*_{Obl}
 3PL-go in.the.bush
 ‘They went into the bush.’ [MLL.22.ED/ref.004]

6.2.2 Prepositions

In Malua Bay there are forms that act as prepositions in a clause, introducing non-core arguments in to the clause. Below is a list of Malua Bay prepositions with their functions.

(6.25)	<i>ngi(n)</i>	‘location, instrument’
	<i>chi</i>	‘goal (human), (live) with’
	<i>nëngan</i>	‘instrument, location (on top)’
	<i>nënge</i>	‘source, goal, location’
	<i>ne</i>	‘general genitive, time, purpose’
	<i>se</i>	‘human genitive’

6.2.2.1 *ngi(n)* ‘Loc’

Ngin occurs widely in the corpus and is used to encode spatial information such as location, source, and goal.

- (6.26) *khareru buvales rë-vet [ngin nim]_{Obl}*
 both soft.bamboo 1PL.INCL-weave LOC house
ale buvet tu rë-vet [ngin nim]_{Obl}
 then strong.bamboo too 1PL.INCL-weave LOC house
 ‘Both buvales, we weave it onto the house, and then buvet too,
 we weave to the house.’ [MLL.02.BJ/ref.009]

- (6.27) *i-gat nale kële mu i-lam te*
 3SG-have language again INTENS 3SG-big SUB
rë-sësëre sek [ngi kindi]_{Obl}
 3PL-learn IMP LOC kindy
 ‘The language is large that is taught at the kindy.’
 [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.032]

Ngin is also used to express an instrument. In this following example of a relative clause structure, the noun phrase *nuwe* ‘water’ does not occur as the object of the preposition *ngin*. It is gapped because it is the co-referential noun phrase.

- (6.28) *nuwe te rë-kurkur [ngin Ø]_{Obl}*
 water SUB 1PL.INCL-cook PREP
 ‘Water that we cook with.’ [MLL.02.BJ/ref.008]

6.2.2.2 chi ‘Loc (human)’

Chi is a preposition used to encode spatial information regarding the goal of human motion. This preposition is therefore used with a human subject where the verb is one of motion, such as ‘go’, ‘return’, and ‘come’.

- (6.29) *ale khaen i-van [chi olfala]_{Obl} Meltekhli*
 so 3SG 3SG-go LOC.HUM old.man Meltekhli
i-lev mani i-koron [ngi khaen]_{Obl}
 3SG-take money 3SG-give OBJ 3SG
 ‘So he went to old man Meltekhli, he took money and gave it to him.’ [MLL.10.EJ/ref.003]

(6.30) *rě-sla kěle [chi khaen]*_{Obl}
 3PL-arrive again LOC.HUM 3SG
 ‘They returned back again to him.’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.011]

(6.31) *khě-me [chi kěnem]*_{Obl}
 2SG-come LOC.HUM 1PL.EXCL
 ‘You (SG.) came to us.’ [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.058]

The final example illustrates the use of *chi* with the utterance verb *wer* ‘tell’, and still conveys the sense of action transferring from the agent to the human goal.

(6.32) *enkha pi i-ve dëkoko storian te n-rongo*
 DEM.LOC just 3SG-be small story SUB 1SG-want
*bě-wer [chi nokh]*_{Obl} *i-pol kha na*
 OPT-tell LOC.HUM 2SG 3SG-finish DEM now
 ‘That (here) is just a small story that I wanted to tell to you, it is finished there now.’ [MLL.52.EV/ref.034]

There is one instance in the corpus where *chi* is used to express the meaning of ‘with’ in reference to living with other participants.

(6.33) *nimiar skhal rente i-lol [chi mama san*
 woman one when 3SG-stay OBJ mother 3SG.POSS
*ron tate san]*_{Obl} *denge polpol khaen*
 and father 3SG.POSS thing all 3SG
i-sēsère pi
 3SG-learn already
 ‘A woman, when she lives with her mother and her father, there are many things she has already learnt.’ [MLL.44/ref.018]

The next example shows the human subject actioning the motion verb *van* ‘go’ as the subject moves towards an inanimate object.

- (6.35) *rë-van van van van van [chi nakha]_{Obl} te*
 3PL-go go go go go HUM.LOC tree SUB
i-tokh [chi nëvet]_{Obl}
 3SG-exist HUM.LOC stone
 ‘They went on and on to the tree that is beside the stone.’
 [MLL.14.MD/ref.08]

The following example shows that the noun *romroman* ‘thought’ is given the ability to move using the motion verb *me* ‘come’. In this instance the thoughts come to the chicken. The motion verb *me* ‘come’ triggers the use of *chi* instead of *ngi(n)*.

- (6.34) *nato nge i-yat yat yat romrom-an skhal*
 chicken DEM 3SG-sit sit sit think-NOM one
i-me [chi khaen]_{Obl} lalen i-rong na
 3SG-come LOC.HUM 3SG inside 3SG-bad now
 ‘The chicken sat for a very long time and a thought came to her, now she was angry.’ [MLL.12.KJ/ref.016]

6.2.2.3 Nëngan ‘instrument, Loc.on’

Nëngan is used as a preposition that encodes the use of an instrument.

- (6.36) *denge te rë-s-ve Ø nëngan nevngen*
 thing SUB 1PL.INCL-IRR-do INSTR fruit
nakha
 tree
 ‘Things that we do with the fruit.’ [MLL.20.JRJ/ref.003]

When the object of this preposition can be retrieved from previous contextual information then it is gapped and the preposition itself remains.

(6.37) *neni neni rente i-lav neni*
 coconut coconut when 3SG-grow coconut
i-gat denge te rë-s-ve nëngan Ø
 3SG-have thing SUB 1PL.INCL-IRR-do INSTR
 ‘Coconut, coconut when it grows, the coconut has things that we
 will do with (it).’ [MLL.20.JRJ/ref.002]

(6.38) *rë-sev nuwe nëngan Ø*
 1PL.INCL-fetch water INSTR
 ‘We fetch water with it (bamboo).’ [MLL.02.BJ/ref.018]

(6.39) *rë-metër nëngan Ø*
 3PL.sleep INSTR
 ‘They slept with it (a stick).’ [MLL.10.EJ/ref.018]

The second function of *nëngan* to describe the location of the object,
 in particular its location on top of something.

(6.40) *rokhone renënge rë-s-vet i-s-me*
 leaf sometimes 1PL.INCL-IRR-weave 3SG-IRR-come
bakhach i-s-pleken te rë-s-yat nëngan Ø
 mat 3SG-IRR-like SUB 1PL.INCL-IRR-sit LOC.on
 ‘The leaves, sometimes we will weave (them) so they become
 mats, like the ones that we will sit on.’ [MLL.20.JRJ/ref.003]

(6.41) *jë-lev neni n-s-to nuwe neni*
 1SG-IRR-take coconut 1SG-IRR-put water coconut
n-s-to lemsakh nëngan Ø
 1SG-IRR-put up LOC.on
 ‘I will take the coconut and put (it on), the coconut water (milk) I
 will put it on top (of the pudding).’ [MLL.21.JRJ/ref.009]

- (6.42) *jë-lev* *pumken* *n-s-to* *nëngan* \emptyset
 1SG.IRR-take pumpkin 1SG.IRR-put LOC.on
 ‘I will take the pumpkin and I will put it on top (of the pudding).’
 [MLL.21.JRJ/ref.008]

6.2.2.4 *nënge* ‘Loc’

Nënge is another preposition that encodes spatial information such as source, goal, and location, however this preposition is not as widely used as *ngi(n)*. The homophone *nënge* is also used as the quantifier ‘some’ as seen in section 4.3.1.2 of this thesis, although it has very different properties to the prepositional forms.

- (6.43) *i-tokh* *nënge* *nim* *sok* *i-tokh*
 3SG-exist LOC house 1SG.POSS 3SG-exist
i-wokhpërev
 3SG-stay.long
 ‘It stays on top of my house; it stays for a long time.’
 [MLL.01.MD/ref.016]

- (6.44) *i-gat* *nimiar* *skhal* *te* *khaen* *i-kamaot*
 3SG-have woman one SUB 3SG 3SG-come.out
po *nënge* *bolko* *nëvet*
 just LOC hole stone
 ‘There was a woman who just came out of the cave.’
 [MLL.14.MD/ref.003]

- (6.45) *i-gat* *nëmanëkh* *nato* *denge* *te*
 3SG-have birds chicken thing SUB
brë-sësëre *nënge* *skul*
 1PL.EXCL-learn LOC school
 ‘There are birds, chicken; things that we learn at school.’
 [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.008]

(6.46) *khë-s-wer denge i-sa-ru i-s-mërakh nënge*
 2SG-IRR-say thing 3SG-IRR-two 3SG-IRR-grow LOC
i-sa-tep nënge i-sa-tep nënge
 3SG-IRR-germinate LOC 3SG-IRR-germinate LOC
dope-k kha dapën ne khonu kha
 grave-1SG DEM grave.head.area GEN 1SG DEM
 ‘You say that there will be two things growing there on my
 grave, growing on my head area.’ [MLL.14.MD/ref.19]

(6.47) *jë-us van nënge naut te brë-s-wolwol*
 1SG-IRR-hold go LOC place SUB 1PL.EXCL-IRR-sell
ngin
 LOC
 ‘I will hold it and go to the place where we will sell it at.’
 [MLL.21.JRJ/ref.013]

(6.48) *rë-s-sësëre khar nënge skul*
 1PL.INCL-IRR-teach 3PL LOC school
 ‘We will teach them at school’ [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.012]

(6.49) *nevekhur sar rë-s-rëlong nënge nëmarët*
 clothes 3PL.POSS 3PL-IRR-hang LOC rope
 ‘Their clothes, they will hang on the line.’ [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.012]

Nënge is also used to encode temporal location.

(6.50) *enkha po stori sok nënge namba*
 that just story 1SG.POSS LOC number
twenti novemba 2012
 twenty November 2012
 ‘That is just my story on the 20th of November 2012.’
 [MLL.39.SJ/ref.012]

6.2.2.5 *ne* ‘general genitive, time’

The preposition *ne* has multiple functions in Malua Bay. It is used as a general genitive marker, and as a temporal marker encoding time.

The first function of *ne* is used in Malua Bay as a general genitive marker. The following examples demonstrate how *ne* introduces the genitive noun, and indicates a genitive relationship with the preceding noun.

(6.51) *navël ne disemba*
month GEN December
‘The month of December.’ [MLL.03.BJ/ref.029]

(6.52) *nale ne jëchëpëkhen*
language GEN counting
‘The language of counting.’ [MLL.03.BJ/ref.002]

(6.53) *jëchëlvarën ne leletëra Përkem*
story GEN g.grandfather Përkem
‘(A) story of great-grandfather Përkem.’ [MLL.17.SD/ref.021]

(6.54) *rë-ve nëmesan ne pepe san*
3PL-do death.ceremony GEN mother 3SG.POSS
nge
ANA.DEM
‘They went and did the death ceremony of her mother.’
[MLL.14.MD/ref.015]

The second function of *ne* is to encode temporal meaning. In the following example *ne* is used to indicate an action being performed over an extended period of time, thus it signals the duration of an event.

(6.55) *tate i-khil gaka ne wik skhal*
 father 3SG-dig yam TEMP week one
 ‘Father dug the yam for one week.’ [MLL.10.EJ/ref.014]

(6.56) *i-mesëkh bër-och niniv në-ve kële*
 3SG-cooked 1PL.EXCL-eat all 1SG-make again
mu nënge ne lëkhwelel
 INTENS some TEMP midday
 ‘It was cooked and we ate it all, then I made some more again
 for lunch.’ [MLL.49.JRJ/ref.004]

6.2.2.6 *se* ‘human genitive’

In Malua Bay *se* is a human genitive marker. It marks the possession of an object by a human.

(6.57) *n-rom skul fi se jare davërëkh*
 1SG-think school fee GEN.HUM small children
sok
 1SG.POSS
 ‘I think of the school fees of my small children.’
 [MLL.52.LD/ref.006]

(6.58) *bër-van leltes tate se Lily i-tech*
 1PL.EXCL-go seaside father GEN.HUM Lily 3SG-cut
jëpon nëmech kha te i-iev
 half fish DEM SUB 3SG-pull
 ‘We (excl) went to the seaside and Lily’s father cut half of the
 fish that he caught.’ [MLL.45.EsJ/ref.004]

(6.59) *i-ve Mistress Evie nimiar se Pasta*
 3SG-be mistress Evie woman GEN.HUM Pastor
 ‘It is Mistress Evie, the Pastor’s wife.’ [MLL.52.EV/ref.006]

Other examples of the use of the human genitive marker can be found in examples (4.71) and (5.70). This construction is the third option for expressing a human relationship. See also 4.2.2.1 for direct possession, and 4.2.2.2 for indirect possession.

6.3 Clausal modifiers

In Malua Bay there are two apparent clausal modifiers in the corpus. These modifiers occur post-verbally, and after any verbal objects. The modifiers express the meanings of repetitive aspect and durative aspect. They are distinct from the aspectual meaning of verbal modifiers expressed in section 5.3.1, occurring inside the object, as these modifiers modify the entire clause.

6.3.1 *lëkhen* ‘repetitive’

The clausal modifier *lëkhen* conveys an aspect of repetition where the subject of the clause is marked as repetitively performing the action of the verb.

(6.60) *jë-khil* *nim* *rëlukh* *lëkhen*
 1SG.IRR-dig house another again
 ‘I will build another house again.’ [MLL01.MD/ref.031]

(6.61) *rë-me* *lëkhen* *rë-ve* *sem* *basan* *po*
 3PL-come again 3PL-do same work just
 ‘They came again and they just did the same work.’
 [MLL.08.ER/ref.006]

(6.62) *nato* *nge* *i-vëla* *lëkhen*
 chicken ANA.DEM 3SG-run again
 ‘The chicken ran (away) again.’ [MLL.12.KJ/ref.014]

(6.63) *ně-me lëkhen ně-kich gaka*
 1SG-come again 1SG-peel yam
 ‘I came again and I peeled yams.’ [MLL.49.JRJ/ref.003]

(6.64) *rente i-sa-pol rë-s-van lëkhen*
 when 3SG-IRR-finish 3PL-IRR-go again
 ‘When that is finished, they will go again.’ [MLL.51.JRJ/ref.012]

6.3.2 *veve* ‘durative’

The durative aspect in Malua Bay is expressed using the clausal modifier *veve*. By using this form an event or action can be said to take place over a long period of time, or for the event or situation to be on-going.

(6.65) *bër-wachem vidio veve*
 1PL.EXCL-watch video DUR
 ‘We (excl) watched videos (for a long time).’ [MLL.46.JJ/ref.009]

(6.66) *mama sok tate sok rë-këlesur*
 mother 1SG.POSS father 1SG.POSS 3PL-look.after
khonu veve
 1SG DUR
 ‘My mother, my father, they (continually) looked after me.’
 [MLL.53.LD/ref.002]

(6.67) *jë-khëpen veve i-sa-pol*
 1SG-IRR-clear.bush DUR 3SG-IRR-finish
 ‘I will clear the bush until it is finished.’ [MLL.09.ER/ref.003]

(6.68) *i-suv veve i-metërwal*
 3SG-blow DUR 3SG-sleep.deeply
 ‘He kept blowing as he slept deeply.’ [MLL.17.SD/ref.009]

- (6.69) *naus i-us veve*
 rain 3SG-rain DUR
 ‘The rain rained on and on.’ [MLL.29.MD/ref.006]


6.4 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are constructions that are used in order to request information. In this section polar interrogative and constituent interrogatives will be discussed. The two interrogative types are distinguishable because polar interrogatives are formed with a standard declarative construction, while constituent interrogatives use special interrogative constituents to form the construction.

The majority of examples used to describe interrogative constructions in Malua Bay are elicited forms as there were very few constructions in the recorded texts.

6.4.1 Polar interrogatives

Polar interrogatives are constructions that require a yes or no answer. In Malua Bay these constructions follow the same structure as a basic declarative construction. The distinction between the declarative and polar interrogative speech acts is determined by the rising voice pitch of interrogative constructions towards the end of a declarative structure.

- (6.70) *noran kha i-mesëkh*
 food DEM 3SG-cooked
 Is the food cooked? [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]
- 

There are no polar interrogative constructions found in the corpus, however the example above was observed in the field on a regular basis. Other polar interrogative constructions were also observed in the field as being formed in this way; however they did not appear in the textual corpus.

6.4.2 Constituent Interrogatives

Constituent interrogatives are open propositions that are used to seek and elicit information using a number of interrogative forms. The following list of interrogative constituents is recorded for Malua Bay.

(6.71)	<i>sene</i>	‘who’
	<i>jëkhamën</i>	‘what’ (of a thing)
	<i>visne</i>	‘do what’ (of a future action)
	<i>abe</i>	‘where’
	<i>ren tesne</i>	‘when’ (non-future)
	<i>sveling</i>	‘when’ (future)
	<i>mëtan jëkha</i>	‘why’
	<i>plek jëkha</i>	‘how’
	<i>ivis</i>	‘how many’

6.4.2.1 *sene* ‘who’

When seeking information about whom a particular person is *sene* is used ‘*in situ*’, and functions as a noun.

(6.72)	<i>sene</i>	<i>këlemu</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>i-yat</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>khaen</i>	<i>kha</i>
	who	again	INTENS	3SG-sit	LOC.HUM	3SG	DEM
	‘Who is that sitting close to him/her?’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]						

(6.73)	<i>sene</i>	<i>i-ve</i>	<i>pepe</i>	<i>sam</i>
	who	3SG-be	mother	2SG.POSS
	‘Who is your (sg) mother?’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]			

The response to the above example would be:

(6.74)	<i>Jaki</i>	<i>i-ve</i>	<i>pepe</i>	<i>sok</i>
	Jackie	3SG-be	mother	1SG.POSS
	‘Jackie is my mother.’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]			

6.4.2.2 *jëkhamën* ‘what’

The interrogative constituent *jëkhamën* ‘what’ can be used to ask about a specific ‘thing’ (object) where it is a non-verbal clause, or where it is used post-verbally to ask about the past or present actions of the subject. This constituent functions as a nominal.

(6.75) *jëkhamën nen*
what DEM
‘What is this (by speaker)?’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

(6.76) *jëkhamën kële*
what again
‘What else?’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

(6.77) *khë-ve jëkhamin nënge navël tëpen*
2SG-make what PREP month first
‘What did you do last month?’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

(6.78) *kër-ve jëkhamin nanov*
2PL-make what yesterday
‘What did you (pl) make yesterday?’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

An abbreviated form of *jëkhamën*, *jëkha*, is also used in Malua Bay to express the question of ‘what’.

This example is the only construction available from the recorded texts using the constituent *jëkha*.

(6.79) *khaen i-wo ‘mani nge jëkha’*
3SG 3SG-say money DEM what
‘He said “What is this money for?”’ [MLL.10.EJ/ref.003]

6.4.2.3 *visne* 'do what'

Visne, in the following examples, questions something being carried out in the future. This interrogative functions as a verb. There are no examples that show the use of this constituent in non-future constructions. The examples below show questions enquiring about the subject's future plans at a specific time. As such, all clauses carry the irrealis morpheme *s-*.

(6.80) *nēmēre kha rē-s-visne nēnge Sunday*
people DEM 3PL-IRR-do.what LOC Sunday
'What are they doing on Sunday?' [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

(6.81) *kēr-s-visne nēnge natop*
2PL-IRR-do.what LOC Christmas
'What are you (pl) doing for Christmas?'
[MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

(6.82) *khē-s-visne mevēkh*
2SG-IRR-do.what tomorrow
'What are you doing tomorrow?' [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

6.4.2.4 *abe* 'where'

The interrogative constituent *abe* 'where' is positioned after the verb and any aspectual markers associated with the verb, in the structural position of locative obliques. *Abe* functions as a local noun.

(6.83) *nokh khē-yat sek abe*
2SG 2SG-sit IMP where
'Where are you living?' [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

The following two examples are the only examples available from the recorded texts.

(6.84) *duwen i-wo nokh khë-chëpen abe*
 other 3SG-say 2SG 2SG-reach where
 ‘And the other one said ‘Where are you going?’
 [MLL.10.EJ/ref.008]

(6.85) *jare davërëkh rë-van abe*
 small child 3PL-go where
 ‘Where have the children gone?’ [MLL.12.KJ/ref.032]

Similar examples were also elicited.

(6.86) *mevëkh i-s-van abe*
 tomorrow 3SG-IRR-go where
 ‘Where will s/he go tomorrow?’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

(6.87) *kër-me abe*
 2PL-come where
 ‘Where did you come from?’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

6.4.2.5 *Temporal interrogatives*

Historically, there is a distinction between the non-future temporal interrogative constituent ‘when’ and the future temporal interrogative constituent ‘when’ in Proto-Oceanic (Lynch. et. al, 2002, p.89). This distinction is apparent in Malua Bay. While the reconstructed Proto-Oceanic forms are not cognate with the Malua Bay forms; the patterning of the temporal distinction has remained in the Malua Bay system.

The interrogative constituent *ren-tesne* occurs post-verbally in interrogative constructions, and is used in Malua Bay to elicit non-future temporal information about a situation. It appears to function much like *abe*, which is a local noun interrogative.

(6.88) *khë-me ren-tesne*
 2SG-come when.non.fut
 ‘When did you arrive?’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

(6.89) *i-van ren-tesne*
 3SG-go when.non.fut
 ‘When did s/he go?’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

Like *ren-tesne*, *sveling* is used post-verbally in Malua to elicit information about the temporal location of an event/action. It contrasts with *ren-tesne* in that in questions a future time, rather than a past time. It is possible that this constituent interrogative is partially verbal with initial *s-* encoding irrealis mood, which would account for it only being used to elicit information about future time events. Like *ren-tesne*, it occurs in oblique position.

(6.90) *khë-s-vial sveling*
 2SG-IRR-walk when.fut
 ‘When will you go?’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

(6.91) *kër-s-vial sveling*
 2PL-IRR-walk when.fut
 ‘When will you (pl) go?’ [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

6.4.2.7 *mëtan jëkha* ‘why’

Mëtan is a causative marker. With the interrogative constituent *jëkha* ‘what’, it forms another interrogative constituent, ‘why’. This constituent is always positioned post-verbally, an appropriate position for a subordinate clause of reason.

(6.92) *khë-ngar mëtan jëkha*
 2SG-cry CAUSE what
 ‘Why are you (sg) crying?’ (Lit. ‘You (sg) cry because of what?’)

[MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

- (6.93) *khar ra-kul mētan jēkha*
3PL 3PL-sing CAUSE what
'Why are they singing?' (Lit. 'They sing because of what?')
[MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

- (6.94) *khē-s-van Lakatoro mētan jēkha*
2SG-IRR-go Lakatoro CAUSE what
'Why are you (sg) going to Lakatoro?' (Lit. 'You (sg) will go to
Lakatoro because of what?') [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

The addition of the negative simulfix attached to the verb allows these constructions to be negated.

- (6.95) *khaen i-pop-och te mētan jēkha*
3SG 3SG-NEG1-eat NEG2 CAUSE what
'Why isn't s/he eating?' (Lit. 'S/he isn't eating because of what?')
[MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

- (6.96) *kēr-pep-metēr te mētan jēkha*
2PL-NEG1-sleep NEG2 CAUSE what
'Why aren't you (pl) sleeping?' (Lit. You (pl) aren't eating
because of what?' [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

- (6.97) *khar rē-pēp-och te noran rar*
3PL 3PL-NEG1-eat NEG2 food food.3PL.POSS
mētan jēkha
CAUSE what
'Why aren't they eating their food?' (Lit. 'They aren't eating their
food because of what?') [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

6.4.2.8 *plek jëkha* ‘how’

The verb *plek* ‘like’ and the interrogative constituent *jëkha* ‘what’ combine to express the question of ‘how’. This verbal constituent takes both realis and irrealis subject-mood marking when asking of non-future and future events, as displayed below.

(6.98) *khar rë-s-van ngi Santo i-s-plek jëkha*
3PL 3PL-IRR-go LOC Santo 3SG-IRR-like what
‘How will they go to Santo?’ (Lit. ‘They will go to Santo like what?’) [MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

(6.99) *khar rë-s-me i-s-plek jëkha*
3PL 3PL-IRR-come 3SG-IRR-like what
‘How will they return?’ (Lit. ‘They will come (back) like what?’)
[MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

(6.100) *khë-tëpe i-plek jëkha*
2SG-bake 3SG-like what
‘How did you bake (it)?’ (Lit. ‘You (sg) baked (it) like what?’)
[MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

6.3.2.9 *(i)vis* ‘how many’

Vis is a verbal constituent that takes third person singular subject-mood marking in order to ask how many, or how much there is of something. Unfortunately there is only one example of this verb in the corpus and it simply asks the price of something.

(6.101) *i-vis*
3SG-how.many
‘What is the price?’ (Lit. ‘How much/many?’)
[MLL.Elicit/Interrogative]

6.5 Imperatives

Imperatives are constructions that command action. In Malua there are two types of imperative construction: positive imperatives, and negative imperatives. The distinguishing element between the two imperative constructions is the negative simulfix that is inflected on the verb in the negative imperative constructions.

Many of the examples used in this section were collected through elicitation. Examples from recorded texts are used wherever possible.

6.5.1 Positive imperatives

Positive imperatives addressed to a second person singular audience do not require a subject prefix. The command merely gives the action. It is intended that the action be performed by the un-coded second person addressee.

(6.102) *yat leltan*
sit down
'Sit down!' [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

(6.103) *och*
eat
'Eat!' [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

(6.104) *van chi pepe sam*
go LOC.HUM mother 2SG.POSS
'Go to your mother!' [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

(6.105) *mas khë-sësëre jare davërëkh ngi nale*
must 2SG-teach small children LOC language
'You must teach the little children in language.'
[MLL.44.EsJ/ref.028]

However if the command is given to a plural audience then subject marking is attached to the verb. It is interesting to observe that the unmarked clause is used to express the imperative where irrealis morphology is not associated with imperatives. Compare the examples below.

(6.106) *vial*
 walk
 ‘Go (away)!’ [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

(6.107) *kër-vial*
 2PL-walk
 ‘You (pl) go (away)!’ [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

(6.108) *khokho nëvra-m*
 wash hand-2SG.POSS
 ‘Wash your (sg) hands! [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

(6.109) *kër-khokho nëvre-mi*
 2PL-wash hand-2PL.POSS
 ‘Wash your (pl) hands!’ [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

When a command is plural, but the number of addressees is particular, then that number is stated following the independent second person plural pronoun.

(6.110) *kem iru kër-van kër-khokho nëvre-mi*
 2PL two 2PL-go 2PL-wash hand-2PL.POSS
 ‘You two, go and wash your (pl) hands!’ [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

6.5.2 Negative imperatives (prohibitives)

Negative imperatives are formed by using standard negation, with a discontinuous negative affix occurring pre-verbally and post-verbally.

Unlike positive imperatives, where commands are given to a single addressee and subject-mood marking is not required, negative imperatives always require subject marking for both singular and plural audiences. Like positive imperatives, prohibitives do not take irrealis morphology.

(6.111) *khë-pep-yat te leltan*
 2SG-NEG1-sit NEG2 down
 ‘Don’t (you.sg) sit down!’ [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

(6.112) *kër-pep-yat te leltan*
 2PL-NEG1-sit NEG2 down
 ‘Don’t (you.pl) sit down!’ [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

(6.113) *kër-pëp-van te mu lale bolko nëvet kha*
 2PL-NEG1-go NEG2 INTENS inside hole stone DEM
 ‘You (pl) are not to go inside that cave!’ [MLL.07.ER/ref.012]

In some cases the singular or plural independent pronoun is used for emphasis in negative imperatives.

(6.114) *nokh khë-pëp-vial te*
 2SG 2SG-NEG1-walk NEG2
 ‘Don’t you (sg) go!’ [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

(6.115) *kem kër-pop-och te*
 2PL 2PL-NEG1-eat NEG2
 ‘Don’t you (pl) eat!’ [MLL.Elicit/Imperative]

6.6 Non-verbal Clauses

The majority of Malua Bay clauses are verbal and have subject marking inflected on the verb. This includes adjectival and locative clauses in Malua Bay which also have subject marking inflected on the verb. There

are limited non-verbal clauses with nominal predicates found in the Malua Bay corpus. The examples from the corpus are displayed below (6.118 - 6.122). It should be noted that a full account of non-verbal clauses is beyond the scope of this thesis.

6.6.1 *Adjectival clause with verbal predicate*

This adjectival clause shows the use of the verb *werwerik* 'small' to describe the state of the pandanus. In spite of being adjectival in meaning, the verb takes verbal morphology in the shape of the third person singular subject prefix *i-*. This indicates that it is not a true non-verbal clause, and in fact is a verbal clause.

(6.116) *něva* *i-werwerik*
 pandanus 3SG-small
 'The pandanus is small.' [MLL.19.LD/ref.007]

6.5.2 *Locative clause with verbal predicate*

The following example demonstrates the use of the existential verb *tokh* to reflect a locative clause. The use of verbal morphology inflected on the verb in the shape of the subject prefix, as well as the existential verb itself indicate that locative clauses are not truly non-verbal, but rather are a type of verbal clause.

(6.117) *i-tokh* *něnge* *nim* *sok* *i-tokh*
 3SG-exist LOC house 1SG.POSS 3SG-exist
i-wokhpěrev
 3SG-stay.long
 'It stays on top of my house, it stays for a long time.'
 [MLL.01.MD/ref.016]

6.5.3 Nominal clause

The nominal clauses in Malua Bay are true non-verbal clauses that do not make use of any form of verb; be it stative or existential. The clauses displayed below are presentative clauses where the presence of a particular person or object is being declared.

(6.118) [*kastom senem na*]_{Subj} [*rëwat*]_{Pred}
custom 1PL.EXCL.POSS now thatch

‘Our custom now is (to use) thatch.’ [MLL.14.MD/ref.002]

(6.119) [*tate sok pupu san leletëra*
father 1SG.POSS grandfather 3SG.POSS g.grandfather
Përkem tuwe]_{Subj} [*lames*]_{Pred}
Përkem before in.the.bush

‘My father, his grandfather, great-grandfather Përkem, before was in the bush.’ [MLL.17.SD/ref.004]

(6.121) [*khaen*]_{Subj} [*kha po na*]_{Pred}
3SG DEM just now

‘That is it now.’ [MLL.44.EsJ/ref.067]

(6.122) [*nembikh ram*]_{Subj} [*khanen*]_{Pred}
meat food.2SG.POSS DEM.LOC

‘This here is your meat.’ [MLL.17.SD/ref.019]

(6.120) [*enkha*]_{Subj} [*po stori sok nënge namba*
DEM.LOC just story 1SG.POSS LOC number
twenti novemba 2012]_{Pred}

twenty November 2012

‘That (here) is just my story on the 20th of November 2012.’
[MLL.39.SJ/ref.012]

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Appendix A

Ethical Consent

Philosophy Programme
School of Social Sciences
Faculty of Arts and Social
Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton 3240
New Zealand

Phone +64 7 838 4466 ext
6131
E-mail
rmwalker@waikato.ac.nz
www.waikato.ac.nz



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Kanaueha Wessels
Dr Julie Barbour

Applied Linguistics Programme
School of Arts

12 May 2012

Dear Kanaueha

Re: **FS2012-27 Malua Bay: A description of the Malua Bay language (Malekula, Vanuatu)**

Thank you for submitting an application to the FASS Human Research Ethics Committee. The Committee has reviewed your application and is happy to approve it.

I wish you well with your research.

Kind regards,

Ruth Walker
Chair
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.

Appendix B

Research Permit: Dr. Julie Barbour



VANUATU NASONAL KALJORAL KAONSEL

Vanuatu National Cultural Council
Conseil National Culturel du Vanuatu

VANUATU KALJORAL SENTA

Vanuatu Cultural Centre
Centre Culturel du Vanuatu

P.O. Box 184, Port Vila, Vanuatu, South Pacific Phone / Fax: (678) 26590 Email: vks@vanuatu.com.

28 June, 2012.

Dr. Julie Barbour,
Linguistics, School of Arts,
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
University of Waikato,
Ex. 8144.

Re : APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH PERMIT :

Dear Dr. Barbour,

This is to officially inform you that permission has been granted for you to carry out a linguistic research project in Vanuatu as requested in your letter of June 27, 2012.

As from today you will need to work closely with Mrs Henline Mala who will be responsible to have every thing ready in time for your arrival. Once you arrive in Port Vila please come and see her to have your research agreement signed and pay the research fee of VT25. 000 before you can actually start doing your research.

It is our hope that you abide with our research policy while doing your research in this country and we thank you for choosing Vanuatu as a host country for this important research.

Yours sincerely,

Ambong Thompson.
Acting Chairman, Vanuatu National Cultural Council.

NASONAL MUSEUM
National Museum
Musée National

REJISTA BLONG OLGETA OLFALA PLES BLONG VANUATU
The Vanuatu Cultural and Historic Sites Survey/Inventaire Sites
Historiques et Culturels du Vanuatu

NASONAL FILM MO SAON UNIT
National Film and Sound Unit
Service national du Film et du Son

NASONAL LAEBRI
National Library
Bibliothèque Nationale

Appendix C

Research Permit: Kanauhea Wessels



VANUATU NASONAL KALJORAL KAONSEL

Vanuatu National Cultural Council
Conseil National Culturel du Vanuatu

VANUATU KALJORAL SENTA

Vanuatu Cultural Centre
Centre Culturel du Vanuatu

P.O. Box 184, Port Vila, Vanuatu, South Pacific Phone / Fax: (678) 26590 Email: vks@vanuatu.com.vu

10th August, 2012.

Ms Kanauhea Wessels,
Linguistics School of Arts,
Faculty of Arts and Social Science,
University of Waikato,
New Zealand,
Ex 8144.

Re: APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH PERMIT.

Dear Ms Wessels,

This is to officially inform you that permission has been granted for you to carry out a linguistic research project in Vanuatu as requested.

As required under the National Policy to do a research in Vanuatu you will need to call into this Office the first thing you arrive to have your research agreement signed and at the same time pay your research fee before you can actually start to do your research.

It is our hope you will abide with our research policy while doing your research in this country and we thank you for choosing Vanuatu as a host country for this important research. For further inquiries please contact Ms Henline Mala or when you arrive in Port Vila.

Yours sincerely,

Ambong Thompson
Vice Chairman, Vanuatu National Cultural Council.



NASONAL MUSEUM
National Museum
Musée National

REJISTA BLONG OLGETA OLFALA PLES BLONG VANUATU
The Vanuatu Cultural and Historic Sites Survey/Inventaire Sites
Historiques et Culturels du Vanuatu

NASONAL FILM MO SAON UNIT
National Film and Sound Unit
Service national du Film et du Son

NASONAL LAEBRI
National Library
Bibliothèque Nationale

Appendix D


Literacy Resource: Alphabet Book (Extract)

Alfapet




Malua
Bay

Malua
Bay




Malekula

nimiar
woman



A a

B b



Bakhe
sak

Ch ch



nēmech

fis

D d



Davērēkh

pikinini

nela

spaeda



E e

Gere

flaenfoks



G g

Ē ē



nēmermer

man

I i



wis

skwisim

J j



Jëngon

maot

Kul

singsing



K k

Kh kh



na**kh**am

faea

Lamës

bus



L l

M m



Metër

slip

Nato

faol



N n

Ng ng



nëvlangës
navele



Och
kakaë

Putwat

bubu woman



P p

Rënesisakh

raes



R r

S s

1

Skhal
wan

T t



Tech
kat

nambu

bambu



V v



Vet

wivim

Wekëkal

lised



Y y



Yat

sidaon

Appendix E

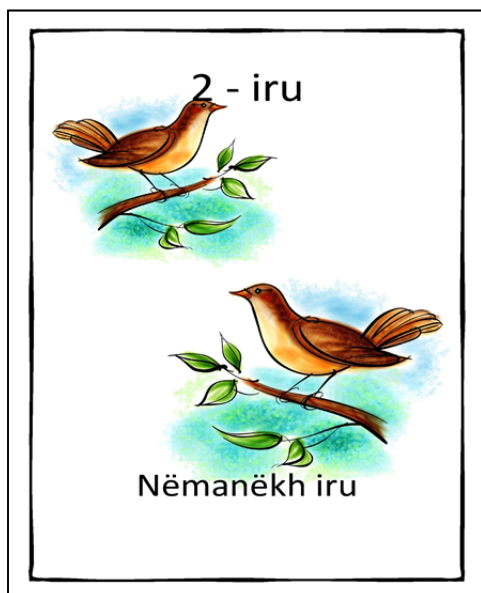
Literacy Resource: Number Book (Extract)



1 - skhal



Lang rëmrëm skhal.



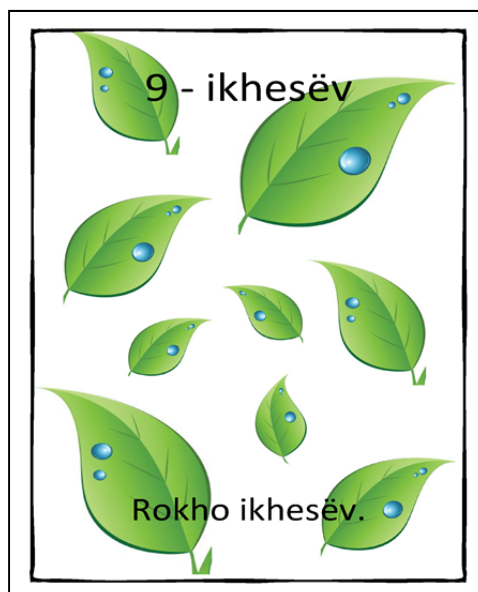
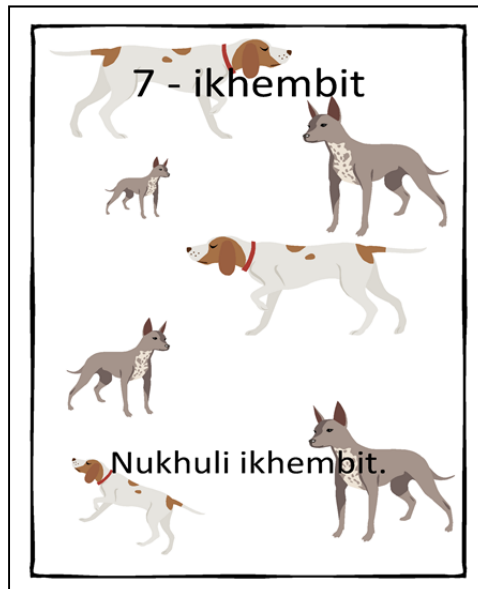
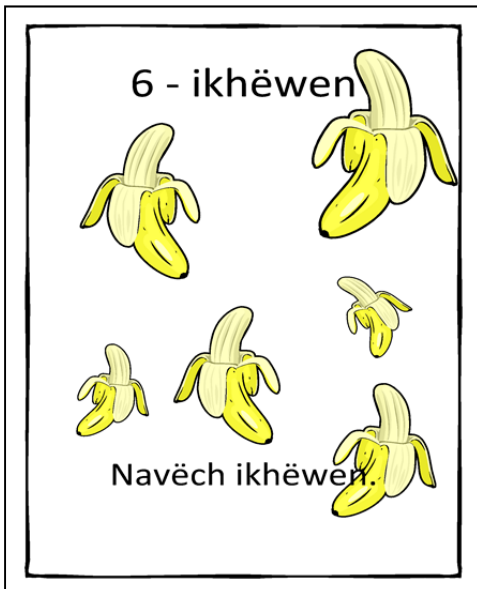
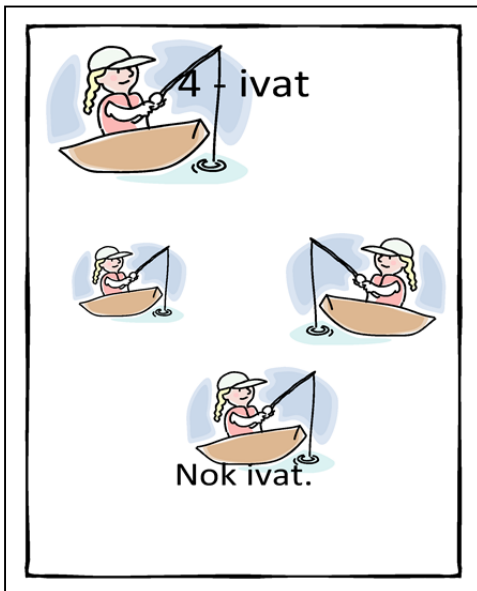
2 - iru

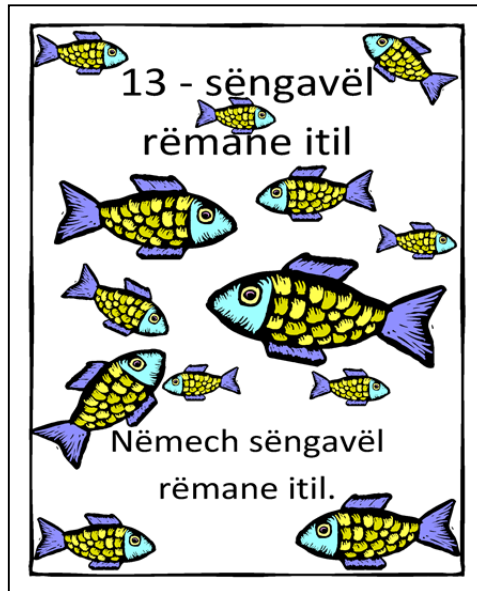
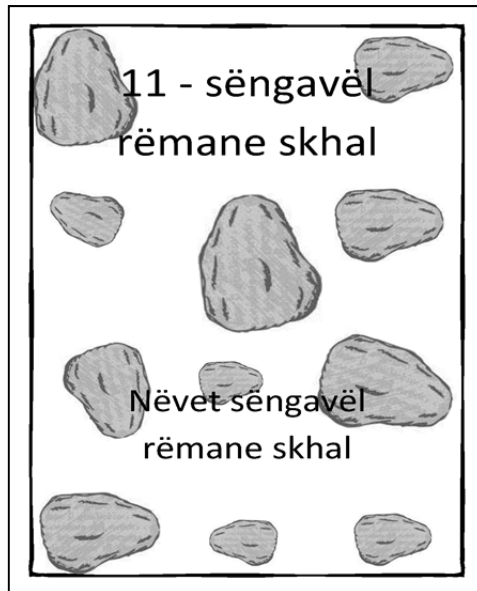
Nëmanëkh iru

3 - itil



Rëlën itil.

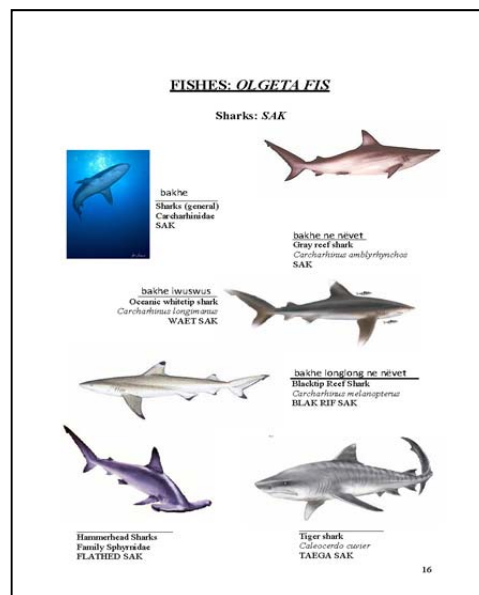
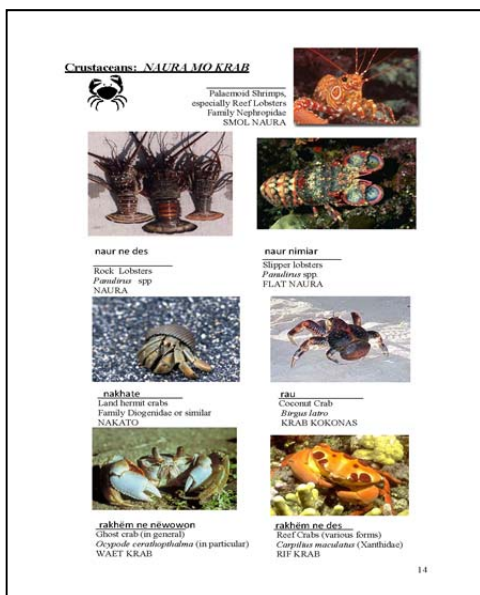
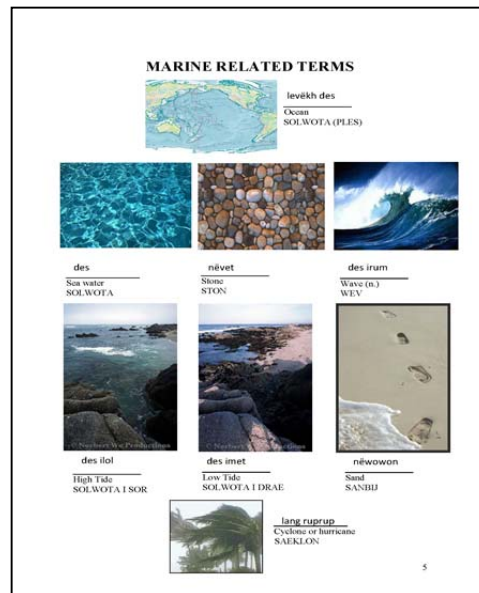
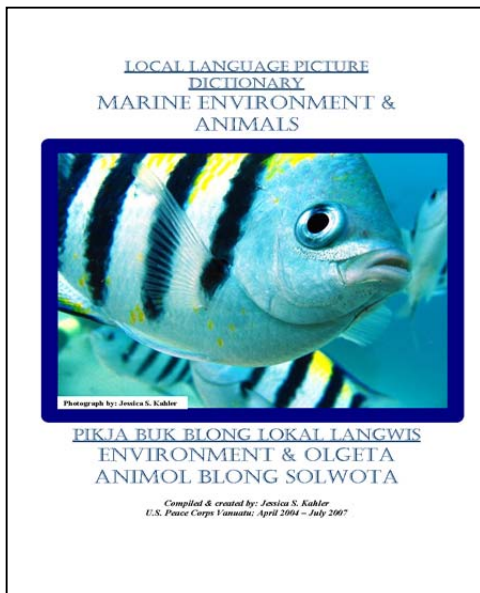




Appendix F

Literacy Resource: Marine Life Book (Extract)

The information in this manual was collated by Jessica S. Kahler from the U.S Peace Corps between 2004-2007. The Malua Bay vocabulary items were collected by Kanaueha Wessels during field work for this larger project. This manual is intended to conserve the rich linguistic knowledge and diversity in the islands of Vanuatu and is for educational use only.



nēmaman ne des / nēmeime!
Comet
Caetoperops ulivella

bet mēra'ch
Flounder (flatfish)
Family *Bothidae*
FLATFIS

dukrak ne des
Reef lizardfish
Spodius variegatus
LEZADFIS

dodjodop mēra'ch
Rockskippers (dragout included)
Family *Aleutidae* & *Callionymidae*

nato ne des
Grouper (general)
Family *Syngnathidae*
MUSTAFIS

barbar ne des
Topail or longfinned drummer or similar
Family *Syngnathidae*
BIGBEL

23

namkep
Anemone fishes (general)
Family *Pomacentridae*

dokhpikhat
Scissortail sergeant or similar
Abudefduf sepioides

mēlawer
Black damselfish or similar
Chrysiptera spp.

nēmēch imial
Spur-check cardinalfish
Apogon flavicaeus

wemel
Soldierfish (general), Sparreelfish
Family *Holocentridae*
REDFIS

djarne
Blod's bigeye, Crescent-tail bigeye
Prigacanthus spp.
BIGGAE

nēmbop
Soldierfish (general), Sparreelfish
Family *Holocentridae*
REDFIS

wemat bēty

25

Surgeonfish, Tangs, Triggerfish & Unicornfish: STRONGSKIN

hērey
Striped Surgeonfish
Acanthurus lineatus
STRONGSKIN (REINBOFIS)

wemēt
Crown Surgeonfish
Acanthurus cristatus
STRONGSKIN

nēmēch longlong / nēngere blēt
Lined leatherfish
Ctenopharyngodon striatus
BLAKFIS

tangs (especially yellow Tang)
Family *Acanthuridae*; *Zoetropterus* spp.
STRONGSKIN

dovorono
Whitethroated surgeonfish
Acanthurus nigrofuscus
STRONGSKIN

nēmēch longlong te welekhu iwus
Eyestripe surgeonfish
Acanthurus albimaculatus
STRONGSKIN

27

Butterflyfish, Bannerfish, Angelfish & Morish Idol
BUTAFLEAFIS, FADFIS & PAPIONG

namkep te welekaun
gērey
Bannerfishes (general)
Family *Chaetodontidae*
BUTAFLEAFIS (FADFIS)

mōrnish Idol
Zanclus cornutus

nāmbeq longlong
Butterfish (general)
Family *Ephippidae*
BUTAFLEAFIS

nāmbeq pērev
Longnose/forcep butterflyfish or similar
Pomacentrus longirostris
BUTAFLEAFIS

nāmbeq molimol
Blackback butterflyfish or similar
Chaetodon melanostictus
BUTAFLEAFIS

nāmbeq nēmēch ne des
Teardrop butterflyfish or similar
Chaetodon lunulatus
BUTAFLEAFIS

30

OTHER MARINE ANIMALS (REPTILES & MAMMALS)
NARAFALA ANIMOL BLONG SOLWOTA

nēmēt ne des
Banded sea snake
Laticauda colubrina
BLAKENWAET

nevo
Turtles (general)
Family *Cheloniidae*
TOTEL

bukuk ne des
Dugong
Dugong dugong
KAOFIS

Dolphin
Family *Delphinidae*
DOLFEN

Whale
Order *Cetacea*
WELFIS

36

MARINE BIRDS: PIJIN BLONG SOLWOTA

niga iwuswus
Reef heron-white phase
Egretta sacra
PIJIN BLONG RIF

niga ne des
Reef heron-blue phase
Egretta sacra
PIJIN BLONG RIF

nēmānēkh ne des
Striated heron
Butorides striatus
PIJIN BLONG RIF

Wimbrel
Numenius phaeopus

bēlek
Buff-banded Rail
Coelibria philippensis
NAMBILAK

37

Appendix G

Word List: Malua - English

A - a

afta	afta. then, after.	-an	<i>nmod.</i> nominalizer.
aktiviti	<i>n.</i> activity.	aot	<i>v.</i> out.
akhon	here.	apgrede	<i>v.</i> upgrade. <i>From:</i> Bis.
ale	<i>adv.</i> ale. then, so.	asisten	<i>n.</i> assistant. <i>From:</i> Eng.
Alec	<i>npsn.</i> Alec.	at	<i>prep.</i> at.
alev	<i>v.</i> beckon with hand.	ating	<i>v.</i> I think, maybe. <i>From:</i> Bis.
almanakh	<i>n.</i> weather.	avestem	<i>v.</i> harvest. <i>From:</i> Bis.
ambe	<i>inter.</i> where.		

B - b

bag	<i>n.</i> bag.	bëchëkh	<i>n.</i> decorative plant with red leaves.
bakhach	<i>n.</i> bed, sleeping mat.	bëkhach	<i>n.</i> bed, sleeping mat.
bakhach palpale	<i>n.</i> the floor of houses in the past.	bëkhe	<i>n.</i> boar.
bakhe	<i>n.</i> shark.	bëkhëchkhëchër	<i>v.</i> sweep.
bakho	<i>n.</i> curcumsion.	bëkhor bëtev	<i>n.</i> breadfruit pounding dish.
bangpang	<i>n.</i> scorpion.	bëlë	<i>n.</i> shoulder.
barlakh	<i>n.</i> traditional grass skirt.	bërë	<i>n.</i> neck.
basan	<i>n.</i> work.	bërsëlkhë	<i>n.</i> throat.
batë	<i>n.</i> head.	bërsëlkhëk	<i>n.</i> my throat.
batëk	<i>n.</i> my head.	bërsëlkhëm	<i>n.</i> your (sg) throat.
batëm	<i>n.</i> your (sg) head.	bërsëlkhën	<i>n.</i> his/her throat.
batën	<i>n.</i> head (of tree).	bëtev	<i>n.</i> breadfruit.
batën	<i>n.</i> his/her head.	bëtkhëchër	<i>v.</i> sweep.
be	<i>conj.</i> but. <i>From:</i> Bis.	bëvëkh	<i>n.</i> wood used to lean a yam with nekol attached, against a tree.
be	<i>pron.</i> 3sg fut.	birang	<i>n.</i> soft.
bekenren	<i>n.</i> sky.	birthday	<i>n.</i> birthday. <i>From:</i> Eng.
bekhor	<i>n.</i> k o tree.	bis nëmale	<i>n.</i> toe.
belka	<i>n.</i> soft yam.	bis nëvra	<i>n.</i> finger.
bepesan netingting	<i>n.</i> big drum that stands high.	bis nëvrak	<i>n.</i> my finger.
bes	<i>vmod.</i> best. <i>From:</i> Bis.	bis nëvram	<i>n.</i> your (sg) finger.
betechir	<i>n.</i> coconut broom.	bis nëvran	<i>n.</i> his/her finger.
betekur	<i>n.</i> thunder.	bisro	<i>n.</i> soft yam.
betev	<i>n.</i> sugarcane.	bkhach	<i>n.</i> bed, mat.
betingting	<i>n.</i> k o drum, musical instrument.	blanket	<i>n.</i> blanket. <i>From:</i> Eng.
betisëkhe	<i>n.</i> soft yam.	blekh	<i>n.</i> nambilak. banded rail.
betli	<i>n.</i> mountain, hill.	blekh	<i>n.</i> bigger than 'navech ro'.
betmial	<i>n.</i> police.	blessing	<i>n.</i> blessing.
betmot	<i>n.</i> childless.	board	<i>n.</i> board.
betnakhap	<i>n.</i> flour, bread.	bolko	deep inside.
betnang	<i>n.</i> strong yam.	bolko nachë-	<i>n.</i> anus.
		bolkonëvet	<i>n.</i> cave.

bonos *n.* rubbish.
 bopotëral *n.* roof.
 bora *n.* strong yam.
 bormale *n.* corner posts of house.
 boro *n.* ear.
 botel *n.* soft yam.
 botkot *n.* lavalava.
 boto *n.* bottom, bum.
 boto navëch *n.* last born.
 bred *n.* bread.
 brek *v.* break, rest.
 brë- *pron.* 1pl ex.

brëvakhas *n.* k o yam.
 brokh *n.* utensil.
 brokh neni *n.* coconut shell.
 buak *n.* taro variety.
 buluk *n.* cow, bull.
 bungallow *n.* bungallow.
 bungu ? ??
 bupet [*Note:* I don't have a gloss for this
 word]
 buvales *n.* soft bamboo.
 buvet *n.* hard bamboo.

Ch - ch

chalëng *n.* outside.
 charchar *v.* wash (someone).
 chel *v.* peel skin (of s t) with hand.
 chemchem *n.* sweet skin coconut.
 cheplen *v.* throw.
 cher *n.* wash (someone).
 cher *v.* clean/wash something with water.
 chercheren *v.* throw.
 cheren *v.* scatter, strew.
 chev *v.* move.
 chëkhe *n.* vine of yam winding up stick.
 chële *v.* harvest fruit on tree.
 chëme *v.* chew something.
 chëne *v.* hang (clothes).
 chëne *v.* shine (of sun).
 chëpare *v.* light (fire).

chëpen *v.* count.
 chëper *v.* until, reach.
 chërëkh *v.* sneeze.
 chëro *v.* shoot (with gun).
 chi *prep.* to (human object).
 chichikhpo *v.* kneel.
 chiling *vmod.* everything.
 chim *v.* drip (of water), leak (of water).
 chin *v.* (sun) shine.
 chingching *v.* fish.
 chirchir *v.* clean bamboo joint.
 chov *v.* fall, drop.
 chov *vmod.* too.
 chum *v.* make kissing sound.
 church *n.* church.

D - d

dakh *vmod.* behind.
 dakhar *n.* waetman. European, white people.
 dakhë *n.* back.
 dakhop *n.* wave (at sea).
 dan *n.* ground, soil.
 dang *n.* basket.
 dang noran *n.* coconut leaf basket for
 carrying food.
 dap *n.* area where head is placed in a grave.
 davëkh *n.* really high yam mound.
 davërëkh *n.* child.
 davil neni *n.* coconut oil.
 davoia *n.* nut variety.
 deacon *n.* deacon.
 deaconess *n.* deaconess.
 denëv *v.* use leaves to wrap food like a
 parcel.
 denial *n.* time.
 deng *n.* thing.
 denge *n.* thing.

dengetëra *n.* old man, grandfather.
 dengevai *n.* lafet. feast, celebration.
 dengtar 1) *n.* belongings. 2)
 — *n.* thing.
 depek *n.* strong yam.
 des *n.* saltwater, sea.
 desëm *n.* brother.
 dev nakham *n.* laplap hole.
 dëkoko *nmod.* small, a little.
 dëmat *v.* peace, calm.
 difrens *nmod.* difference. *From:* Eng.
 disemba *n.* December. *From:* Bis.
 divine service *n.* divine service.
 dokomaren *n.* male, man, boy.
 dokhoran *n.* main post of house roof.
 don *v.* push.
 dope *n.* soft yam.
 dopë *n.* grave.
 dopër *n.* hanging fruit/nut bundles (not
 bananas).

dopër neni *n.* coconut bundle.
dopong *n.* rooster.
dorum *v.* wild.
dotwat *n.* hen.

drakha *adj.* big.
dukhvet *n.* vagina.
dungus *n.* torch made of leaf, torch, lantern.
duwen *n.* another, other.

E - e

east *n.* east. *From:* Bis.
ebisi *n.* alphabet. *From:* Bis.
ech *v.* scoop up, bale water.
edukesin *n.* education.
Edwin *npsn.* Edwin.
eight *num.* eight. *From:* Eng.
eit *num.* eit.
elder *n.* elder.
eleven *num.* eleven. *From:* Eng.

en *dem.* this one.
ena *this.*
enkha *dem.* this (here).
erav *n.* over there, not far, north.
ermare *n.* upwards, towards the bush, east.
ersakh *n.* far away, south.
erwe *n.* downwards, towards the sea, west.
evri *nmod.* every. *From:* Bis.
example *n.* example.

F - f

faenem *v.* find.
faev *num.* five. *From:* Bis.
fan *n.* fan. fan.
fiksim *v.* fix, pay (debt).
finis *v.* finish. *From:* Bis.
finisim *v.* finish. *From:* Bis.

finga plei *n.* finger play.
first *nmod.* first.
flour *n.* flour.
foa *num.* four.
Friday *n.* Friday.

G - g

gaka 1) *n.* yam. 2) year.
gaka rove *n.* new yam.
Galilee *nloc.* Galilee.
garet nerere *n.* liar.
garoran *v.* make noise.
gat *v.* gat. have, got.
gëre *n.* flaeng fokis. fruit bat.

gëre *n.* ripe banana, stromng with crunch.
gësë *n.* nose.
giaman *vmod.* fake.
glad *v.* glad. *From:* Eng.
goko *n.* pepet i kakae ol lif.
golvat *n.* bamboo tongs.
gras *n.* grass, weeds.

H - h

hapen *v.* happen.
hat *n.* hat.
hed tija *n.* head teacher.
help *v.* help. *From:* Eng.

hemia *that's it.* *From:* Bis.
hospital *n.* hospital. *From:* Eng.
huk *v.* hook/fish.

I - i

i-	<i>pron.</i> 3sg.	inam nëmelek	good night.
ia	<i>n.</i> here.	inam roren	good morning.
iev	<i>v.</i> pull.	inam rovrov	good afternoon.
iev lang	<i>v.</i> breathe.	io	<i>n.</i> okay, yes. [Note: slang]
imelim	<i>n.</i> home.	ip	<i>v.</i> go. [Note: slang]
impoten	<i>nmod.</i> important.	itan	<i>n.</i> here.
inam	hello.	iten	<i>vmod.</i> here. [Note: EB form. MB form is 'itan'.]
inam lalam	thank you very much.		
inam lëkhwëlel	good day.		

J - j

jach	<i>n.</i> tree-like plant with bright yellow spikey leaves.	jëme	<i>n.</i> worm.
jal	<i>n.</i> road.	jëme neni	<i>n.</i> coconut worm.
Januari	<i>n.</i> January.	jëngevër	<i>n.</i> thatch broom.
jarchare	<i>nmod.</i> small.	jëngën	<i>n.</i> banana stalk rings.
jare	<i>nmod.</i> small.	jëngo	<i>n.</i> mouth.
jare davërëkh	<i>n.</i> small child.	jëngok	<i>n.</i> my mouth.
Javen	<i>npsn.</i> Javen.	jëngom	<i>n.</i> your (sg) mouth.
javsav	<i>n.</i> soft yam.	jëngon	<i>n.</i> his/her mouth.
jë-	<i>pron.</i> 1sg (fut).	jëpëk	<i>n.</i> k o tree.
jëchëlvarën	<i>n.</i> story.	jëpon	<i>nmod.</i> half.
jëchëlwer	<i>v.</i> tell story.	jëul netingting	<i>n.</i> small, ukulele sized tamtam.
jëchëpëkhen	<i>v.</i> count.	jin	<i>n.</i> bone.
jëkha	<i>inter.</i> what?	jin nëmech	<i>n.</i> fish bone]ge fish bone pattern.
jëkhamën	<i>inter.</i> what.	jocho	<i>n.</i> other side.
jëkhamin	<i>inter.</i> what.	jolan	<i>n.</i> sore.
jëlak	<i>n.</i> brother-in-law.	Judy	<i>npsn.</i> Jusy.
jële	<i>n.</i> top (of s t).	July	<i>n.</i> July.
jëmavër	<i>n.</i> coconut waste after squeezing out milk.		

K - k

-k	<i>poss.pron.</i> 1sg.	këlkële	<i>v.</i> look after.
kaisa	<i>n.</i> kasis. k o tree.	këlkëlo	<i>v.</i> open eyes.
kala	<i>n.</i> kala. colour.	këlo	<i>v.</i> carry.
kaliko	<i>n.</i> material.	kënem	<i>pron.</i> 1pl ex.
kalkal	<i>n.</i> yam shade, yam storage platform.	kër-	<i>pron.</i> 2pl.
kamaot	<i>v.</i> come out. From: Bis.	kërav	<i>v.</i> kerap. get up.
Kanau	<i>npsn.</i> Kanau.	kërës	<i>vmod.</i> through.
kapa	<i>n.</i> kapa. iron roof.	kich	<i>v.</i> peel, cut.
kartong	<i>n.</i> cardboard. From: Bis.	kichin	<i>n.</i> kitchen. From: Bis.
kastom	<i>n.</i> kastom. custom, tradition.	kichkich	<i>v.</i> peel.
kel	<i>v.</i> remove hot stones from earth oven.	kindy	<i>n.</i> kindergarten.
kem	<i>pron.</i> 2pl.	kir	<i>v.</i> scrape away.
kenu	<i>n.</i> kenu. canoe.	kirkir	<i>v.</i> scartch stone/wood, clean stone/wood.
kële	<i>vmod.</i> again.	kirkir nëmech	<i>v.</i> scale fish.
këlemu	<i>vmod.</i> again.	kis	<i>v.</i> break leaves or island cabbage.
këlesur	<i>v.</i> look afetr (s t).		

kiskhachëkh *v.* pinch.
 klinim *v.* clean.
 klosem *v.* close. *From:* Bis.
 kochkoch *v.* scratch (skin).
 kokot *n.* baby.
 kol *v.* flow (of liquid).
 kolkol *v.* carry over shoulder on stick.
 komuniti *n.* community. *From:* Bis.
 kon *n.* corn.
 kontinu *v.* continue.

kopra *n.* copra. copra.
 koron *v.* give.
 kotkot *nmod.* small, little.
 kuk *v.* hide.
 kukurut *v.* crow.
 kul *v.* sing.
 kulkul *n.* cracker.
 kur *v.* cook.
 kwesten *n.* question. *From:* Bis.

Kh - kh

kha *dems.* that, this, these, those, there.
 khache (cut) off, (cut) away.
 khaen *pron.* 3sg.
 khakham *v.* fly.
 khakhas *v.* cold.
 khakhon *v.* sour, bitter.
 khamong *v.* cough.
 khanas *v.* sweet.
 khanen *nmod.* here, this.
 khanenen *now* (present time).
 khar *pron.* 3pl.
 khareru *nmod.* both.
 khave *gram.*
 khavët *v.* unripe banana leaving a furry taste
 on your tongue.
 khechni *v.* mix.
 khekheri *there.*
 khembit *num.* seven.
 khen *v.* burn up completely.
 khep *v.* throw stick at (fruit).
 kher *v.* write.
 kheri *here.*
 kheripo *nmod.* this place.
 kherkher *v.* write.
 khersen *n.* scrape laplap.
 khes *v.* sting (of insect).
 khes *v.* chew something.
 khesëv *num.* num.
 khë- *pron.* 2sg.
 khëchan *v.* blue.

khëcher *v.* sprinkle.
 khëchëpchëplen *v.* wave (hand).
 khëchërëkh *v.* sneeze.
 khëchkhëchen *v.* green.
 khëchkhëchër *v.* sweep.
 khëchkhëchir *v.* sweep.
 khëchri *v.* scatch.
 khëpas *v.* hot.
 khëpen *v.* clear bush.
 khërav *v.* crawl.
 khës *v.* bite.
 khësen *n.* oneself.
 khëwel *num.* eight.
 khëwen *num.* six.
 khich *v.* wear.
 khikham *v.* fly.
 khil *v.* dig.
 khir *v.* write.
 khokho *v.* wash.
 khonem *n.* cave name at point in Malua Bay.
 khonu *pron.* 1sg.
 khop *v.* jump.
 khor *v.* scratch coconut.
 khorkhor *v.* hunt.
 khoro *vmod.* well, good.
 khovëlos *v.* twist.
 khun *v.* fill.
 khuskhus *v.* move.
 khusngin *v.* shake.

L - l

laekem *v.* laekem. like.
 laem *prep.* inside house. [*Note:* EB form.
 MB form is 'lim']
 lafet *n.* feast. *From:* Bis.
 Lakatoro *nloc.* Lakatoro.
 lakhache *v.* clean (cabbage).
 lakham *on the fire.*
 lalach nasëv *n.* soft yam.
 lalam *v.* big.

lale *prep.* in.
 lalen *prep.* inside.
 lalen irong *v.* angry.
 lam *v.* big, plenty, many.
 lamës *n.* bush, forest.
 lanem *v.* learn. *From:* Bis.
 lang *n.* air, wind.
 lang rëmrëm *n.* fly (insect).
 lang ruprup *n.* cyclone.

lasëm *n.* testicle.
 last *nmod.* last.
 last week *time.* last week.
 laut *prep.* inside of garden.
 lav *v.* grow.
 lavlav *v.* to plant.
 lecham *v.* chew.
 lekh *v.* marry.
 lekhan *n.* marriage.
 lekhëv *n.* stomach.
 lekhëwan *n.* faetus, baby.
 lekhwelel *n.* midday.
 lelakh *n.* son-in-law, husband.
 lele *n.* first born, eldest.
 lelekhëvat *n.* middle night.
 leletëra *n.*
 leltan *adv.* down.
 leltas *n.* seaside.
 lema *v.* bring.
 lembet *n.* k o breadfruit.
 lemsakh *adv.* up.
 lenge *v.* husk coconut.
 lengre *v.* leave (someone).
 leplep *nmod.* big. [Note: EB form. MB form is 'lalam'.]
 leplep *n.* bunia. food cooked in earth oven.
 les *v.* see.
 letas *n.* letters. *From:* Bis.
 lev *v.* take.
 lev davërekh *v.* give birth.
 levkhenaut *middle, between.*
 lewok *n.* light yellow banana.
 lëkh *v.* marry.
 lëkhekh *v.* return (home) without reaching intended destination.
 lëkhen *vmod.* again.
 lëkhwëlel *n.* midday, noon.
 lëluwe *vmod.* away, off.
 lëm *num.* five.
 lëmelëk *prep.* in the night.
 lëmelsel *n.* shade.
 lënge *v.* husk.
 lëpe *n.* k o tree.
 lëpi *n.* k o tree.
 lëte *v.* kick.
 lëwo *n.* teeth.
 lililam *nmod.* many.
 lilip *n.* k o yam.
 Lily *npsn.* Lily.
 lim *prep.* inside.
 Linden *npsn.* Linden.
 ling *v.* pour.
 lo *prep.* lo. in, on, to.
 loklok *n.* a plant with a red flower that grows next to water.
 lokh *v.* carry.
 lol *v.* live, stay.
 lol ram *v.* stap nating (nomo). stap nating.
 lomton *adj.* well.
 lopo *still.*
 lualu *n.* rainbow.
 lulngin *v.* roll (leaves).
 lulu *v.* vomit.
 luluk *v.* cover a body part.
 lunch *n.* lunch.
 lungsi *loc.* far away.
 luwe *vmod.* away.

M - m

-m *poss.pron.* 2sg.
 makila *n.* soft yam.
 Malakula *nloc.* Malekula.
 malmal *v.* naked.
 Malua *nloc.* Malua.
 Malua Bay Primary School *nloc.* Malua Bay Primary School.
 mama *n.* mother.
 mamar *n.* time when yams are ready for harvest.
 mamar *v.* be harvested.
 mamas *v.* dry.
 mamav *v.* yawn.
 man *exp.* man.
 mani *n.* money. *From:* Bis.
 manis *n.* month. *From:* Bis.
 manggo *n.* mango.
 mangkipa *n.* monkey bar. *From:* Bis.
 marach *v.* thin.
 marakh *v.* new.
 marakh melkhas *v.* slow growing.
 maralom *v.* sink.
 marang *v.* dry.
 March *n.* March.
 mared *v.* marry.
 maru *n.* orphan.
 maru *n.* strong yam.
 mas *v.* mas. must.
 maser *n.* soft yam.
 masor *n.* big banana.
 Master Glen *npsn.* Master Glen.
 Master Glen Matthias *npsn.* Master Glen Matthias.
 mavos *v.* straight.
 May *n.* May.
 me *v.* come.
 meeting *n.* meeting.
 melëk 1) *v.* dark. 2) — *n.* night.
 melëm *v.* soft.

melim *v.* soft.
 melkav ne neni *n.* coconut oil.
 melkav neni *n.* coconut milk/cream.
 melkun *n.* dark cloud.
 melngar *its* place.
 Meltekhli *npsn.* Meltekhli.
 melve *v.* carry (under arm).
 melven *under, beneath.*
 meme *v.* chew food for baby.
 mes *v.* die, dead.
 mes khasëkh *v.* tired.
 mesalsal *vmod.* together.
 mesëkh *v.* cooked.
 mesëkh par *v.* hald done (of food).
 metër *v.* sleep.
 metërporpor *n.* dream.
 metërporpor *v.* dream.
 metërwal *v.* sleep deeply.
 metune netingting *n.* right sided drum.
 metur *v.* sleep. [Note: EB form. MB form 'metër'.]
 mevchon *v.* collect, gather.
 mevëkh *n.* tomorrow.
 mevëkh toikhëwen *n.* six days from now.
 mevëkh tolëm *n.* five days from now.
 mevëkh toru *n.* day after tomorrow.
 mevëkh totil *n.* three days from now.
 mevëkh tovat *n.* four days from now.
 mevët *v.* close eyes.
 mëlakel *nmod.* young.
 mëne *vmod.* can.
 mërakh *v.* dry, grow.
 mërere nëmermer *n.* nephew.
 mërere nimiar *n.* niece.

mërevrev *v.* rotten, old, mature.
 mësakhsëkh *v.* lazy, tired, weak.
 mëtan *cause.* because.
 mëtante *because.*
 -mi *poss.pron.* 2pl.
 mich *v.* tie.
 michi *v.* tie.
 mim *v.* wet.
 mimin *v.* ask.
 min *v.* drink.
 Mistress Evie *npsn.* Mistress Evie.
 Mistress Greylin *npsn.* Mistress Greylin.
 misus *n.* white woman.
 mo *conj.* and. From: Bis.
 mokhot *n.* island cabbage.
 mol *nmod.* short.
 mon *v.* sharp.
 monday *n.* Monday.
 mong *v.* cough.
 morning *n.* morning.
 moro *n.* man, people.
 morotën *n.* man.
 morov *v.* alive, fat.
 Morrisen *npsn.* Morrisen.
 morvan 1) *n.* life. 2)
 — *v.* live.
 mot *v.* peck (of chicken).
 mtakhat *v.* afraid. [Note: not sure how this
 word is pronounced - mtakhat,
 ndakhat?]
 mu *gram.* (intense).
 mul *v.* return.
 mulmul *v.* short.
 mun *v.* put laplap onto the prepared hole.

N - n

n *clsf.* liquid.
 -n *poss.pron.* 3sg.
 na *na.* now.
 nain *num.* nine.
 nakër *pron.* 1pl in.
 nakha *n.* tree.
 nakham *n.* fire.
 nakham khankhan *n.* a lit fire.
 nakhane *n.* wood.
 nakhanim *n.* door.
 nakhanim kotkot *n.* window.
 nakhanim lalam *n.* door.
 nakharan *n.* love.
 nakharëv *n.* rat.
 nakhë *n.* face.
 nakhët *n.* louse.
 nakhët ne nukhuli *n.* flea.
 nakhëwas *n.* digging stick.
 nakhul *n.* morinda. k o tree.
 nale *n.* language, word.

nale ne nale *n.* word.
 nalok *n.* laplap, pudding.
 nalok lulngin *n.* simboro. rolled pudding.
 nalov *n.* soft mud.
 nam *v.* good.
 namba *n.* number/s. From: Bis.
 nambe [Note: Not sure what 'nambe' is,
 could be a leaf? Or something to do
 with not drinking/eating during
 namanggi, and only drinking from a
 specif leaf/bamboo.]
 nambep *n.* butterfly, moth.
 nambët *v.* mute.
 nambir *n.* middle standing post at front/rear
 of house.
 nambis *n.* yam of chiefs; soft yam.
 namboch *n.* k o tree.
 nambop *n.* germinated coconut.
 nambor *v.* vagina.
 nambu *n.* bamboo (gen).

nambung *n.* day.
 nambungbung *n.* days.
 namëkh *n.* mosquito.
 namël *n.* fence.
 namës *n.* bush, grass.
 nami *n.* earthquake.
 namnam *nmod.* very good.
 namol *n.* orange.
 nanov *n.* yesterday.
 napuka *n.* k o tree.
 nare *n.* blood.
 narer *n.* nit.
 narvilo *n.* soft yam.
 naser *n.* k o tree.
 nasup *n.* chief.
 nasup lemsakh *n.* God.
 nasus *n.* breast.
 natet *n.* k o tree.
 nato *n.* chicken.
 nato nim *n.* domesticated chicken.
 nato rum *n.* wild chicken.
 natop *n.* celebration.
 nator *n.* k o tree.
 natov *n.* used for house posts.
 natung *prep?* top.
 naul *v.* paint.
 naus *n.* rain.
 naus *n.* pawpaw.
 naus përot *n.* pawpaw.
 nausus *n.* rain.
 naut *n.* garden, place.
 naut how.
 naut drakha *n.* big garden.
 naut imelëk *v.* dark.
 naut iren *n.* daylight.
 nautskhal *vmod.* together.
 nautsxal *vmod.* together.
 navas *n.* strong yam.
 nave *n.* burao tree.
 navëch *n.* banana (gen).
 navëch nëwil *n.* tree trunk has blood like a
 human; big, ripe banana.
 navëch ro *n.* big banana.
 navël 1) *n.* moon. 2)
 — *n.* month.
 navil top *n.* harvest time.
 navin *n.* tree ringworm.
 navon *vmod.* too much.
 navon *n.* nothing, not anything living.
 navos *n.* seeds.
 navos *n.* boil (sore).
 navos nëmet *n.* coral.
 nawoch *n.* bamboo paddle for beating
 breadfruit.
 ne for, of, from.
 nechar be nuwe *nloc.* Nechar be Nuwe.
 nechel *n.* mat.
 nechil *n.* small knife.
 nekir *n.* comb.
 nekol *n.* wood or bamboo used to carry
 something over one's shoulder, either in
 the front or back.
 neks *nmod.* neks. next.
 nekhëmel *n.* nakamal. men's house.
 nel *n.* sun.
 nela *n.* spider.
 neleng *n.* coconut husking stick.
 nelëp *n.* bamboo stick used to fold natanggura
 leaf over when making thatch for roof.
 neling when.
 nelul *n.* masing. love magic.
 -nem *poss.pron.* 1pl ex.
 nembap *n.* axe for hulling canoe.
 nembav ne batën nok *n.* tool for carving
 front/back of canoe.
 nembav ne lalen nok *n.* tool for hulling
 inside of canoe.
 nembe *n.* song.
 nembikh *n.* meat.
 nemblen *n.* part of s t.
 nemet *n.* k o tree.
 nemile *n.* leg, foot. [Note: this is possible the
 EB form. MB form is 'nëmalë'.]
 nemleun *npsn.* Nemleun.
 nemtak *n.* my eye.
 nemtam *n.* your (sg) eye.
 nemtan *n.* his/her eys.
 nemu *n.* ghost, spirit.
 nemum *n.* image, photo.
 nen *nmod.* here.
 nendrach *n.* beam of house.
 neni *n.* coconut.
 neni bekul *n.* coconut tree variety.
 neng *n.* name.
 nenga *n.* nangai. almond variety.
 nepeni *n.* k o tree.
 nerator *n.* fishbone pattern.
 nerip *n.* bush knife.
 nerma *n.* chest.
 nes *v.* cook with/in bamboo.
 nesisakh *n.* ant.
 nesisakh mial *n.* red ant.
 nesu terter *n.* thick coconut cream.
 net *n.* strong yam.
 netë *n.* child.
 netëk *n.* my child.
 netëm *n.* your (sg) child.
 netën *n.* his/her child.
 netërach *n.* vertical posts of roof.
 nevekhur *n.* clothes.
 nevi *n.* island taro.
 nevi movis *n.* white taro.
 nevi vilvil *n.* water taro.
 nevin *n.* bow.
 nevinvin *n.* bow and arrow.
 nevis *n.* very long, soft yam.
 nevlakh *n.* lightning.
 nevlo batë *n.* hair.
 nevlo batëk *n.* my hair.
 nevlo batëm *n.* your (sg) hair.

nevlo batën *n.* his/her hair.
 nevlo jëngo *n.* lips.
 nevlo jëngok *n.* my lip.
 nevlo jëngom *n.* your (sg) lip.
 nevlo jëngon *n.* his/her lip.
 nevlo nemtak *n.* my eyebrows.
 nevlo nemtam *n.* your (sg) eyebrows.
 nevlo nemtan *n.* his/her eyebrows.
 nevlo nēmta *n.* eyebrows.
 nevlo nisë *n.* beard.
 nevlo nisëk *n.* my beard.
 nevlo nisëm *n.* your (sg) beard.
 nevlo nisën *n.* his/her beard.
 nevngë bak *n.* fruit like a nambangka.
 nevngë rërav *n.* long bean.
 nevngë santo *n.* soft yam.
 nevngë n. fruit.
 nevngë nakha *n.* fruit.
 nevo *n.* turtle.
 nevos *n.* paddle.
 newos ne nok *n.* truck steering wheel.
 news *n.* news.
 nē- *pron.* 1sg.
 nēgal *n.* soft yam.
 nēkhachëkh *n.* black biting ant.
 nēkharëv *n.* rat.
 nēkharkharën *n.* love.
 nēkhavë *n.* armpit.
 nēkhavëk *n.* my armpit.
 nēkhavëkh *n.* nakavika. wild apple.
 nēkhavëm *n.* your (sg) armpit.
 nēkhavën *n.* his/her armpit.
 nēkhët *n.* octopus.
 nēkhpas *n.* grater.
 nēkhpeskhal *n.* spine (of s t).
 nēkhverur *n.* clothes.
 nēmaël *n.* left side.
 nēmak *poss.* drink:1sg from nēm-
 clasifier, -ak 1sg.
 nēmakhop *n.* gecko.
 nēmalek *n.* my foot/leg.
 nēmalë *n.* foot, leg.
 nēmalëk *n.* night.
 nēmalëm *n.* you (sg)foot/leg.
 nēmalën *n.* his/her foot.
 nēmam *poss.* drink:2sg from nēm-
 clasifier, -am 2sg.
 nēmam *n.* Tahitian chestnut.
 nēman *n.* poison.
 nēman *poss.* drink:3sg from nēm-
 clasifier, -an 3sg.
 nēmanëkh 1) *n.* bird. 2)
 — *n.* plane.
 nēmanëkh ne des *n.* reef birds.
 nēmar *poss.* drink:3pl from nēm-
 clasifier, -ar 3pl.
 nēmarav *n.* landslide.
 nēmarekhat *v.* hungry.
 nēmarët *n.* rope, vine.
 nēmaru *n.* widow.
 nēmasor ilonglong *n.* has three corners;
 stump is red.
 nēmasor imial *n.* red banana.
 nēmasor iwuswus *n.* white banana.
 nēmat *n.* snake.
 nēmat des *n.* sea snake.
 nēmat namës *n.* bush snake.
 nēmatu *n.* right side.
 nēmavër *n.* wild cane.
 nēmbak *n.* banyan tree.
 nēmbe *v.* to cover laplap with leaf; to wrap
 food in kaliko.
 nēmbor *n.* beach hibiscus.
 nēmbre *n.* people.
 nēme *n.* k o tree.
 nēmech *n.* fish.
 nēmeki *n.* namanggi. pig ceremony.
 nēmel *n.* reef.
 nēmelilep *n.* post running parallel to main
 post of roof.
 nēmelkun *n.* shadow.
 nēmemi *poss.* drink:2pl from nēm-
 clasifier, -emi 2pl.
 nēmenem *poss.* drink:1pl.excl from nēm-
 clasifier, -nem 1pl.excl.
 nēmer *poss.* drink:1pl.incl from nēm-
 clasifier, -er 1pl.incl.
 nēmermer *n.* male.
 nēmesan *n.* death ceremony.
 nēmëlech *n.* heat.
 nēmëlkëm *n.* photograph.
 nēmëmë *n.* tongue.
 nēmëmëk *n.* my tongue.
 nēmëmëm *n.* your (sg) tongue.
 nēmëmën *n.* his/her tongue.
 nēmëran *n.* meat.
 nēmëre *n.* people.
 nēmëre *n.* eel.
 Nēmëre Nakham *nloc.* Ambrym.
 nēmlav *n.* 1) twin. 2) fused banana.
 nēmomok kon nēmalek *n.* my toenail.
 nēmomok kon nēmalë *n.* toenail.
 nēmomok kon nēmalëm *n.* your (sg)
 toenail.
 nēmomok kon nēmalën *n.* his/her toenail.
 nēmomok kon nēvra *n.* fingernail.
 nēmomok kon nēvrak *n.* my fingernail.
 nēmomok kon nēvram *n.* your (sg)
 fingernail.
 nēmomok kon nēvran *n.* his/her fingernail.
 nēmorven *nheart.*
 nēmta *n.* eyes.
 nēmten nial *n.* time, wrist watch.
 nēmumum *n.* spirit, soul.
 nēngan *prep.* on s t.
 nēnge *nmod.* some.
 nēnge *prep.* at, on (top of s t).
 nērante *n.* when.
 nērente *n.* when.
 nērvërev *n.* fan.

nëva *n.* pandanus.
 nëvakhe *n.* big support posts on roof.
 nëvanu *n.* place.
 Nëvanu Kotkot *nloc.* Atchin Island.
 nëvanu lemsakh *n.* heaven.
 nëvas *n.* pattern.
 nëvat *n.* stone, money. [Note: EB form. MB form is 'nëvet'.]
 nëvelsel *n.* coconut leaf shade.
 nëvenu *n.* place, village.
 nëver *n.* small banana used for boiling.
 nëvet 1) *n.* stone. 2)
 — *n.* money.
 Nëvet Longlong *n.* Ambae.
 nëvēvas ruru *n.* woven pattern in a staircase pattern of two bamboo deep.
 nëvēvas tiltil *n.* woven pattern in a staircase pattern of three bamboo deep.
 nëvilia *n.* big vine with water inside. found in the bush.
 nëvlangës *n.* navele. bush nut.
 nëvlo *n.* skin, bark.
 nëvra *n.* hand, arm.
 nëwon *n.* thorn.
 nëwowon *n.* star.
 nëwovor *n.* sand.
 nial *n.* sun.
 nialro *n.* centipede.
 nialrol *n.* centipede.
 niat *n.* natanggura. black sago palm.
 niev *n.* dust.
 nil *n.* nail. *From:* Bis.

nim *n.* house.
 nimbe *v.* cover, wrap (esp food).
 nimbe- *n.* body.
 nimiar *n.* female, wife, woman.
 niniv *nmod.* altogether, everything.
 nisë *n.* cheeks.
 no *no.*
 nogat *v.neg.* not have. *From:* Bis.
 nok *n.* ship, boat.
 nok dan *n.* truck.
 nok des *n.* boat, ship.
 nok ne dan *n.* truck.
 nok rev *n.* canoe.
 nokh *pron.* 2sg.
 nokholkhol *n.* strong yam.
 nokholo *n.* beginning.
 nokholok *n.* scented flower found in the bush; white or yellow.
 nokhopë *n.* grandchild.
 nokhopok nëmermer *n.* grandson.
 nokhopok nimiar *n.* granddaughter.
 nokhorom *n.* tree roots.
 nokhowep *n.* soft yam.
 noran *n.* food.
 north *n.* north. *From:* Bis.
 nukham *n.* penis.
 nukhuli *n.* dog.
 nuwal *n.* hole, mound.
 nuwal natop *n.* laplap hole.
 nuwe *n.* water.
 nuwe ne navos *n.* pus.
 nuwe sarsar *n.* waterfall.

Ng - ng

ngar *v.* cry.
 nge *dem.* (s t) there.
 ngen *n.* time.
 ngepi *n.* exist in the past.
 nger *v.* remove (leaf) from plant, pull leaf.
 ngete *conj.* ale. and then, then, so.
 ngën *nmod.*

ngin *prep.* to, from, for, with, in, at, on.
 nginer *nmod.* pluraliser.
 ngingis *v.* smile.
 ngir *v.* laugh.
 ngor *v.* snore.
 ngov sêngavël *num.* one hundred.
 ngovil *num.* ten times.

O - o

o	<i>nmod.</i> added to the end of a name when calling out loudly to someone.	olfala	<i>n.</i> old man. <i>From:</i> Bis.
o'clock	<i>time.</i> o'clock. <i>From:</i> Eng.	opel	<i>nloc.</i> Opel.
och	<i>v.</i> eat.	or	<i>v.</i> eat.
oh	<i>exp.</i> oh.	ordinances	<i>n.</i> ordinances.
ok	okay.	oron	<i>v.</i> push stick through yam to carry.
okei	okay. <i>From:</i> okei.	ov	<i>v.</i> lay egg.
ol	<i>nmod.</i> all. <i>From:</i> Bis.	Oyster Island Resort	<i>nloc.</i> Oyster Island Resort.
olbaot	<i>n.</i> everywhere.		

P - p

painav	<i>n.</i> pineapple.	ping	<i>v.</i> fold.
pamblemus	<i>n.</i> grapefruit.	pipil	<i>v.</i> close (s t).
paper	<i>n.</i> paper.	pir	<i>v.</i> break, split.
par	<i>adj.</i> green, raw.	pirpir	<i>n.</i> k o tree.
par	<i>v.</i> walk.	pis	<i>v.</i> place, put.
parpar	<i>n.</i> malele. k o banana.	plan	<i>v.</i> plan.
part	<i>n.</i> part.	plantation	<i>n.</i> plantation.
pas	<i>v.</i> work.	plek	<i>vmod.</i> like.
pasa	<i>n.</i> fundraiser.	pleken	<i>nmod.</i>
paste	<i>v.</i> work.	pleple	<i>n.</i> toys. <i>From:</i> Bis.
Pastor	<i>npsn.</i> Pastor.	po	just, only.
pe	be. but.	po	<i>v.</i> stink, rotten.
pe-	<i>neg.</i> negl.	po	<i>v.</i> stink, rotten.
pe-	<i>vmod.</i> fut irr.	poem	<i>n.</i> poem.
peintem	<i>v.</i> paint. <i>From:</i> Bis.	poilem	<i>v.</i> boil.
pek	<i>v.</i> search.	pol	<i>v.</i> finish.
pent	<i>n.</i> pent. paint.	polong	<i>v.</i> light (fire).
pep	<i>v.</i> give birth.	polpol	<i>nmod.</i> all, every.
pep-	<i>neg.</i> negl.	polpol	<i>v.</i> finish (everything).
pepe	<i>n.</i> mother.	pongi	just, only.
pepe	<i>v.</i> carry something strapped to one's back.	popo	<i>n.</i> nurse (plants).
peskhal	<i>n.</i>	prei	<i>v.</i> pray.
petarmul	<i>nloc.</i> Petarmul.	pukhuchi	<i>v.</i> mash using hand.
pete	<i>neg.</i> not.	pul	<i>v.</i> paddle.
pëlong	<i>v.</i> to light (fire).	pumken	<i>n.</i> pumpkin. <i>From:</i> Eng.
pëlpëlkhachëkh	<i>v.</i> go bad (coconut milk).	punchem	<i>v.</i> punch.
pëne	<i>n.</i> uncle.	punikhëwen	<i>n.</i> six days ago.
pëpen	<i>v.</i> break.	punlëm	<i>n.</i> five days ago.
pëpëkak	<i>v.</i> chicken cackle.	punru	<i>n.</i> day before yesterday.
përirirev	<i>nmod.</i> long.	puntil	<i>n.</i> three days ago.
Përkem	<i>npsn.</i> Perkem.	punvat	<i>n.</i> four days ago.
pi	already.	pupu	<i>n.</i> grandfather.
		putwat	<i>n.</i> grandmother.

R - r

- r* *clsf.* food.
-r *poss.pron.* 1pl in.
-r *poss.pron.* 3pl.
rait *v.* write. *From:* Bis.
raitem *v.* write. *From:* Bis.
rakhëm *n.* crab.
rakhtakh *v.* be ready, prepared.
ralen *n.* voice.
ram *nmod.* food:2sg from *r-* food classifier, -am 2sg.
ran *poss.* food:3sg from *r-* food classifier, -an 3sg.
ran *n.* breadfruit variety that can be baked and roasted.
ranënge *nmod.* sometimes.
rar *poss.* food:3pl from *r-* food classifier, -ar 3pl.
rarom *v.* wet.
rawi *n.* coconut crab.
rech *v.* say.
reiv *n.* waetwud; kenu tri. tree used for building canoes.
reker *v.* few.
rel *v.* go around.
rem *v.* pull (weeds).
rem *poss.* food:2pl from *r-* food classifier, -em 2pl.
ren *n.* time.
ren *v.* light.
ren ne natop *time.* Christmas.
renem *poss.* food:1pl excl. [*Note:* food:1pl.excl from *r-* food classifier, -enem 1pl.excl]
renënge sometimes.
rente *time.* when.
rer *v.* break, crack.
rer *poss.* food:1pl.incl from *r-* food classifier, -er 1pl.incl.
res *v.* pluck (as fowl).
reti *v.* ready. *From:* Bis.
revak *n.* sister-in-law.
rë- *pron.* 1pl in, 3pl.
rëke *v.* block.
rëkhen *v.* lift up s t.
rëkhes *v.* open, spread apart (legs).
rëlën *n.* egg.
rëlom *v.* swallow.
rëlong *v.* hang (clothes).
rëlrël *n.* taro stump.
rëlukh *nmod.* other.
rëmane *num.* and.
rëmelpar *n.* has a white trunk.
rënesisakh *n.* rice.
rëngën *prep.* in.
rësen *v.* grate, sharpen.
rësrës *v.* pluck.
- rëwakwak* *n.* k o tree.
rëwat *n.* thatch.
rëwen *conj.* and, with. [*Note:* This form may work the same as 'ron' - and/with]
ri *v.* look, see.
riakh *v.* shock, surprise.
rich botkot *v.* wear lavalava.
ririakh *v.* surprise, shock.
rispon *n.* reponse.
roch *v.* sick, fever.
rochan *n.* sickness, illness.
rok *poss.* food:1sg from *r-* food classifier, -ok 1sg.
rokh *v.* bend over.
rokho *n.* leaf.
rokho namel *n.* leaf used of sending messages (before).
rokho ne nalok *n.* laplap leaf.
rolem *v.* rolem. roll.
rom *v.* think.
rom *v.* wet.
romang se naul *n.* plant with stinging sap.
rombëchikh *n.* k o tree.
rombutala *n.* used as a decoration; often found in the bush.
romelngin *v.* forget.
romëre *n.* k o tree.
romrom *v.* think.
ron *conj.* and, with.
ronambe *n.* k.o leaf commonly used in laplap, edible.
rongo *v.* want, hear, feel.
rongomëne *v.* understand, know.
rongomënete *v.* know, understand.
rongote *v.* want, hear, feel.
rop lukhlukh *n.* wild kava.
rope kelkel *n.* nalalas; nalaslas. plant used for hedging but also edible leaves.
roplat *n.* letter (to send).
ropungpung *n.* dark green plant with small, tellow leaves.
roran *n.* morning. [*Note:* EB influence?]
rorap *n.* narara. Indian coral tree.
rorap porpor *n.* k o tree.
roren *n.* morning.
rororen *n.* morning.
rosor neni *n.* coconut leaf.
rov *v.* make, do.
rov *v.* heavy.
rove *n.* new yam.
rovrokh *v.* play.
rovrov *n.* afternoon.
rovrov *v.* play.
rovrovan *n.* fun, games.
rovsakh *n.* soft yam.
ru *num.* two.

rung *v.* painful, stinging.
rup *v.* kill.
rup betingitng *v.* beat drum.

rupin *v.* kill.
rur *v.* pin, sew.
ruru *num.* two.

S - s

s- *vmod.* irr.
sabbath *n.* Sabbath.
saed *n.* side.
sakh *v.* climb.
sakhara *v.* reach out (hand).
sakhra *v.* put hand on/over s t.
sal *v.* float.
sam *poss.pron.* 2sg poss.
samo *n.* ripe/chinese banana.
samon *v.* 1) steam. 2) burn of human body
accidentally by steam.
san *poss.pron.* 3sg poss.
sandalwood *n.* sandalwood.
Sandrine *npsn.* Sandrine.
Santo *nloc.* Santo.
santo *n.* soft yam.
sapotem *v.* support.
sar *poss.pron.* 3pl poss.
sar *n.* moonlight.
sarsal *v.* same.
sarsar *v.* fall down.
sasa *v.* prepare.
sasuv *v.* swim, wash.
sat *v.* 1) sad. sad, bad. 2)
— *v.* tabu. taboo.
sav *v.* dance.
save *v.* able, can.
savun *v.* dive.
se *nmod.* used for language and
relationships. i.e 'tate se jallin' father of
jalin.
second *nmod.* second.
sek *hab.*
seken *v.* carry on head.
selsel *v.* light (in weight).
sem *poss.pron.* 2pl poss.
sem *nmod.* same. *From:* Bis.
sen *v.* grate.
sene *inter.* who.
senem *poss.pron.* 1pl ex poss.
sep *v.* catch in hands.
ser *poss.pron.* 1pl in poss.
ser *v.* spear.
sesa *v.* prepare.
sev *v.* draw water, fetch water.
sëkhe *v.* nothing.
sëla *v.* arrive.
sëngavël *num.* ten.
sësal ?? together?

sësen *v.* to show.
sësëkhe *n.* nothing.
sësëre *v.* learn, teach.
sëteev *v.* rake garden.
shapes *n.* shapes. *From:* Eng.
sian *v.* pregnant.
signing *v.* signing.
siks *num.* six. *From:* Bis.
sip *v.* jump.
sisiv *v.* diarrhea.
ski *n.* slide. *From:* Bis.
skul *n.* school. *From:* Bis.
skul *v.* study. *From:* Bis.
skul fee *n.* school fees.
skhal *num.* wan. one.
sla *v.* arrive.
Smith *npsn.* Smith.
smol *vmod.* small, a little.
so *n.* thanks.
so *conj.* so. *From:* Eng.
so *conj.* or.
sok *poss.pron.* 1sg poss.
sor *v.* dip small laplap piece in coconut
milk.
sosom *n.* sister.
sospen *n.* sospen. saucepan.
sote *gram.* if.
south *n.* south. *From:* Bis.
sov *v.* shoot.
spel *n.* break.
spon *v.* join pieces.
star *v.* help.
stori *n.* stori. story.
stori *v.* tell a story.
storian 1) *n.* story. 2)
— *v.* storian. tell story.
sukatera *n.* used for boiling.
sul *v.* burn.
sunday *n.* Sunday.
sungun *v.* pour.
sup nambu *n.* a bamboo flute made of
buvaes.
surprise *v.* surprise. *From:* Eng.
susri *v.* follow.
susut *n.* sweet banana.
susut *n.* chayote.
suv *v.* blow.
symbols *n.* symbols. *From:* Eng.

T - t

table	<i>n.</i> table.	têrev	<i>v.</i> wait.
taem	<i>n.</i> taem. time.	têrtëra	<i>nmod.</i> old, rotten.
taitem	<i>v.</i> wrap, fasten. <i>From:</i> Bis.	têven	<i>v.</i> spread.
takh	<i>vmod.</i> later, after, behind.	têven	<i>v.</i> spread laplap or fire embers.
takhpos	<i>v.</i> cover s.t with wet bags.	têves	<i>v.</i> rub eyes.
talen	<i>n.</i> talent. <i>From:</i> Eng.	thousan	<i>num.</i> thousand. <i>From:</i> Bis.
tangkiu	<i>expres.</i> Thank you.	Thursday	<i>n.</i> Thursday. <i>From:</i> Eng.
taon	<i>n.</i> town.	tich	<i>v.</i> teach.
taro	<i>n.</i> taro.	ticha	<i>n.</i> teacher. <i>From:</i> Bis.
tate	<i>n.</i> father.	tichim	<i>v.</i> teach. <i>From:</i> Bis.
tava	<i>n.</i> extended family belonging to another nasara.	til	<i>num.</i> three.
te	<i>Rel.</i> se. that.	tiltil	<i>num.</i> three.
te	<i>neg.</i> neg2.	tin	<i>n.</i> tin. tin.
te	<i>v.</i> cut.	Tino	<i>npsn.</i> Tino.
teach	<i>v.</i> teach. <i>From:</i> Eng.	tir	<i>v.</i> start.
tech	<i>v.</i> cut.	titin	<i>v.</i> cook by roasting.
tekemaoutem	<i>v.</i> take out.	tituwe	<i>time.</i> before.
tekëwes	<i>v.</i> straighten pandanus leaves.	to	<i>v.</i> put.
tekh	<i>v.</i> pull, rake.	tokh	<i>v.</i> stay.
tep	<i>v.</i> germinate.	tokhoro	<i>v.</i> engage (wed).
tereng	<i>v.</i> scoop up, bale water.	tokhoron	<i>v.</i> cover.
term	<i>n.</i> term.	ton	<i>v.</i> poke.
terter	<i>v.</i> strong.	tovëkhes	<i>v.</i> separate.
tesëkh	<i>v.</i> get up, wake up, rise.	traem	<i>v.</i> try. <i>From:</i> Bis.
teso	<i>gram.</i> if.	trak	<i>n.</i> truck.
tev	<i>v.</i> call out.	tray	<i>n.</i> tray.
tevni	<i>v.</i> bury.	tri	<i>num.</i> three. <i>From:</i> bis.
tewo	<i>neg.</i> not?	tu	tu. too.
tëkhen	<i>v.</i> move s t.	tu	<i>num.</i> two. <i>From:</i> Bis.
tëkhes	<i>v.</i> rake to spread.	tukh	<i>v.</i> pound, knock.
tëpe	<i>v.</i> bake.	tukh sam	<i>off.</i> bitem (kok) blong yu. masturbate.
tëpen	<i>vmod.</i> first.	tukhun	<i>vmod.</i> well, good.
tëpis	<i>v.</i> spit.	tur	<i>v.</i> stand.
tëra	<i>adj.</i> 1) old, big. 2) ready.	tus	<i>v.</i> wipe (hands).
tëramu	<i>v.</i> go first.	tutukhun	<i>vmod.</i> well, good.
tërav	<i>v.</i> wait.	tuwe	before, old times.
Tërep	<i>nloc.</i> Tërep.	tuwes	<i>v.</i> wipe, rub.

U - u

ul	<i>v.</i> call out, shout.	us	<i>v.</i> rain.
us	<i>v.</i> hold.	usum	<i>v.</i> usum. use.

V - v

val	<i>v.</i> walk. [<i>Note:</i> Could be EB variety]	varvar	<i>n.</i> iron.
van	<i>v.</i> go.	varvar iwakwak	<i>n.</i> iron for digging.
vanëng	<i>v.</i> listen.	vat	<i>num.</i> four.
Vanuatu	<i>nloc.</i> Vanuatu.	vatvat	<i>num.</i> four.
varëkh	<i>n.</i> today.	vave	<i>n.</i> aunty.
varvar	<i>v.</i> pray.	vave	<i>v.</i> take as partner.

vave vakharu *n.* female cousin?
 -vaven *nmod.* daughter.
 ve *v.* make, do, use.
 ve *cop.* be.
 vecheren *v.* spread (mat).
 vekhpërev *v.* soon.
 vekhur *v.* soak clothes.
 velsen *v.* straighten laplap leaves.
 ver *v.* to dry.
 vesal *once upon a time.*
 vesen *v.* clean.
 veskhal *time.* one time.
 vet *v.* weave, plait.
 veve *iter.* gogo. on and on.
 vëcha *one place.*
 vëchokh *v.* clap.
 vëla *v.* run.
 vële *v.* cut.

vëlek *v.* bend.
 vëre *v.* sew.
 vial *v.* walk.
 vichtaro *n.* like 'sukatera' but goes red when
 cooked.
 video *n.* video.
 Vila *nloc.* Port Vila.
 vin *n.* arrow.
 vinakh *v.* steal.
 vis *v.* how many.
 visne *inter.*
 vlarel *v.* surround.
 vlelekh *n.* daughter-in-law, wife.
 volos *v.* change, turn, twist.
 vongon *v.* cover.
 vorongon *v.* collect, gather.
 vril *v.* shoot (with bow & arrow).
 vu *v.* to bear fruit.

W - w

waelo *n.* strong yam.
 Wal *nloc.* Wal.
 wan *num.* one. *From:* Bis.
 wasem *v.* wash.
 wash *v.* wash.
 watch *n.* watch.
 watchem *v.* watch.
 wawang *v.* open mouth.
 Wechmenëkh *nloc.* Wechmenekh.
 wekëkal *n.* lizard.
 wele *exp.*
 wer *v.* say.
 weratem *n.* long, ripe banana.
 werep *n.* sow.
 weri *here,* this place.
 werwar *v.* pray.
 werwerik *v.* small.
 werwerik *v.* tiny.
 weschem *n.* k o breadfruit.
 weskaul *n.* flower.
 weslesël *n.* small leaf with flowers; like
 wildcane with white seeds.
 west *n.* west. *From:* Bis.
 wetambol *n.* nakatambol. k o plant.
 wetar supsup *n.* football.
 wetep
 wik *n.* week. *From:* Eng.
 wiken *v.* weekend.

Wilakh *nloc.* Wilakh.
 wine *n.* wine.
 winim *v.* win/make.
 wis *v.* squeeze (coconut milk).
 wo *v.* say.
 wokhpërev *vmod.* (stay) long.
 wol *v.* sell, pay, buy.
 wolechlech *n.* worm.
 wolosu *n.* soft yam.
 wolwol *v.* sell, buy.
 womomëleŋg *n.* kari blo waetman. k o
 plant.
 won *v.* deaf.
 wopërokh *n.* utensil.
 woplak *n.* black nambalanggo.
 woplak samsam *n.* waet nambalanggo.
 leaf used for security when traveling at
 night, long distance, or alone. You must
 always take two leaves.
 wor *v.* be born.
 worat *v.* cry.
 worship *v.* worship.
 wulum *v.* whistle.
 wurle *n.* [Note: possibly a shaker like
 ornament worn around the ankle/wrist
 during custom dances, wearing
 traditional clothing.]
 wus *v.* white.

Y - y

yake v. collect.

yat v. sit.

yelekh v. heat over fire.

yes v. tear.

yet *vmod.* yet, still. *From:* Bis.

yia n. year.

yus v. yus. use.

yus v. use. *From:* Bi

Appendix H

List of Recordings

Toolbox Record/ WAV file	Track Name	Speakers
MLL.01	Thatch	Morrisen Delay
MLL.02	Bamboo	Belden Joe
MLL.03	Numbers	Belden Joe
MLL.04	Pandanus	Delylin Morrisen
MLL.05	Pandanus	Delylin Morrisen
MLL.06a	Barlakh	Delylin Morrisen
MLL.06b	Barlakh	Delylin Morrisen
MLL.07	Custom Story	Emilyn Ruben
MLL.08	Kindy	Emilyn Ruben
MLL.09	Garden	Emilyn Ruben
MLL.10	Rup Nēmeki	Edwin Jonas
MLL.11	Natop	Edwin Jonas
MLL.12	Nato	Kelly Jonas
MLL.13	Nalok Sosor	Kelly Jonas
MLL.14	Thatch Story	Morrisen Delay
MLL.15	Custom Story	Morrisen Delay
MLL.16	Custom House	Morrisen Delay
MLL.17	Custom Story	Sethy Daniel
MLL.18	Nalok Nambu	Lucy Delay
MLL.19	Basket	Lucy Delay
MLL.20	Neni	Jelin-Rose Joe
MLL.21	Fundraising	Jelin-Rose Joe
MLL.22	Flute	Emil Delay
MLL.23	Pig	Rumber Delay
MLL.24	Petarmul History	Rumber Delay
MLL.25	Rup Nēmeki	Rumber Delay
MLL.26	Copra	Kensley Joe
MLL.27	Gaka	Morrisen Delay
MLL.28	Nēmeki	Morrisen Delay
MLL.29	Wetembli	Morrisen Delay
MLL.30	Dēme Nalok	Morrisen Delay
MLL.31	Lafet	Lucy Delay, Emilyn Ruben, and Agathe Joe

MLL.32	Cooking	Emilyn Ruben and Jelin-Rose Joe
MLL.33	Storian	Belden Joe, Emilyn Ruben, and Kensley Joe
MLL.34	Toktok	Family Joe
MLL.35	House Building	Rexly Delay
MLL.36	Santo	Fredson Delay
MLL.37	Marriage	Belden Daniel
MLL.38	Closing	Waina Jonas, Judith Jonas, and Eslyn Jonas
MLL.39	Garden	Stephanie Jonas
MLL.40	Gardening	Stephanie Jonas
MLL.41	Tate	Edwin Jonas
MLL.42	Native Santo	Fredson Delay
MLL.43	Questions	Roger Jonas and Fredson Delay
MLL.44	TEK Interview	Eslyn Jonas
MLL.45	Day's Work	Eslyn Jonas
MLL.46	Last Sabbath	Judith Jonas
MLL.47	Afternoon Activities	Judith Jonas
MLL.48	Daily Activity	Eslyn Jonas
MLL.49	Recent Activities	Jelin-Rose Joe
MLL.50	Cyclone Bola	Jelin-Rose Joe
MLL.51	Coming Sabbath	Jelin-Rose Joe
MLL.52	Growing Up	Eddie Vane
MLL.53	Future Plans	Lucy Delay
MLL.54	Winning Lotto	Lucy Delay
MLL.55	Childhood Fun	Lucy Delay

Appendix H: List of recordings

Appendix I

Sample Texts

1. *Nalok Nambu* ‘Bamboo baked pudding’ [MLL.18]

This text is a procedural story told by Lucy Delay, describing the basic process for making *nalok nambu* ‘bamboo baked pudding (laplap)’. The text was recorded on 9 October 2012 during my first field trip.

- (1.1) *kënem tituwe brë-usum nambu te*
1PL.EXCL before 1PL.EXCL-use bamboo REL
bë-titin lalen
1PL.EXCL-cook inside
‘Us (excl) before, we (excl) used bamboo so that we (excl) could cook inside it.’

- (1.2) *brë-ve nalok brë-nes lalen*
1PL.EXCL-make pudding 1PL.EXCL-cook.in.bamboo inside
nambu
bamboo
‘We (excl) make pudding; we (excl) cook it inside the bamboo.’

- (1.3) *plek nambu brë-usum i-plek sospen tituwe*
like bamboo 1PL.EXCL-use 3SG-like saucepan before
‘Bamboo, we (excl) used it like a saucepan before.’

- (1.4) *brë-kurkur lalen brë-ve nalok*
1PL.EXCL-cook inside 1PL.EXCL-make pudding
i-van lalen brë-och
3SG-go inside 1PL.EXCL-eat
‘We cook inside it, we make pudding that goes inside it, and then we eat.’

(1.5) *kënem ron Kanau brë-van brë-kich*
 1PL.EXCL and Kanau 1PL.EXCL-go 1PL.EXCL-peel
taro brë-sen taro i-pol brë-tech
 taro 1PL.EXCL-grate taro 3SG-finish 1PL.EXCL-cut
 nambu
 bamboo

‘Us and Kanau, we (excl) go and peel taro, we grate the taro, when that’s finished we cut the bamboo.’

(1.6) *ale brë-lev nalok brë-s-khor*
 then 1PL.EXCL-take pudding 1PL.EXCL-IRR-scratch.coconut
i-van lalen nambu
 3SG-go inside bamboo

‘Then we (excl) take the pudding and we (excl) will scratch the coconut. It will go inside the bamboo.’

(1.7) *brë-ve nakham brë-titin nalok*
 1PL.EXCL-make fire 1PL.EXCL-cook pudding

‘We (excl) make a fire and we (excl) cook the pudding.’

(1.8) *i-mesëkh brë-te brë-to lalen plet*
 3SG-cooked 1PL.EXCL-cut 1PL.EXCL-put inside plate
brë-khor neni brë-wis
 1PL.EXCL-scratch.coconut coconut 1PL.EXCL-squeeze
lomton brë-och
 well 1PL.EXCL-eat

‘When it is cooked, we (excl) cut (it) and put (it) on a plate. We (excl) scratch the coconut and we (excl) squeeze it well (on the pudding) and we(excl) eat (it).’

(1.9) *tituwe kënem brë-usum nambu i-ve*
 before 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-use bamboo 3SG-be
sospen senem
 saucepan 1PL.EXCL.POSS
 ‘Before, we (excl) used bamboo as our saucepans.’

(1.10) *rente sospen i-nogat brë-usum nambu*
 when saucepan 3SG-not.have 1PL.EXCL-use bamboo
kha na brë-titin lalen brë-ve
 DEM now 1PL.EXCL-cook inside 1PL.EXCL-make
nalok lalen
 pudding inside
 ‘When there was no saucepan, we (excl) would use the
 bamboo. We (excl) would cook inside (it) and make pudding
 inside (it).’

(1.11) *brë-titin brë-och tituwe*
 1PL.EXCL-cook 1PL.EXCL-eat before
 ‘(That’s how) we (excl) cooked and ate before.’

(1.12) *so khanen kënem brë-ve nalok kha*
 so PRO.DEM 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-make pudding DEM
na
 now
 ‘So that’s how we we (excl) make the pudding now.’

(1.13) *brë-ve nalok taro i-mesëkh brë-lev*
 1PL.EXCL-make pudding taro 3SG-cooked 1PL.EXCL-take
brë-och
 1PL.EXCL-eat
 ‘We (excl) make taro pudding, when it’s cooked we (excl) take
 (it) and we (excl) eat (it).’

(1.14) *i-pol* *na*
 3SG-finish now
 ‘It is finished now.’

2. ‘Thatch Story’ [MLL.14]

The following story extract was recorded on 02 October 2012 during my first field trip. The story is a traditional story about how thatch came about which is told by Morrisen Delay.

(2.1) *so* *kënem* *kënem* *tuwe* *nënge* *kastom*
 so 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL before some 1PL.EXCL
senem *kastom* *senem* *na* *rëwat*
 1PL.EXCL.POSS 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.POSS now thatch
 ‘So us (excl), us (excl) before. Some of our (excl) custom. Our (excl) custom now is thatch.’

(2.2) *rëwat* *plek* *i-gat* *nimiar* *skhal* *te* *khaen*
 thatch like 3SG.have woman one REL 3SG
i-kamaot *po* *nënge* *bolko* *nëvet*
 3SG.come.out just LOC hole stone
 ‘Like thatch – there was a woman who came out from a cave.’

(2.3) *ale* *i-plek* *i-lol* *veve* *veve* *i-lalam* *i-lalam*
 so 3SG-like 3SG-live DUR DUR 3SG-big 3SG-big
ngete *i-me* *plek* *i-par* *i-par* *sek*
 and.then 3SG-come like 3SG-walk 3SG-walk IMP
i-tëpen *lelakh* *san* *skhal*
 3SG-first husband 3SG.POSS one
 So it’s like, she lived on and on until she was big. She was big and then she came and walked. She walked and then first (came across) her husband’

(2.4) *rente lelakh san i-wo 'oh khonu*
 when husband 3SG.POSS 3SG-say oh 1SG
në-les nokh në-laekem nokh në-wo te
 1SG-see 2SG 1SG-like 2SG 1SG-say SUB
khë-s-vave khonu'
 2SG-IRR-take.as.partner
 'When (then) her husband said 'Oh I see you and I like you, I say
 that you will take me (as your husband).'

(2.5) *so nimiar i-wo 'no khonu mëtan mama*
 so woman 3SG-say no 1SG CAUSE mother
sok i-ve po pepe sok i-ve
 1SG.POSS 3SG-be just mother 1SG.POSS 3SG-be
po denge navon po i-pete morov
 just thing nothing just 3SG-not alive
 'Then the woman said 'No, because my mother is just, my mother
 is just nothing, she isn't alive.'

(2.6) *ale khaen i-wo 'i-nam po so pepe*
 then 3SG 3SG-say 3SG-good just so mother
sam i-pete morov khonu n-rongote
 2SG.POSS 3SG-not alive 1SG 1SG-want
rë-s-van rë-s-les pepe sam
 1PL.INCL-IRR-go 1PL.INCL-IRR-see mother 2SG.POSS
 'Then he said 'It is okay, so your mother isn't alive. I want us (incl)
 to go and see your mother.'

(2.7) *ale nimiar i-tëramu ale khaen i-susri*
 so woman 3SG-go.first then 3SG 3SG-follow
 'So the woman went first and then he followed.'

3. 'TEK Interview' [MLL.44]

An extract of the only TEK interview done in Malua Bay is given below. The interview was conducted with Eslyn Jonas on 26 November during my first field trip.

- (3.1) *ok rente rē-s-van te rē-s- khar*
ok when 1PL.INCL-go SUB 1PL.INCL-IRR-learn 3PL
nēnge skul
LOC school
'Ok, we will go so that we will teach them at school.'

- (3.2) *rē-mas rē-s-lanem rē-s-ve nalok*
3PL-must 3PL-IRR-learn 3PL-IRR-make pudding
rē-s-lanem te rē-s-wasem dēkoko nevehur
3PL-IRR-learn SUB 3PL-IRR-wash small clothes
sar rē-s-rēlong nēnge nēmarēt
3PL.POSS 3PL-IRR-hang LOC rope
'They must learn to make pudding, and learn to wash their clothes a little and hang (them) on the clothes line.'

- (3.3) *i-gat denge i-lam te khar rē-sēsēre*
3SG-have thing 3SG-big SUB 3PL 3PL-learn
sek nēnge skul
IMP LOC school
'There are many things that they learn at school.'

- (3.4) *rente i-plek kha ra-mul me chi*
when 3SG-like DEM 3PL-return come LOC.HUM
mama sar lim
mother 3PL.POSS in.the.house
'When it's like that, they come and return to their mothers inside the house.'

4. 'Growing Up' [MLL.52]

This final text was recorded on 27 June 2013 during my second field trip. Eddie Vane talks about his life growing up until the present time.

- (4.1) *n-rov* *nim* *n-rov* *sek* *nim* *nim*
 1SG-make house 1SG-make IMP house house
se *dakhar* *rë-s-metër* *lalen*
 GEN.HUM European 3PL-IRR-sleep inside
 'I made houses. I (continually) made houses. Houses that Europeans would sleep in.'

- (4.2) *bë-rov* *nim* *plek* *bugalou* *te* *dakhar*
 OPT-make house like bungalow SUB European
rë-sa-lol *lalen* *dakhar*
 3PL-IRR-live inside EEuropean
 'I really wanted to make houses like bungalows that Europeans live in, Europeans.'

- (4.3) *i-pol* *na-pol* *Santo* *ren* *2009* *nokholo*
 3SG-finish 1SG-finish Santo time 2009 beginning
gaka *na-mul* *në-me*
 year 1SG-return 1SG-come
 'After that, I finished in Santo in 2009, at the beginning of the year I came and returned (home).'

- (4.4) *në-me* *Malakula* *kële* *na-mul* *në-me* *ron*
 1SG-come Malakula again 1SG-return 1SG-come with
dengtar *sok* *chilling* *te* *në-wol* *Santo*
 belongings 1SG.POSS all SUB 1SG-buy Santo
dengtar *sok* *chilling*
 belongings 1SG.POSS all
 'I came to Malakula again, I came and returned with all of my belongings that I bought in Santo. All of my belongings.'

(4.5) *i-pol* *në-me* *Malakula* *kële* *nokholo*
 3SG-finish 1SG-come Malakula again beginning
gaka *r-us* *miting* *skhal* *erwe* *kha*
 year 3PL-hold meeting one downwards DEM
 ‘After that, I came to Malakula again. At the beginning of the year
 they were holding a meeting down there.’

(4.6) *n-les* *mama* *se* *dokomaren* *na*
 1SG-see mother GEN.HUM boy now
n-les *mama* *se* *Linden*
 1SG-see mother GEN.HUM Linden
 ‘I saw the boy’s mother now. I saw Linden’s mother.’

(4.7) *n-les* *khaen* *ni-mimin* *khaen* *‘n-rongo* *nokh*
 1SG-see 3SG 1SG-ask 3SG 1SG-want 2SG
n-rongo *jë-varen* *nokh* *i-plek* *nimiar*
 1SG-want 1SG.IRR-engage 2SG 3SG-like woman
te *i-ve* *sok’* *i-wer* *‘i-nam* *po’*
 SUB 3SG-be 1SG.POSS 3SG-say 3SG-good just
 ‘I saw her and I asked her ‘I want you. I want to be engaged to
 you like a woman that is mine’. She said ‘Ok’.