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A Grammar Sketch of Uripiv

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of
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at
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by
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THE UNIVERSITY OF
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Abstract

A Grammar Sketch of Uripiv presents a synchronic description of the grammar of Northeast Malakula/Uripiv. Uripiv is a language spoken by roughly 9,000 people, primarily on Uripiv Island in the Republic of Vanuatu. The data used for this project comprises 68 short stories, 15 audio recordings that were collected by the Malakula Languages Project and Dr Julie Barbour, and an Uripiv dictionary and unpublished grammar sketch created by missionary linguist Ross McKerras. This thesis presents a description of phonology, nouns and the noun phrase, verbs and the verb complex, verbal modifiers, clause structure, and complex clauses and predicates. The phonological system of Uripiv is complex and highly salient to any description of the language, with a number of key phonological processes discussed. This includes vowel harmony, dissimilation, and vowel deletion, which produce varying forms of verbal prefixes and verb roots. Also of particular interest are the nominal topics of relativisation and possession. The verbal modifiers section identifies unique sub-groups of post-verbal modifiers: post-verbal modifiers attracted to the negator, fixed post-verbal modifiers, and post-verbal modifiers not found in negative clauses. The basic word order of Uripiv is SVO, with both transitive and intransitive clauses following this ordering. A nominative accusative morphosyntactic alignment is encoded through constituent ordering and agreement morphology inflected on the verb. Finally, complex clauses are discussed, with a description of subordinate clauses, clausal conjunctions, and complex predicates such as serial verb constructions. Subordinate clauses are also of particular interest in Uripiv as they display several patterns of mood marking. Serialisation is used to encode complex actions.

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Abbreviations

ACT	action	1	first person
ADV	adversative mood	2	second person
ANIM	animate	3	third person
AUG	augmented		
cf	cross-reference		
CO	conjunction		
COM	comitative		
COMPL	completative		
CONJ	conjunction		
COOKED	cooked classifier		
DEM	demonstrative		
DIST	distal		
DRINK	drinkable liquid classifier		
DU	dual		
DUP	reduplication		
EGR	egressive aspect		
EXCL	exclusive		
GEN	general		
IMM	immediate		
IMPF	imperfective		
INCL	inclusive		
INDF	indefinite		
INSTR	instrument		
INTR	interrogative		
IRR	irrealis mood		
k.o	kind of		
LIM	limiter		
LOC	locative		
MOD	modifier		
NEG	negator		
NH	non-human		
OBJ	object		
PERF	perfect		
PL	plural		
POL	politeness marker		
POSS	possessive		
PREP	preposition		
PROX	proximal		
REAL	realis		
REP	repetition		
s.t	something		
SG	singular		
SUB	subordinator		
SUBJ	subjunctive mood		
SUCC	successful action		
TOT	totally		
TRANS	transitive		

1. Introduction

This thesis is a synchronic description of grammatical topics in the Northeast Malakula/Uripiv language. These grammatical topics include: phonology, nouns and nominal modifications, verbs and the verb complex, verbal modifiers, clause structure, and complex clauses. This project will be the first comprehensive grammar sketch of Uripiv, covering these topics, which provide a detailed account of the language phonologically and morphosyntactically.

Uripiv is a language spoken by roughly 9,000 people on Uripiv Island and the adjacent mainland of Malakula Island in the Republic of Vanuatu. This introductory chapter will provide an overview of Uripiv, discussing the primary speaking locations, its genetic affiliations, previous research, a description of the data types, and methods of data processing.

1.1 Geographic and Linguistic Context

Northeast Malakula¹/Uripiv is an Oceanic language which is spoken in the Republic of Vanuatu. The Republic of Vanuatu is a volcanic archipelago which is comprised of 82 small islands. Sixty-five of these islands are inhabited, with a total population of 272,459 people (Vanuatu National Statistics Office, 2016). Estimations of the numbers of distinct indigenous languages vary from 105 to 138 (Lynch & Crowley, 2001: 1; François et al. 2015), with Ethnologue most recently

¹ Also spelled Malekula

listing 113 (Simons & Fennig, 2017). It is believed Vanuatu has the highest number of distinct languages per head of population (Crowley, 2006c: 3; Lynch, Ross, & Crowley, 2002), making Vanuatu both incredibly linguistically and culturally diverse.

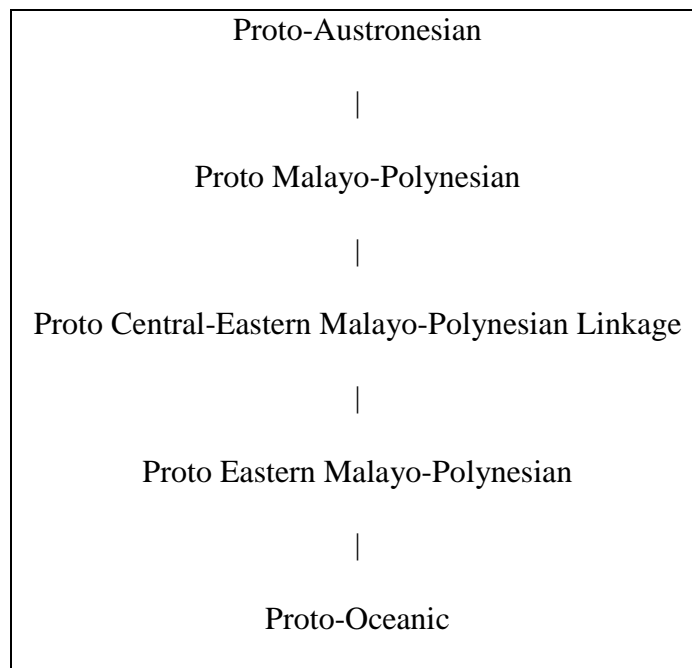
The Uripiv language variety is spoken primarily on Uripiv Island and the adjacent mainland of Malakula Island, which is the second largest island in Vanuatu, after Espiritu Santo. Malakula has a population of 31,556 (Vanuatu National Statistics Office, 2016: 95). There are twenty-four actively spoken languages on Malakula (alongside French, English, and Bislama), Uripiv has the largest estimated number of speakers in both Malakula and in Vanuatu with an estimated 9,000 (Ethnologue, 2018; François et al., 2015; Lynch & Crowley, 2001). This is 7,000 speakers above the average number of speakers per indigenous language in Vanuatu (Lynch & Crowley, 2001: 5). There are also fifteen moribund languages spoken on Malakula Island, which are spoken by few elderly people, and eight languages which are considered extinct (Lynch & Crowley, 2001: 6).

Uripiv is described as part of a dialect chain from Atchin Island in the north, through Wala, and Rano, to Uripiv Island further south. It is estimated there is as much as 85% lexical similarity between the extremes of the chain: Uripiv and Atchin (Ethnologue, 2018). However, there is debate as to whether or not they are distinct languages, with the Atchin language variety being considered separate by its speakers (J. Barbour, personal communication, June 8, 2018). Uripiv has been graded as a developing language (status five), whose first-language speakers have a 10-30% literacy rate in Uripiv and then 25-50% in a second-language, likely the Melanesian Pidgin Bislama (Ethnologue, 2018).

1.2 Genetic Affiliation

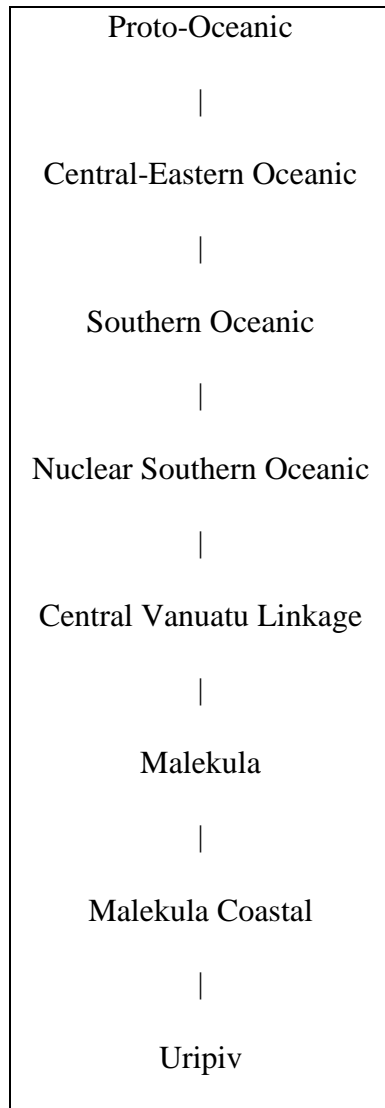
Uripiv is an Oceanic language which, like the 450 other Oceanic languages, belongs to the Austronesian language family. The Austronesian language family has around 1200 member languages, making it the second largest language family in the world (Lynch, et al., 2002: 1).

Figure 1: The Genetic Relationship between Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Oceanic



The genetic relationship between Proto-Oceanic and the Uripiv language is shown in Figure 2, adapted from Ross et al., (2011: 466).

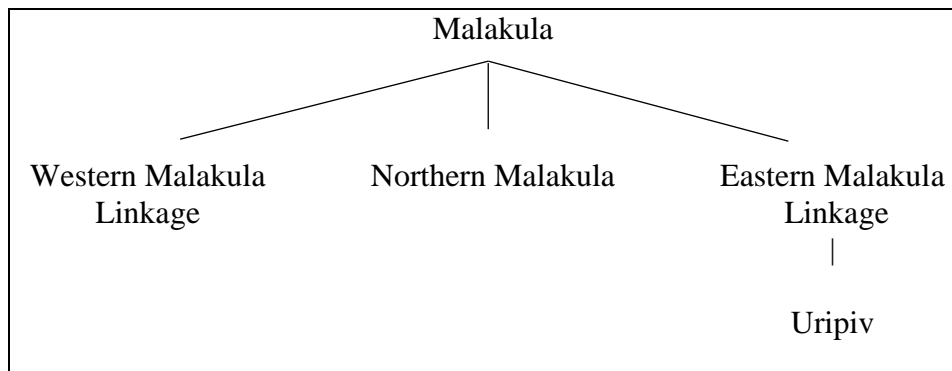
Figure 2: The Genetic Relationship between Proto-Oceanic and Uripiv



Ross et al (2011) classifies Uripiv as belonging to the Malekula Coastal subgroup; however, in the following classification by Lynch (2016a), Uripiv is classified as belonging to the Eastern Malakula Linkage. Lynch's system of classifying Malakula languages is much simpler, with only three distinct groups of languages, compared to Ross et al (2011: 466).

Lynch (2016: 405) classifies Uripiv as a language belonging to the Eastern Malakula Linkage.

Figure 3: Lynch's Internal Classifications and Uripiv



1.3 Previous Linguistic Research

A Comparative Study of the Melanesian Languages by Ray (1926) provides the first of many grammar sketches published on the languages of Melanesia. Ray (1926: 284-293) provides a short grammar sketch of the Uripiv-Wala-Rano-Atchin dialect chain. This is still the only published grammatical account of Uripiv. The grammar sketch was based on materials collected from Uripiv Island. Ray (1926) describes vowel and consonant sounds; articles; nouns; pronouns; possession; adjectives; verbs; tense, aspect and mood; adverbs; prepositions; conjunctions; and numerals. Although brief, Ray covers a broad range of grammatical topics in Uripiv, with examples sourced from Biblical translations.

In addition to Ray's (1926) grammar sketch, the language appears in a number of comparative studies. Tryon and Clark both provide comparative phonologies of Vanuatu languages. Darrell Tryon published *New Hebrides Languages: An internal classification* (1976). This was a systematic comparison and classification of the languages of Vanuatu, written over a period of seven years. This book

presents a comparative wordlist of close to 300 words in 179 language varieties, of which Uripiv-Wala-Rano² is one. The entire volume comprises lists of elicited words, it does not contain any examples of text data. In his work, Tryon (1976) describes Uripiv as belonging to the subgroup ‘North and Central New Hebrides Group → Malakula Coastal Subgroup’. A more recent comparative work is by Ross Clark, who published **Leo tuai: A comparative lexical study of North and Central Vanuatu languages* in 2009. Like Tryon (1976), Clark uses Tryon’s (1976) wordlists 93-95 to form his analysis, however Clark’s (2009) work is a historical comparative, aiming to reconstruct ancestral forms of the north and central Vanuatu languages. Clark’s (2009: 33-35) discussion of Uripiv provides a brief description of the background of the language, the phoneme inventory, changes to Uripiv consonants and vowels from Proto North-Central Vanuatu, and comparative vocabulary examples between the Uripiv and PNCV forms. Clark groups Malakula languages into 10 ‘local groups’ which share 70% or higher rates of cognacy, based on Tryon’s data (Lynch, 2016: 404). Clark groups Uripiv into group number 8, along with Vovo, Vao, and Botovro (Lynch, 2016: 405).

The most recent comparative study of Malakula languages is by John Lynch (2016), who uses comparative phonology to determine internal subgroupings for the Malakula languages. Lynch classifies Uripiv as a language belonging to the Eastern Malakula Linkage (2016: 411). The Eastern Malekula Linkage also contains: Unua, Aulua, Banam Bay, Bwenelang, Nisvai, Lamap, Uluveu, Avok, Nasvang, and Axamb; however, Uripiv is spoken considerably further north of these other languages and is separated from the Eastern Malekula Linkage

² Wala and Rano have been considered dialects of the Uripiv-Wala-Rano-Atchin dialect continuum.

languages by five languages which do not belong to the Eastern Malakula Linkage (Lynch, 2016: 411). Lynch's analysis was based on data from available grammars and dictionaries (Lynch, 2016). For Uripiv data, Lynch used missionary linguist Ross McKerras' unpublished grammar sketch and dictionary for the Uripiv data (see 1.5). Many of Malakula's languages do not have detailed grammatical accounts and are only represented in wordlists. Where the wordlists were required, Lynch used Tryon (1976) or Charpentier (1982), who collected word lists for the languages of southern Malakula. Lynch bases his sub-groupings on phonological innovations instead of Morphosyntactic patterns, as minimal grammatical information was available on approximately two thirds of the languages.

Uripiv has also been referenced in studies of comparative morphosyntax. Barbour (2015) discusses Uripiv in terms of standard negation, and Lynch (2016) discusses Uripiv in terms of numeral systems. In her work on the Jespersen cycles of Malekula, Barbour (2015) gives a detailed account of standard negation in Uripiv. This article presents a three-page case study of the standard negation strategies of Uripiv, as part of a comparative study into the negation patterns of Malekula languages. Barbour used examples taken from McKerras' unpublished materials, as well as new audio recordings she collected for the Malekula Languages Project. In his paper "Numeral systems, internal subgrouping, and language contact in Malakula", Lynch (2016b) considers numeral systems in order to subgroup 32 of Malakula languages. Lynch (2016b: 98) describes Uripiv's numeral system as an 'imperfect decimal' with numerals six–nine formed with compounds, a monomorphemic word for ten, and twenty marked as two tens.

This brief survey of linguistic research indicates that a more comprehensive study of Uripiv is much needed.

1.4 Publically Available Data

In addition to the existing, although limited research that references the Uripiv language variety, there are several other publically available Uripiv resources, specifically sources of lexical data, and some text material. In his book *Malekula: A vanishing people in the New Hebrides* (1934), Deacon provides detailed ethnographic information about Malakula. During his description of Malakula peoples and languages, Deacon discusses various aspects of life on Uripiv Island (1934: 123-129), and includes seventeen kin terms in Uripiv (Deacon, 1934: 125). Lebot and Cabalion (1986: 89) include Uripiv names for half a dozen kava varieties (Lynch & Crowley, 2001: 80-81). Lynch et al (2001: 81) also describe a series of legacy materials that involve translated religious materials.

The story of the eel and other stories (McKerras, 2004) is a collection of five traditional stories with translations published as part of the Oral Arts Project. This includes: *Jilweren ne era* ‘The story of the eel’, and *Jilweren ne Leseserrkab san* ‘The story of a leseserrkab’ told by Elder Mark; *Nivelen se nemwi jinibb nga mimij* ‘The journey of the dead’ by Chief Sukon; *Jilweren ne bipi eru nga moroksan moroklik jer* ‘The two children left behind’ by Frank Kenneth; and *Niaken esngavul* ‘The Lebon brothers’ by John Regenvanu. These stories written in Uripiv have approximate translations in English and French; however, the translations do not align sentence by sentence, which makes it difficult to analyse the Uripiv data without the help of a native speaker.

The New Testament has also been translated into Uripiv by the Bible Society of the South Pacific (2006), as *Naul On Nga Mimerr Uripiv*. Missionary Ross McKerras was involved in the development of the New Testament translation.

Lynch and Crowley (2001: 81) also identify other sources of Uripiv data, including those by McKerras. McKerras (1988) provides a discussion of number in Uripiv. McKerras (1996) provides a discussion of borrowings in Uripiv, looking at grammatical changes occurring as a result of the borrowings.

The Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History in Jena, Germany, sent researchers to Malakula, in 2015-2016, with the aim of replicating the wordlists collected by Tryon (1976). Project leader Russell Grey runs the ongoing *Vanuatu Languages and Lifeways*. This project also collected some audio data, which includes a song: *A boat*, sung in Uripiv by Young John. This data is available from the PARADISEC archive.

Although there is some published data for Uripiv, the lack of clause by clause translations meant the data could only be used with the help of native speakers. My personal health concerns meant I was unable to undertake fieldwork, and so I have made use of other resources for the study of Uripiv.

1.5 Unpublished Resources - Data for the Grammar Sketch of Uripiv

Missionary linguist Ross McKerras recorded an enormous volume of spoken data in the form of handwritten notes, during the 1980s and 1990s, when he lived with the Uripiv community. McKerras' main work was in the community translating the New Testament; however, his observations of the language allowed him to create a substantial dictionary of Uripiv. The dictionary is three hundred and

twenty-five pages long, and is filled with lexemes, their definitions, and multiple examples of most lexemes in use. The example material in the dictionary is an important data source for this project, and is treated as “legacy” data, to be compared with data more recently collected for the project. Examples from McKerras’ dictionary are referenced in text as [Dictionary-Word].

Along with the dictionary, McKerras also wrote a short a grammar sketch. His grammar sketch is divided into four sections: phonology, the noun phrase, the verb phrase, and syntax. The sketch has provided the starting point for the analysis presented in this thesis. The phonology section provides six descriptive pages of the phonological system of the language. It begins by providing the consonant phonemes of the language and descriptions of notable features per phoneme, including: allomorphy, contrast (or loss of), neutralisation, loss of consonants, long sounds, and phonemic status. This is followed by a discussion of phonotactics, which begins with stress, before moving on to phonological processes involving vowels. These phonological processes outline vowel harmony, two dissimilation processes, and vowel deletion. Finally, the orthography of the language is discussed. The phonological material is incorporated into chapter 2 of this thesis.

The noun phrase section of McKerras’ grammar sketch comprises eleven pages of analysis. This section begins with a discussion of pronouns, including locative and demonstrative pronouns, before describing animate, locative, and temporal nouns. Derivational processes are then discussed, with McKerras outlining nominalisation processes. Following this, nominal modifiers are discussed, including: adjectives, numerals, number markers, and emphatic particles, before McKerras provides a basic noun phrase structure diagram. An account of

possession, both direct and indirect, is provided, as well as a description of relative clause structures. This material is incorporated into chapter 3 and 4 of this thesis.

McKerras' sketch of the verb phrase is twenty pages long, describing many features of the verb phrase. A description and paradigm is provided for all of the first-order subject/mood prefixes, followed by a description of the second-order prefix *ok-* and the third-order *a-*. An account of a stative prefix is provided, before discussing transitive, intransitive, and ambitransitive verbs and their morphology. Non-core arguments are then discussed, with an in-depth discussion of the instrument marker *e*. Then a basic verb phrase structure is provided for both the affirmative and negative verb phrases. McKerras also discusses verb serialisation and reduplication. This material is incorporated into chapters 5 to 8 of this thesis.

The syntax component of the grammar sketch comprises six pages of analysis. To begin, a general formula for phrase structure is provided. 'Verbless clauses', the core arguments of verbless clauses, and non-core arguments of verbless clauses, including: locative and temporal, instrument, cause, benefactor, and accompaniment are described. Then a distinction is made between declarative, imperative, and interrogative sentences. Finally, a discussion of complex sentences takes place, analysing coordination and subordination strategies in Uripiv. This material is incorporated into various sections of chapters 6, 7, and 8.

In addition to the legacy materials of Ross McKerras, the corpus developed for this project also includes Uripiv data from the Malekula Languages Project. Included in the corpus are fifteen recordings of native speakers of Uripiv. These recordings were collected by my supervisor Dr Barbour in Port Vila during field

trips in 2013 and 2014. This data is stored in the Malekula Languages Project Archive at the University of Waikato. See Appendix I for details of these audio recordings.

The main body of the current Uripiv corpus comprises short written texts, which were translated during Ministry of Education and Training workshops in 2015 and 2016. The materials were translated by Uripiv school teachers Ansen Veremaito and Ennelly Longa, with technical support from University of Waikato student volunteer Louise Kendall. Permission was granted by the teachers to use these resources for linguistic analysis, prior to their formal publication.

There are 67 short stories in the corpus of readers, each of varying length and complexity that have been translated into Uripiv. These stories are suitable for each stage of literacy, from beginner readers to more proficient readers. The simpler short stories were initially used for vocabulary and phrase structure, while the longer texts provided more complex structural data. The one drawback to these stories is that they were translated from Bislama texts and they are likely to be affected by that language. See Appendix II for the list of readers. Examples from these readers are referenced in text as [ReaderName_ExampleNumber].

The audio recordings and school readers described in this section have formed the basis of the Uripiv Corpus that has been analysed for this project. The newly collected data is largely consistent with the legacy data collected by Ross McKerras, although where differences do occur, these are highlighted in the grammar sketch. Examples from these recordings are referenced in text as [RecordingName_ExampleNumber].

1.6 Data Processing

In order to conduct a linguistic analysis of the Uripiv language, the Uripiv corpus was processed using the Linguist's Toolbox. Toolbox is an open source program created by the Summer Institute of Linguistics to enable linguists to analyse data more easily (Summer Institute of Linguistics, 2018). It allows linguists to create a dictionary which contains all morphemes and lexical items the researcher finds in the data. When a text is entered into Toolbox, the user can access the dictionary to parse the text and identify morphemes within text data. The process speeds up exponentially as more morphemes are identified and entered into the dictionary.

Items may be entered into the dictionary by selecting an item occurring in a text and adding information about the item into the dictionary. When information about the lexeme is added, several details can be included. The main field markers used for this project are \lx 'lexeme, \ps 'part of speech, \sd 'semantic domain, \ge 'gloss english', and \gn 'gloss national'. Other markers may be added according to the needs of the linguist. Markers commonly used in this project include: \nt 'note, \sn 'sense', \cf 'cross-reference', \xv 'example vernacular' and \xe 'example free translation'.

Figure 4: Toolbox Dictionary

\lx Lexeme	\ps Part of speech	\ge Gloss (E)
lat	n	place
lekter	n	woman
lemetiti	n	truck
ling	n	wind
lingserser	n	strong wind
lipti	n	tea
livaliv	n	rainbow
live	n	middle
liwe	n	tooth
lolmarrul	n	bush
lurumrum	n	whale
lut	n	place
maket	n	market
mango	n	mango
mauren	n	life
mebbu	n	grandchild
melrin	n	sky
menu	n	nest
mer	n	man
merre	n	mother
mesal	n	fish
metai	n	sapling

The field marker \ps refers to part of speech, prompting the user to determine whether the morpheme is a noun, verb, modifier, or other, which will then appear in the \ps line of interlinearised text. The next marker \sd allows the user to enter a semantic category that the morpheme belongs to. The marker \ge provides a space for the user to enter an English gloss for the morpheme, which will appear in the \ge line of the interlinearised text. The marker \gn is similar to \ge, in that it is a place to enter a gloss. In \gn the gloss entered is in a national language, in this project that is Bislama, the Melanesian Pidgin.

Figure 5: Toolbox Lexeme Entry

\lx Lexeme	davö
\ps Part of speech	<i>n</i>
\ge Gloss (E)	conch shell
\gn Gloss (n)	<i>bubusel</i>
\dt Date (last edited)	17/Dec/2017

The original text can be prepared using Toolbox's interlinearising function. It is broken up into four levels of analysis, the first being the \tx 'text' level, which shows the original text with no alterations. The second is the \mb 'morpheme break' which breaks the \tx level up into separate morphemes. The third is \ge 'gloss English' which contains the English gloss for the morphemes. The fourth is \ps 'part of speech'. Finally, there is the \ft or 'free translation' of the text.

As the text data for this project, along with translations, were entered into Toolbox, independent and bound morphemes were entered into the dictionary and the texts were interlinearised, in preparation for analysis. McKerras's dictionary provided in-depth detail on word meanings and usage and this information was invaluable when parsing texts and creating dictionary entries.

Figure 6: Interlinearised Text in Toolbox

Toolbox - [Backup of upv_octopus.txt]

File Edit Database Project Tools Checks View Window Help

[no filter]

\id	upvt06
\nt	Elita tells the story of the daughter of an octopus.
\sect	report
\ref	Ref.001
\tx	Ngel evi jilweren se... nesevin san nga
\mb	ngel o- vi jilweren sev nesevin san nga
\ge	dems1 3sg.r- be, become story what female indef. rel
\ps	dems.det subj- v n n n nmod nmod
\tx	miplari re nait
\mb	mi- pi- la -r -i renge nait
\ge	3sg.r2- 3sg.irr- take -pl.obj -tr loc octopus
\ps	subj- subj- vt -obj -vmod prep n
\ft	(Hem ia hemi storian blong wan woman we i kamaot long nawita).
\wav	upv_octopus.wav 0 9.442
\ref	Ref.002
\tx	jilweren ngel erpel:
\mb	jilweren ngel o- rpel
\ge	story dems1 3sg.r- like this
\ps	n dems.det subj- v
\ft	(Storian ia olsem:)
\wav	upv_octopus.wav 9.442 12.698
\ref	Ref.003
\tx	Nabong san ko bwipwareng san elai
\mb	nabong san ko bipiwarreng san o- lai
\ge	day indef. conj child indef. 3sg.r- take
\ps	tmp nmod conj n nmod subj- v
\tx	nevisen, neliw sen nir ko ok
\mb	nevis -n neliw s -n nir ko ok-
\ge	bow -3sg arrow genH -3sg.poss 3pl conj rep/hab-
\ps	ns -obj n gen -poss pron conj tam-

Figure 7: McKerras' Dictionary

<p>m̄inij <i>adj.</i> the rest, the others; different, unusual. <i>Nga m̄inij nir</i> The others. <i>Nanu m̄inij ko</i> That is something different. <i>Elekʂen ne Kavman evijuri sel m̄inij, ko elekʂen ne Lokal Kavman evijuri sel m̄inij</i> National and local body elections are held according to different rules. <i>Nanu nga m̄inijije san</i> Something very unusual. <i>From enij.</i></p> <p>miniv <i>n.</i> yesterday.</p> <p>miniv nen the day before. Antonym: mevi.</p> <p>minmaniv <i>vroot, adv.</i> thin. <i>Dis obbun minmaniv</i> The sea is shallow. <i>From eminmaniv.</i></p> <p>minminen <i>n.</i> drinking; drunkenness; a drink. <i>From emin(min).</i></p> <p>biles minminen drinking-cup (Gillan nubo 5:4).</p> <p>minminuwi <i>n.</i> (or menmeno) dragonfly; damselfly; swiftlet. (The swiftlet (usual name gerkerial) also bears this name because it drinks by skimming the water in flight.) <i>From eminmin + nuwi.</i></p> <p>mirr <i>adj.</i> ripe. <i>See emirr.</i></p> <p>m̄irrek <i>n.</i> Puzzle-tree. (<i>Kleinhovia hospita</i>) <i>Bislama:</i> namatal. <i>M̄irrek ela nabb ngavilvilʂen daron nga mariti</i> The puzzle-tree catches alight quickly when rubbed to make fire.</p> <p>m̄irrek worwor a kind of puzzle-tree. (Suitable for rafters in house construction.)</p> <p>mirrmirr (or mirremirr) <i>adj.</i> light blue or green</p>	<p>miser <i>n.</i> a kind of fish capable of changing colour for camouflage. (<i>Siganus oramin</i>.)</p> <p>mismis <i>n.</i> a kind of tree. (<i>Garuga floribunda</i>) <i>Bislama:</i> namalaus.</p> <p>m̄ism̄is <i>adj.</i> greasy; shiny. <i>See em̄ism̄is.</i></p> <p>misrevrev <i>n.</i> <i>See namis revrev.</i></p> <p>mitu <i>n.</i> uncle (mother's brother or brother-cousin).</p> <p>mitwen his uncle. <i>See metulu, metka. (Y1: mituk – my uncle, suggests mitucn)</i></p> <p>mo- (or m̄e-, me-) <i>PRO.</i> I; first person singular realis subject prefix. (see Grammar section 3.1.)</p> <p>mob <i>n.</i> (or mobb) gecko (small and dark-coloured). <i>Poro kuprevji mob, ko tau som pimij</i> If you kill a gecko, your mother will die. <i>See mokoblab.</i></p> <p>mobkel <i>n.</i> a kind of banana. <i>From mob + ekel.</i> Its fruit are so close together that not even a mob can get between them. <i>See navij.</i></p> <p>moi! (or mai, oi, ai) <i>excl.</i> yoo-hoo! (calling out to find someone). <i>See omoi.</i></p> <p>moivel <i>n.</i> Banded Sea Krait. (<i>Laticauda colubrina / laticaudata</i>.)</p>
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1.7 Data Analysis

The analysis was undertaken primarily with the new written and audio corpus and then verified against data from the legacy material in McKerras' dictionary and grammar sketch. Where gaps existed in the data, data was taken from McKerras' work to fill the gaps. In preparation for this project I completed a preliminary description of possession in Uripiv, using the 23 most basic readers in the Uripiv corpus, the *I Can Read* series. The thesis project was developed in a Research Methods course, where I created an outline of the thesis topics. Finally, I completed a literature review of Oceanic language typology, written up as a

dissertation. The review covered a range of typological topics of relevance to Oceanic and Malekula languages. These topics included: possession; nominal modification (quantifiers, numerals, demonstratives, adjectives); argument indexing; tense aspect and mood; serial systems; basic constituent order; morphosyntactic alignment; relativisation; and standard negation.

Although McKerras's legacy materials were the most important resource for this project, I referenced many other grammars and grammar sketches of Vanuatu languages during the analysis of the Uripiv data, including: Neverver (Barbour, 2012), Espiegles Bay (Holmes, 2014), Lolovoli (Hyslop: 2001), Malua Bay (Wessels, 2013), Unua (Pearce, 2015), and V'ënen Taut (Dodd, 2014). I also referenced typological accounts of the Oceanic languages, such as: *The Oceanic Languages* (Lynch, et al., 2002), and "The Morphosyntactic Typology of the Oceanic Languages" (Ross, 2004). These resources were invaluable to my own research as they allowed me to contrast and compare the Uripiv data against similar languages in order to discuss structures and processes.

More general frameworks were adopted to complete the overall analysis. A genetic affiliation of Uripiv was provided by Ross, Pawley, and Osmond (2011). The framework used to describe Uripiv possession is Haspelmath (2008). The discussion of argument indexing, including subject and object marking, and pronouns, also used Haspelmath (2013). Frameworks for tense, aspect and mood included Payne (1997, 2006) and Whaley (1997). Standard negation was discussed using Miestamo (2005, 2007). Frameworks for basic constituents included: Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002), Payne (1997), and Ross (2004). Ross (2004) was also used as a framework for discussing morphosyntactic alignment, as were Dryer (2013a, b, c), and Payne (1997). Relativisation and subordination

were discussed using Dryer (2007), Keenan and Comrie (1972), and Noonan (2007). Frameworks for discussing serialisation were Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006), Durie (1997), Haspelmath (2016), and Barbour (2012).

1.8 Outline of the Thesis

The analysis of Uripiv is presented in 7 chapters. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the phonology of Uripiv, including contrasting consonant sounds, vowel sounds, phonotactic constraints, syllable structure, phonological processes, stress patterns, intonation, and orthographic representation. Chapter 3 on nominals describes pronouns, noun classes, coordination, and derivational processes. Chapter 4 on the noun phrase describes nominal modifiers, relativisation, anaphors, and possession. Chapter 5 moves to the analysis of verbs and the verb complex. Bound verbal morphology is described first, followed by an account of verb classes and derivational processes. In chapter 6, post-verbal modifiers are classified, including three structural types: post-verbal modifiers attracted to the negator, fixed post-verbal modifiers, and post-verbal modifiers not attested in negative clauses. Chapter 7 on clause structure covers the structure of verbal and non-verbal clauses, obliques, standard negation, interrogatives, imperatives, reflexives, reciprocals, and clausal modifiers. The thesis ends with two chapters on complex clauses. Chapter 8 provides an account of subordinate clauses and clausal conjunction, while chapter 9 describes nuclear and core serial verb constructions. Finally, a note is made on the limitations of the thesis and plans for future work.

2. Overview of Phonology

This chapter provides an overview of the phonological system of Uripiv.

Consonants are discussed in 2.1, vowels in 2.2, phonotactic constraints and syllable structure in 2.3, phonological processes in 2.4, stress patterns in 2.5, intonation in 2.6, and orthographic representation in 2.7.

2.1 Consonants

Table 1: The Consonant Inventory

		bilabial	alveolar	velar
plosive	plain	p	t	k
	prenasalised	b	d	g
nasal		m	n	ŋ
trill	plain		r	
	prenasalised	(B)	D	
flap			r	
fricative		β	s	
affricate	plain			tʃ
lateral approximant			l	
approximant			j	

Data for the Uripiv language shows 17 contrastive consonant phonemes. The major places of articulation for the language are bilabial, alveolar, and velar, with a post-alveolar affricate. The status of the labial consonants [β] and [w] is discussed at length in section 2.1.9. These segments are treated as phonemic in legacy orthographic materials for the language, but phonological evidence is marginal. The phonemic status of the bilabial trill [ᵐB] is discussed also, as it is not contrastive in new data for Uripiv. Forms taken from legacy data (McKerras, 2001: ms) are written in phonemic orthographic representation, but will need to be checked with a speaker. These forms are coded in the analysis as [Dictionary – xxx] where xxx represents the dictionary lexeme the data was taken from. All

other examples that come from written text are referenced as: ICR, VNM, VAN, Y1, Y2, or Y3, and will also need checking.

2.1.1 Voiceless plosives

There are three voiceless plosives in Uripiv: /p/, /t/, and /k/. Data set 2.1 provides contrastive sets for the voiceless plosive sounds in morpheme initial position.

2.1	a.	#_i	[pilitʃ] [tilper] [kis]	‘beyond’ [Dictionary – pilij] ‘out of sight’ [Dictionary – tilper] ‘LIM’ [VNM5-2]
	b.	#_e	[pe] [temiʃpal] [kele]	--- ‘very’ [Y3UPV4-30] ‘REP’ [Childhood1-16]
	c.	#_a	[parenʃ] [tasu] [kami]	‘a little while ago’ [Dictionary – pareng] ‘mother’ [Childhood1-5] ‘2PL’ [Childhood1-44]
	d.	#_u	[puto] [tur] [kurtwenien]	‘3SG:IRR-be’ [Maniok-4] ‘to stand’ [Octopus-38] ‘divorce’ [Dictionary - kurtwenien]
	e.	#_o	[potorum] [totoni] [ko]	‘firstborn’ [Dictionary – potorum] ‘tightly, firmly’ [VNM4-5] ‘CONJ’ [Eel2-10]

The voiceless plosives occur in morpheme-initial and final positions. In medial positions the sounds occur intervocalically as well as in other environments within word forms. Data set 2.2 shows the distribution patterns of the contrastive voiceless plosive sounds.

2.2	a.	a_#	[koap] [niat] [p ^w elak]	‘guava’ [ICR8-4] ‘thatch’ [VNM16-3] ‘very’ [Y3UPV3-17]
	b.	a_u	[apu] [^m batun] [malakula]	‘grandfather’ [ICR17-2] ‘its head’ [Octopus8] ‘Malakula Island’ [Y3UPV2-14]

- | | | | |
|----|-----|---|--|
| c. | l_e | [pelpelari]
[pi ^m biltemap]
[arkelkel] | ‘keeps coming out’ [Y2UPV4-8]
‘3SG:SUBJ-go.onto’ [IfIWere1-5]
‘3PL:REAL-carry.eggs’ [Y3UPV6-4] |
| d. | m_e | [nampeŋ]
[emteni]
[nemkel] | ‘1.EXCLPL:REAL-search’ [Y3UPV1-5]
‘3SG:REAL-look.at-TRANS’ [Y26-12]
‘a person unable to speak’ [Dictionary – nemkel] |

2.1.2 Voiced plosives

There are three voiced plosives in Uripiv: /^mb/, /ⁿd/, and /^ŋg/. 2.3 provides contrastive sets for the voiced plosive sounds in initial position. The voiced plosives are articulated with a homorganic nasal. They are analysed as complex phonemes for phonotactic reasons, described in section 2.3, where Uripiv employs a (C)V(V)(C) syllable template.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----|---|---|
| 2.3 | a. | #_i | [^m bipiwareŋ]
[ⁿ dip ^w aŋ]
[^ŋ girit] | ‘child’ [Eel2-15]
‘green coconut’ [ICR23-14]
‘barb’ [Dictionary – girit] |
| | b. | #_e | [^m belan]
[ⁿ depain]
[^ŋ gelen] | ‘his foot’ [Eel2-26]
‘his belly’ [Dictionary – depain]
‘payment’ [Dictionary – gelen] |
| | c. | #_a | [^m batun]
[ⁿ dan]
[^ŋ gari] | ‘his head’ [ICR8-5]
‘ground’ [VAN8-6]
‘Victory Leaf, Ti Plant’ [Y3UPV5-5] |
| | d. | #_u | [^m buwil]
[ⁿ duru]
[^ŋ guli] | ‘hole’ [VNM11-5]
‘wood’ [Y21.15]
‘dog’ [Y28-13] |
| | e. | #_o | [^m bopo]
[ⁿ do ^m bref]
[^ŋ gorkor] | ‘baby’ [ICR21-10]
‘butterfly’ [VNM15-4]
‘slit-gong drum’ [Dictionary – gorkor] |

The voiceless plosive segments contrast with voiced plosives. Data set 2.4 shows the contrast between voiceless /p/ and /^mb/, confirming their status as separate phonemes.

2.4	a.	#_i	[^m bipi] [pirpir]	‘baby’ [Pikinini1-4] ‘Pirpir Village’ [Dictionary – pirpir]
	b.	#_e	[^m betiβ] [petiβ]	‘breadfruit’ [Y21-10] ‘has reddish marks, light brown (breadfruit-like)’ [Dictionary – petiv]
	c.	#_a	[^m bae] [pa]	‘shark’ [ICR9-3] ‘already’ [VAN6-8]
	d.	#_u	[^m buris] [purwi]	‘dugong’ [Dictionary – burris] ‘3SG:IRR-plants.it’ [VAN8-1]
	e.	#_o	[^m boŋsi] [poro]	‘end’ [LW1-13] ‘conditional aspect’ [IfIWere2-1]

Data set 2.5 shows the contrast between voiceless /t/ and /ⁿd/, confirming their status as separate phonemes.

2.5	a.	#_i	[titul] [ⁿ dilten]	‘in three days’ time’ [Dictionary – titul] ‘its taste, flavour’ [Y3UPV1-45]
	b.	#_e	[teβi] [ⁿ deksen]	‘COM.PREP’ [Y3UPV2-7] ‘its width, size’ [Dictionary – deksen]
	c.	#_a	[tata] [ⁿ daniβ]	‘father’ [ICR23-14] ‘sardine’ [Dictionary – daniv]
	d.	#_u	[tultul] [ⁿ duren]	‘triple’ [Dictionary – tultul] ‘his back’ [Y3UPV5-7]
	e.	#_o	[totoklai] [ⁿ dorman]	‘all, complete, every’ [Dictionary – totoklai] ‘male’ [Y2UPV2-10]

Data set 2.6 shows the contrast between voiceless /k/ and /^ŋg/, confirming their status as separate phonemes.

2.6	a.	#_i	[kinkin] [^ŋ girit]	‘not firmly’ [Dictionary – kinkin] ‘barb’ [Dictionary – girit]
	b.	#_e	[keri] [^ŋ geri]	‘bat-like’ [Dictionary – keri] ‘bat’ [VNM4-1]
	c.	#_a	[kamru] [^ŋ gan]	‘2DU’ [Y3UPV1-37] ‘its stalk (of a vine)’ [Dictionary – gan]

d.	#_u	[kules] [ʔgunsin]	‘look!’ [Dictionary – kules] ‘his nose’ [Dictionary – gunsin]
e.	#_o	[kokona ^m bu] [ʔgorβin]	‘k.o game’ [Dictionary – kokonabu] ‘its husk (green coconut)’ [Dictionary – gorvin]

Data set 2.7 shows the distribution patterns of the contrastive voiced plosive sounds. The segment /^ŋg/ mostly occurs word initially, with one example word finally, or, as illustrated below, as the syllable initial consonant in a reduplicated word form.

2.7	/ ^m b/ [^m b]	o_#	[mo ^m b]	‘lizard’	[Y2UPV8-10]
	/ ⁿ d/ [ⁿ d]		-	-	
	/ ^ŋ g/ [^ŋ g]	o_#	[ʔilʔilo ^ŋ g]	‘hop’	[ICR1-4]
	/ ^m b/ [^m b]	o_o	[ko ^m bo]	‘now’	[Banana1-11]
	/ ⁿ d/ [ⁿ d]		-	-	
	/ ^ŋ g/ [^ŋ g]	o_o	[ʔgo ^ŋ goroi]	‘hey!’	[Dictionary - gogoroi]

The distribution of /ⁿd/ is very limited, as /ⁿd/ is only attested in the data in morpheme initial position, and in the syllable onsets of reduplicated forms.

Data set 2.8 presents examples of CC sequences involving voiced plosives. This set does not show contrast, instead it is used to show distribution of sounds. These combinations may only occur across syllable boundaries, to comply with the (C)V(V)(C) syllable template, described in section 2.3.

2.8	/ ^m b/ [^m b]	l_e	[^m bol ^m ber]	‘bandy-legs’ [Dictionary – bolber]
	/ ⁿ d/ [ⁿ d]	k_a	[ⁿ dak ⁿ dak]	‘duck’ [VAN1-1]
	/ ^ŋ g/ [^ŋ g]	r_e	[^ŋ ger ^ŋ gerial]	‘Pacific Swallow’ [Dictionary – gergerial]
	/ ^m b/ [^m b]	a_l	[na ^m blu ^w i]	‘1EXCL.PLREAL-return’ [NW-14]
	/ ⁿ d/ [ⁿ d]	p_a	[ⁿ dap ⁿ dap]	‘waves’ [VNM2-2]
	/ ^ŋ g/ [^ŋ g]	e_β	[e ^m be ^ŋ gβaer]	‘3SG:REAL-mistreat’ [Dictionary – ebegwaer]

2.1.3 The Bilabial Trill

There is no evidence of a bilabial trill recorded in the new audio data, however, it is commonly found in McKerras' legacy data. Although represented as a separate phoneme in his orthography, McKerras states that "the bilabial trill tends to merge into /^mb/; only a few older speakers make it clearly, and then only in careful speech" (2001: ms).

Data set 2.9 shows pairs of forms that are written as phonemic orthographic representations of legacy data with both the bilabial trill [^mB] and prenasalised bilabial plosive [^mb]. The bilabial trill [^mB] is limited to back non-low vowels in legacy data, which along with the examples in data set 2.9, suggests the bilabial trill [^mB] may have always been an allophone of the prenasalised bilabial plosive [^mb]. More data is needed before a decision regarding the phonemic status of the bilabial trill [^mB] can be made.

2.9	Written Form	Spoken Form New audio data	Gloss
	<bolojin>	[^m Boloʃin]	'its bay/inlet' [Dictionary – bolojin]
	<bulen>	[^m Bulen]	'to no affect' [Dictionary – bulen]
	<bulwil>	[^m Bulwil]	'hole' [VNM11-5]

The following data set 2.10 presents pairs where the bilabial trill [^mB] is written as <bb> in legacy data, and the same lexemes are pronounced with a prenasalised bilabial plosive [^mb] in new audio data.

2.10	Written Form	Spoken Form New audio data	Gloss
	<mobb>	[mo ^m b]	'lizard' [ICR15-9]
	<bbong>	[^m boŋ]	'GEN.LIM' [VNM4-3]
	<mebbuk>	[me ^m buk]	'grandchild-1SG:POSS' [Y3UPV5-18]
	<kobbong>	[ko ^m boŋ]	'now' [Y2UPV3-10]

Data set 2.11 presents pairs that alternate between the bilabial trill [ᵐB] and the prenasalised bilabial stop [ᵐb] in the forms found in legacy data. The same words are consistently articulated with [ᵐb] in the new audio data.

2.11	[naᵐboŋ]	‘today’	[Y2.4-7]
	[naᵐBoŋ]	‘today’	[Dictionary – nabbong]
	[ᵐboŋ]	‘GEN.LIM’	[VNM15-3]
	[ᵐBoŋ]	‘GEN.LIM’	[Dictionary – bbong]

For current speakers of Uripiv, the bilabial trill does not appear to be pronounced.

2.1.4 Labialised plosives

Uripiv presents a set of labialised consonants at the bilabial place of articulation, [ᵐbʷ], [ᵐw], and [pʷ]. These labialised forms are preserved in McKerras’s orthography of Uripiv; however, the status of the labialised phonemes deserves a close examination.

Data set 2.12 shows an absence of contrast between [ᵐbʷ] and [ᵐb], instead illustrating a phonological environment where the labialised consonant may optionally occur, indicating [ᵐbʷ] is an allophone of the phoneme /b/. The labialised consonant /ᵐbʷ/ only occurs before /i/ and /e/. For current speakers, the labialised consonant appears to be in free variation with the non-labialised consonant before the non-low front vowels, based on audio recordings.

2.12	a.	#_i	[ᵐbʷipiwareŋ] [ᵐbipiwareŋ]	‘child’ ‘child’	[Dictionary - ḃipiwarreng] [Eel2-4]
	b.	#_e	[ᵐbʷelan] [ᵐbelan]	‘its leg’ ‘its leg’	[Dictionary - ḃelan] [ICR7-14]
	c.	#_a	[ᵐbʷa] [ᵐbatun]	- ‘its head’	[ICR8-6]
	d.	#_u	[ᵐbʷu] [ᵐbuwil]	- ‘hole’	[VN11-5]

e.	#_o	[^m b ^w o] [^m boriti]	- 'pandanus mat'	[ICR21-8]
----	-----	--	---------------------	-----------

In the case of the bilabial nasals [^mw] and [m], data set 2.13 also shows a lack of contrast. As with the labialised voiced plosive [^mb^w], the labialised nasal [^mw] occurs most commonly before close-mid front vowels /i/ and /e/, where it is in free variation with the plain nasal [m]. It is also seen once before the low front vowel /a/, again in free variation with [m]. This evidence confirms that [^mw] is an allophone of /m/.

2.13	a.	#_i	[^m wires] [mires]	'3SG:SUBJ-be.good' '3SG:SUBJ-be.good'	[Dictionary – nubut] [ICR16-9]
	b.	#_e	[^m wer] [mer]	'man' 'man'	[Dictionary – ñmer] [ICR10-7]
	c.	#_a	[^m wares] [mares]	'3PL:SUBJ-be.good' '3PL:SUBJ-be.good'	[Dictionary – luwe] [Y3UPV5-3]
	d.	#_u	[^m wu] [mututun]	- '3SG:SUBJ-fishing'	[Y2UPV4-2]
	e.	#_o	[^m wo] [moron]	- 'light'	[Y2UPV6-9]

Data set 2.14 shows a lack of contrast between [p^w] and [p], instead illustrating a phonological environment where the labialised consonant occurs, indicating [p^w] is an allophone of the phoneme /p/, occurring before front and low vowels.

2.14	a.	#_i	[p ^w imitʃ] [pimitʃ]	'3SG:IRR-be.bad' '3SG:IRR-be.bad'	[Y3UPV4-126] [Y3UPV4-1]
	b.	#_e	[p ^w etp ^w eti] [petpeti]	'all, every' 'all, every'	[Dictionary – ðetðeti] [Y2UPV9-12]
	c.	#_a	[_n dip ^w aŋ] [pa]	'green coconut' 'already'	[Dictionary – ðiðang] [VAN6-8]
	d.	#_u	[p ^w u] [puskat]	- 'cat'	[VNM1-4]

e.	#_o	[p ^w o] [popo]	- 'pawpaw'	[ICR4-2]
----	-----	------------------------------	---------------	----------

In the data presented in McKerras' dictionary, there are a small number of examples that show contrast between the labialised consonants and the non-labialised consonants before /e/ and /i/. These examples suggest that historically, the labialised consonants may have been contrastive, although for current speakers of the language, the contrast appears to have disappeared.

2.15	a.	#_e	[^m b ^w elak] [^m belak]	'foot-1SG:POSS' 'k.o tree'	[Dictionary - \tilde{b} elak] [Dictionary - belak]
	b.	#_e	[m ^w elili] [melili]	'1SG:SUBJ-turn.around' 'k.o tree'	[Dictionary - \tilde{m} elili] [Dictionary - melili]
	c.	#_i	[p ^w ini] [pini]	'be bent' '3SG:IRR-be.dead'	[Dictionary - \tilde{p} ini] [Dictionary - pini]

For current speakers of the language, it appears that all labialised consonants are in free variation with their non-labialised counterparts before non-low front vowels, and in one instance before /a/ (in [m^wares] ~ [mares] 'it is good'). The orthographic representation of these allophones is discussed in section 2.7.

2.1.5 Nasals

Three nasals are recorded in Uripiv: /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/. Data set 2.16 provides contrastive sets for the nasal segments in initial position.

2.16	a.	#_i	[miniβ] [nial] [ŋirŋir]	'yesterday' [Y2UPV6-24] 'sun' [ICR5-7] 'almost crying' [Dictionary – ngirngir]
	b.	#_e	[mesal] [nesen] [ŋel]	'fish' [VNM1-3] 'woman' [Octopus-49] 'proximal demonstrative' [ICR4-2]

- | | | | |
|----|-----|---|---|
| c. | #_a | [mare]
[nanen]
[ŋalu] | ‘up, above’ [ICR5-1]
‘food’ [Y2UPV5-3]
‘sea-shore, shorewards’ [Y2UPV7-4] |
| d. | #_u | [murun]
[nu ^m bo]
[ŋutŋut] | ‘its joint’ [Y2UPV4-19]
‘song’ [ICR16-6]
‘in low tones’ [Dictionary – ngutngut] |
| e. | #_o | [mo ^m b]
[non]
[ŋok] | ‘lizard’ [ICR15-3]
‘his face’ [Y2UPV6-16]
‘intermediate demonstrative’ [ICR2-7] |

The nasals also occur in final and medial positions. Medial positions display the sounds contrasting intervocalically and in other environments within a word form.

Data set 2.17 shows the distribution patterns of the contrastive nasal sounds.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|-----|--|---|
| 2.17 | a. | #_a | [maŋiŋen]
[nalok]
[ŋatan] | ‘work’ [VNM12-6]
‘laplap’ [Childhood1-23]
‘down’ [ICR8-3] |
| | b. | a_# | [βolnam]
[βan]
[ⁿ dip ^w aŋ] | ‘earth oven for laplap’ [Dictionary – wolnam]
‘go’ [ICR23-11]
‘green coconut’ [Dictionary – diŋang] |
| | c. | e_e | [nemen]
[wene]
[reŋe] | ‘his tongue’ [Dictionary – nemen]
‘fruit’ [ICR8-6]
‘locative preposition’ [VNM8-3] |
| | d. | l_e | [emelmel]
[numalnen]
[elŋe] | ‘3SG:REAL-be.bitter’ [Dictionary – emelmel]
‘authority, leadership’ [Dictionary – numalnen]
‘3SG:REAL-husk.it-TRANS’ [Dictionary – elnge] |
| | e. | i_t | [timtaβ]
[kinti]
[eŋiŋteni] | ‘3SG:ADV-fall’ [Dictionary – timtav]
‘firmly’ [Dictionary – kinti]
‘3SG:REAL-put.on-TRANS’ [Dictionary - eŋingteni] |

2.1.6 Trills and Flaps

Uripiv has three trilled sounds, including: /r/ and the prenasalised alveolar trill, articulated as [ndr] and here represented as /^mD/. A discussion of the complexity of the prenasalised alveolar trill is found later in section 2.3. The trills contrast with a flap /r/. Data set 2.18 provides contrastive sets for the trilled sounds and the

alveolar flap /ɾ/. The contrastive data sets begin with the prenasalised voiced plosive /ⁿd/ in the same environments.

2.18	a.	#_i	[ⁿ dinɛn]	‘cry, wail’ [Dictionary – dɪŋen]
		#_i	[nd riβa]	‘k.o tree’ [Dictionary – drriva]
		#_i	[riβen]	‘a cold’ [Dictionary – riven]
		#_i	[rieni]	‘to the side’ [VNM5-4]
	b.	#_e	[ⁿ dewsin]	‘his strength’ [Dictionary – dewsin]
		#_e	[nd reliŋ]	‘muscle-shell’ [Dictionary – drreliŋ]
		#_e	[res]	‘right (as in right and left)’ [Dictionary – rres]
		#_e	[reŋe]	‘locative preposition’ [VNM8-3]
	c.	#_a	[ⁿ daptap]	‘wave’ [VAN6-6]
		#_a	[nd raβ]	‘canoe’ [VAN6-3]
		#_a	[ramos]	‘straight’ [Dictionary – ramos]
		#_a	[rao]	‘leaf’ [Y2UPV3-4]
	d.	#_u	[ⁿ duli]	‘an important event’ [Dictionary – duli]
		#_u	[nd rum]	‘yam’ [VNM10-4]
		#_u	[rumrum]	‘very heavy (rain)’ [Dictionary - rumrum]
		#_u	[rusen]	‘his build’ [Dictionary – rusen]
e.	#_o	[ⁿ dolu]	‘north wind’ [Dictionary – dolu]	
	#_o	[nd rola]	‘voice’ [Y2UPV2-11]	
	#_o	[rowrowen]	‘testing’ [Dictionary – rowrowen]	
	#_o	[ronaβitʃ]	‘banana leaf’ [Dictionary – ronavij]	

The prenasalised trill /ⁿD/ only occurs in initial position while /ⁿd/ rarely occurs outside initial position, but is seen in other environments in a few words. The flap /ɾ/ occurs in all positions.

2.19	a.	#_a	[ⁿ dan]	‘ground’	[VAN8-2]	
			[nd ran]	‘his blood’	[Dictionary – drran]	
			[raŋin]	‘its soot’	[Dictionary – rangin]	
	b.	i_#	-	-		
			-	-		
			[nir]	‘PL’	[VAN9-2]	
	c.	a_a	[ma ⁿ darin]	‘mandarin’	[WhatToBuy1-13]	
			-	-		
			[arake]	‘3PL:REAL-cling’	[Dictionary – erake]	

- d. β_a - -
 [ʰndriβʰndraβ] ‘egg white’ [Dictionary – drrivdrrav]
 [eβrasi] ‘3SG:REAL-step.on’ [Dictionary – evrasi 2]
- e. a_m - -
 - -
 [parminmin] ‘3PL:IRR-drink’ [Dictionary – drriw]

2.1.7 The Lateral Approximant

The lateral approximant /l/ occurs in Uripiv in contrast with the alveolar trill [r], and flap [ɾ]. Data set 2.20 provides contrastive sets for these segments.

- 2.20 a. #_i [rim] ‘its taste’ [Dictionary – rrim]
 [riβriβ] ‘afternoon’ [UPVT2-8]
 [liŋ] ‘wind’ [VNM6-2]
- b. #_e [reβreβ] ‘Diamondfish’ [Dictionary – rrevrrev]
 [rereren] ‘swear word’ [Dictionary – rereren]
 [leβial] ‘mid-day’ [Y2UPV1-18]
- c. #_a [raren] ‘all night’ [Dictionary – rrarren]
 [raŋin] ‘its soot’ [Dictionary – rangin]
 [laplap] ‘mud’ [ICR24-3]
- d. #_u [rul] ‘k.o hard yam’ [Dictionary – rrul]
 [rusrus] ‘to travel, making stops along the way’
 [Dictionary – rusrus]
 [luwe] ‘first’ [Dictionary – luwe]
- e. #_o [rowrowen] ‘testing’ [Dictionary – rrowrrowen]
 [roŋtu] ‘the Evening Star (Venus)’ [Dictionary –
 roŋtu]
 [loltutun] ‘a person who is enthusiastic’ [Dictionary –
 loltutun]

/l/ occurs intervocalically in [ʰndolu] ‘north wind’, finally in [rul] ‘k.o yam’, before another consonant in [loltutun] ‘a person who is enthusiastic’, and after another consonant in [laplap] ‘mud’.

2.1.8 Fricatives and Affricates

Uripiv has two fricative sounds /s/ and /β/. Their contrast is shown in set 2.21.

2.21	a.	#_i	[βitet] [siβir]	‘fruitless, empty’ [Dictionary – vitet] ‘rainbow lorikeet’ [ICR9-7]
	b.	#_e	[βesan] [seser]	‘once, one time’ [Y2UPV7-15] ‘flowing’ [ICR12-7]
	c.	#_a	[βaseni] [sale]	‘clean, clear’ [Y3UPV5-34] ‘harbour, bay, tidal pool’ [Dictionary – sale]
	d.	#_u	[βunβun] [suri]	‘Bead Tree’ [Dictionary – wunwun] ‘after’ [ICR12-11]
	e.	#_o	[βoβon] [sopon]	‘its top’ [Dictionary – wowon] ‘some’ [VAN6-6]

In addition to the contrastive fricatives, there is also a voiceless affricate /tʃ/, which shows contrast with the corresponding voiceless plosive /t/ and fricative /s/ as seen in contrastive sets in 2.22.

2.22	a.	#_i	[tʃini ^m b] [titul] [sinan]	‘person’ [VAN1-7] ‘in three days’ time’ [Dictionary – titul] ‘its kernel’ [Dictionary – sinan]
	b.	#_e	[tʃelanji] [teβi] [seβ]	‘seed’ [Dictionary – jelangin] ‘comitative preposition’ [ICR16-2] ‘what’ [ICR12-1]
	c.	#_a	[tʃam] [tata] [san]	‘outrigger float’ [Dictionary – jam] ‘father’ [ICR23-14] ‘INDF:SG’ [Pikinini1-20]
	d.	#_u	[tʃuluf] [tultul] [sunsun]	‘avoiding people due to shyness’ [Dictionary – juluj] ‘triple’ [Dictionary – tultul] ‘clothes’ [ICR4-6]
	e.	#_o	[tʃoβen] [totoklai] [sop ^w en]	‘a cough’ [Dictionary – joven] ‘all, complete, every’ [Dictionary – totoklai] ‘his relative’ [Dictionary – soβen]

The affricate /tʃ/ appears in all positions, including word initially in [tʃini^mb] ‘person’, finally in [tʃulutʃ] ‘avoiding people because of shyness’, intervocalically in [otʃoŋror] ‘it is low lying’, before another consonant in [tʃiʃle] ‘egressive’, and after a consonant in [altʃe] ‘well’

2.1.9 The Labiovelar Approximant

The status of the labiovelar approximant [w] deserves special consideration. It is represented with the character <w> in the orthography of Uripiv. In some orthographic contexts, <w> or <uw> sequences can be analysed as the vowel /u/ with no difference in articulation. For example, final <w> in <musuw> ‘3SG:SUBJ-be.finished’ is pronounced [musu]. An additional [w] is not audible. Further examples include:

2.23	u_#	<osuw>	[osu]	[ICR24-10]
		<putuw>	[putu]	[Y2UPV1-10]
		<nuwjuwje>	[nutʃutʃe]	[ICR1-7]
		<nuwra>	[nura]	[Y3UPV1-37]
		<puwli>	[puli]	[VNM12-2]
		<nuwrai>	[nurai]	[Y3UPV1-24]
		<kuwretun>	[kuretun]	[Y3UPV3-11]
		<puwlu>	[pulu]	[Y3UPV6-14]

Luwi ‘again’ is pronounced [luwi]. In this example the [w] can be considered transitional as in [lu^wi], and there is no need for a phonemic /w/ in the representation. Other examples of orthographic <w> in an intervocalic position are shown in (2.24).

2.24	a.	u_i	<nuwi>	[nu ^w i]	[ICR12-7]
			<tuwi>	[tu ^w i]	[Eel2-1]
			<nuwir>	[nu ^w ir]	[Y3UPV1-18]
			<buwil>	[bu ^w il]	[VNM11-5]

b.	u_e	<ortuwe>	[ortu ^w e]	[ICR16-7]
		<botuwen>	[^m botu ^w en]	[Y2UPV6-8]
		<luweni>	[lu ^w eni]	[SN1-5]
		<nuwer>	[nu ^w er]	[Y2UPV9-10]
		<luwe>	[lu ^w e]	[Dictionary – luwe]
		<nutuwei>	[nutu ^w ei]	[Y3UPV1-12]
c.	u_a	<nuwatseni>	[nu ^w atseni]	[Y3UPV1-34]
		<tuwak>	[tu ^w ak]	[Dictionary – tuwak]
d.	u_o	<nuwolwolu>	[nu ^w ol ^w olu]	[ICR1-2]
		<nuwosi>	[nu ^w osi]	[VNM11-5]
		<duwo>	[ⁿ du ^w o]	[Y2UPV3-10]
		<puwomu>	[pu ^w omu]	[Y3UPV1-1]

The analysis of orthographic <w> as /u/ in [musu] and [lui], is supported further by assimilation processes where the presence of the back vowels /u/ and /o/ in the verb root trigger a change in prefix (see section 2.4.2). Orthographic <w> triggers the same process. Treating <w> as an underlying [u] allows for a simpler assimilation rule.

A slightly different example involves the word <diṽang> ‘green coconut’ which is articulated as [ⁿdipwɑŋ]. As noted previously, this is the only example of the labialised voiceless plosive before the low vowel /a/ in the corpus. If the [w] articulation is analysed as the vowel /u/, then there is no need to account for [p^w] as an allophone of /p/ before /a/, or to consider it as a potentially contrastive phoneme. The underlying representation would simply be /ⁿdipuan/ and the lexeme would be articulated as [ⁿdip^wɑŋ].

Based on audio files and phonological processes, it appears that orthographic <w> following a /u/ represents the rounded nature of the high back /u/ in Uripiv. Between /u/ and other vowels (/ue/, /ui/, /uo/, /ua/), [w] appears to be a transitional glide from the high back vowel to another vowel.

In certain contexts, the labiovelar approximant [w] also appears to be in alternation with the bilabial fricative /β/. In the new literacy materials for Uripiv, there are several examples of words written with both <w> and <v>. This will need to be followed up with a native speaker. Set 2.25 shows presents examples of this written alternation.

2.25	a.	[piβini]	<piwini> <pivini>	‘3SG:IRR-come’ ‘3SG:IRR-come’	[Pikinini 1-6] [Maniok-2]
	b.	[βesan]	<wesan> <βesan>	‘once’ ‘once’	[Y3UPV5-16] [Y2UPV7-15]
	c.	[βatʃin]	<watʃin> <βatʃin>	‘then’ ‘then’	[Pikinini 1-11] [VAN8-6]
	d.	---	<wu-> <βu...>		
	e.	[roβ]	<row> <roβ>	‘fly’ ‘fly’	[ICR18-5] [Y2UPV4-18]

The evidence presented does not support the analysis of [w] and [β] as separate phonemes. In this analysis, a single phoneme /β/ is proposed. Further work will be needed with speakers to resolve ambiguity in words with final <w>, as these may potentially involve a final vowel /u/ or a final consonant /β/. Orthographically, <w> and <v> will be preserved.

The following table 2.26 presents a comparison between McKerras’ phonemes and the revised 2018 phoneme inventory in Uripiv, including sounds that have been reanalysed as allophones.

2.26 McKerras' Phonemes	New Established Phonemes (and allophones)
/ ^m b/	/b/ ~ [b ^w]/ V ^{front, non-low}
/ ^m b ^w /	
/ ^m B/	[^m B]
/p/	/p/ ~ [p ^w]/ V ^{front, non-low}
/p ^w /	
/m/	/m/ ~ [m ^w]/ V ^{front, non-low}
/m ^w /	
/ ⁿ d/	/d/
/t/	/t/
/ ⁿ g/	/g/
/k/	/k/
/n/	/n/
/ŋ/	/ŋ/
/s/	/s/
/ nd r/	/ ⁿ D/
/r/	/r/
/ɾ/	/ɾ/
/l/	/l/
/J/	/y/
/ʃ/	/ʃ/
/β/	/β/
/w/	/β/ [∅] / u____, V ^{back} ____ V /u/ / ____ V

/a/	/a/
/i/	/i/
/e/	/e/
/o/	/o/
/u/	/u/
/ə/	/ə/

2.2 Vowels

Uripiv has six vowel sounds attested in the audio material for the Uripiv corpus, and described McKerras' grammar sketch (2001: ms).

Table 2: The Vowel Inventory of Uripiv

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

All six vowels occur medially between consonants, as is illustrated in the data sets in 2.27.

2.27	/i/	s_n	[sinan]	'its kernel'	[Dictionary – sinan]
	/e/		[sen]	'GEN-3SG:POSS'	[Y2UPV7-4]
	/ə/		[^m Bə ^m bsən]	'finger, toe'	[Dictionary – bbebsön]
	/a/		[san]	'INDF:SG'	[Y2UPV7-1]
	/u/		[sunsun]	'clothes'	[ICR4-6]
	/o/		[soni]	'to force it'	[Y3UPV6-10]
	/i/	m_r	[mirpe]	'3SG:SUBJ-similar.to'	[Childhood1-12]
	/e/		[mer]	'man'	[ICR10-7]
	/ə/		[omərmər]	'3SG:REAL-be.oily'	[Dictionary – omermer]
	/a/		[mar]	'3PL:SUBJ-'	[Childhood1-38]
	/u/		[omurmur]	'3SG:REAL-be.shiny'	[Y2UPV2-8]
	/o/		[omor]	'3SG:REAL-be.light'	[Dictionary – omor]

/i/	β_t	[eβitan]	‘3SG:REAL-falls.down’ [Y3UPV1-28]
/e/		[etβetβaŋi]	‘3SG:REAL-draw.water. repeatedly’ [Dictionary – etvetvangi]
/ə/		[neβət]	‘stone’ [Dictionary – nevöt]
/a/		[eβati]	‘3SG:REAL-weave-TRANS’ [Dictionary – evati]
/u/		[oβut]	‘3SG:REAL-comes.out’ [Dictionary – owut]
/o/		[neβot]	‘stone’ [Y3UPV2-9]

All vowels are recorded in word initial and word final positions, with the exception of /ə/. Data set 2.28 shows the five attested vowels occurring word initially, although this data is not contrastive.

2.28	/i/	[itul]	‘3SG:VEST-be.three’	[ICR18-8]
	/e/	[eru]	‘3SG:REAL-be.two’	[ICR7-12]
	/ə/	-	-	
	/a/	[ale]	‘steering’	[Dictionary – ale]
	/u/	[uripiβ]	‘Uripiv island’	[Dictionary – uripiv]
	/o/	[opa]	‘Ambae island’	[Dictionary – opa]

Word final contrast is provided by data set 2.29.

2.29	/i/	s_#	[lesi]	‘see’	[ICR15-12]
	/e/		[se]	‘GEN’	[ICR16-9]
	/ə/		-	-	
	/a/		[mesa]	‘clear place’	[VAN6-8]
	/u/		[na ^m bsusu]	‘1EXCL.PL:REAL-paddle’	[ICR11-6]
	/o/		[oso]	‘3SG:REAL-be.sharp’	[Dictionary – oso]

Although the /ə/ segment is contrastive between two different consonant sounds, /ə/ does not appear in word initial or word final position. McKerras (2001: ms) states that /ə/ is relatively rare, mostly appearing after /^mB/ and /β/, and that younger speakers are more likely to pronounce it /u/ or /o/. In new written data, some lexemes alternate between /ə/ and /u/, such as [neβət] and [neβut] ‘stone’. Alternations also exist between /ə/ and /o/, such as [numən] and [numon] ‘bird’ and [navəl] and [navol] ‘moon/month’.

2.3 Phonotactic Constraints and Basic Syllable Structure

The basic syllable structure of Uripiv is (C)V(V)(C). Most syllables have a single vowel in the nucleus, and a single consonant in the onset and/or the coda. Open syllables are more common in the data than closed syllables. Diphthongs (sequences of two vowels) are also possible, meaning that the nucleus of the syllable can be formed with a VV sequence, accounting for the optional second (V) in the syllable structure.

Data set 2.30 illustrates the four possible realisations of the (C)V(C) structure: V, CV, VC, and CVC.

- 2.30 a.
- | | |
|---------|----------------|
| σ | Syllable Tier |
| | |
| V | CV Tier |
| | |
| e | Segmental Tier |
| ‘INSTR’ | |
-
- b.
- | | |
|--------|----------------|
| σ | Syllable Tier |
| / \ | |
| C V | CV Tier |
| | |
| k o | Segmental Tier |
| ‘CONJ’ | |
-
- c.
- | | |
|-------------|----------------|
| σ | Syllable Tier |
| / \ | |
| V C | CV Tier |
| | |
| a r | Segmental Tier |
| ‘3PL:REAL-’ | |
-
- d.
- | | |
|-------|----------------|
| σ | Syllable Tier |
| / \ | |
| C V C | CV Tier |
| | |
| m e r | Segmental Tier |
| ‘man’ | |

2.3.1 CC Sequences

Words that contain CC sequences syllabify as C.C to maintain the expected (C)V(V)(C) syllable structure consistently throughout the corpus. Example 2.31.a shows the 3SG form of the verb ‘want’. Example 2.31.b shows the 1EXCL.PL form of ‘want’, this form has one more consonant than the 3SG form, which are syllabified into the initial syllable, to fit the (C)V(C) structure.

- | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------------------|--|
| 2.31 | a. | [em.re.ni]
VC.CV.CV | ‘3SG:REAL-like-TRANS’
[Octopus-9] |
| | b. | [nam.me.re.ni]
CVC.CV.CV.CV | ‘1EXCL.PL:REAL-like-TRANS’
[ICR8-7] |

Data set 2.32 presents further examples of the C.C syllabification.

- | | | |
|------|--|-------------------------------------|
| 2.32 | [o.lu]
V.CV | ‘3SG:REAL-run’
[ICR19-3] |
| | [na ^m b.βol.βol.u]
CVC.CVC.CVC.V | ‘1EXCL.PL:RUN-run’
[ICR11-2] |
| | [kap.vi.tʃu.ri]
CVC.CV.CV.CV | ‘2PL:IRR-come’
[ICR11-3] |
| | [rek.ŋa]
CVC.CV | ‘maybe’
[Childhood1-2] |
| | [ne.sen.wa.reŋ]
CV.CVC.CV.CVC | ‘wife, girl’
[Childhood1-8] |
| | [bein.ma]
CVVC.CV | ‘1SG:IRR-yawn’
[Y1.1B-2] |
| | [nu.tʃil.tʃil.og]
CV.CVC.CVC.VC | ‘1SG:REAL-hop’
[ICR1-4] |
| | [ar.pel.pel.ri]
CV.CVC.CVC.CV | ‘3PL:REAL-come.out’
[Y2UPV3-11] |
| | [pi.tʃi.pa.ri]
CV.CV.CV.CV | ‘3SG:IRR-touch-TRANS’
[Y2UPV4-5] |

[rap.roi]
CVC.CVV

‘1INCL.PL:REAL-eat-TRANS’
[Y2UPV1-3]

The following examples include instances of consonant sequences in the orthography. Orthographic <w> has since been reanalysed as /u/, thus simplifying the CV structure from CC to CV, where the approximant is a surface articulation of an underlying vowel.

2.33	<o.twe> V.CCV	→	/o.tue/ V.CV.V	[o.t ^w e] [VNM13-5]
	<mo.ser.kor.twe.ni> CV.CVC.CVC.CCV.CV	→	/mo.ser.kor.tue.ni/ CV.CVC.CVC.CV.CV	[t ^w e.ni] [Y2UPV1-20]]

There are some CC(C)VC syllables in the corpus, which occur only in words borrowed from Bislama (originally English). The final consonant sound of the complex onset is a liquid sound /l/ or /r/.

2.34	[plen]	‘plane’	[ICR5-2]
	[strinj]	‘string’	[Y2UPV7-4]

In this analysis, complex prenasalised segments could have been analysed as sequences of two simple segments. This analysis would mean that /^mb/ would be treated as the sequence of /m/ + /b/. The prenasalised alveolar trill /ⁿD/. would be treated as /n/ + /d/ + /r/. Such an analysis would require a more complex syllable template, with positional restrictions. While this is possible, and occurs in English, the analysis of [mb] and [ndr] (and other prenasalised segments) as complex segments /^mb/ and /ⁿd^r/ maintains the simple (C)V(V)(C) syllable template.

2.3.2 VV Sequences

Some VV sequences in the audio corpus form diphthongs. Typically this occurs where V₁ is a lower vowel than V₂, creating a rising sequence. Table 3 shows examples of rising sequences attested in the data: [ei], [ai], [oi], [ae], [au], [ao], and [ou].

Table 3: Rising Vowel Sequences

V2 → V1 ↓	i	e	a	ə	u	o
i	-	-	-	-	-	-
e	[^m beinma] '1SG:IRR- yawn'	-	-	-	-	-
a	[nai] 'tree'	[^m baenau] 'pineapple'	-	-	[naus] 'pawpaw'	[rao] 'leaf'
ə	-	-	-	-	-	-
u	-	-	-	-	-	-
o	[roi] 'eat-TRANS'	-	-	-	[oujani] '3SG:REAL- suckle- TRANS'	-

Falling sequences, where V₁ is a higher vowel than V₂, are more likely to create a disyllabic structure. Table 4 shows examples of falling sequences attested in the data: [ie], [ia], [io], [ea], [eu], [ue], [ua], [uo], [oe], and [oa]. These vowel sequences form a disyllabic structure. Combinations of /u/ and another vowel may be resyllabified as monosyllabic (C)^wV(C).

Table 4: Falling Vowel Sequences

V2 → V1 ↓	i	e	a	ə	u	o
i	-	[aɪfɪkie] '3PL:REAL-be.not'	[pian] '3SG:IRR- go'	-	-	[iok] 'LOC.INTR'
e	-	-	[ease] '3SG:REAL- go.past'	-	[nereur] 'island'	-
a	-	-	-	-	-	-
ə	-	-	-	-	-	-
u	-	[nueve] '1SG:REAL-read- TRANS	[nuan] '1SG:REAL- go'	-	-	[muo] '3SG:SUBJ- be.white'
o	-	[otoe] '3SG:REAL-exist'	[koap] 'guava'	-	-	-

2.3.3 Reduplication

Reduplication can either be partial or full, both of which are attested in the corpus.

Partial Reduplication uses a template of (C)V(C)-. It is unclear as to why some reduplicated forms do not copy the coda C (as in 2.35.a) and others do (as in

2.35.c). This appears to be specific to the lexical root.

- 2.35 a. [lep] [ICR8-6] → [le.lep] [ICR12-11]
CVC CV.CVC
- b. [la.los] [VNM8-7] → [le.la.los] [Dictionary – elalos]
CV.CVC CV.CV.CVC
- c. [kor.ti] [Y3UPV3-17] → [kor.kor.ti] [VAN3-1]
CVC.CV CVCCVC.CV

There is an instance of VC reduplication, where the vowel initial root has been reduplicated, demonstrating the optionality of the onset consonant in the reduplicative template.

2.36 [o-us] [VAN1-2] → [o-us-us] [Dictionary – ousus]
 V-.VC V-.VC.VC

Full reduplication uses the same (C)V(C) template, repeating a monosyllabic root.

The following examples in 2.37 show the (C)V(C) structure of reduplicated syllables.

2.37 [roβ] [ICR5-2] → [roβ-roβ]
 CVC CVC-CVC

[su] [ICR24-10] → [su-su] [Y2UPV5-2]
 CV CV-CV

[met] [Dictionary – emet] → [met-met] [Pikinini1-2]
 CVC CVC-CVC

There is a vowel dissimilation process seen in 2.38.b, occurring as a result of reduplication. This is discussed in section 2.4.3. The (C)V(C)- template of reduplication blocks any final vowels included in the non-reduplicated form.

2.38 a. [wolu] [ICR24-2] → [wol-wolu] [ICR11-2]
 CVCV CVC-CVCV

b. [tepi] [VNM8-3] → [tep-tepi] [ICR12-5]
 CVCV CVC-CVCV

There are a number of forms involving complex segments /d/, /b/, and /g/ that reduplicate and devoice the complex segment in the reduplication, which is reduplicating the same (C)V(C) template with altered voicing.

2.39 [ᵐdap-tap] ‘waves’
 CVC-CVC [VAN6-6]

[ger-ker-ial] ‘Pacific Swallow’
 CVC-CVC-VC [Dictionary – gerkerial]

[ᵐbal-pal] ‘hardwood stakes’
 CVC-CVC [Dictionary – balpal]

2.4 Phonological Processes

This section describes some phonological processes that occur in Uripiv, particularly: vowel deletion, vowel harmony, and dissimilation. The terminology used to describe these processes comes from Crowley and Bowen's (2010) text on historical linguistics.

2.4.1 Vowel Deletion

There is a phonological process where the vowel in the initial syllable of a verb root is deleted in certain environments. The vowel deletion occurs whenever a particular prefix is added. The prefixes that trigger vowel deletion are the 1SG and 3SG forms. In both cases, the prefix has a final vowel, and the initial C of the root syllabifies as the coda of the prefix syllable. The vowel of the initial syllable of the verb root is not assigned to a syllable and is deleted.

2.40	a.	[ʃiki]	CVCV	Underlying root [Dictionary – ejki]
		[ar-ʃiki]	VC-.CV.CV	Inflection + root [ICR19-16]
		[e-ʃki]	V-C.CV	Inflection + reduced root [ICR15-12]
	b.	[mereni]	CVCVCV	Underlying root [Dictionary – merreni]
		[nam-mereni]	CVC-.CV.CV.CV	Inflection + root [ICR8-7]
		[nu-mreni]	CV-C.CV.CV	Inflection + reduced root [ICR2-3]
	c.	[mera]	CVCV [C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₂]	Underlying root [Dictionary – emra]
		[ar-mera]	VC-.CV.CV	Inflection + root [Y2UPV5-2]
		[e-mra]	V-C.CV	Inflection + reduced root [Y2UPV6-9]

d.	[p ^w elak]	CVCV [C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₂]	Underlying root [Dictionary – eplak]
	[romor-p ^w elak]	CV.CVC-.CV.CV	Inflection + root [Dictionary – eplak]
	[e-plak]	V-C.CV	Inflection + reduced root [Dictionary – eplak]

Although the process of vowel deletion is widespread in Uripiv, not all verb roots that begin CV reduce, examples of roots not reducing are shown in 2.41. The examples marked with * have not been attested in the corpus.

2.41	a.	[lesi]	CVCV [C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₂]	Underlying root [Dictionary – elesi]
		[ar-lesi]	VC-.CV.CV	Inflection + root [Y2UPV5-4]
		[e-lesi]	V-CV.CV	Inflection + root [ICR15-3]
		*[e-lsi]		Inflection + reduced root
	b.	[matur]	CVCVC [C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₂ C ₃]	Underlying root [Dictionary – ematur]
		[ar-matur]	VC-.CV.CVC	Inflection + root [Y2UPV5-8]
		[e-matur]	V-CV.CVC	Inflection + root [VNM2-3]
		*[e-mtur]		Inflection + reduced root

2.4.2 Assimilation Processes

2.4.2.1 Vowel Harmony

There is a phonological process involving vowel harmony that causes an alternation of vowels in subject/mood prefixes, in response to vowels in the verb roots. This alternation occurs in the third person singular realis forms, as well as the first and third person singular irrealis forms, and the first and third person singular subjunctive forms.

Table 5: Subject/Mood Prefixes Undergoing Vowel Harmony

Subject Markers Undergoing Changes - Vowel Harmony		
Realis Forms	3SG	[e-] ~ [o-]
Irrealis Forms	1SG	^m be-] ~ [^m bo-]
	3SG	[pi-] ~ [pu-]
Subjunctive Forms	1SG	[me-] ~ [mo-]
	3SG	[mi-] ~ [mu-]

Beginning with the realis forms, alternation occurs in the third-person subject prefix. The prefix /e/ becomes /o/ when there is an /o/ or /u/ in first syllable of the verb root. Put another way, the front vowel /e/ shifts back to harmonise with the back vowels /o/ or /u/ in the verb root. Data set 2.42 illustrates this, as the /e/ prefix form changes to the /o/ prefix form when there is an /o/ (2.42.a, b) or a /u/ (2.42.c) present in the verb root.

2.42	prefix	verb root	vowel harmony form	
a.	[e-]	[soŋsoŋ]	[osoŋsoŋ]	[ICR4-3]
b.	[e-]	[roβ]	[oroβ]	[ICR5-2]
c.	[e-]	[ʃuʃi]	[oʃuʃi]	[Y2UPV1-15]

Before reanalysis of orthographic <w> as an underlying /u/, the back consonant /w/ was thought to trigger the change from /e/ to /o/. Here, the analysis has been presented that orthographic <w> is an underlying /u/, which simplifies this vowel harmony rule to the presence of back vowels.

2.43	prefix	verb root	vowel harmony form	
a.	[e-]	[rui]	[orui]	[VNM10-4]
b.	[e-]	[uli]	[ouli]	[VNM12-5]
c.	[e-]	[ura]	[oura]	[VNM13-4]

The first-person irrealis forms undergo the same process, with the first-person forms displaying a change from ^mbe- (/e/) to ^mbo- (/o/) in contexts where there is a back vowel in the first syllable of the root.

2.44	prefix	verb root	vowel harmony form	
a.	[^m be-]	[ʈoβ]	[^m bo-ʈoβ]	[Y1.1B-3]
b.	[^m be-]	[βluβlu]	[^m bo-βluβlu]	[ICR11-14]
c.	[^m be-]	[loli]	[^m bo-loli]	[VNM10-2]

The change in the first-person singular irrealis forms is also triggered by orthographic <w>, reanalysed as /u/ in the verb root.

2.45	prefix	verb root	vowel harmony form	
a.	[^m be-]	[rui]	[^m bo-rui]	[IfIWere2-5]

The third-person singular irrealis forms demonstrate another front vowel /i/ changing to a back vowel /u/ when followed by an /o/ or /u/ in the initial syllable of the verb root (2.46.a, b, c).

2.46	prefix	verb root	vowel harmony form	
a.	[pi-]	[tu]	[pu-tu]	[Y2UPV1-10]
b.	[pi-]	[tutumun]	[pu-tutumun]	[VAN6-1]
c.	[pi-]	[row]	[pu-row]	[VNM4-5]

The vowel harmony in third-person singular irrealis is also triggered by orthographic <w>, which is an underlying /u/ in the verb root.

2.47	prefix	verb root		vowel harmony form	
a.	[pi-]	[wɲani]	/uɲani/	[pu-ɲani]	[IfIWere1-8]
b.	[pi-]	[rwi]	/rui/	[pu-rui]	[VAN8-1]
c.	[pi-]	[lwi]	/lui/	[pu-lui]	[VNM6-5]

2.4.3 Dissimilation Processes

2.4.3.1 Dissimilation under suffixation

A dissimilation process affects high vowels when a suffix with the high vowel /i/ is added. The process causes a final root vowel /u/ to become /o/ (2.48.a, b), and

/i/ to become /a/ or /e/ (2.48.c, d), in the environment of a following suffixed high vowel, and thus involves vowel lowering.

2.48	a.	[ⁿ dubb]	‘grave’		
		[dobb-i-n]	‘his tomb-3SG’		[-in]
	b.	[o-wus]	‘3SG:REAL-hold’		[-i]
		[o-wos-i-ø]	‘3SG:REAL-carry- TRANS-3SG:OBJ’		
	c.	[e-tiŋ]	‘3SG:REAL-cry’		[-si]
		[e-teŋ-si-ø]	‘3SG:REAL-TRANS-3SG:OBJ’		
	d.	[i-viʃ]	‘3SG:VEST-be.four’		[-in]
		[i-vaʃ-in]	‘fourth’		

The dissimilation process does not affect final /u/ vowels, where the suffix begins with a consonant. This means that the consonant blocks dissimilation for roots with a final [u] vowel.

2.49	a.	Original form	[nu-viʃu]	‘1SG:REAL-follow’	
		Suffix	[-ri]	[ICR20-1]	
		Dissimilation form	[nu-viʃuri]		
	b.	Original form	[o-ruŋ]	‘3SG:REAL-be.alight’	
		Suffix	[-si]	[Dictionary – orrung]	
		Dissimilation form	[oruŋsi]		

2.4.3.2 Dissimilation under Reduplication

Another process of dissimilation occurs when transitive forms that contain a low vowel /a/ reduplicate. This process is called low vowel dissimilation (Lynch, 2003). The /a/ in the reduplicated syllable will raise to either /e/ or /i/.

2.50	a.	Original form	[e-tal-i]	‘3SG:REAL-wrap.around-TRANS’	[Dictionary – etali]
		Dissimilation form	[e-tiʃ-tali]		
	b.	Original form	[e-vat-i]	‘3SG:REAL-weave-TRANS’	[Dictionary – evati]
		Dissimilation form	[e-viʃ-vit]		

c.	Original form	[e-ʃam-i]	‘3SG:REAL-prune-TRANS’
	Dissimilation form	[e-ʃim-ʃim]	[Dictionary – ejami]
d.	Original form	[nu-lalos]	‘1SG:REAL-swim’
	Dissimilation form	[nu-le-lalos]	[Dictionary – elalos]
e.	Original form	[e-taw-e]	‘3SG:REAL-pluck-TRANS’
	Dissimilation form	[e-tew-tew]	[Dictionary – etawe]

2.4.4 Initial Consonant Alternation

Initial consonant alternation in Uripiv is used to form de-nominal adjectives, which are discussed in section 4.1. This process has been identified in the corpus as occurring with initial prenasalised consonants /^mb/ and /ⁿD/, as they become their plain counterparts /p/ and /r/ to form the de-nominal adjective.

2.51	[^m betiβ]	‘n. breadfruit’ [Y2UPV1-3]
	[petiβ]	‘adj. having reddish brown marks (like a breadfruit)’ [Dictionary – petiv]
	[^m botunmal]	‘n. reef’ [Octopus-3]
	[potunmal]	‘uncovered’ [Dictionary – potunmal]
	[ⁿ d.rum]	‘n. yam’ [Y3UPV6-4]
	[rum]	‘adj. yam-like’ [Dictionary – rrum]

2.5 Stress Patterns

The audio data in the Uripiv corpus shows primary stress appearing to fall on the penultimate syllable. McKerras (2001: ms) also describes the primary stress falling on the penultimate syllable of the word. Exceptions to the penultimate syllable stress rule involve complex words and are often: ending in *-ien* or *-en*, and some nouns formed by juxtaposing two roots (McKerras, 2001: ms). The penultimate syllable stress pattern is typical of an Oceanic language (Lynch, et al.,

2002). Stress does not appear to be phonemically contrastive in Uripiv. A full analysis of stress is beyond the scope of this project.

2.6 Intonation

As with the analysis of stress, a full analysis of intonation patterns is beyond the scope of this project due to the limitations of the corpus. Two patterns have been confirmed in the data, and are commonly found in other Malekula languages.

Declarative clauses display falling intonation at the end of the clause.

2.52 *Nu-rro-i* *avuka.*[↘]
1SG:REAL-eat-TRANS avocado
“I eat avocados.” [Y1:2A-3]

Interrogative constructions display a rising intonation at the end of the clause.

2.53 *Ko* *ete* *kam-ok-an* *orsel?*[↗]
CONJ NEG 2PL:REAL-IMPF-go garden
“You didn’t go to the garden?” [CHILDHOOD1.18]

2.7 Orthography

McKerras (2001:ms) analyses a larger phoneme inventory than proposed in this thesis. New data has shown differences to the forms recorded in McKerras’ work (2001: ms). In some cases, these differences appear to be due to a shift in language over time. Some of the new findings are significant enough to motivate a new working orthography for this thesis and future projects.

Table 6: Orthographic Representation of Uripiv

Legacy Orthography	McKerras's Phonologic Analysis	Proposed Analysis	Working Orthography
M m	/m/	/m/ ~ [m ^w]/ V ^{front, non-low}	<M m>
Ñ ñ	/m ^w /		
N n	/n/	/n/	<N n>
Ng ng	/ŋ/	/ŋ/	<Ng ng>
P p	/p/	/p/ ~ [p ^w]/ V ^{front, non-low}	<P p>
Ñ ñ	/p ^w /		
T t	/t/	/t/	<T t>
K k	/k/	/k/	<K k>
B b	/ ^m b/	/b/ ~ [b ^w]/ V ^{front, non-low}	<B b>
Ñ ñ	/ ^m b ^w /		
Bb bb	/ ^m B/	[^m B]	<Bb bb>
D d	/ ⁿ d/	/d/	<D d>
G g	/ ⁿ g/	/g/	<G g>
V v	/β/	/β/	<V v>
W w	/β/ or /w/ /w/	/β/ [ø] / u___, V ^{back} ___ V /u/ / ___ V	<W w> <U u>
S s	/s/	/s/	<S s>
J j	/tʃ/	/tʃ/	<J j>
Rr rr	/r/	/r/	<Rr rr>
R r	/r/	/r/	<R r>
Drr drr	/ ⁿ d _r /	/ ⁿ D/	<Drr drr>
L l	/l/	/l/	<L l>
A a	/a/	/a/	<A a>
E e	/e/	/e/	<E e>
I i	/i/	/i/	<I i>
O o	/o/	/o/	<O o>
U u	/u/	/u/	<U u>
Ö ö	/ə/	/ə/	<Ö ö>

Key changes to the analysis include:

- labialised consonants analysed as allophones of the non-labialised consonants
 - <ñirres> proposed as <mirres>
 - <ñelak> proposed as <pelak>
 - <ñbelan> proposed as <belan>

- [w] shown in alternation with /β/ in some contexts
 - will be followed up with a native speaker
- [w] analysed as /u/ after another vowel, or in sequences of orthographic <uw>
 - <muwra> proposed as <mura>
 - <nuwngani> proposed as <nungani>
- the bilabial trill lacks contrast in the new data, as in the legacy data. The sound will be preserved in the working orthography until more audio data is collected.
 - <nabbong> proposed as <nabong>
 - <nabbwolwolu> proposed as <nabwolwolu>
- [ə] appears to be merging with /u/ and /o/ for current speakers in certain environments. The sound will be preserved in the working orthography until more audio data is collected.
 - younger speakers often alternate [ə] with [u] or [o].

3. Nominals

This chapter presents a description of elements that function as the head of a noun phrase. Firstly, pronominal forms are introduced. This is followed by an overview of the three noun classes in Uripiv, these being common, local, and personal nouns. Another way nouns are defined in Oceanic languages is based on whether they are possessed indirectly or directly. A discussion of how the nouns are possessed is included in the following chapter (4.2). Nominal derivations are described next, including those formed with conversion, nominalisation and compounding. The chapter will end with a description of the strategies employed to conjoin nouns within a single noun phrase.

3.1 Independent Pronouns

3.1.1 *Personal Pronouns*

The term pronoun refers to a form that functions in the place of a noun or noun phrase. Uripiv displays a pronominal paradigm distinguishing between first, second, and third person. The pronouns also indicate the number of the entity represented by the pronoun, differentiating between singular, dual, and plural. In first person non-singular forms there are additional distinctions made to encode whether the pronoun is inclusive or exclusive, a common feature of Oceanic languages (Lynch et al., 2002: 35-6).

The following pronominal paradigm was generated by McKerras (2001: ms).

Pronouns which have not been attested in the new data for Uripiv are shown in parentheses in table 7.

Table 7: Independent Pronouns in Uripiv

3.1		Singular	Dual	Plural
	First person	<i>inu</i>	inclusive <i>kerru</i> exclusive <i>komru</i>	<i>kerr</i> <i>kem</i>
	Second person	<i>nik</i>	<i>(kamru)</i>	<i>kam</i>
	Third person	<i>ni</i>	<i>nuru</i>	<i>nir</i>

In texts, the pronouns function as pronominal subjects, as well as objects of transitive clauses, and objects of prepositions. The position of the pronoun allows speakers to determine which function it has in the clause, determining whether it is subject or object. Uripiv uses an SVO basic constituent ordering, so the subject will precede the verb and object will follow.

In clausal structures in Uripiv, there are obligatory subject markers found in the verb complex, which encode person, number, and mood information. Independent pronouns that function as the grammatical subject of a clause may be used optionally as a co-nominal alongside the obligatory subject marker in the verb complex (see Haspelmath, 2016). A paradigm of the subject markers is presented in section 5.2.1, which will discuss their use in detail.

In verbal clauses the person and number values of the subject pronoun and subject marker must match as they refer to the same participant.

Example 3.2 shows the use of the first person singular pronoun *inu* functioning as the subject of an intransitive clause. The pronoun is positioned before the verb, and the verbal subject marker *nu-* expresses 1SG values.

- 3.2 *Inu nu-lep...*
 1SG 1SG:REAL-big
 “I am big...” [ICR9-6]

Example 3.3 shows the second person singular pronoun *nik* functioning as the subject of a transitive clause. The pronoun is positioned before the verb. The 2SG realis subject marker *ku-* shows the same person/number values as the subject pronoun *nik*.

3.3 *Nik ku-sp̃-e nanu karkar.*
 2SG 2SG:REAL-talk-TRANS thing bad
 “You talk about bad things.” [dictionary - neblaot]]

Finally, example 3.4 shows the third person singular pronoun *ni* used as a subject before the verb. The verbal subject marker expresses 3SG values.

3.4 *Ni e-jki renye boriti.*
 3SG 3SG:REAL-be.not LOC.PREP pandanus.mat
 “He is not on the pandanus mat.” [ICR21-9]

Pronouns in the dual series behave the same way, encoding two participants, as seen in example 3.5.

3.5 *Komru nomor-ivi drra san-san.*
 1EXCL.DU 1EXCL.DU:REAL-be blood DUP-one
 “We are one blood.” [dictionary- drran]

Inclusive forms encode the speaker and addressee (1 + 2), and exclusive forms encode speaker and a non-participant in the conversation (1 + 3).

Example 3.6 uses a first person inclusive pronoun, *kerru*, which conveys the idea the speaker and addressee were involved in the action together.

3.6 *Kerru rromor-sere.*
 1INCL.DU 1INCL.DU:REAL-suffer.consequence
 “We are suffering the consequences” [dictionary - esre]

Example 3.7 uses an exclusive pronoun, *kem*, indicating the speaker and another (not the addressee) completed the action.

3.7 *Kem nam-welili*
 1EXCL.PL 1EXCL.PL:REAL-be.small
 “We are small.” [ICR.9-5]

Pronouns may also function as the nominal object of a transitive clause, where they will follow the verb.

Example 3.8 shows a 1SG object *inu* following the verb complex.

3.8 *Ar-a tevi-ni inu.*
 3PL:REAL-tip.over COM-TRANS 1SG
 “They cover me.” (Lit: “They tip over me.”) [dictionary - mulwon]

Example 3.9 shows a 1PL:INCL pronoun *kerr* as object following the verb complex.

3.9 *Num ar-jera-vi kerr.*
 mosquito 3PL:REAL-swarm-TRANS 1INCL.PL
 “Mosquitoes swarm around us.” [dictionary- ejravi]

In clausal structures, Uripiv also marks the object of transitive verbs. This occurs using a set of object markers that follow the transitive suffix of a verb. These object markers are typically omitted when there is a nominal or pronominal object included. Object indexes are described in detail in 5.3.5.

Pronouns may function as the object of a preposition. Example 3.10 shows the pronoun *inu* following the preposition *ji*.

3.10 *Wano e-verus vini ji inu.*
 W. 3SG:REAL-call come ANIM.PREP 1SG
 “Wano called out to me.” [Y3.1-25]

Not all clauses in Uripiv contain a verb, and pronouns may be used in a non-verbal clause as the subject. The pronouns behave in the same manner as they do in a verbal clause; however, there is no corresponding subject marker found in the verb complex, as there is no verb.

Example 3.11 contains a non-verbal clause and a 3PL pronominal subject, illustrating the use of pronouns without a verbal clause.

3.11 *Nir* *jijle* *ngel* *pa.*
 3PL EGR DEM:PROX PERF
 ‘‘They are all there already.’’ [ICR18-16]

3.1.2 *Locative Pronouns*

Locative pronouns replace a locational noun phrase and encode locative information. Locative pronouns are deictic; their meaning is dependent on the context in which they are used, and the reference point, which in Uripiv is the speaker. Locative pronouns in Uripiv demonstrate a three-way split separating proximal, intermediate, and distal locations.

3.12 *iel* ‘here’ proximal
 iok ‘there’ intermediate
 iak ‘there, out of sight’ distal

Example 3.13 illustrates the use of the proximal pronoun, encoding the closest distance to the speaker, as a reference point.

3.13 *Kopor-lik* *iel.*
 2DU:IRR-stay LOC:PROX
 ‘‘You (two) stay here.’’ [Y2.1-3]

Example 3.14 shows the intermediate pronoun used to encode an intermediate distance from the reference point.

- 3.14 *Ku-rongwos* *kup-seka-i-∅* *iok*.
 2SG:REAL-know, can 2SG:IRR-find-TRANS-3SG:OBJ LOC:INTR
 “You can find it there.” [dictionary- ngabe]

The final data set 3.15 shows the use of *iak*, the distal form, encoding a meaning of ‘over there, out of eyesight’. In example 3.15.a it signals an unexpected location, in 3.15.b it signals a faraway location.

- 3.15 a. *Nam-an* *mesngiv* *iak* *ko*.
 1EXCL.PL:REAL-go emerge LOC:DIST DEM
 “We emerged there.” [dictionary - emes(mes)ngiv]
- b. *Ko* *be-lik* *kobo* *iak* *re* *nereur*.
 CONJ 1SG:IRR-stay GEN.LIM LOC:DIST LOC.PREP island
 “I would just stay there on the island.” [IFIWERE1.2]

Uripiv also has a series adding *-(u)an* ‘go’ to locative pronouns to augment the distance, indicating that the distance from the reference point is slightly further away than expected, but not great enough to require the use of the next locative pronoun (proximal to intermediate, intermediate to distal) (McKerras, 2001: ms). The distal locative pronoun does not use *-(u)an*. Instead the suppletive form *ie* is used. It is rarely attested in the data, although the reduced form *e* occurs commonly with this function.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| 3.16 | <i>iel-an</i> | ‘here, slightly further away’ | proximal-augmented |
| | <i>iok-uan</i> | ‘there, slightly further away’ | intermediate-augmented |
| | <i>ie~e</i> | ‘there, out of sight’ | distal-augmented |

There were no examples of *iel-an* attested in the data; however, examples of *iok-uan* and *ie* illustrate the use of these forms as locative pronouns encoding distance from the speaker. These forms are not commonly used, with under ten examples

Example 3.19 shows the proximal demonstrative *ngel* functioning alone as the subject of this intransitive construction.

- 3.19 *Ngel* *e-terter.*
 DEM:PROX 3SG:REAL-hard
 “This one is hard.” [dictionary - emelmalum]

Example 3.20 shows the intermediate demonstrative *ngok* functioning alone as the subject of this transitive construction.

- 3.20 *Ngok* *e-mari-e-ø...*
 DEM:INTR 3SG:REAL-indicate-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
 “This indicates..” [dictionary - emarie₂]

Data set 3.21 illustrates the use of the intermediate augmented demonstrative pronoun *ngokuan*. The proximal augmented demonstrative pronoun *ngelan* is not attested in the corpus.

- 3.21 a. *E-jki,* *nga ngok-uan* *e-nij.*
 3SG:REAL-be.not SUB DEM:INTR:AUG 3SG:REAL-be.bad
 No, that one is no good...” [dictionary - nulsen]
- b. *Kup-an* *kup-molmol* *re*
 2SG:IRR-go 2SG:IRR-be.cool LOC.PREP
- melve* *nai* *ngok-uan.*
 under tree DEM:INTR:AUG
 “Go and cool off under that tree.” [dictionary - omolmol]

3.2 Common nouns

Common nouns represent the largest class nouns in Uripiv, and are an open word class, with new additions added when required. New common nouns often arise due to new technology becoming accessible to the community, and involve borrowings from other languages. Uripiv borrows many nouns from Bislama, the dialect of Melanesian pidgin spoken in Vanuatu.

Many indigenous common nouns in Uripiv begin with a *nV*- initial sequence, which has been described in other Malekula languages (Barbour, 2012; Dodd, 2014; Holmes, 2014). The initial *nV*- sequence is explained as likely being a remnant from the common article **na* or **a* in Eastern Proto-Oceanic (Lynch, et al., 2002).

The following list presents a selection of Uripiv nouns beginning with the *nV*- sequence. All vowels are attested in the *nV*- prefix. A variety of vowels and consonants follow the *nV*- prefix, meaning that it is not possible to predict which vowel will occur. Among the nouns listed below there are examples of noun stems, which require a possessive suffix. Possessive constructions are described in section 4.2.

- 3.22 a. *niake-* ‘sibling’
nial ‘sun’
niami- ‘eggs (of crab)’
niat ‘roofing thatch’
niavi- ‘sawdust, ash’
nikil ‘pole for fruit picking’
nikis ‘k.o coral’
nikolbbur ‘k.o banana’
nikor ‘stile’
nila ‘spider’s web’
nilali ‘algae’
nili ‘the tune of a song’
nimair ‘left side’
nimatu ‘right side’
ningaw ‘measurement of length’
ningaw ‘many-pronged spear’
nior ‘group’
niriv ‘plank’
nirong ‘divination’
nitaut ‘bushmen’
- b. *nebilwis* ‘k.o yam’
nebir ‘carry bag for soil’
nebis ‘tree growing along sea-shore’
nebit ‘war club’
negi ‘dolphin’
neiren ‘joy’

	<i>nejip</i>	‘blunt arrow-head’
	<i>nelaw</i>	‘digging stick for gardening’
	<i>nelil</i>	‘k.o sea-snail’
	<i>neliw</i>	‘arrow’
	<i>nelwek</i>	‘k.o breadfruit’
	<i>nemalik</i>	‘darkness’
	<i>nemav</i>	‘fall’
	<i>nemöl</i>	‘k.o vine’
	<i>nerat</i>	‘sweat’
	<i>neri</i>	‘its outside’
	<i>neripo</i>	‘k.o yam’
	<i>neris</i>	‘bundle’
	<i>nerr</i>	‘phosphorescent plankton’
	<i>nese-</i>	‘name’
c.	<i>növi</i>	‘skate’
d.	<i>naba</i>	‘k.o vine’
	<i>nabaw</i>	‘k.o banana’
	<i>nabb</i>	‘fire’
	<i>nabbmij</i>	‘poor fire’
	<i>nabbu</i>	‘bamboo’
	<i>nabek</i>	‘tendon, ligament’
	<i>nabet</i>	‘taro’
	<i>nabil</i>	‘scar’
	<i>nabor</i>	‘cloud’
	<i>nabur</i>	‘stud, post’
	<i>nai</i>	‘tree’
	<i>nai</i>	‘tree’
	<i>naim</i>	‘home’
	<i>nale</i>	‘language’
	<i>nani</i>	‘coconut’
	<i>naniv</i>	‘stonefish’
	<i>nar</i>	‘gills’
	<i>naret</i>	‘heart’
	<i>nariv</i>	‘rat’
	<i>nato</i>	‘chicken’
e.	<i>nuben</i>	‘red dyed pandanus mat’
	<i>nubo</i>	‘song’
	<i>nubus</i>	‘rubbish’
	<i>nulas</i>	‘k.o tree used for fish poisoning’
	<i>nulsen</i>	‘colour’
	<i>nulul</i>	‘line, row’
	<i>num</i>	‘mosquito’
	<i>numal</i>	‘chief’
	<i>numer</i>	‘hunger, famine’
	<i>numet</i>	‘snake’
	<i>numiv</i>	‘plain, plateau’
	<i>numön</i>	‘bird’

	<i>numös</i>	‘harvest’
	<i>numow</i>	‘fog, mist, haze’
	<i>nungut</i>	‘hundred’
	<i>nurin</i>	‘dawn’
	<i>nursal</i>	‘double-spine rock lobster’
	<i>nuruk</i>	‘broom’
	<i>nutrin</i>	‘day, day-time’
	<i>nuval</i>	‘war’
f.	<i>no-</i>	‘face’
	<i>nobo</i>	‘k.o. tree’
	<i>noju</i>	‘k.o. tree’
	<i>nolo-</i>	‘inside’
	<i>nololien</i>	‘bad deed, sin’
	<i>nolso-</i>	‘flesh (of fruit)’
	<i>nome</i>	‘wild duck’
	<i>norbbös</i>	‘Chenille Plant’
	<i>norman</i>	‘male’
	<i>norongen</i>	‘feeling’
	<i>noror</i>	‘ban’
	<i>noros</i>	‘k.o. breadfruit’
	<i>norro-</i>	‘sap’
	<i>norruv</i>	‘old yam garden’
	<i>noruv</i>	‘shelter’
	<i>nosos</i>	‘flotsam and jetsam’
	<i>nospen</i>	‘news’
	<i>nov</i>	‘k.o. yam’
	<i>nowe-</i>	‘neck’

Not all common nouns in the data begin with the *nV-* sequence. Although a much smaller group than the *nV-* common nouns, common nouns occurring with other initial sequences are not rare. Some examples of these are:

3.23	<i>mesal</i>	‘fish’
	<i>berper</i>	‘pig’
	<i>betiv</i>	‘breadfruit’
	<i>rao-</i>	‘leaf’
	<i>saraoen</i>	‘skill’
	<i>tuwi</i>	‘olden times’
	<i>boriti</i>	‘pandanus mat’
	<i>dipang</i>	‘green coconuts’
	<i>lemetiti</i>	‘k.o. truck’
	<i>sunsun</i>	‘shirt, clothes’
	<i>livaliv</i>	‘rainbow’
	<i>bela-</i>	‘leg’
	<i>koap</i>	‘guava’
	<i>wene</i>	‘fruit’

<i>bae</i>	‘shark’
<i>lekter</i>	‘woman’
<i>mer</i>	‘man’
<i>guli</i>	‘dog’
<i>narr</i>	‘basket’
<i>mobb</i>	‘lizard’
<i>menu</i>	‘bird’s nest’
<i>metka</i>	‘family’
<i>liwen</i>	‘tooth’
<i>ling</i>	‘wind’
<i>mowe</i>	‘feather’
<i>orsel</i>	‘garden’

The data includes many Bislama borrowings. These nouns are used as regular Uripiv common nouns, despite their status as borrowings. These nouns are not prefixed with an initial *nV*- sequence, which indicates that *nV*- is no longer a productive marker of common nouns. Some Bislama borrowings are included in the following list:

3.24	<i>avuka</i>	‘avocado’
	<i>baenau</i>	‘pineapple’
	<i>baket</i>	‘packet’
	<i>baskel</i>	‘bicycle’
	<i>biskit</i>	‘biscuit’
	<i>bosu-</i>	‘boss’
	<i>bot</i>	‘boat’
	<i>botel</i>	‘bottle’
	<i>dakdak</i>	‘duck’
	<i>flawa</i>	‘flower’
	<i>froki</i>	‘froggy’
	<i>helikopta</i>	‘helicopter’
	<i>hospital</i>	‘hospital’
	<i>katapila</i>	‘caterpillar’
	<i>ketel</i>	‘kettle’
	<i>klinik</i>	‘clinic’
	<i>krokodael</i>	‘crocodile’
	<i>maket</i>	‘market’
	<i>moto</i>	‘motorbike’
	<i>oklok</i>	‘o’clock’
	<i>pos</i>	‘post’
	<i>puskat</i>	‘cat’
	<i>raes</i>	‘rice’
	<i>skul</i>	‘school’
	<i>sped</i>	‘spade’
	<i>sto</i>	‘store’

<i>tebol</i>	‘table’
<i>telefon</i>	‘telephone’
<i>trak</i>	‘truck’
<i>windo</i>	‘window’
<i>yok</i>	‘egg yolk’
<i>yunifon</i>	‘uniform’

While some common nouns can be identified because they begin with the *nV*-sequence, the common noun class can more generally be defined by its morpho-syntactic properties.

Common nouns can be modified by:

- demonstrative determiners (4.4)
- a possessor (4.2)
- a relative clause (4.3)
- lexical modifiers (4.1)
- a numeral or quantifier (4.6-4.7)
- a number marker (4.8)

In an interrogative structure, questions can be asked about common nouns using the interrogative *sev* ‘what’ (7.1.6.2.1).

3.3 Local nouns

Local nouns may be categorised as either spatial or temporal. Spatial local nouns prototypically encode: proper place names, familiar places, and names of places in the environment. Temporal local nouns prototypically encode: parts of the day, or time counters. In an interrogative structure, questions can be asked about spatial local nouns using the interrogative *niben* ‘where’, while temporal local nouns use the interrogative *seveling* ‘when’. Some spatial and temporal nouns are not

introduced by prepositions when expressing local information. Spatial and temporal local nouns are not modified by a numeral (4.6).

3.3.1 *Spatial nouns*

Spatial nouns are those which encode spatial information, such as place names and local nouns.

3.3.2 *Proper Place Names*

Proper place names are local nouns encoding the name of a fixed location. This includes the names of villages, islands, and countries.

3.25	<i>Meltapol</i>	Meltapol village, the southernmost village on Uripiv Island
	<i>Potnabe</i>	Potnabe village
	<i>Pirpir</i>	Pirpir village, an old village on Uripiv Island
	<i>Siviri</i>	Siviri Cave
	<i>Mataso</i>	Mataso Island
	<i>Valeva</i>	Valeva Cave
	<i>Uripiv</i>	Uripiv Island
	<i>Dan lep</i>	Malekula (the big island)

Example 3.26 and 3.27 both show the use of proper place names, Siviri and Valeva.

3.26	<i>jinibb</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>Siviri</i>	<i>nir</i>
	person	SUB	S.	PL
	“the people from Siviri” [Y3.6-2]			

3.27	<i>bereng</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>Valeva</i>
	cave	SUB	V.
	“the cave of Valeva” [Y3.6-1]		

Example 3.28 shows a proper place name used without a preposition.

3.28	<i>Ete</i>	<i>be-vini</i>	<i>iel</i>	<i>Vila.</i>
	NEG	1SG:IRR-come	LOC:PROX	V.
	“I won’t come here to Vila.” [IFIWERE1.1]			

3.3.3 Local Nouns Denoting Familiar Places

Often, forms used as common nouns are also seen occurring as local nouns in a local construction (Ross, Pawley, & Osmond, 2007: 234). The difference between the two is that these local constructions refer to places that are familiar to the addressee. Constructions such as ‘I’m going home’ encode a place that is recognisable to both speaker and addressee without the speaker needing to specify which house they are going to (Ross et al. 2007: 234).

Uripiv introduces local nouns denoting familiar places into constructions without using the locative preposition *re(nge)* (see 7.1.4.3 for a discussion of *re(nge)*).

3.29	<i>orsel</i>	garden
	<i>ngaim</i>	village
	<i>naim</i>	home
	<i>lolmarrul</i>	bush
	<i>depinan</i>	beach

Example 3.30 illustrates *orsel* ‘garden’ acting as a familiar local noun, without using the preposition *re(nge)*.

3.30	<i>Ana</i>	<i>e-van</i>	<i>orsel.</i>
	A.	3SG:REAL-go	garden
	“Ana went to the garden.” [ICR23-12]		

Example 3.31 illustrates *naim* ‘home’ acting as a familiar local noun, without using the preposition *re(nge)*.

3.31	<i>Ar-sa-i-∅</i>	<i>van</i>	<i>naim</i>	<i>e.</i>
	3PL:REAL-take-TRANS-3SG:OBJ	go	home	LOC:DIST:AUG
	“They took (it) home there.” [Y2.1-23]			

Example 3.32 illustrates *lolmarrul* ‘bush’ acting as a familiar local noun, without using the preposition *re(nge)*.

3.32 *O-wlu van lolmarrul e.*
 3SG:REAL-run go bush LOC:DIST:AUG
 “It runs into the bush there.” [Y2.7-14]

3.3.4 *Locative Part Nouns*

Locative part nouns allow speakers to refer to the location of an object that is a component of a part-whole relationship. Examples of Uripiv locative part nouns are included in the following list:

3.33	<i>lol/lolo-n</i>	inside/ inside of it (a house)
	<i>loloim</i>	inside a house, from <i>lolo</i> + <i>naim</i>
	<i>nolo-n</i>	inside of it (bottle, hollow tree, internal organs)
	<i>geli-n</i>	edge/side of it

Example 3.34 illustrates this using *lolo* ‘inside’ and the 3SG possessive marker *-n*.

The possessive marker indicates the whole of the part-whole relationship, however, only *lolo* ‘the inside’ is salient in this construction. The whole in this case is a house.

3.34 *Me-an lolo-n jer.*
 1SG:SUBJ-go inside-3SG:POSS TOT
 “I will go inside alone.” [Y3.6-7]

Example 3.35 shows this pattern with a part-whole relationship between *nolo* ‘the inside’ and *bela* ‘the foot’.

3.35	<i>nolo-n</i>	<i>bela-n</i>
	inside-3SG:POSS	foot-3SG:POSS
	“the sole of his foot” Lit: the inside of his foot [dictionary- nolon]	

3.3.5 *Absolute Local Nouns*

Uripiv attests a small series of absolute local nouns, that are used to locate events or entities against fixed environmental positions (see Levinson, 1994).

The Uripiv forms use the natural landscape of Uripiv Island to orient speakers according to the features around them. Due to the hilly nature of Uripiv Island, encoding a horizontal plane (inland/shoreward) results in also encoding a vertical plane (uphill/downhill). The local noun *ngalu* ‘shoreward’ will be referring to the shore but also to ‘down’, as the distance above sea level decreases as one moves towards the shore.

The local noun *ngatan* ‘down’ appears to reference the vertical frame, and refers to ‘down’ in the sense of being ‘on the ground’, likely derived from *dan* ‘ground’.

The local noun *mare* refers to inland areas, where the distance above sea level increases from that by the shore. It is also used to encode ‘up’ on the vertical frame.

- | | | |
|------|---------------|--|
| 3.36 | <i>ngalu</i> | 1. down, downhill
2. shoreward (from inland)
3. open sea from Uripiv (stated as west in McKerras, 2011:ms) |
| | <i>ngatan</i> | down, on the ground |
| | <i>mare</i> | 1. up, inland
2. up (in the air)
3. islands south of Uripiv (Epi and Ambrym) |

Example 3.37 shows the local noun *mare* ‘up’, modifying the location of the action.

- | | | |
|------|---|--------------|
| 3.37 | <i>E-jepa-ri-∅</i> | <i>mare.</i> |
| | 3SG:REAL-reach-TRANS-3SG:OBJ | up |
| | “He is reaching up (for it).” [Y2.6-13] | |

Example 3.38 shows *ngatan* providing the position of sleeping. Further locational information is provided in a preposition phrase using the locational preposition *re(nge)*, followed by a common noun.

3.38 *E-matur ngatan renge dan.*
 3SG:REAL-sleep down LOC.PREP ground
 “It sleeps down on the ground.” [Y2.6-25]

Example 3.39 shows *mare* indicating a position on the vertical plane, with further detail provided in a locational preposition phrase.

3.39 a. *O-k-matur mare renge nai san.*
 3SG:REAL-IMPF-sleep up LOC.PREP tree INDF:SG
 “It sleeps up in a tree.” [VNM4-2]

Example 3.40 shows *ngalu* indicating a position on the horizontal plane.

3.40 *[E-ra van] ngalu e.*
 3SG:REAL-crawl go shoreward LOC:DIST:AUG
 “It crawled shorewards here.” [VNM2-5]

3.41 shows *ngalu* indicating a position towards the open sea, which is west from Uripiv Island.

3.41 *Ling e-vel ngalu.*
 wind 3SG:REAL-go west
 “Wind from the westerly direction.” [dictionary - ngalu]

3.3.6 Temporal Nouns

Temporal nouns are a subclass of local nouns that provide temporal information, such as parts of the day or time counters.

3.3.7 Parts of the Day

One subclass of temporal nouns is used to encode specific information pertaining to parts of the day.

3.42 *rorpong* ‘morning’
levial ‘midday’

<i>rivriv</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>natpong/nutpong</i>	‘night’

Parts of the day are introduced by the locative preposition *re(nge)*. Examples 3.43 and 3.44 show these parts of the day in temporal expressions.

3.43 *Renge rorpong san...*
 LOC.PREP morning INDF:SG
 “One morning...” [VAN1-1]

3.44 *Renge Satede rivriv san...*
 LOC.PREP saturday afternoon INDF:SG
 “One Saturday afternoon...” [Y3.1-2]

The parts of the day may also take modifiers, encoding more specific temporal information.

3.45 a.	<i>rorpong susu</i>	‘dawn’
	<i>rorpong p̃elak</i>	‘very early morning’
b.	<i>rivriv tuwi</i>	‘late afternoon’
	<i>rivriv jer</i>	‘just after sunset’

3.3.8 Time Counters

Time counters are a subclass of local nouns that allow speakers to locate events temporally. They may use an absolute or relative time reference.

3.46	<i>lelingen/lelingengok</i>	‘today/now’
	<i>nabong</i>	‘today/now’
	<i>mevi</i>	‘tomorrow’
	<i>teru</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’
	<i>miniv</i>	‘yesterday’
	<i>boneru</i>	‘the day before yesterday’
	<i>liven</i>	‘not long ago’
	<i>pareng</i>	‘a little while ago’
	<i>par-pareng</i>	‘quite a while ago’

Data set 3.47 shows examples of these time counters. These time counters do not take prepositions.

- 3.47 a. *Lelingen ngok, Sawan*
today DEM:INTR S.

o-rongwos-e pu-l-i...
3SG:REAL-want-TRANS 3SG:IRR-buy-TRANS
“Then, Sawan wanted to buy... [Y2.9-27]

- 3.48 b. *Miniv, inu tevi metka*
yesterday 1SG COM.PREP family

su-k nir nam-an...
GEN-1SG:POSS PL 1EXCL.PL:REAL-go
“Yesterday, me and my family went...” [ICR16-2]

- 3.49 c. *Ko mevi rorpong ne-n...*
CONJ tomorrow morning NH-3SG:POSS
“Tomorrow morning...” [LW1.8]

Some words for days of the week are attested in the data, borrowed from Bislama; however, no Uripiv forms are found in the corpus. The days of the week take the preposition *re(nge)*.

Example 3.50 illustrates the use of Bislama *sande* ‘Sunday’.

- 3.50 *Rrek re Sande pi-rpok par-jipari iel.*
maybe LOC.PREP Sunday 3SG:IRR-about 3PL:IRR-reach LOC:PROX
“They will probably get here about Sunday”. [dictionary- erpok]

3.4 Personal Nouns

Personal nouns are a subclass of noun that refer to a specific individual, prototypically in the form of proper names or kin terms used for humans.

3.4.1 Personal Proper Names

Proper names are a subclass of personal nouns as they refer to a specific individual by name. In the corpus, proper names occur on their own as a complete noun phrase. They are characterised by their lack of nominal modifiers. This subclass of personal noun is not able, for example, to be possessed.

There are proper names of apparently indigenous origin (3.51.a), as well as names of English origin (3.51.b). Some of the indigenous names in the corpus are likely to come from other Vanuatu language communities, due to use of translated material in the corpus.

3.51	a.	<i>Sawan</i>	<i>Setoko</i>	<i>Semu</i>	<i>Mermarong</i>
		<i>Wano</i>	<i>Mol</i>	<i>Kalua</i>	<i>Dapurpur</i>
		<i>Lala</i>	<i>Kal</i>	<i>Balu</i>	<i>Leitau</i>
		<i>Malua</i>	<i>Numa</i>	<i>Ata</i>	<i>Daliany</i>
		<i>Enelly</i>			
	b.	<i>Mesiah</i>	<i>Tomsin</i>	<i>Susi</i>	<i>Maya</i>
		<i>Pita</i>	<i>Meri</i>	<i>Jemes</i>	<i>Magret</i>
		<i>Ana</i>	<i>Ralph</i>	<i>Rappy</i>	

Example 3.52 shows personal proper name *Sawan* acting as subject.

3.52	<i>Sawan</i>	<i>e-la-i</i>		<i>tweni</i>	<i>nevöt</i>	<i>petpeti</i>	<i>nir.</i>
	S.	3SG:REAL-take-TRANS	out	money	all, every	PL	
	“Sawan took out all her money.” [Y2.9-24]						

In addition to referring to an individual, personal proper names can be used as vocatives, as illustrated in example 3.53.

3.53	<i>Tomsin,</i>	<i>kup-les-i-ø</i>		<i>ta!</i>
	T.	2SG:IRR-look-TRANS-3SG:OBJ	POL	
	“Tomsin, look!” [ICR17-5]			

3.4.2 Kin Terms

Kin terms are personal nouns that encode a familial relationship between two entities. Almost all kin terms in the corpus carry a possessive suffix (described in section 4.2.1).

3.54	<i>tosle-</i>	‘great-great grandparent’
	<i>pile-</i>	‘father-in-law’
	<i>pile-</i>	‘mother-in-law’
	<i>mitu-/mitue-</i>	‘uncle’
	<i>nese-</i>	‘wife’
	<i>merje-</i>	‘cross cousin’
	<i>niake-</i>	‘sibling, age-mate, family’
	<i>orwe-</i>	‘sister-in-law (married to husband’s brother)’
	<i>tasi-</i>	‘brother’
	<i>tau-</i>	‘wife’s brother’
	<i>tua-</i>	‘older brother/cousin’
	<i>merje-</i>	‘cross cousin’
	<i>mebbu-</i>	‘grandchild’

A small number of kin terms occur without possessive suffixes.

3.57	<i>tasu</i>	‘mother, aunt’
	<i>tata</i>	‘father, uncle’
	<i>birtera</i>	‘father-in-law’
	<i>lekter</i>	‘mother-in-law’
	<i>apu</i>	‘grandparent’
	<i>nesevin(li)</i>	‘wife’

These kin terms can be used to refer to individuals, and as vocatives. They are used referentially without the possessive suffixes.

3.58	<i>Tasu e-rraw-e-∅</i>	<i>tweni nijor.</i>
	aunt 3SG:REAL-wash-TRANS-3SG:OBJ	out clothes
	‘Auntie is washing out clothes.’ [ICR23-17]	

3.59	<i>Tasu, kup-les-i-∅</i>	<i>ta!</i>
	aunt 2SG:IRR-look-TRANS-3SG:OBJ	POL
	‘Auntie, look!’ [ICR17-3]	

Kin terms can also be used as part of an indirect possessive construction with a possessive classifier (see 4.2.2), as in 3.60.

3.60	<i>Or-sup-e</i> 3DU:REAL-tell-TRANS	<i>jilweren</i> story	<i>nga</i> SUB
	<i>tasu</i> mother	<i>su-k.</i> GEN-1SG:POSS	

“They told a story to my mother.” [Y3.1-42]

3.5 Nominal Derivation

Uripiv common nouns may be derived using three different strategies, including conversion, a range of nominalisation affixes, and compounding. These strategies are used to change word class into a noun, or to form a complex noun with a new meaning.

3.5.1 Conversion

Conversion is a derivational process that allows a change of word class, in this case from a verb to a noun, without changing the form of the stem (Haspelmath & Sims: 2010). A small number of verb-noun pairs illustrate the conversion process in Uripiv, as they allow verbs to be converted into nouns with no additional morphology.

3.61	<i>pöpnus</i> ‘hate’	<i>pöpnus</i> ‘a dispute’
	<i>rangi</i> ‘barbecue s.t.’	<i>rangi-</i> ‘soot’
	<i>rim</i> ‘tastes it’	<i>rim</i> ‘taste’

Example 3.62.a below illustrates the verbal use of *rangi*, while 3.62.b shows the nominal use.

- 3.62 a. *Nial e-rang-i batu-r.*
 sun 3SG:REAL-burn-TRANS head-3PL:OBJ
 “The sun burns their heads.” [dictionary - erangi]
- b. *Gas rangi-n e-jki.*
 gas soot-3SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-be.not
 “Gas doesn’t make soot.” (Lit: “Gas, its soot doesn’t exist.”)
 [dictionary – rangin]

3.5.2 Initial Consonant Alternation

Nominalisation can be achieved through an initial consonant alternation. The initial consonant of affected verbs is a plain consonant (/t/, /k/, /p/, /r/) whereas the nominalised form is a prenasalised consonant (/ⁿd/, /ⁿg/, /^mb/, /ndr/). One of these forms, *dabbu-en*, makes use of a nominal suffix described in more detail below.

3.63	<i>temat</i>	‘be very still’	‘ <i>demat</i> ’	‘peace’
	<i>keri</i>	‘resemble a bat’	‘ <i>geri</i> ’	‘bat’
	<i>tabbu</i>	‘roast’	‘ <i>dabbu-en</i> ’	‘feast, cooking’
			‘ <i>dabbu</i> ’	‘person from Ambrym ³ ’

3.5.3 Prefix nV-

As discussed in section 3.2, many common nouns in Uripiv begin with the sequence *nV-* that is a remnant from Proto Oceanic (Lynch, et al., 2002). Adding the *nV-* prefix is a clear way to indicate the form is now a nominal. The following list shows bare verb stems with their equivalent *nV-* nominalised forms.

3.64	<i>bböl</i>	‘stick’	<i>na-bböl</i>	‘tree whose fruit is used as glue’
	<i>bböt</i>	‘step’	<i>na-bböt</i>	‘footprint’
	<i>rriv</i>	‘run’	<i>ne-rriv</i>	‘sap’
	<i>seser</i>	‘gather’	<i>ne-seser</i>	‘gathering’

³ Ambrym is a nearby island with a large volcano.

3.5.4 Suffix *-(i)en*

The derivational suffix *-(i)en* is used in nominalisation processes. This suffix attaches directly to the end of the verb stem being nominalised.

3.65	<i>totko</i>	‘marry’	<i>totko-ien</i>	‘marriage’
	<i>suswari</i>	‘have diarrhoea’	<i>suswar-ien</i>	‘diarrhoea’
	<i>sesre</i>	‘teach’	<i>sesre-ien</i>	‘teaching’
	<i>majing</i>	‘work’	<i>majing-en</i>	‘work, job’
	<i>rat</i>	‘sweat’	<i>rat-en</i>	‘sweat’
	<i>priv</i>	‘be long’	<i>periv-en</i>	‘length’

3.5.5 Simulfix *nV-VERB-(i)en*

The prefix *nV-* and the suffix *-(i)en* may combine into a derivational simulfix. This simulfix attaches affixes to either side of the verb stem, nominalising the verb.

3.66	<i>rrorrm</i>	‘think’	<i>no-rrorrm-en</i>	‘thought’
	<i>ungasi</i>	‘hate’	<i>nu-ngasi-en</i>	‘hatred, a curse’
	<i>urai</i>	‘say it’	<i>no-urai-en</i>	‘message’
	<i>rnge</i>	‘hear/feel it’	<i>no-rongi-en</i>	‘hearing’

3.5.6 Initial Consonant Alternation, Alternation and Suffix *-(i)en*

The final nominalisation strategy is a combination of initial consonant alternation (voicing) and the nominalising suffix *-(i)en*.

3.67	<i>rres</i>	‘be good’	<i>drres-en</i>	‘good graces’
	<i>tabbu</i>	‘roast’	<i>dabbu-en</i>	‘feast, cooking’

3.5.7 Compounding

Compounding refers to a process where a word is formed by combining more than one stem, to create a new meaning.

Compounding is considered a derivational process that occurs when a new, morphologically complex word is formed from another word or stem (Bybee, 1985: 81-82; Haspelmath & Sims, 2010: 18). Derivation is likely to create a form that is more idiosyncratic in meaning than inflected forms (Bybee, 1985: 81-82; Haspelmath & Sims, 2010: 18).

Uripiv forms nominal compounds by joining two or more morphemes. The forms in the list show multiple morphemes joined together to create a novel meaning, such as *bipi* ‘baby’ and *warreng* ‘small, little’ joining to mean ‘boy’ (McKerras, 2001: ms).

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---------------------|--------------------------|--|
| 3.68 | a. | <i>bipiwarreng</i> | boy | from <i>bipi</i> ‘baby’;
<i>warreng</i> ‘small, little’ |
| | | <i>nesenwarreng</i> | girl, young single woman | from <i>nesen</i> ‘woman’;
<i>warreng</i> ‘small, little’ |
| | b. | <i>lerrumrrum</i> | whale | from <i>le</i> ‘feminine’;
<i>rrum</i> ‘wild’ |

There is evidence that some local nouns are formed through noun-noun compounding, as is found in other Malakula languages (Barbour 2012: 107; Dodd 2014). The examples below show the compounding of *lolo* ‘inside’ with (*na*)*im* ‘house’, and *marrul* ‘bush’.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------|--|
| 3.69 | <i>loloim</i> | inside (of house) | from <i>lolo-</i> ‘inside’;
<i>naim</i> ‘house’ |
| | <i>lolmarrul</i> | bush | from <i>lol</i> ‘inside’;
<i>marrul</i> ‘bush’ |

3.6 Nominal Coordination

Nominal coordination is a process where two or more noun phrases are linked and share the same grammatical function in a construction. The noun phrases together function as a single nominal constituent.

3.6.1 Prosodic Listing

Prosodic listing is the most basic means of coordinating multiple noun phrases, using rising intonation to signal the relationship between two noun phrases (Barbour, 2012: 47). This is a feature commonly found in lists, where in transcribed speech a comma represents the intonation breaks that distinguish between noun phrases.

Example 3.70 shows an example where prosodic listing, using rising intonation, is used to coordinate constituents.

3.70 *nuver,*[↑] *navij,*[↑] *nabet,*[↑] *maniok*[↑]
island.cabbage banana taro cassava
“island cabbage, bananas, taro, cassava” [WHATTOBUY1.7]

3.6.2 Linking Particles

A general conjunction *ko* is used to conjoin separate noun phrases, as ‘and’ does in English. Example 3.71 shows *ko* joining two separate noun phrases *geri* ‘fruitbat’ and *numet* ‘snake’.

3.71 *Geri* *ko* *numet.*
fruitbat CONJ snake
“The bat and the snake” [VNM41]

The noun phrases that are conjoined by *ko* share semantic roles and grammatical relations in a construction. Their ability to share grammatical relations becomes apparent when looking at the subject markers in the verb complex. The subject markers will agree with the total number of participants in the conjoined construction, making the subject marker either dual or plural.

Example 3.72 shows two noun phrases *Sawan* and *tasu sen* ‘her mother’ conjoined using the conjunction *ko*. Together, the noun phrases are the subject of the construction. The two noun phrases acting as the subject agree with the 3DU subject marker *or-* in the construction.

3.72 *Sawan ko tasu se-n*
 S. CONJ mother GEN-3SG:POSS

or-luwi van ngaim e.
 3DU:REAL-return go home LOC:DIST:AUG
 “Sawan and her mother went back home.” [Y2.9-23]

Another particle *tevi* can conjoin noun phrases in a similar way. Example 3.73 shows *tevi* being used to conjoin *inu* ‘I’ and *sele-k* ‘my friend’. The verb is inflected with the 1EXCL.PL marker *nam-* which includes the two linked nominals.

3.73 *Inu tevi sele-k nam-an*
 1SG CONJ friend-1SG:POSS 1EXCL.PL:REAL-go

nam-wirr string.
 1EXCL.PL:REAL-shake fishing.line
 “my friends and I went and shook our fishing line...” [Y3.1-2/3]

4. The Noun Phrase

Common nouns described in the previous chapter, as well as some subclasses of personal and local nouns can be modified by post-nominal elements. The basic noun phrase structure of Uripiv is illustrated in figure 8, showing the noun phrase slots and their constituents. The only obligatory constituent of the noun phrase is a head noun, except in headless relative clause structures, where the head noun is omitted, and the phrase begins at slot 2. This ordering is very rigid.

Figure 8: Noun Phrase Structure in Uripiv

1: HEAD NOUN	2: (MODIFIER)	3: (DEMONSTRATIVE)	4: (KO/LE)	5: (NUMBER MARKER) (QUANTIFIER) (NUMERAL)
-----------------	------------------	-----------------------	---------------	--

The MODIFIER slot (slot 2) can be further ordered as shown in figure 9:

Figure 9: Order of Modifier Slot

2.1: (LEXICAL MODIFIER)	2.2: (POSSESSOR)	2.3: (RELATIVE CLAUSE)
----------------------------	---------------------	---------------------------

There appear to be some restrictions on elements that co-occur in a noun phrase. Numerals will not co-occur with a number marker or a quantifier, nor are they attested in the corpus occurring with a demonstrative or a relative clause.

4.1 Lexical modifiers

Head nouns can be modified lexically with adjectival forms. Oceanic languages commonly use a series of stative verbs to modify nouns, as well as a small closed

class of true adjectives (Lynch et al., 2002: 40).⁴ Uripiv attests a small set of true adjectives, a small set of de-nominal adjectives, and stative verbs used as lexical modifiers to assign qualities and traits to nouns.

True adjectives in Uripiv are not attested with verbal morphology in the Uripiv corpus, and therefore cannot be identified as stative verbs. There are very few true adjectives, with almost all lexical modifiers in the noun phrase also able to function as either nouns, or more often as an inflected verb in a clause.

Example 4.1 shows the head noun *drra* ‘blood’ being modified by *pemlaej* ‘blue-green’ to mean vein blood (that looks blue or green depending on skin tone), without inflection. *Pemlaej* ‘blue-green’ does not occur as a verb in the corpus.

4.1 *Drra pemlaej.*
 blood blue.green
 “Vein blood.” [dictionary - drran]

Example 4.2 shows the head noun *neni* ‘coconut’ being modified by *peveng* ‘red’ to mean a kind of coconut with reddish fruit.

4.2 *neni peveng*
 coconut red
 “a k.o coconut with reddish fruit” [dictionary - neni]

⁴ Payne (1997: 63) and Velupillai (2012: 26) describe the problematic nature of adjectives as a word class in the languages of the world, with no consistent way to describe a prototypical adjective form other than their ability to add a property or characteristic to the noun they modify. Dixon (1982) states adjectives are the most varied and therefore least universal class, calling them a locus of difference in typological studies. Wetzer (1996) proposes a continuum of ‘adjective-type forms’:

VERBS → ADJECTIVAL VERBS → VERBY ADJECTIVES → NOUNY ADJECTIVES → ADJECTIVAL NOUNS
 → NOUNS

De-nominal adjectives refer to adjectives that are derived from nouns, encoding properties held by the noun (as ‘nouny adjectives’ referred to by Wetzer (1996)).

A small number of de-nominal adjectives are attested in the Uripiv corpus.

4.3	<i>betiv</i>	‘n. breadfruit’
	<i>petiv</i>	‘adj. having reddish brown marks (like a breadfruit)’
	<i>botunmal</i>	‘n. reef’
	<i>potunmal</i>	‘uncovered’
	<i>drrum</i>	‘n. yam’
	<i>rrum</i>	‘adj. yam-like’

Based on the available data, these de-nominal adjectives appear to be formed using initial consonant alternation (see 2.4.4), with initial prenasalised consonants /^mb/ and /ⁿD/ in nouns alternating with the plain equivalents /p/ and /r/ in adjectives.

Example 4.4 shows *petiv* modifying *deṽinan* ‘sand’ to encode a colour quality.

4.4	<i>depinan</i>	<i>petiv</i>
	sand	red/brown
	“light brown sand” [dictionary - deṽinan]	

There are several lexical modifiers that are attested elsewhere in the corpus with verbal morphology. These modifiers are presented in the following examples:

Example 4.5 shows the lexical modifier *terter* used to modify *batun* ‘his head’, without verbal inflections, meaning it is acting as a lexical modifier.

4.5	<i>batun terter</i>	‘a stubborn person’	from <i>batu-</i> ‘head’;
			<i>terter</i> ‘hard’

Example 4.6 shows the same modifier used with verbal inflection, thus acting as a verb.

- 4.6 *Nevöt e-terter...*
 stone 3SG:REAL-be.hard
 “The stone is hard...” [ICR14-8]

Example 4.7 shows the lexical modifier *seser* ‘flowing’ used to modify *nuwi* ‘water’, without verbal inflections, acting as a lexical modifier.

- 4.7 *nuwi seser* ‘river’ from *nuwi* ‘water’;
seser ‘flowing’

Example 4.8 shows the same modifier with verbal inflection, acting as a verb.

- 4.8 *Drravi-n e-seser.*
 nose-3SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-flowing
 “His nose is running.” [dictionary - eseser]

Example 4.9.a shows the lexical modifier *malum* ‘soft’ used to modify *nale* ‘language’, without verbal inflections, acting as a lexical modifier. Example 4.9.b shows *malum* with verbal inflection.

- 4.9 a. *nale malum* ‘person who speaks quietly’ from *nale* ‘language’;
malum ‘soft’
 b. *Avuka e-malum...*
 avocado 3SG:REAL-be.soft
 “Avocado is soft...” [ICR14-4]

4.2 Possession

Common nouns and the subclass of kin terms in the personal noun category can be possessed. The prototypical Oceanic language strategies for encoding possession can be classified semantically and syntactically (Lynch et al. 2002: 40-3; Haspelmath, 2008). Semantically, typologists consider the possession of inalienable and alienable relationships. An inalienable relationship exists where possession is an inherent feature of the relationship, and the possessor often has

no agency over whether they possess the possessum (Haspelmath: 2008). This often applies to body parts and kin relationships. Alienable relationships exist where the possessor has no inherent connection to the possessum, therefore possession of the entity is due to the possessor's agency (Haspelmath: 2008). Syntactically, a distinction is made between direct and indirect possession. Indirect possession utilises a possessive classifier, whereas direct possession will use an affix, clitic, or marker contiguous to the possessed noun – without a possessive classifier.

Drawing on syntactic and semantic differences, Haspelmath (2008: 1-2) describes the idea of a possessive split, where languages use multiple possessive strategies for three main semantic types of possessive constructions: general ownership, part-whole relationships, and kinship relationships. Typically, Oceanic languages will operate using a split that expresses kinship and part-whole relations with a direct possessive construction, and general possession with an indirect possessive construction (Lynch et al 2002: 41). In Uripiv, although both direct and indirect possessive constructions are attested, the semantic split is not as tidy as that proposed by Lynch et al. (2002).

4.2.1 Direct Possession

The direct possession structure is indicated by a possessive construction that lacks a possessive classifier. The absence of a possessive classifier indicates syntactic directness and a semantically close relationship between possessor and possessum. In Uripiv, the possessum will carry a suffix encoding the person/number value of the possessor. Uripiv behaves prototypically in terms of

Oceanic possession, using direct possession to encode most kinship relations and part-whole relationships. However, not all kinship terms are possessed directly.

Sometimes the same kin term is attested in both direct and indirect structures.

Direct possession often occurs where a close relationship between possessor and possessum exists, representing an inalienable relationship between the two.

Haspelmath (2008) states the closeness of the possessive affix to the possessum may be a symbolic representation of the closeness between possessor and possessum.

An inalienable relationship is one where there is a permanent, unbreakable connection between two entities; explaining why these direct structures are used to encode possession of kin terms, part-whole relations, and body parts.

The Uripiv paradigm presented by McKerras (2001: ms) for direct possession is displayed in Table 8. All forms are found in the dictionary. The dual and plural suffixes resemble the endings of the equivalent dual and plural independent personal pronouns (section 3.1).

Table 8: Paradigm of Possessor Suffixes in Uripiv

Possessor Suffixes				
	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	<i>-k</i>	inclusive	<i>-r-ru</i>	<i>-rr</i>
		exclusive	<i>-m-ru</i>	<i>ke-m</i>
Second person	<i>-m</i>		<i>-m-ru</i>	<i>-mi</i>
Third person	<i>-n</i>		<i>-ru</i>	<i>-r</i>

Example 4.10 shows the possessum kinship term *mitu* ‘uncle’ suffixed with the first person singular direct marker *-k*.

- 4.10 *Mitu-k*...
 uncle-1SG:POSS
 “My uncle...” [ICR24-9]

Example 4.11 shows the same pattern, with the kin possessum *joji* ‘brother’ suffixed with the first person singular direct marker *-k*. The plural marker *nir* follows the possessive construction, modifying the possessed noun.

4.11 *Joji-k nir...*
brother-1SG:POSS PL
“My brothers...” [LW1-5]

Example 4.12 shows the direct possession of a body part *nolo* ‘heart’ using the 1INCL.PL suffix *-rr*.

4.12 *nolo-rr*
heart-1INCL.PL:POSS
“our hearts” [dictionary -rr]

Example 4.13 shows the direct possession of a part-whole relationship, with *sina* ‘seed’ being possessed using the 3SG suffix *-n*.

4.13 *Sina-n...*
seed-3SG:POSS
“Its seeds...” [Y2.3-15]

Example 4.14 shows another directly possessed part-whole relationship, with *lolo* ‘inside’ being possessed using the 3SG suffix *-n*.

4.14 *Lolo-n...*
inside-3SG:POSS
“Its inside...” [Y2.3-15]

McKerras (2001: ms) notes that possessums which are typically directly possessed may also be possessed without the suffix, but instead with a nominal possessor that follows the possessum. These constructions also lack a possessive classifier, identifying them as direct.

Example 4.15 illustrates direct possession without a suffix, where the possessum is followed directly by the possessor.

4.15 *Bela* *Jon.*
 foot J.
 “John’s foot.” [McKerras, 2001: ms]

Example 4.16 from McKerras (2001: ms) illustrates embedded possession with the initial possessum noun carrying a suffix, followed by a second possessum noun, the possessor of the initial possessum, also carrying a suffix.

4.16 *Nolo-n* *bela-n...*
 inside-3SG:POSS foot-3SG:POSS
 “The inside of his foot...” [dictionary - nolon]

4.2.1.1 Part-Whole Constructions

A number of common nouns in Uripiv are attested as part-whole constructions.

The components of these part-whole nominals can not exist independently of one another while conveying the same meaning. List 4.17 presents some examples of part-whole constructions.

4.17	<i>rao nai</i>	‘leaf (of tree)’
	<i>rao batun</i>	‘his hair (leaf of head)’
	<i>nevngu nai</i>	‘flower (of tree)’
	<i>wene nai</i>	‘fruit (of tree)’
	<i>metai nai</i>	‘sapling (of tree)’
	<i>duru nai</i>	‘trunk (of tree)’
	<i>duru nani</i>	‘trunk (of coconut tree)’
	<i>silvi puskat</i>	‘fur (of cat)’

The nouns that form these part-whole constructions can exist independently. The following table 4.18 illustrates these nouns and provides their meanings when attested independently.

4.18	<i>rao</i>	‘leaf’
	<i>batun</i>	‘base (of tree)’
		‘tree (as whole)’

<i>nai</i>	‘tree’
<i>nevngu</i>	‘flower’
<i>wene</i>	‘fruit’
<i>metai</i>	‘sapling’
<i>duru</i>	‘trunk’
<i>puskat</i>	‘cat’
<i>silvi</i>	‘hair’

Examples 4.19.a shows a part-whole construction encoded as the object of a transitive construction. 4.19.b shows a part-whole construction in an intransitive construction.

- 4.19 a. *Tom e-mrre-ni pu-rw-i*
T. 3SG:REAL-want-TRANS 3SG:IRR-plant-TRANS
- metai nai san.*
sapling tree INDF:SG
“Tom wanted to plant a tree.” [VAN8-1]
- b. *Pi-a-maur pi-vi duru nai*
3SG:IRR-IMM-grow 3SG:IRR-be trunk tree
- nga mi-lep san.*
SUB 3SG:SUBJ-be.big INDF:SG
“‘It will grow into a tree that is a big one.’”

4.2.2 Indirect Possession

Indirect possession is distinguishable from direct possession due to the presence of a possessive classifier. The possessive suffix attaches to the possessive classifier rather than to the possessum. Uripiv has two regularly used general possessive classifiers, and three semantically driven possessive classes attested by McKerras. These semantically driven classifiers do not appear in the new corpus, only in legacy materials. The two regularly used classifiers are *ne* and *se*, these occur alongside the classifiers for raw food *nurre*, cooked food *na*, and drinkable

items *numV*. When used with a nominal possessor, these classifiers often do not inflect with the possessive suffixes, and the nominal possessor follows the classifier.

4.2.2.1 General classifier: *se*

Se is attested as a general classifier for indirect possession where there is a human possessor. It does not encode any semantic qualities other than alienability. The paradigm McKerras presents for *se* is as follows (2001: ms):

Table 9: General Indirect Possessive Paradigm in Uripiv

	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	<i>suk</i>	inclusive	<i>se kerru</i>	<i>se kerr</i>
		exclusive	<i>se komru</i>	<i>se kem</i>
Second person	<i>som</i>		<i>se kamru</i>	<i>semi</i>
Third person	<i>sen</i>		<i>seru</i>	<i>ser</i>

Singular forms display the possessor suffixes fused to the classifier. The vowel varies in each case. The dual and plural forms have a separate classifier of the form *se*. The forms for first person dual, first person plural, and second person dual comprise *se* followed by the corresponding independent pronoun, while other non-singular forms use the non-singular possessor suffixes.

Example 4.20 shows a common noun *narr* 'basket' being possessed using the general classifier *se* and the 3PL possessor suffix *-r*.

4.20 *Narr se-r...*
 basket CL.GEN-3PL:POSS
 "Their basket.." [Y2.4-15]

Example 4.21 shows the kin term *nesevinli* 'wife' being indirectly possessed.

While most kin relations are expressed with direct possession, the words for ‘wife’ ‘mother’ and ‘father’ have forms that are used in indirect constructions.

- 4.21 *Nesevinli* *su-k...*
 wife CL.GEN-1SG:POSS
 “My wife...” [dictionary - nesevinli]

Example 4.22 illustrates the kin term *tasu* ‘mother’ with a nominal possessor.

- 4.22 *Tasu* *se* *Sawan...*
 mother CL.GEN S.
 “Sawan’s mother...” [Y2.9-15]

4.2.2.2 General classifier – non-human possessor: *ne*

Ne is attested as a general classifier for indirect possession where there is a non-human possessor. It does not encode any semantic qualities other than alienability with a non-human entity as the possessor. McKerras’ (2001: ms) paradigm for *ne* is displayed in table 10. The possessor suffixes are attached to the invariant classifier *ne* in this paradigm.

Table 10: Non-human Indirect Possessive Paradigm in Uripiv

	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	<i>ne-k</i>	inclusive	<i>ner-ru</i>	<i>ne-rr</i>
		exclusive	<i>ne-mru</i>	<i>neke-m</i>
Second person	<i>ne-m</i>		<i>ne-mru</i>	<i>ne-mi</i>
Third person	<i>ne-n</i>		<i>ne-ru</i>	<i>ne-r</i>

Table 10. The indirect possessor paradigm with ne-

Example 4.23 shows *windo* being possessed using the non-human general classifier *ne* and the 3SG possessor suffix *-n* to mean the house’s window.

- 4.23 *metali* *tevi* *windo* *ne-n*
 door COM.PREP window NH-3SG:POSS
 “a door and its window” [ICR6-3]

Example 4.24 shows a nominal possessum and possessor, with possession indicated by *ne*.

4.24 *Namol* *ne* *dawo*.
 shade NH dawo
 “The shade of the dawo.” [dictionary - *namol*]

4.2.2.3 Raw food classifier: *nurre*

Nurre is described by McKerras (2001: ms) as a classifier for foods that are edible when raw. This classifier is not attested in the new data for this project, however, McKerras (2001: ms) provides a paradigm and examples of *nurre* in the legacy data:

Table 11: Raw Possessive Paradigm in Uripiv

	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	(<i>nu</i>) <i>rru-k</i>	inclusive	<i>nurrer-ru</i>	<i>nurre-rr</i>
		exclusive	<i>nurre-mru</i>	<i>nurre ke-m</i>
Second person	(<i>nu</i>) <i>rro-m</i>		<i>nurre-mru</i>	<i>nurre-mi</i>
Third person	<i>nurre-n</i>		<i>nurre-ru</i>	<i>nurre-r</i>

The McKerras dictionary (2001: ms) displays examples of this classifier being used without a possessor suffix, and instead followed by a nominal possessor. The dictionary contains no examples of this classifier with a possessor suffix, which suggests it was already falling out of use when McKerras was working on his dictionary. The system of classifiers may be collapsing into the use of just *se* and *ne* as they are the only classifiers attested in the data.

Example 4.25 shows the uninflected classifier *nurre* being used to create an indirect possessive structure with the possessor *buluk* ‘cow’ and the possessum *mösmös* ‘grass’.

4.25 *Mösmös* *nurre* *buluk.*
 grass RAW cow
 “Grass for the cow (to eat).” [dictionary - mösmös]

The same structure is used in example 4.26 to allow *berper* ‘pig’ to possess the *nani* ‘coconuts’ it will eat.

4.26 *Nani* *nurre* *berper.*
 coconut RAW pig
 “Coconuts for the pig (to eat).” [dictionary - nurren]

4.2.2.4 Cooked food classifier: *na*

Na is described by McKerras (2001: ms) as a classifier for cooked food. Like *nurre*, this classifier is not attested in the new data for this project, however, McKerras provides a paradigm and examples in the legacy materials (2001: ms). This classifier may also be collapsing into *se* and *ne*, explaining its absence from new data. The paradigm shows a combination of possessor suffixes and *na* followed by an independent pronoun.

Table 12: Cooked Possessive Paradigm in Uripiv

	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	<i>na-k</i>	inclusive	<i>nar-ru</i>	<i>na-rr</i>
		exclusive	<i>na ko-mru</i>	<i>na ke-m</i>
Second person	<i>na-m</i>		<i>na ka-mru</i>	<i>na-mi</i>
Third person	<i>na-n</i>		<i>na-ru</i>	<i>na-r</i>

Example 4.27 shows *nalok* ‘laplap’ indirectly possessed using the cooked food classifier *na* inflected with the 1SG possessive suffix *-k*.

4.27 *Nalok* *na-n,* *nalok* *na-k.*
 laplap COOKED-3SG:POSS laplap COOKED-1SG:POSS
 “His laplap, my laplap.” [dictionary- nan]

4.2.2.5 Drinkable liquid classifier: *numV*

The classifier *numV* is described by McKerras (2001: ms) as a classifier for drinkable consumables. The paradigm presented by McKerras follows along with an example from McKerras (2001: ms). This classifier is not found in the new data for Uripiv, and only once in the whole corpus, suggesting it may no longer be used. No examples with suffixes are found in the corpus, McKerras proposes the following paradigm:

Table 13: Drinkable Possessive Paradigm in Uripiv

	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	(<i>numu-k</i>)	inclusive	(<i>numerru</i>)	(<i>numerr</i>)/ <i>nume kerr</i>
		exclusive	(<i>nume komru</i>)	(<i>nume kem</i>)
Second person	(<i>numo-m</i>)		(<i>numemru</i>)	(<i>numemi</i>)
Third person	(<i>nume-n</i>)		(<i>numeru</i>)	(<i>numer</i>)

Example 4.28 shows *numV* used with a pronominal possessor *kerr* to indirectly possess *nuwi* 'water'. The presence of a pronominal possessor explains the lack of inflection on the classifier.

4.28	<i>Nuwi</i>	<i>numē</i>	<i>kerr.</i>
	water	DRINK	1INCL.PL
	"Our water (to drink)." [dictionary - <i>numēn</i>]		

4.3 Relativisation

Nouns in Uripiv can be modified by relative clauses. Uripiv relative clauses are externally headed and head-initial (cf. Lehmann, 1986; Song, 2001: 212-16).⁵

⁵ Typological studies of head modifier orderings indicate that most languages using a VO constituent order will use an NRel order, where the head noun is followed by the relative clause structure (Dryer, 2013abc; Greenberg, 1966). Uripiv is a VO language attesting a consistent head-initial pattern, where the relative clause follows the head noun.

They are introduced by the subordinator *nga*, and their verbs take a paradigm of subjunctive subject indexes, rather than regular realis or irrealis indexes.

Example 4.29 illustrates these properties.

4.29 *Nābet* [*nga mĩ-lep lenglengen*] *san*.
 taro SUB 3SG:SUBJ-big extremely INDF:SG
 “A taro that is extremely big.” [Y2.8-1]

4.3.1 Subjunctive Prefixes

Uripiv attests an obligatory subject marker on verbs (described in full in section 5.2). In relative clauses, a partial paradigm of subjunctive subject markers is employed.⁶ This feature of Uripiv is of interest as it is typologically so different to what is expected from an Oceanic language (Lynch et al., 2002: 43). First and second person singular forms, as well as all third person forms have distinct subjunctive prefixes. The paradigm in Table 14 presents the subjunctive forms. This paradigm is distinguishable from the realis paradigm in 5.2.1 due to the distinctive *m* in the subjunctive.

Table 14: Subjunctive Paradigm in Uripiv

Subjunctive Subject Markers				
	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	<i>me-/ mo-</i>	inclusive	-	-
		exclusive	-	-
Second person	<i>kum-</i>		-	-
Third person	<i>mi-/ mu-</i>		<i>mor-</i>	<i>mar-</i>

When comparing the following two examples, example 4.30.a shows a basic clause with a verb meaning ‘be red’. Example 4.30.b shows a relative clause

⁶ McKerras (2001: ms) calls this paradigm ‘realis 2’, and describes the paradigm as having a ‘stative realis’ function, most likely due to the apparent overlap in paradigm members with the realis paradigm.

meaning ‘that is red’. Although these two examples encode a 3SG participant, the second example uses a subjunctive prefix *mu-*, triggered by the relative clause.

- 4.30 a. *O-songsong.*
 3SG:REAL-red
 “It is red.” [ICR43]
- b. *Dorman [nga mu-songsong.]*
 rooster SUB 3SG:SUBJ-red
 “The rooster that is red.” [Y2.2-6]

The following examples also illustrate this pattern. Example 4.31.a is an example of a basic clause, using the regular realis prefix *e-*. Example 4.31.b modifies ‘the butterfly’ using a relative clause with the subjunctive prefix *mi-*.

- 4.31 a. *Dobbrer ngel e-vi blu.*
 butterfly DEM:PROX 3SG:REAL-be blue
 “This butterfly is blue.” [ICR4-6]
- b. *Dobbrer [nga mi-vi blu] ngok.*
 butterfly SUB 3SG:SUBJ-be blue DEM:INTR
 “That butterfly that is blue.” [IC4-7]

The following data set 4.32 presents examples of non-singular realis forms in relative clauses, to illustrate the lack of non-singular subjunctive forms outside the third-person.

- 4.32 a. *Taem [nga kam-ok-an orsel]...*
 time SUB 2PL:REAL-IMPF-go garden
 “The time when you went to the garden...” [CHILDHOOD1.31]
- b. *Daron [nga nam-warreng]...*
 time SUB 1EXCL.PL:REAL-be.small
 “The time when we were young...” [CHILDHOOD1.25]

A defining characteristic of a relative clause is a shared argument (co-referential) with the head noun. There are various strategies for encoding the co-referent in the relative clause. Uripiv uses gapping, which refers to the ability of a language

to omit the co-referential argument within the relative clause (Lehmann, 1986: 2; Lynch et al., 2002: 43; Song 2001: 217). Uripiv does not include a nominal co-referent in the relative clause, however it encodes a co-referential subject and object with obligatory verbal affixes. There may also be a co-referential possessive suffix within the relative clause, or *e* which signals a locative co-referent. This system of encoding co-referential arguments is illustrated in 4.33, where the head noun ‘mango’ is the subject of the relative clause, and is represented only with the 3SG subjunctive prefix in the relative clause.

4.33 *Mango [nga mi-lep] ko san.*
 mango SUB 3SG:SUBJ-big DEM INDF
 “A mango that is big.” [IC13-5]

4.3.2 *The accessibility hierarchy*

In Uripiv, various arguments, core and non-core, can be relativised. The Accessibility Hierarchy framework (Keenan & Comrie, 1972) presents the hypothesis that some noun phrase arguments are more easily relativised. While not all languages follow the accessibility hierarchy, it creates a useful typological framework to analyse relative clause structures. The hierarchy is as follows (Keenan & Comrie, 1972: 66):

SUBJECT > OBJECT > INDIRECT OBJECT > OBLIQUE > GENITIVE (POSSESSOR) >
 OBJECT OF COMPARISON

The one universal feature of relative clauses is that a language must be able to relativise into subject position (Keenan & Comrie, 1972: 67). In Uripiv, the subject, object, genitive, and oblique may be relativised.

4.3.3 Relativising the subject

Uripiv relativises intransitive subject (S function) and transitive subject (A function). Example 4.34 illustrates S function with the head noun *nato* being followed by *nga*, gapped inside the relative clause, and then expressed with the 3SG:SUBJ prefix *mi-*.

4.34 *Nato* [*nga* ... *mi-lep.*]
chicken SUB ... 3SG:SUBJ-big
“The chicken that is big.” [ICR18-3]

Example 4.35 illustrates the relativisation of the A function.

4.35 *Nu-limak* *se* *jinibb* [*nga*
1SG:REAL-pay CL.GEN man SUB

mi-ptei *natu-k* *renge* *bae.*]
3SG:SUBJ- child- LOC.PREP circumcision
accompany 1SG:POSS
“I paid the man who accompanied my son at his circumcision.” [dictionary - elimak]

The relativisation strategy used to relativise the S and A function is described as the primary relativisation strategy of Uripiv (Song, 2001: 223). This is referred to as the primary relativisation strategy as the S and A functions are most easily and commonly relativised, as well as being the only argument that may be universally relativised. In Uripiv, the S and A functions are relativised in the same way, with the subordinator *nga* following the head noun, and the co-referential argument only expressed with the subjunctive subject marker.

4.3.4 Relativising the Object

Uripiv relativises into transitive object (O function). This is shown in example 4.63 where the head *jinibb nir* ‘the men’ is relativised into object position using the 3PL object suffix *-r*.

- 4.36 *Jinibb nir [nga ñe-les-i-r.]*
man PL SUB 1SG:SUBJ-see-TRANS-3PL:OBJ
“The men that I saw.” [McKerras, 2001: ms]

4.3.5 Relativising the Genitive

Uripiv relativises the genitive (possessor) by retaining the possessor suffix possessor information *-n* ‘3SG’ inside the relative clause.

- 4.37 *Ni [nga nevre-n mu-to*
3SG SUB hand-3SG:POSS 3SG:SUBJ-be
ngatan mi-an mi-jpari mare]...
bottom 3SG:SUBJ-go 3SG:SUBJ-reach top
“He whose hand on the bottom brings it up to the top”
[dictionary - kinkinronja]

4.3.6 Relativising the Oblique

Uripiv may relativise into oblique position by following the head noun with *nga*, followed by a preposition.

In this case, example 4.38 follows the head *jut* with *nga* and the preposition *re(nge)*. The object of the preposition is represented in the relative clause by the 3SG suffix. Locative adverbial clauses are presented as relative clauses later in section 8.1.1.1, which accounts for the use of irrealis morphology rather than subjunctive.

4.38 *Jut nga par-rul-∅ reng-e-n...*
 place SUB 3PL:IRR-lay-3SG:OBJ PREP-3SG:POSS
 “The place where they lay it (their eggs) in...” [Y2.4-12]

4.3.7 *Relativising the Object of Comparison*

Uripiv, like other Malekula languages, such as Neverver (Barbour, 2012: 148), does not use morphological comparatives, so there are no examples of an object of comparison being relativised.

4.3.8 *Headless Relative Clauses*

Uripiv relative clause structures may be headless. These headless relative clauses typically operate in the same way as regular relative clauses, although, the headed relative clause will include a nominal head (Lehmann 1986: 4; Payne 2007: 303). Payne (2007: 304) observes that headless relative clauses are usually used to encode a non-specific head noun, though there are languages that also use them for specific head nouns. In Uripiv, the headless relative clause is interpreted as meaning ‘the one’, where ‘the one’ has the property encoded in the relative clause. In the examples below, ‘the one’ that is described is often made clear through context (such as a picture), or through previously mentioned information.

Example 4.39 shows a headless relative clause, beginning with the subordinator *nga* and consisting of a clausal stative verb *-lep* ‘to be big’.

4.39 [∅ *Nga ngel] e-lep-lep.*
 HEAD SUB DEM:PROX 3SG:REAL-DUP-be.big
 “This one is bigger.” [dictionary - ewelwelili]

Example 4.40 illustrates Uripiv using a headless relative clause to talk about wheels, which are being described in a children’s book. Rather than repeating ‘wheels’ as the head noun, they are simply described as ‘the small ones’.

4.40 [Ko ϕ nga mor-welili] e-ru.
 CONJ SUB 3DU:SUBJ-small 3SG:REAL-two
 “And there are two small ones.” (Lit. “And the ones that are small are two.”) [ICR19-10]

The sentence prior to example 4.41 provides the context to help the reader understand the headless relative clause.

4.41 *Plen wil ne-n*
 plane wheel NH-SG:POSS

[nga mar-le-lep] o-vil.
 SUB 3PL:SUBJ-DUP-big 3SG:REAL-eight
 “The plane has eight big wheels.”
 (Lit. The wheels of the plane that are big are eight.” [ICR19-9]

4.4 Demonstrative Determiners

Demonstrative determiners can specify a noun, encoding deictic spatial information using the speaker as a reference point. Demonstrative determiners operate using the same three-way split as the demonstrative pronouns in section 3.1.3, distinguishing between proximal, intermediate, and distal. The *-(u)an* suffix is also attested with these forms, to augment distance from the reference point that is not great enough to justify using the next demonstrative in the three-way split. Demonstratives do not use separate forms for human and non-human entities in Uripiv. The following data set shows the possible demonstrative determiners and the spatial distance they encode.

4.42	a.	<i>ngel</i>	‘this’	proximal
		<i>ngel-an</i>	‘this, slightly further away’	proximal-augmented
	b.	<i>ngok</i>	‘that’	intermediate
		<i>ngok-uan</i>	‘that, slightly further away’	intermediate-augmented
	c.	<i>ngak</i>	‘that, out of sight’	distal

Typically, these modifiers occur in the third slot of the noun phrase, after the head noun and any information included in the modifier slot of the noun phrase.

Example 4.43 shows the use of a proximal demonstrative determiner *ngel* modifying the head noun *nuñet* ‘snake’.

4.43	<i>Nuñet</i>	<i>ngel.</i>
	snake	DEM:INTR
	“This snake.” [Y2.1-8]	

Example 4.44 shows an intermediate demonstrative determiner *ngok* modifying *sivir* ‘parrot’. The demonstrative is in the position before the plural marker *nir* and following the head noun.

4.44	<i>Sivir</i>	<i>ngok</i>	<i>nir.</i>
	parrot	DEM:INTR	PL
	”Those parrots.” [Y2.56]		

The distal demonstrative determiner *ngak* is described by McKerras in his grammar sketch, however, the corpus does not attest any examples of *ngak* used in this way. This will need to be followed up with a native speaker and further data.

Demonstrative determiners modify temporal local nouns to indicate temporal rather than spatial proximity. Example 4.45 uses the intermediate demonstrative *ngok* to modify *lelingen* ‘today’.

4.45 *lelingen* *ngok*
 today DEM:INTR
 “then” (Lit: “that time”) [VAN2-7]

Example 4.46 uses the proximal demonstrative *ngel* to modify the nominal *lelingen* ‘today’, and *rorpong* ‘morning’.

4.46 *lelingen rorpong ngel*
 today morning DEM:PROX
 “this morning” [banana1-1]

Demonstrative determiners also occur in a reduced form suffixed to nominal heads, or the lexical modifiers that immediately follow them. The suffix forms repeat the three distances expressed by the full demonstrative determiners proximal, intermediate, and distal.

4.47 *-el* proximal
-ok intermediate
-ak distal

The following data set 4.48 is comprised of a list of roots that are attested with demonstrative suffixes. The first two forms *vin* ‘woman’ and *mer* ‘man’ are nominal roots that occur here with demonstrative suffixes, they may occur independently of the suffixes. The second two present the adjectival verbs *lep* ‘be big’ and *wel* ‘be small’ with demonstrative suffixes.

4.48 a. *vin-el* ‘this woman’
 vin-ok ‘that woman’
 vin-ak ‘that woman over there’

 b. *mer-el* ‘this man’
 mer-ok ‘that man’
 mer-ak ‘that man over there’

 c. *lep-el* ‘this big N’
 lep-ok ‘that big N’
 lep-a ‘that out of sight big N’

 d. *wel-el* ‘this small N’

wol-ok ‘that small N’
wel-a ‘that out of sight small N’

The use of these nominal forms in a clausal construction is illustrated in example 4.49 and 4.50.

4.49 *Vin* *wel-el,* *vin* *wol-ok.*
 woman small-DEM:PROX woman small-DEM:INTR
 “This girl, that girl.” [dictionary - vin]

4.50 *Sto* *lep-a* *e-marur.*
 store big-DEM:DIST 3SG:REAL-close.down
 “That big store has closed down.” [dictionary - emarur]

4.5 Demonstrative Particles

There are two demonstrative particles attested in the corpus: *ko* and *le*, these particles occur in the fourth slot of the noun phrase.

These particles indicate an entity has either already been mentioned or can be determined due to the context surrounding the speech. These particles occur in the fourth slot of the noun phrase. Many of the translated school readers in the Uripiv corpus have pictures, and when a pictured entity is introduced in text, a reference is made to the picture of the entity.

4.5.1 *Ko*

The demonstrative particle *ko* refers to an entity that has already been introduced. Example 4.51 shows the particle *ko* used to refer to the pictures of the nominal object *puskat* ‘cat’.

4.51 *O-j-i* *puskat ko.*
 3SG:REAL-chase-TRANS cat DEM

“It is chasing the cat.” [ICR12-3]

Example 4.52 shows the particle *ko* used to refer back to the nominal *mobb* ‘lizard’. The lizard is pictured in the reader and was asked about in the clause prior.

4.52 *E-lng-i* *mobb ko san*
3SG:REAL-put-TRANS lizard DEM INDF:SG

reng *melve baket.*
LOC.PREP under bucket
“He put one lizard under a bucket.” [ICR13-12]

4.5.2 *Le*

McKerras (2001: ms) states *le* is used in contexts indicating spatial proximity, which corresponds with *-el* found in the proximal demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative determiners, and locative pronouns. Due to the spatial information encoded in the particle *le*, this form is likely an anaphoric demonstrative.

Example 4.53 shows the proximal *le* used to refer to the book the speaker (and others) are currently reading. They are shown in a classroom setting, likely there are other books in the room but the book being referred to using the proximal particle, is the closest to the speaker.

4.53 *Kem nam-ev-e naul le.*
1EXCL.PL 1EXCL.PL:REAL-read-TRANS book DEM:PROX
“We are reading this book.” [ICR12-15]

Example 4.54 shows the proximal anaphor *le* used to refer to a close bag of green beans amongst other bags of green beans.

4.54 *E-vis le reng*
3SG:REAL-be.many DEM:PROX LOC.PREP

grin bin *so-m* *natu-k?*
green.beans CL.GEN-2SG:POSS child-1SG:POSS
‘‘How much for your green beans my child?’’ [Y2.9-21]

Example 4.55 shows the speaker using *le* to refer to the addressee’s turn at an activity, the activity is the topic of the story, with two fish taking turns to polish each other with a stick.

4.55 *Lelingen ngok, daron so-m le vajin.*
right.now DEM:INTR time CL.GEN-2SG:POSS DEM:PROX now
‘‘Then, it’s your time.’’ [VAN3-12]

4.6 Quantifiers

Speakers do not always specify the quantity or number of a noun, although numbers can optionally be used as post-nominal modifiers.

4.6.1 Numerals

Uripiv employs a decimal system, where numbers are formed around a base of ten. This becomes apparent when looking at the form of the cardinal numbers from one to ten and the patterning of numbers after ten. Each number from one to ten has a separate lexical form; none appear to be derived from other numbers.

The use of a decimal system is unusual in a language of Malakula, as many Malakula languages use a quinary system with numbers from six to nine being based on the form for five.

In Uripiv, numerals take the third person singular realis subject markers *e-/o-*, as well as a vestigial (Proto-Oceanic) verbal prefix *i-* (Lynch et al., 2002). In irrealis

contexts they may take a third person singular irrealis prefix *pi-/pu-*. Numerals are only attested taking the third person singular subject markers, regardless of the number of the noun being referred to.

4.56	<i>i-tes/san</i>	1
	<i>e-ru</i>	2
	<i>i-tul</i>	3
	<i>i-vij</i>	4
	<i>e-lim</i>	5
	<i>o-won</i>	6
	<i>e-but</i>	7
	<i>o-wil</i>	8
	<i>e-siw</i>	9
	<i>e-sngavöl</i>	10

The numeral *i-tes* is attested only when speakers are counting. Example 4.57 illustrates the use of *i-tes* when counting in sequence. When modifying a noun, the indefinite marker *san* is used instead.

4.57	<i>I-tes,</i>	<i>e-ru</i>	<i>i-tul</i>	<i>i-vij.</i>
	3SG:VEST-one	3SG:REAL-two	3SG:VEST-three	3SG:VEST-four
	“One, two, three, four.” [ICR18-7/8]			

Data set 4.58 illustrates numbers one through ten, including the singular indefinite modifier *san*.

- 4.58 a. *Namul san.*
orange INDF:SG
“An orange.” [upvY1numbers.1]
- b. *Duru nai e-ru.*
tree 3SG:REAL-be.two
“Two trees.” [upvY1numbers23]
- c. *Nevngu-n i-tul.*
flower-3SG:POSS 3SG:VEST-be.three
“Three flowers.” [upvY1numbers.3]

- d. *Puskat i-vij.*
 cat 3SG:VEST-be.four
 “Four cats.” [upvY1numbers.4]
- e. *Rao nai e-lim.*
 flower 3SG:REAL-be.five
 “Five flowers.” [upvY1numbers.5]
- f. *Mesal o-won.*
 fish 3SG:REAL-be.six
 “Six fish.” [upvY1numbers.6]
- g. *Nato e-bbut.*
 chicken 3SG:REAL-be.seven
 “Seven chickens.” [upvY1numbers.7]
- h. *Newri o-wil.*
 crab 3SG:REAL-be.eight
 “Eight crabs.” [upvY1numbers.8]
- i. *Berper e-sew.*
 pig 3SG:REAL-be.nine
 “Nine pigs.” [upvY1numbers.9]
- j. *Nariv e-sngavöl.*
 rat 3SG:REAL-be.ten
 “Ten rats.” [upvY1numbers.10]

Example 4.59 shows the numeral *e-ru* ‘two’ modifying *nasul* ‘coconut frond’. The main verb *vi* ‘be’ carries the same realis prefix.

4.59 [*Nasul e-ru*] *e-vi* *ko.*
 coconut.frond 3SG:REAL-two 3SG:REAL-be DEM
 “There are two coconut fronds...” [dictionary- nirro]

Example 4.60 shows the numerals in a context where an estimate is being made. The main verb carries a realis prefix. The object noun *jinibb* ‘people’ is jointly modified by two numbers with the 3SG irrealis prefixes attached. These irrealis prefixes indicate that the number is being estimated, and is not known for sure.

- 4.60 *E-mrre-ni* [jinibb *ḗi-tul* *pi-vij*].
 3SG:REAL-need-TRANS people 3SG:IRR-three 3SG:IRR-four
 “It needs three or four people.” [dictionary - emrreni]

Numbers after ten are expressed with each number having the word for ten *esngavöl* followed by *drromon*, and the additional value from the numbers one to nine to form the number required. *Drromon* is defined by McKerras (2001: ms) as being ‘used to indicate a number following tens’. Some other Malekula languages use a word meaning ‘body’ in place of *drromon* (Barbour 2012: 158), however the Uripiv form meaning body is *nibe-*.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|----|
| 4.61 | <i>e-sngavöl drromon san</i> | 11 |
| | <i>e-sngavöl drromon e-ru</i> | 12 |
| | <i>e-sngavöl drromon i-tul</i> | 13 |
| | <i>e-sngavöl drromon i-vij</i> | 14 |
| | <i>e-sngavöl drromon e-lim</i> | 15 |
| | <i>e-sngavöl drromon o-won</i> | 16 |
| | <i>e-sngavöl drromon e-but</i> | 17 |
| | <i>e-sngavöl drromon o-wil</i> | 18 |
| | <i>e-sngavöl drromon e-siw</i> | 19 |

The presence of the 3SG realis prefix *e-* may be an indicator that *sngavöl* ‘ten’ is a verb, like the numbers two to nine. Above nineteen however, these prefixes are not regularly used. *Drromon* continues to be used for higher value numerals when there is a number that is a multiple of ten. This indicates that *drromon* signals a structure like ‘X tens and *drromon* Y (specified unit)’. From twenty onwards the base number changes from *e-sngavöl* to *ngavöl*, which then becomes the base for multiples of ten. The lack of verbal morphology in the initial numeral indicates that these higher numbers are not verbal, although the vestigial prefixes on lower numbers remain within the numeral phrase.

4.62	<i>ngavöl e-ru</i>	20
	<i>ngavöl e-ru drromon san</i>	21
	<i>ngavöl i-tul</i>	30
	<i>ngavöl i-tul drromon san</i>	31
	<i>ngavöl i-vij</i>	40
	<i>ngavöl i-vij drromon san</i>	41
	<i>ngavöl e-lim</i>	50
	<i>ngavöl e-lim drromon san</i>	51

Example 4.63 shows the numeral ‘twenty’ modifying the head noun.

4.63	<i>Ko</i>	<i>ar-evij</i>	<i>bbi</i>	<i>ngavöl e-ru.</i>
	CONJ	3PL:REAL-kill	boar	twenty
	“And they killed twenty boars.” [dictionary - maki]			

Example 4.64 shows the numeral twenty-three.

4.64	<i>Ngavöl e-ru</i>	<i>drromon i-tul.</i>
	ten	3SG:REAL-be.two and 3SG:VEST-be.three
	“Twenty-three.” [dictionary - drromon]	

McKerras (2001: ms) describes the wide use of Bislama numerals amongst Uripiv speakers, noting that although there are Uripiv words for values higher than 100, they are rarely used. Other Oceanic languages also use higher numbers as quantifiers (e.g. Barbour, 2012: 121; Williams, 1971: 328).

4.65	<i>o-ngut</i>	100
	<i>o-ngut bbulin san</i>	101
	<i>o-ngut bbulin e-ru</i>	102
	<i>o-ngut va-ru</i>	200

4.6.2 Quantifiers

There are a small set of post-nominal quantifiers in Uripiv, encoding quantities of the nominals they modify. Quantifiers do not co-occur with numerals or number markers in the corpus, as they fill the same slot of the noun phrase. Quantifiers attested in the corpus include the following forms:

- 4.66 *petpeti* ‘all, every’
sopor ‘some’

Data set 4.67 shows the function of the quantifier *petpeti*.

- 4.67 a. *Jinibb petpeti.*
 man all, every
 “Everyone.” [dictionary - *petpeti*]
- b. *Newri e-revj-i mit petpeti.*
 crab 3SG:REAL-outclass-TRANS meat all, every
 “Crab outclasses all meat.” [dictionary - *erevji*]

Data set 4.68 illustrates the quantifier *sopor* ‘some’.

- 4.68 a. *nesi sopor*
 ant some
 “some ants” [ICR15-1]
- b. *nabbu sopor*
 bamboo some
 “some bamboo” [ICR15-4]
- c. *Ko nam-lol-i nanen sopor.*
 CONJ 1EXCL.PL:REAL-make-TRANS food some
 “And we made some food.” [UPVT2.4]

4.6.3 Number Markers

Finally, the quantifier slot may also be filled by a number marker. While these forms encode number information, they do not co-occur with numerals or quantifiers.

- 4.69 *san* indefinite singular
nuru definite dual
nir definite plural

As a number marker, *san* encodes a similar meaning to an indefinite article, as in the English ‘a + N’. Although other numerals behave as verbs in the corpus, when *san* is used as a numeral or number marker it does not inflect. When used as the related verb ‘to be alone’ *san* takes verbal subject markers. The non-singular number markers make use of the 3DU independent pronoun *nuru* and the 3PL independent pronoun *nir*. It is noted that the use of the third person pronoun as a general plural marker is not uncommon in the Oceanic languages (Lynch et al., 2002: 39). The difference is that the pronominal form would be seen first in the noun phrase. In contrast, the plural marker occurs in the final position within a noun phrase, following a head noun.

Example 4.70 shows the number marker *san* postposed to the nominal in the construction, indicating the singular number of the entity.

4.70 *Rao dawo san...*
 leaf natapoa.tree INDF:SG
 “A natapoa leaf...” [Y2.3-5]

The same pattern occurs with the form *nuru*, as it is seen in 4.71 postposed to the nominal it modifies in the construction.

4.71 *E-verus [mebbu-n nuru] ko o-wra...*
 3SG:REAL-call grandchild-3SG:POSS DU CONJ 3SG:REAL-say
 “he called out to his (two) grandchildren and said...” [Y2.1-3]

The examples below display the use of the third person plural pronoun *nir* as a post-modifier indicating a non-singular noun. Example 4.72 shows the head noun *sivir* being modified by *nir* encoding the plurality of *sivir*.

4.72 *Sivir nir...*
 parrot PL
 “The parrots...” [ICR9-7]

Example 4.73 further illustrates the position of *nir* in the noun phrase, showing *nir* following a relative clause and demonstrative. The position of the number marking requires the plural marker to come after all other nominal modifiers, including the relative clause.

4.73 *Bipiwarrang* [*nga mar-le-lep*] *ngok* *nir*.
child SUB 3PL:SUBJ-DUP-big DEM:INTR PL
“Those big children.” [ICR12-11]

5. Verbs and the Verb Complex

Verbs are identified in the corpus by their ability to take obligatory subject and mood marking prefixes. The obligatory nature of the subject/mood prefixes is typical of an Oceanic language, especially one in Malakula (Barbour, 2012: 164; Crowley, 2006a: 139; Crowley, 2006b: 67; Lynch et al. 2002: 35). The discussion of the verbs and verb complex chapter begins with distinguishing between the paradigms encoding three moods: realis, irrealis, and the adversative. The fourth mood, the subjunctive, has been discussed in section 4.3.1. Following this, the second and third order prefixes are discussed (5.2.8 and 5.2.9).

Verbs may belong to one of several sub-classes, categorised due to the number of core arguments. The sub-classes are: intransitive (5.3.1), transitive (5.3.2), and ambitransitive (5.3.3). Transitive morphology is discussed in 5.3.4, along with strategies to mark the transitive object from 5.3.5 to 5.3.7. Reduplication is discussed in 5.3.8. Verbal modifiers are discussed in the following chapter.

In this chapter, the term Verb Phrase (VP) describes the structural unit including the verb, its modifiers and its object NP. The term verb complex describes the verb and its modifiers, excluding the object NP.

5.1 The Verb Complex

Figure 10: Verb Complex Structure in Uripiv

VP=	Subject-mood marker-	(imperfective marker-)	(immediacy marker-)	HEAD	(-transitive suffix)	(-object suffix)
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5.2 Pre-Verbal Modifiers

The corpus displays a variety of pre-verbal modifiers which are discussed in the following sections 5.2.1-5.2.9. These modifiers express the person and number of the subject argument, along with mood, tense, and aspectual distinction.

5.2.1 *First Order Prefix: Subject/Mood Marker*

The obligatory morpheme marking the subject occurs in the first prefix position of the verb complex. The subject marker encodes person and number information referring to the subject entity (S or A function). Distinctions are coded between: first, second, and third person; as well as singular, dual, and plural number. The first person non-singular forms also encode a distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms, with inclusive forms encoding the speaker and addressee together as the subject (1 + 2), whereas exclusive forms encode the speaker and a non-addressee (1 + 3).

In addition to encoding person and number information, subject prefixes in the Oceanic languages are often classified as portmanteau morphemes encoding mood (Lynch et al., 2002: 45). Although there are common phonological features found within each subject/mood paradigm in Uripiv, it is not possible to consistently separate the prefixes into the morphemes encoding mood and person, thus they are treated in this analysis as portmanteaus.

Uripiv displays four distinct paradigms for subject marking, one for each mood found in the language: realis, subjunctive, irrealis, and warning mood (McKerras, 2001: ms). The subject/mood prefixes identified by McKerras (2001: ms) have been reanalysed as part of this project. The subject markers are obligatory and

may occur alone or with a co-nominal argument also encoding the subject.

Haspelmath's (2013) guidelines for argument indexing allow for the categorisation of the Uripiv subject/mood markers as cross-indexes.

Example 5.1 illustrates the ability of subject markers to function as cross-indexes.

5.1.a shows the 3SG:REAL subject marker *o-* used alongside the proper noun *Mol*.

5.1.b shows the 1EXCL.PL:REAL subject marker *nam-* used alongside the corresponding 1EXCL.PL pronoun *kem*. 5.1.c shows the 1EXCL.PL:REAL subject marker used alone as the only reference to the subject entity, as there is no co-nominal argument. Thus, the subject markers are able to be used with nominal and pronominal arguments, as well as a stand-alone argument index, fulfilling Haspelmath's (2013) definition of cross-indexes.

- 5.1 a. *Mol o-lol-i jam.*
M. 3SG:REAL-make-TRANS jam
“Mol made jam.” [VNM7-1]
- b. *Ko kem nam-lol-i sev?*
CONJ 1EXCL.PL 1EXCL.PL:REAL-make-TRANS what
“And what are we doing?” [ICR12-14]
- c. *Nam-lol-i nanen sopor.*
1EXCL.PL:REAL-make-TRANS food INDF:PL
“We made some food.” [LW2-2]

Haspelmath (2011: 4) discusses a tripartite system of argument indexing, presenting the options as: affix – clitic – or a non-clitic word, although stating the distinction between free (non-clitic word) and bound (clitic/affix) forms is the most salient and useful for comparative linguistics. The Uripiv subject/mood markers are bound to the verb, meaning they may be classified as either an affix or a clitic (Haspelmath 2011: 4).

(2001, ms) as the realis paradigm. The 3SG forms shown an alternation between *e-* and *o-*, where *o-* is used before an /u/ or an /o/ in the verb root. All forms in this paradigm are presented in the Uripiv corpus.

Table 15: Realis Paradigm in Uripiv

Realis Subject Prefixes				
	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	<i>nu-</i>	inclusive	<i>rromor-</i>	<i>rram-</i>
		exclusive	<i>nomor-</i>	<i>nam-</i>
Second person	<i>ku-</i>		<i>komor-</i>	<i>kam-</i>
Third person	<i>e- / o-</i>		<i>or-</i>	<i>ar-</i>

Uripiv uses realis mood for past and current time events, whether they are in affirmative or negative constructions. This is consistent with the definition of prototypical realis mood and the prototypical use of realis within the Oceanic languages (Elliot, 2000: 56; Palmer, 2001: 145; Lynch et al., 2002: 45; Whaley, 1997: 225).

Example 5.3.a includes an affirmative past situation, where the event has already happened. The non-future time in this example is indicated with the 3SG:REAL prefix *e-* and the structure has been translated from ‘he took’. Example 5.3.b provides an example of realis mood used for a negative past situation.

- 5.3 a. *E-la-i* *nevöt* *se-n.*
 3SG:REAL-take-TRANS money CL.GEN-3SG:POSS
 “He took his money.” [VNM14-5]
- b. *Ete or-lik* *renge* *naim.*
 NEG 3DU:REAL-stay LOC.PREP home
 “They are not at home.” [ICR21-4]

Events occurring at the current time of speech also use the realis subject prefixes, whether the construction is affirmative or negative.

Example 5.4.a shows the 3SG realis subject marker *e-* used in a present time affirmative stative construction, which is true at the reference time. Example 5.4.b shows the realis subject marker *e-* used in a present time affirmative action construction.

- 5.4 a. *Diṗang e-saut.*
 coconut 3SG:REAL-many
 “There are many coconuts.” [ICR8-2]
- b. *E-van renge maket e.*
 3SG:REAL-go LOC.PREP market LOC:DIST:AUG
 “She is going to the market.” [ICR10-4]

Example 5.5 shows the 3DU realis mood subject marker *or-* used in a present time negative construction.

- 5.5 a. *Ete or-lik renge naim.*
 NEG 3DU:REAL-stay PREP house
 “They are not at home.” [ICR21-4]

To summarise, Uripiv uses the realis subject prefixes in past negative, past affirmative, present negative, and present affirmative, to express both stative and active situations.

5.2.3 Irrealis Subject Prefixes

Irrealis mood generally depicts events that are not, or cannot be, confirmed as real (Whaley, 1997: 225). In Uripiv, events in irrealis are merely possibilities, a feature lending itself well to use in future time settings. The 3SG forms shown an alternation between *pi-* and *pu-*, where *pu-* is used before an /u/ or an /o/ in the verb root.

The following paradigm of irrealis subject forms is presented by McKerras (2001, ms). All forms are seen in the Uripiv Corpus.

Table 16: Irrealis Paradigm in Uripiv

Irrealis Subject Markers				
	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	<i>be-</i> / <i>bo-</i>	inclusive exclusive	<i>rropor-</i> <i>nobor-</i>	<i>rrap-</i> <i>nab-</i>
Second person	<i>kup-</i>		<i>kopor-</i>	<i>kap-</i>
Third person	<i>pi-</i> / <i>pu-</i>		<i>por-</i>	<i>par-</i>

5.2.3.1 Future Contexts

Data set 5.6 illustrates the use of the irrealis subject markers in future contexts. 5.6.a, 5.6.b, and 5.6.c show a speaker discussing their plans for the following Sunday. Each verb in these examples is inflected with the appropriate irrealis subject marker.

- 5.6 a. *Re Sande rorpong, be-mra.*
 LOC.PREP sunday morning 1SG:IRR-get.up
 “On Sunday morning, I will get up”. [NW-9]
- b. *Ko bo-lol-i jijle ti*
 CONJ 1SG:IRR-make-TRANS EGR tea
- se natu-k nir.*
 CL.GEN child-1SG:POSS PL
 “And I will make breakfast for my kids.”
 (Lit: “I will make tea for my kids.”) [NW-10]
- c. *Nab-min-i jijle ti.*
 1INCL.PL:IRR-drink-TRANS EGR tea
 “We will have our breakfast.”
 (Lit: “We will drink our tea.”) [NW-11]

The same pattern arises with negative polarity in future time constructions. Data set 5.7 illustrates the use of irrealis subject markers in future time, negative

constructions. Again, each verb is inflected with the irrealis subject marker. This indicates that polarity does not affect the use of realis/irrealis mood. 5.7.a shows the negative particle *ete* and an irrealis inflection on *priv* ‘be long’, giving a future time interpretation. 5.7.b shows the negative particle *ete* and an irrealis inflection on *vini* ‘come’, again giving a future time interpretation.

- 5.7 a. *Ete pi-priv.*
 NEG 3SG:IRR-be.long
 “It won’t be long.” [Y2:2-12]
- b. *Ete be-vini iel Vila.*
 NEG 1SG:IRR-come LOC:PROX V.
 “I won’t come here to Vila.” [IFIWERE1.1]

5.2.3.2 Mood and Negation Symmetry

Uripiv uses standard negation patterns to create negative forms of both realis and irrealis moods, creating a pattern of basic paradigmatic structural symmetry (cf Miestamo, 2005).

Table 17: Mood and Negation Symmetry

	Time: Non-future	Time: Future
Polarity: Affirmative	<i>Realis Mood</i>	<i>Irrealis Mood</i>
Polarity: Negative	<i>Realis Mood + Negator</i>	<i>Irrealis Mood + Negator</i>

5.2.4 Commands

Commands also use irrealis mood, with the speaker telling the addressee to do something in the near future. Commands may also utilize a politeness marker *ta*.

Example 5.8 shows the speaker counting from one to three, before commanding the people in their group to begin pushing a truck out of the mud. At the moment of speech, the action of pushing will occur in the future, hence the use of irrealis.

- 5.8 *I-tes, e-ru,*
 3SG:VEST-one 3SG:REAL-two
- i-tul, kap-son-i-ø!*
 3SG:VEST-three 2PL:IRR-push-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
 “One, two, three, push!” [ICR24-6]

Example 5.9 shows the speaker asking an addressee to look again at a turtle. The speaker is commanding the addressee to look, and the addressee will look after the utterance is articulated.

- 5.9 *Kup-les-i kele ta nevö ngok.*
 2SG:IRR-look-TRANS REP POL turtle DEM:INTR
 “Look at this turtle again.” [ICR22-11]

The same pattern arises in negative commands, (prohibitives). Example 5.10 shows the speaker commanding the addressee not to do something. At the moment of speech the addressee has not done anything so any prohibition applies to future actions.

- 5.10 *Sete kup-lol-i-ø.*
 NEG 2SG:IRR-do-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
 “Don’t do it.” [dictionary - ololi]

Example 5.11 shows the speaker commanding their friend not to leave them. Evidently the friend has not left at the moment of speech, and the command refers to the immediate future.

- 5.11 *Sele-k, sete kup-ling-ling-i inu.*
 friend-1SG:POSS NEG 2SG:IRR-DUP-leave-TRANS 1SG
 “My friend, don’t leave me.” [Y2:6-15]

5.2.5 *The Adversative Mood*

The third mood is the Adversative Mood. It is very rare in the Uripiv Corpus. McKerras (2001, ms) describes this mood as the ‘warning mood’. Functionally, it indicates that the inflected verb describes an adverse reaction that will occur as a result of another action. There is no evidence of this mood being used in the new text data for this project but that is likely an issue of written text as compared with interactive speech. McKerras’ dictionary (2001: ms) records fewer than 40 examples collectively of all forms in the paradigm. The forms in parentheses are only presented in a paradigm by McKerras and are not exemplified in the legacy data (2001: ms). The 1SG forms shown an alternation between *de-* and *do-*, where *do-* is used before an /u/ or an /o/ in the verb root. There is also alternation in the 3SG forms *ti-* and *tu-*, where *tu-* is used before an /u/ or an /o/ in the verb root.

.Table 18: Adversative Paradigm in Uripiv

Warning Mood Subject Markers				
	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	<i>de-</i> / <i>do-</i>	inclusive	(<i>rrotor-</i>)	<i>rrat-</i>
		exclusive	(<i>nodor-</i>)	(<i>nad-</i>)
Second person	<i>tuk-</i>		(<i>tokor-</i>)	(<i>tak-</i>)
Third person	<i>ti-</i> / <i>tu-</i>		(<i>tor-</i>)	<i>tar-</i>

McKerras explains that the warning mood is used to convey negative consequences of an action. The adversative mood is used when the speaker is warning the addressee of a negative or adverse consequence.

Example 5.12 shows the speaker warning the addressee that they will hit their finger if they do a certain action. The warning mood 2SG prefix *tuk-* is used.

- 5.12 *Tuk-ut-i* *wos* *bbös* *nevre-m!*
 2SG:ADV-hit-TRANS SUCC finger finger-2SG:POSS
 “You’ll hit your finger!” [McKerras, 2001: ms]

Example 5.13 shows the speaker talking, warning the addressee that they are at risk of falling.

- 5.13 *Tuk-wajenim!*
 2SG:ADV-fall
 “You’ll fall!” [dictionary - ewajeni]

5.2.6 *The Subjunctive Mood*

A fourth mood specific to subordinate clauses has been identified. The subjunctive mood has been discussed in depth in section 4.3.1, and then later in chapter 8 where the subject matter of the section illustrates the uses of the subjunctive. The following table 19 presents the partial paradigm of the subjunctive mood in Uripiv.

Table 19: *Subjunctive Paradigm in Uripiv*

Subjunctive Subject Markers				
	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	<i>me-/ mo-</i>	inclusive	-	-
		exclusive	-	-
Second person	<i>kum-</i>		-	-
Third person	<i>mi-/ mu-</i>		<i>mor-</i>	<i>mar-</i>

5.2.7 *Second Order Prefix: Imperfective (o)k-*

The second order prefix position in Uripiv is filled by the morpheme *(o)k-*. This prefix marks the duration of processes, encoding the ongoing nature of the inflected verb, and the habitual. Therefore, this is a marker of imperfective aspect.

Data set 5.14 illustrates the use of *ok-* to encode the duration of processes. 5.14.a shows the first order 3PL subject prefix *ar-* and second order prefix *ok-* attached to

verb stem *la* ‘sing’, indicating the ongoing singing of the birds. 5.14.b shows *ok-* used to indicate the ongoing nature of the verb ‘playing’.

- 5.14 a. *Numön nir ar-ok-la-i nubo.*
 bird PL 3PL:REAL-IMPF-sing-TRANS song
 “The birds sing songs.” [Y2.6-3]
- b. *Ar-ok-tetnij renge nuwi seser?*
 3PL:REAL-IMPF-play LOC.PREP river
 “Are they playing at the river?” [ICR21-15]

The third person singular realis subject prefix *o-* used with the second order prefix *ok-* changes the form of the prefix *ok-* to *k-*. This provides evidence of the phonological integration of two prefixes. Again the prefix (*o*)*k-* is used to indicate durative aspect. Example 5.15 shows the 3SG:REAL *o-* and *ok-* realized as *o-k-*.

- 5.15 *Geri san o-k-matur.*
 bat INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-IMPF-sit
 “A bat is sitting(up in a tree).” [VNM4-2]

The same pattern occurs in example 5.16, with *o-* and *ok-* becoming *o-k-*, marking the duration of crowing. Although ‘crowing’ could suggest a habitual action, this example is referring to the ongoing nature of the crows on one occasion.

- 5.16 *Nato dorman o-k-verus.*
 chicken male 3SG:REAL-IMPF-crow
 “The rooster is crowing.” [Y26-6]

In contrast, example 5.17 shows the use of (*o*)*k-* as a habitual marker.

- 5.17 *Ko tetajer o-k-oj-i bipiwarreng nir...*
 CONJ often 3SG:REAL-IMPF-chase-TRANS child PL
 “She often chased children...” [EEL2.4]

5.2.8 Third Order Prefix: Immediate *a-*

The third order prefix position is filled by the immediate marker *a-*. This prefix marks the immediacy of the action denoted in the inflected verb. Example 5.18 is a past time example where *a-* is used to indicate the speaker has just come in the very near past.

- 5.18 *Inu nu-a-vini.*
 1SG 1SG:REAL-IMM-come
 “I’ve just come.” [Y3.5-19]

Example 5.19 shows the immediate marker *a-* positioned after the second order prefix *ok-*, justifying its positioning as a third order prefix.

- 5.19 *Nam-ok-a-tur, ko e-vini.*
 1EXCL.PL:REAL-IMPF-IMM-stop CONJ 3SG:REAL-come
 “We had just arrived, and he came.” [McKerras, 2001: ms]

Data set 5.20 illustrates the use of *a-* to indicate the immediacy of a future action.

5.20.a shows *a-* used to indicate the verb ‘grow’ will be done in the very near future. 5.20.b also shows near future, with *a-* indicating the subject will see the speaker again very soon.

- 5.20 a. *Ete ngasu ko pi-a-maur pi-vi*
 NEG distant CONJ 3SG:IRR-IMM-grow 3SG:IRR-be

duru nai nga mi-lep san.
 wood tree SUB 3SG:SUBJ-be.big INDF:SG
 “It won’t be long and it will grow into a tree that is big.” [VAN8-7]
- b. *Kum-a-les-i inu kele.*
 2SG:SUBJ-IMM-see-TRANS 1SG REP
 “You will see me again (in the near future).” [Y3.5-22]

5.3 Verbal classes

Verbs in Uripiv are defined by their capacity to take the subject/mood indexes discussed in section 5.2.1-5.2.3. Verbs may be further classified according to their transitivity, that is, whether they are intransitive, transitive, or ambitransitive, based on the number of required core arguments that they occur with. They are further classified by the presence or absence of transitive morphology (5.3.4) and object suffixes (5.3.5). There are no examples of ditransitive verbs in the corpus. Third participants are introduced through serial verb constructions or an oblique. Intransitive verbs take a single core argument, the subject, which encodes the S function, where this is defined as the single nominal argument of an intransitive verb (Payne, 2006: 217). Transitive verbs take two core arguments, the subject and a direct object, which denote the A and O function⁷, which usually represent the most agent-like and patient-like arguments of a transitive verb respectively (Payne, 2006: 217). Transitive verbs may also display transitive morphology, including a transitive suffix (section 5.3.4) and an object suffix (section 5.3.5). Ambitransitive verbs may act as either an intransitive or transitive verb. Their transitivity is thus determined by the number of core arguments included, these verbs do not display a transitive ending or object suffix when functioning as transitive.

In Oceanic languages, transitive and ambitransitive verbs can be further classified into whether they are A-type or O-type. A-type verbs are identified when the valence of an intransitive verb increases. The subject of the intransitive verb (S) will become the A function of the transitive clause (Ross, 2004: 504). This

⁷ The O function is sometimes referred to as the P function.

process also occurs in the opposite direction, with the A function of an A-type transitive verb becoming the intransitive subject (S) if valence decreases (Ross, 2004: 504).

Ross (2004: 504) refers to O-type verbs as ‘undergoer verbs’, classifying them as transitive or ambitransitive verbs where the O function becomes the S of the intransitive clause through valence decrease, or the S or A function becomes the O function through valence increase.

Example 5.21 illustrates an A-type verb, with the S of the intransitive clause *Josep* in 5.21.a, becoming the A of a transitive clause in 5.21.b.

- 5.21 a. [*Josep*]_S [*e-[S]tetnij*]_V.
 J. 3SG:REAL-play
 “Joseph is playing.” [dictionary - *etetnij*]
- b. [*E-[A]tetnij*]_V [*nevöt*]._O
 3SG:REAL-play stone
 “He is playing knucklebones.”⁸ [McKerras, 2001: ms]

List 5.22 presents examples of A-type verbs attested in the corpus.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| 5.22 | <i>e-met</i> | ‘he looks’ | <i>e-met-eni</i> | ‘he looks at it’ |
| | <i>e-sip</i> | ‘it deflects’ | <i>e-sip-eni</i> | ‘he makes a detour’ |
| | <i>e-ve-vas</i> | ‘he rubs’ | <i>e-vas-eni</i> | ‘he rubs oil (onto his body)’ |
| | <i>o-korto</i> | ‘he gathers’ | <i>o-kort-oni</i> | ‘he gathers it up’ |
| | <i>o-lot</i> | ‘he prays’ | <i>o-lot-oni</i> | ‘he asks for it’ |

List 5.23 presents examples of O-type verbs attested in the corpus.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| 5.23 | <i>e-jip-jipti</i> | ‘it joins’ | <i>e-jip-jipt-eni</i> | ‘he joins it together’ |
| | <i>e-waj</i> | ‘he falls’ | <i>e-waj-eni</i> | ‘he hits it (on the ground)’ |
| | <i>o-ruj</i> | ‘it moves’ | <i>o-ruj-oni</i> | ‘he moves it’ |
| | <i>o-rrul</i> | ‘it hangs’ | <i>o-rrul-oni</i> | ‘he hangs it’ |
| | <i>o-toto</i> | ‘it rattles/shakes’ | <i>o-tot-oni</i> | ‘he rattles/shakes it’ |
| | <i>e-inan</i> | ‘it is sore’ | <i>e-inan-i</i> | ‘it pricks it’ |

⁸ Knucklebones is a game where players throw stones into the air and attempt to catch them on their hand before throwing a stone into the air and picking up those that were dropped before catching the thrown stone.

5.3.1 Intransitive Verbs

Verbs are classified as intransitive when they take a single core argument, the S function (Dixon, 1994: 113-27; Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2002: 2; Evans, 2003: 11). Evan’s study of Proto-Oceanic concludes “the majority of verbs in most Oceanic languages are unmarked when used intransitively and marked by a valence-changing device and/or object marker when used transitively” (Evans, 2003: 11-12; also Lynch et al., 2002: 44). Uripiv intransitive verbs are unmarked and are identified due to their lack of transitive morphology, their semantics, and their single core argument.

Data set 5.24 illustrates the function of intransitive verbs and the methods of encoding the subject (S). 5.24.a shows a nominal subject (S) as a co-nominal reference with the 3SG:REAL subject index *e-*. 5.24.b shows a pronominal subject (S) as a co-nominal reference with the 1SG:REAL subject index *nu-*. 5.24.c shows the 1SG:REAL subject marker *nu-* encoding the subject (S) without a co-nominal.

- 5.24 a. [Silvi puskat]_s [e-_smalum]_v.
fur cat 3SG:REAL-be.soft
“Cat’s fur is soft.” [ICR14-3]
- b. [Inu]_s [nu-_slep]_v...
1SG 1SG:REAL-be.big
“I am big...” [ICR:9-3]
- c. [Nu-_srow-row]_v.
1SG:REAL-DUP-jump
“I jump.” [ICR:1-3]

Intransitive verbs can be formed from transitive verbs using reduplication as a valence decreasing device, which reduplicates the verb stem. This process is discussed in detail in reduplication section 5.3.8, but the following examples in data set 5.25 illustrate reduplication as a valence changing device.

- 5.25 a. *e-vas-eni* 'he rubs it'
e-ve-vas 'he rubs'
- b. *e-ta-i* 'he chops it'
e-ti-ti 'he chops'

5.3.2 Transitive Verbs

Verbs are considered transitive when they require two core arguments (A and O) (Dixon, 1994: 113-27; Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2002: 3; Payne, 2006: 216). In addition to taking two core arguments, almost all Uripiv transitive verbs display a transitive suffix.

The valence of verbs can be measured in two basic ways: syntactically and semantically. Syntactic transitivity refers to the syntactic inclusion of more than one core argument in the clause, which represent transitive subject function (A) and transitive object function (O) (Andrews, 2007; Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2002: 3; Payne, 2006: 216). Prototypical transitive verbs have a syntactic valence of two.

Semantic valence refers to the number of participants the situation requires to be meaningful (Payne, 1997). Semantic valence does not always correspond to the syntactic valence number. Arguments may not be included syntactically in the utterance, but the event expressed by the verb is understood to involve two participants. Prototypical transitive verbs have a semantic valence of two.

Data set 5.26 illustrates the function of transitive verbs and the methods of encoding the subject (A) and object (O). 5.26.a shows transitive verb *la* 'sing' with a nominal subject (A) and object (O). In addition to the presence of two core arguments, the transitive status of the verb is indicated by the transitive suffix *-i*. 5.26.b shows 1EXCL.PL pronoun *kem* acting as the subject (A) in this transitive

construction. The verb *ev* ‘read’ takes the transitive suffix *-e* and nominal object (O) *naul* ‘book’. 5.26.c shows 1SG:REAL subject prefix *nu-* as the only reference to the subject (A) of this transitive construction, along with a nominal object (O).

Further clauses illustrating object indexing are included in section 5.3.5.

- 5.26 a. *[Mitu-k nuru]_A [or-_Ala-i]_V [nubo]_O.*
 uncle-1SG:POSS DU 3DU:REAL-sing-TRANS song
 “My two uncles sing songs.” [ICR16-6]
- b. *[Kem]_A [nam_A-ev-e]_V [naul le]_O.*
 1EXCL.PL 1EXCL.PL:REAL-read-TRANS book DEM:PROX
 “We are reading this book.” [ICR12-15]
- c. *[Nu-_Arro-i]_V [namul]_O.*
 1SG:REAL-eat-TRANS orange
 “I eat oranges.” [Year1-2]

There are various ways of encoding object arguments, the first being with a nominal or pronominal object argument. When included (pro)nominally, the object will follow the verb. The verb itself may or may not include an object suffix, as the object suffixes are not obligatory when there is a co-nominal object present. When there is no co-nominal object, the object must be expressed with an object suffix.

Example 5.27 shows *nevre* ‘hand’ included as a nominal object. There is no object suffix present.

- 5.27 *[Nu-_Awju-wj-e]_V [nevre-k]_O.*
 1SG:REAL-DUP-clap-TRANS hand-1SG:POSS
 “I clap my hands.” [ICR1-7]

When there is no (pro)nominal object, the object suffix is obligatorily included.

Example 5.28 shows a transitive construction with no co-nominal object, instead using the 3SG object suffix \emptyset . Because the 3SG object suffix is a zero morpheme, it

Data set 5.31 shows the ambitransitivity of the verb *pong* ‘be dark’. 5.31.a shows an intransitive use of *pong*, and 5.31.b shows a transitive use. No additional morphology is required to use *pong* transitively, the only difference is the addition of an object.

- 5.31 a. [Nat]_S [o-_S]pong le pa]_V.
time 3SG:REAL-be.dark DEM:PROX PERF
‘It’s dark now.’ [dictionary - opong(pong)]
- b. [Nat]_A [o-_A]pong]_V [kem]_O.
time 3SG:REAL-be.dark 1EXCL.PL
‘It got dark on us.’ [dictionary - nat]

5.3.4 Transitive Suffixes

Most transitive verbs are identifiable due to their transitive endings, suffixed to the verb stem. Typically, Oceanic languages use the transitive suffix *-i* (Lynch et al., 2002: 44), however, Uripiv has various forms of the transitive marker. McKerras states it is difficult to determine which form of the transitive suffix a particular verb will take, when looking at the form of the verb stem (2001: ms). It is suggested that the variation in Oceanic transitive suffixes arises from an historical loss of final consonants across the Oceanic languages (Blevins, 2004; Lynch, 2005: 91; Lynch et al., 2002: 44). Lynch describes the original POC transitive suffix *-i* evolving into a *-Ci* suffix, that includes the lost final consonant (Lynch, 2005: 91). Clark confirms the initial consonant is often unpredictable based on features of the associated verb (Ross Clark, personal communication, 22 November 2017), accounting for the seemingly unexplainable variation in the Uripiv forms. Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002: 44) agree, stating some Oceanic languages have multiple allophones of a transitive suffix, however that most

languages would have a maximum of two forms. There are three variations of the transitive suffix presented in the Uripiv corpus, where variation occurs in the consonant. Although existing research explains the presence of the consonant alternation in transitive suffixes, Uripiv varies in that it displays five vowel variations. This variation tends to occur in a *-Vni* suffix shape, where the initial vowels are similar mid-vowels (e, o, and ö) creating vowel harmony between the root vowel and the suffix vowel.

5.3.4.1 *-eni*

The transitive suffix *-eni* either attaches directly to a verb-final consonant, or the final vowel of an intransitive root when attaching the suffix. All of these verbs are prefixed with *e-* as the *e-* prefix occurs where there are no /o/ or /u/ back vowels in the verb root.

5.32	<i>e-asi</i> ‘he goes past’	<i>e-as-eni</i> ‘he goes past it’
	<i>e-jip-jipti</i> ‘it joins’	<i>e-jip-jipt-eni</i> ‘he joins it together’
	<i>e-met</i> ‘he looks’	<i>e-met-eni</i> ‘he looked at it’
	<i>e-sip</i> ‘it deflects’	<i>e-sip-eni</i> ‘he makes a detour’
	<i>e-ve-vas</i> ‘he rubs’	<i>e-vas-eni</i> ‘he rubs oil (onto his body)’
	<i>e-waj</i> ‘he falls’	<i>e-waj-eni</i> ‘he hits it on the ground’

Example 5.33 shows a transitive construction where the verb stem *as* ‘go past’ is suffixed with the transitive marker *-eni*, to mean ‘go past s.t.’.

5.33	<i>Ko</i>	<i>e-as-eni-∅</i>	<i>van</i>	<i>re</i>
	CONJ	3SG:REAL-pass-TRANS-3SG:OBJ	go	LOC.PREP
	<i>nanu</i>	<i>ñi-nij</i>	<i>e.</i>	
	thing	3SG:REAL2-be.different	LOC:DIST:AUG	
	“And then he passed it on to something else there.” [dictionary - easeni]			

5.3.4.2 *-oni*

Verbs using the transitive suffix *-oni* also either attach directly to a final consonant of the verb root, or delete the final vowel of the intransitive root when attaching the suffix. All of these verbs, except for the first listed, take the prefix *o-*. The first verb does not have an /o/ or an /u/ vowel in the root, which would trigger the change to *o-*.

5.34	<i>e-bibto</i> ‘he is dependent’	<i>e-bibt-oni</i> ‘he is dependent on him’
	<i>o-korti</i> ‘he gathers’	<i>o-kort-oni</i> ‘he gathers it up’
	<i>o-lot</i> ‘he prays’	<i>o-lot-oni</i> ‘he prays for s.t.’
	<i>o-ruj</i> ‘it moves’	<i>o-ruj-oni</i> ‘he moves it’
	<i>o-rrul</i> ‘it hangs’	<i>o-rrul-oni</i> ‘he hangs it’
	<i>o-songti</i> ‘he bumps into it’	<i>o-songt-oni</i> ‘he pushes it’
	<i>o-toto</i> ‘it rattles/shakes’	<i>o-tot-oni</i> ‘he rattles/shakes it’

Example 5.35 shows a transitive construction where the verb stem *rotot* ‘shake’ is suffixed with the transitive marker *-oni*, to mean ‘shake it’.

5.35	<i>Nu-rotot-oni</i>	<i>batu-k.</i>
	1SG:REAL-shake-TRANS	head-1SG:POSS
	“I shook my head.” [Y3.1-40]	

5.3.4.3 *-öni*

Verbs using the transitive suffix *-öni* delete the final vowel of the intransitive root before attaching the suffix. Only one verb was found to display this vowel suffix.

5.36	<i>o-juri</i>	‘he pulls’
	<i>o-jur-öni</i>	‘he lowers/slackens it’

Example 5.37 shows a transitive construction where the verb stem *juri* ‘be slack’ is suffixed with the transitive marker *-öni*, to mean ‘to slacken it’. This is the only example of *-öni* used as a transitive suffix.

- 5.37 *O-jur-öni* *malum* *bbong* *neliw.*
3SG:REAL-slacken-TRANS slowly GEN.LIM bow.string
“He just slackened the bow-string slowly.” [dictionary - ojuröni]

5.3.4.4 -ni

The *-ni* suffix attaches directly to the verb. In the examples that were identified in the corpus and listed below, both vowel final and consonant final verbs can be suffixed with *-ni*.

- 5.38 *e-tabbu* ‘she cooks’
e-tabbu-ni ‘she cooks it’
- o-us* ‘it smokes’
o-us-ni ‘he smokes it’

Example 5.39 shows a transitive construction where the verb stem *ous* ‘smoke’ is suffixed with the transitive marker *-ni*, to mean ‘smoke s.t.’.

- 5.39 *Nabb o-us-ni-ø.*
fire 3SG:REAL-smoke-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
“The fire smokes it.” [dictionary - niter]

5.3.4.5 -vi

The *-vi/-wi* suffix also attaches directly to the verb stem.

- 5.40 *e-sil* ‘he hides’
e-sil-vi ‘he hides in it’
- o-ror* ‘it is alight’
o-ror-vi ‘he burns it’
- o-un* ‘he dives’
o-un-wi ‘he dives for it’

5.3.4.6 -i/-e

Some verbs are transitivised using *-i* or *-e* as a transitive suffix. The verbs undergo a dissimilation process where final high/mid front vowels (/i/ and /e/) in the verb stem become a low front vowel (/a/) once the transitive suffix has attached.

5.41	<i>e-ij</i>	‘he bites’
	<i>e-aj-i</i>	‘he bites it’
	<i>e-inin</i>	‘it is sore’
	<i>e-inan-i</i>	‘it pricks it’
	<i>e-iris</i>	‘he ties up a bundle’
	<i>e-iras-i</i>	‘he ties it in a bundle’
	<i>e-rring</i>	‘it gives off heat’
	<i>e-rang-i</i>	‘he barbecues it’
	<i>e-tistis</i>	‘it pecks’
	<i>e-tistas-i</i>	‘it pecks at it’
	<i>o-vuvngin</i>	‘he sacrifices’
	<i>o-vuvngan-i</i>	‘he sacrifices it’

Example 5.42 shows a transitive construction where the verb stem *inin* ‘be sore’ displays a change in the final high vowel /i/ to /a/, making the stem *inan*, after it is suffixed with the transitive marker *-i*, to mean ‘pricks it/makes it sore’.

5.42	<i>Nevöt</i>	<i>ngel</i>	<i>e-inan-i</i>	<i>ḃela-k.</i>
	stone	DEM:PROX	3SG:REAL-prick-TRANS	foot-1SG:POSS
	‘The stones pricked my feet.’ [dictionary - einani]			

Other verbs using the *-i* or *-e* suffixes show a contrast between a reduplicated intransitive form with a non-low front vowel, and a simplex transitive form with the low vowel /a/.

5.43	Root (Underlying Form)	Intransitive (Reduplicated)	Suffix Form
	<i>jim</i>	<i>e-jim-jim</i> 'he prunes'	<i>e-jam-i</i> 'he prunes it'
	<i>vit</i>	<i>e-vit-vit</i> 'she weaves'	<i>e-vat-i</i> 'she weaves it'
	<i>ti</i>	<i>e-ti-ti</i> 'he chops'	<i>e-ta-i</i> 'he chops it'
	<i>tew</i>	<i>e-tew-tew</i> 'he covers'	<i>e-taw-i</i> 'he covers it'

Example 5.44 shows a transitive construction where the verb root *vit* 'weave' is articulated with a low vowel /a/.

5.44	<i>Be-vat-i</i> 1SG:IRR-weave-TRANS	<i>boriti.</i> pandanus.mat
	"I will weave mats." [Y1.1A-6]	

5.3.4.7 No Transitive Suffix

Not all transitive verbs take the expected transitive suffixes. One verb has been found to display no transitive morphology while still occurring in a transitive construction, *pej* 'look for'.

Example 5.45 shows the verb *pej* 'look' not inflected with a transitive suffix. The construction shows two core arguments, A and O, with a semantic and syntactic valence of two. This indicates that although *pej* is not inflected for transitivity, the transitivity of *pej* can be confirmed.

5.45	<i>[E-[A]pej</i>	<i>kele]</i> _V	<i>[wene</i>	<i>betiv</i>	<i>sopor]</i> _O .
	3SG:REAL-look.for		REP	fruit	breadfruit
	"He looked again for some breadfruit." [Y2.1-12]				

5.3.5 Nominal Object

Nominal object constituents follow the inflected verb. As noted previously, the 3SG object suffix is zero marked, and so constructions with a 3SG object may be analysed with or without an object marker.

Example 5.46.a shows a nominal object included in a construction analysed with no object marking on the verb. The third person singular object *naul* ‘book’ is thus the only overt reference to the object. 5.48.b shows the same object included in a construction analysed with the 3SG object marker $-\emptyset$.

- 5.46 a. *Nu-ev-e* *naul.*
1SG:REAL-read-TRANS book
“I read the book.” [ICR1-1]
- b. *Nu-ev-e- \emptyset* *naul.*
1SG:REAL-read-TRANS-3SG:OBJ book
“I read the book.” [ICR1-1]

Example 5.47.a shows a non-singular object noun phrase ‘coconuts’ with no object marker attached to the verb. This suggests the presence of a nominal object means the object marker is no longer obligatory. Example 5.47.b shows an object marker with a co-nominal object. Without a grammaticality test, the status of the object suffixes cannot be clearly established.

- 5.47 a. *Nu-mrre-ni* *nani...*
1SG:REAL-like-TRANS coconut
“I like coconuts...” [Y1.2B-3]
- b. [*Sivir nir*]_A [*ar*(A)-*lolo-ni-r*(O)]_V [*nulse-r.*]_O
parrot PL 3PL:REAL-show.off-TRANS-3PL:OBJ colour-3PL:POSS
“The parrots showed off their colours.” [Y2.5-5]

5.3.6 Pronominal Object

Pronominal objects occur in the same post-verbal position as nominal objects.

Example 5.48 shows the first person singular pronoun *inu* included in the construction as an object. There are no object suffixes attested with pronominal objects in the corpus.

5.48 *Sete kup-lingling-i inu.*
 NEG 2SG:IRR-leave-TRANS 1SG
 “Don’t leave me.” [Y2:6-15]

5.3.7 Object Marking

Object markers use the same forms as the possessive suffixes described in section 4.2.1, although, with a zero marked 3SG:OBJ, rather than the possessive *-n*. None of the dual forms presented in the following paradigm, and reported by McKerras (2001, ms), are seen in the new data for this project. The lack of recorded dual forms may simply be an artifact of the limited corpus.

Table 20: Object Paradigm in Uripiv

Object Suffixes				
	Singular		Dual	Plural
First person	<i>-k</i>	inclusive	<i>(-rru)</i>	<i>-rr</i>
		exclusive	<i>(-mru)</i>	<i>kem</i>
Second person	<i>-m</i>		<i>(-mru)</i>	<i>-mi</i>
Third person	<i>-∅</i>		<i>(-ru)</i>	<i>-r</i>

Object markers attach as a second order suffix to a transitive verb, after the transitive suffixes. Object marking is obligatory where there is no (pro)nominal object, and apparently optional when the (pro)nominal object is expressed.

Because the 3SG object is \emptyset marked, it is arguable as to whether the suffix is present as $-\emptyset$ or absent.

Example 5.49 shows the 1SG:OBJ encoded as an object suffix only, demonstrating the ability of the object markers to stand alone.

5.49 *Numer e-aj-i-k.*
hunger 3SG:REAL-bite-TRANS-1SG:OBJ
“Hunger bites at me.” [dictionary - jin]

Example 5.50 shows the object suffix *-r* occurring within a relative clause modifying the subject of the matrix clause *jinibb nir* ‘the men’.

5.50 *Jinibb nir nga m̃e-les-i-r.*
man PL SUB 1SG:SUBJ-see-TRANS-3PL:OBJ
“The men that I saw.” [McKerras, 2001: ms]

5.3.8 Reduplication

Complete and partial reduplication, described phonologically in section 2.3.3, are displayed in the corpus, with several functions. A common function of verb stem reduplication is to form intransitive verbs from transitive roots, therefore acting as a valence decreasing device (section 5.3.8). Not all intransitive verbs are formed this way, but data set 5.51 illustrates examples from the corpus. All examples in 5.51 show A-type verbs, when the transitive A function is retained as the intransitive S function when valence is reduced.

5.51 *e-jam-i* ‘he prunes it’ *e-jim-jim* ‘he prunes’
e-vat-i ‘she weaves it’ *e-vit-vit* ‘she weaves’
e-taw-i ‘he covers it’ *e-tew-tew* ‘he covers’
e-mn-i ‘he drinks it’ *e-min-min* ‘he drinks’

Reduplication is also used to measure the situation expressed by a verb, that is, to either amplify a stative verb, or to provide a comparison between entities the stative verb applies to.

5.52.a shows the complete reduplication of the stem *men*, to mean ‘he grinned ear to ear’ as opposed to the non-reduplicated form in 5.52.b which simply means ‘smile’.

- 5.52 a. *E-men.*
 3SG:REAL-smile
 “He smiled.” [Y3UPV4-30]
- b. *No-n* *e-men-men.*
 face-3SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-DUP-smile
 “He grins from ear to ear.” (bigger than a normal smile) [dictionary -
 emen]

Data set 5.53 shows reduplication as a means of amplifying a characteristic encoded by a verb, as a means of comparison. 5.53.a shows the non-reduplicated form *lep* used to mean ‘big’. 5.53.b and 5.53.c show partial reduplication of the stem *lep*, within a relative clause (see section 4.3 and 8.1.1), used to amplify the quality ‘big’, to mean ‘bigger than’ another entity.

Examples 5.53.d and 5.53.e show complete reduplication of the stem *lep*, to show that this firewood is bigger than another.

- 5.53 a. *Mesal e-lep.*
 fish 3SG:REAL-be.big
 “The fish is big.” [ICR22-2]
- b. *Bipiwarreng nga mar-le-lep ngok nir.*
 child SUB 3PL:SUBJ-DUP-be.big DEM:INTR PL
 “The big children (that are bigger than the others).” [ICR12-11]

- c. *Nabb nga mar-le-lep nir.*
 firewood SUB 3PL:SUBJ-DUP-be.big PL
 “Big pieces of firewood.”
 lit: Firewood that is big. (that are bigger than other pieces)
 [dictionary - nabböng]
- d. *Nabb ngel e-lep-lep.*
 firewood DEM:PROX 3SG:REAL-DUP-big
 “This firewood is bigger.” [McKerras, 2001: ms]
- e. *Nga ngel e-lep-lep.*
 SUB DEM:PROX 3SG:REAL-DUP-big
 “This one is bigger.” [dictionary - ewelwelili]

Reduplication also functions to indicate repetition of the action denoted in the reduplicated verb.

- 5.54 a. *Nu-wju-wj-e nevre-k.*
 1SG:REAL-DUP-clap-TRANS hand-1SG:POSS
 “I clap my hands (repeatedly).” [ICR:1-7]
- b. *Nu-jil-jilog.*
 1SG:REAL-DUP-hop
 “I hop (repeatedly).” [ICR:1-4]

Finally, reduplication indicates an extended duration of an action, 5.55.a shows an example of partial reduplication encoding the extended duration of the verb ‘run’. 5.55.b shows an example of complete reduplication altering the meaning of the verb ‘paddle’, to ‘paddle aimlessly (for an extended time and no particular purpose)’.

- 5.55 a. *Nu-wol-wolu.*
 1SG:REAL-DUP-run
 “I run.” [ICR:1-2]
- b. *Nabb-su-su renge drrav.*
 1EXCL.PL:IRR-DUP-paddle LOC.PREP canoe
 “We will paddle (aimlessly) in the canoe.” [ICR11-6]

6. Verbal Modifiers

Verbal modifiers constitute uninflected forms following an inflected verb inside the verb complex. Such modifiers are not seen functioning as independent inflected verbs in other clausal contexts. Semantic divisions of modifiers have been identified in Uripiv, listed below in sections 6.1-6.3. These modifiers have been divided into those that move towards the negator in negative clauses, and those that do not. Those that do not are further grouped into those attested in negative clauses in the corpus, and those which are not. They are then grouped according to semantic function. Uripiv verbs appear to be restricted to a maximum of two post-verbal modifiers. Example 6.1 illustrates the maximum number of post-verbal modifiers.

6.1	<i>Jinibb san</i>		<i>e-terter</i>	<i>kele</i>
	man	INDF:SG	3SG:REAL-be.strong	REP
	<i>wor e-as-e</i>		<i>inu.</i>	
	more	3SG:REAL-pass-TRANS	me	
	“A man is stronger than me again.” [Y3.3-13]			

Verbal modifiers that function as independent inflected verbs in other clausal contexts are discussed in section 7.1.11.

The Uripiv negation strategies are salient to the features of verbal modifiers discussed in this chapter, especially the left edge position of the single negator (*s)ete*. Negation is discussed in detail in the following chapter on clause structure, see 7.1.5 for more detail.

Verbal negation occurs using a simple pre-verbal negative particle (*s)ete*. Example 6.2 shows a negative declarative construction, using the form *ete*, taken from an audio recording of Uripiv.

Example 6.3 shows *mun* modifying the duration of the verb ‘go’. Unmodified, *b-an* does not provide details about the length of time for which the action occurs.

When modified with *mun*, the action becomes limited, making it temporary.

- 6.3 *B-an* *mun.*
 1SG:IRR-go ACT.LIM
 “I’ll go (for now).” [McKerras, 2001: ms]

Example 6.4 shows that the speaker is intending to go outside briefly for some fresh air, the particle *mun* lexically expresses the temporary nature of the speaker’s break.

- 6.4 *B-an mun vare be-la ling sopor.*
 1SG:IRR-go ACT.LIM outside 1SG:IRR-take air INDF:PL
 “I’ll just go outside for some fresh air.” [McKerras, 2001: ms]

Mun is a modifier that is attracted to the negative morpheme (*s)ete*. *Mun* is also seen in negative clauses in a post-verbal position. This suggests that the attraction to the negator is not obligatory.

Data set 6.5 illustrates the positional changes *mun* may undergo when the clause is negated, showing the new pre-verbal position.

- 6.5 a. *Sete mun nu-la-i wuk san.*
 NEG ACT.LIM 1SG:REAL-get-TRANS hook INDF:SG
 “He has no longer got a hook.” [Y3UPV1-23]
- b. *Sete mun e-sew.*
 NEG ACT.LIM 3SG:REAL-dance
 “He is no longer dancing.” [Y3UPV5-16]
- c. *Sete mun e-les-i-ø.*
 NEG ACT.LIM 3SG:REAL-see-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
 “He can no longer see it.” [VAN6-7]

- d. *Ete* ***mun*** *o-lwi.*
 NEG ACT.LIM 3SG:REAL-return
 “He has not returned (since the time he left).” [VAN7-10]

In the Uripiv corpus, *mun* occurs in negative clauses with the verbs listed in 6.6.

In each case, *mun* is attracted to the negator, rather than occurring in the post-verbal position of affirmative clauses.

- 6.6 *lesi* ‘see’
lai ‘take’
sew ‘dance’
pelari ‘come out’
luwi ‘return’
sus ‘suckle’
terter ‘do s.t well’
(v)an ‘go’
karkar ‘make noise’

The one example not showing a shift in the position of *mun*, is with the verb *rongwos* ‘know/can’, illustrated in example 6.7. This verb is not an action, which perhaps explains the different position of *mun* in the negative clause.

- 6.7 *Ete* *o-rongwos* ***mun*** *pu-lwi*
 NEG 3SG:REAL-know, can ACT.LIM 3SG:IRR-return
- vini* *ngatan* *e.*
 come down LOC:DIST:AUG
 “It can’t come back down there (to the speaker).” [VNM6-5]

6.1.1.1.2 *Pa* - The Perfect Marker

Pa is a particle used to express that the event in question has already occurred, by the time of speech. This suggests a *perfect* function, emphasising the current relevance of a prior event (Payne, 1997: 239).

- 6.8 a. *Nesenwarreng san e-vini pa.*
 girl INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-come PERF
 “A girl has come.” [Y3.5-20]
- b. *Drrav se-n mi-sal ngasu pa.*
 canoe CL.GEN-3SG:POSS 3SG:SUBJ-float distant PERF
 “His canoe has floated away.” [VAN6-8]

Although no instances of *pa* moving towards the negator exist in the new data, McKerras’ dictionary records one example showing the movement of *pa*, with *pa* occurring pre-verbally in a negative clause, confirming the change in position is triggered by (*s)ete*.

- 6.9 *Sete pa nu-vini iel.*
 NEG PERF 1SG:REAL-come LOC:PROX
 “I haven’t come here before.” [dictionary - sete]

6.1.1.1.3 *Wor* ‘more’

Wor is used to encode ‘more’ in respect to the construction’s verb, either physical distance or an attribute, when positioned post-verbally – functioning as a comparative. *Wor* is imperfective in nature as it signals ‘more of a situation’ than the inherent aspectual properties of the situation encoded by the verb.

Example 6.10 shows *wor* used to mean further (distance), as it modifies ‘it goes past me’ to ‘it goes further past me’.

- 6.10 *E-as-e wor inu.*
 3SG:REAL-go.past-TRANS more 1SG
 “It goes further past me.” [VAN3-2]

Example 6.11 uses *wor* to indicate that the eel was bigger.

- 6.11 *Mera nga miniv mo-ji e-lep wor.*
 eel SUB yesterday 1SG:SUBJ-chase 3SG:REAL-big more
 “The eel that I chased yesterday was bigger.” [dictionary - wor]

Wor is attracted to the negative morpheme (*s)ete*. The only instances of *wor* in a negative clause are examples which demonstrate a positional change from post-verbal to pre-verbal. This indicates that the attraction to the negator is obligatory.

Example 6.12 shows *wor* has moved from a post-verbal position to a pre-verbal position following the negator. When *wor* shifts positions to a pre-verbal modifier, it means ‘not yet’ in combination with the negator.

- 6.12 *Ete wor o-lwi.*
 NEG yet 3SG:REAL-return
 “He hasn’t yet returned.” [Y2:1-18]

Example 6.13 illustrates the same positional change and changed meaning of *wor*.

- 6.13 *Sete wor e-vini.*
 NEG yet 3SG:REAL-come
 “He hasn’t yet come.” [dictionary - setewor]

The following examples 6.14-6.16 demonstrate the changed position of *wor* in further examples from McKerras’ dictionary.

- 6.14 a. *Nanu sete wor ar-setri e-rres...*
 thing NEG yet 3PL:REAL-be.ready 3SG:REAL-well
 “They haven’t yet got things ready properly...” [dictionary - eserti]

- 6.15 *Sete wor e-terter*
 NEG yet 3SG:REAL-do.properly
- renge majingen se-n.*
 LOC.PREP work CL.GEN-3SG:POSS
 “He’s not yet experienced in his work.” [dictionary - nolon]

- 6.16 *Sete wor o-rro-rro-i-ø.*
 NEG yet 3SG:REAL-DUP-eat-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
 “He hasn’t yet eaten it.” [dictionary - orro(i)]

6.2 Fixed Post-verbal Modifiers

The second sub-class of verbal modifiers are fixed in a post-verbal position in both affirmative and negative clauses. Fixed verbal modifiers are a large sub-class of modifiers. The fixed modifiers have been divided into two groups: a small number that are attested in negative clauses and a larger number that are not (see section 6.1 and 6.3). These groups are also divided semantically into manner modifiers and aspectual modifiers.

6.2.1 Aspectual

6.2.1.1 *Wos* - Successful Completion of an Action

Wos is a modifier used to indicate the subject succeeded in completing the action denoted in the verb.

Example 6.17 shows the subject successfully shot something in the eyeball.

6.17 *Ko e-lw-e wos narlu mete-n devje-n.*
CONJ 3SG:REAL-shot-TRANS SUCC eyeball-3SG:POSS side-3SG:POSS
“He (successfully) shot the side of its eyeball.” [EEL2-17]

Example 6.18 shows the subject was successfully able to work on engines and fix them.

6.18 *Ni e-majing wos enjen.*
3SG 3SG:REAL-work SUCC engine
“He knew how to fix engines.” [dictionary - emajing]

Example 6.19 shows *wos* in a negative clause, post-verbally, meaning the action was not successful.

6.19	<i>Nu-wra</i> 1SG:REAL-want	<i>be-lw-e</i> 1SG:IRR-shoot-TRANS	<i>numön...</i> bird
	<i>ete</i> NEG	<i>nu-lw-e</i> 1SG:IRR-shoot-TRANS	wos. SUCC

“I wanted to shoot the bird... but I missed.” [dictionary - evasil]

6.2.1.2 *Jijle* - EGR

Jijle is a post-verbal modifier used to mark egressive aspect, which marks the ending of the action expressed by the verb. This modifier combines with actions that have a natural endpoint, and emphasises the end point. Example 6.20 shows *jijle* modifying ‘eat’ to mean ‘they have finished eating’.

6.20	<i>Ar-aen</i> 3PL:REAL-eat	<i>jijle</i> EGR	<i>levial.</i> lunch
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“They finished eating lunch (at lunchtime).” [LW2-3]

Example 6.21 shows *jijle* indicating that the speaker has finished bathing.

6.21	<i>Nu-an</i> 1SG:REAL-go	<i>nu-lalos</i> 1SG:REAL-bathe	<i>jijle.</i> EGR
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“I went and bathed.” [UPVT1-3]

No examples of *jijle* exist in a negative clause in the new data, although the following example was taken from McKerras’ dictionary, illustrating the post-verbal position of *jijle* under negation.

6.22	<i>Ete</i> NEG	<i>nu-wra</i> 1SG:REAL-explain	<i>vivane</i> fully	<i>jijle.</i> EGR
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“I haven’t explained it fully.” [dictionary - vevane]

6.3 Post-verbal modifiers not found in negative clauses

The modifiers included in this sub-section of fixed post-verbal modifiers are not attested in negative clauses, so it cannot be confirmed whether they are fixed or whether they shift to the negator.

6.3.1 *Manner*

The modifiers presented in the following sections are those which modify the degree to which a verb is applicable.

6.3.1.1 *Lenglengen - The Intensifier*

Lenglengen modifies a verb, increasing the degree to which the situation expressed by the verb is applicable. As an intensifier *lenglengen* means ‘very’ or ‘extremely’. The function of *lenglengen* appears to be similar to the other modifiers listed in the degree modifier list: *jer* and *temijpal* (6.3.2.1 and 6.3.1.2). It is most commonly used with stative verbs rather than action verbs. There is not enough data to determine exact semantic criteria for use of these similar modifiers, however, *lenglengen* is by far the most productive intensifier in the corpus with 41 examples in the new data.

Example 6.23 shows *lenglengen* modifying stative predice *e-terter* ‘it is strong’.

6.23 *E-terter* *lenglengen*.
3SG:REAL-strong very
“It is extremely strong” [VNM13-6]

Example 6.24 shows *lenglengen* used to mean ‘very much’ modifying the verb *e-wen* ‘it bears fruit’, meaning ‘it bears a lot of fruit’.

- 6.24 *Mango ne-n e-wen lenglengen.*
 mango NH-3SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-bear.fruit very
 The mango (tree) bears a lot of fruit.” [VNM7-2]

McKerras’ dictionary presents examples of *lenglengen* modifying an action, however there are no examples of actions with this modifier in the new data. It is possible that *lenglengen* is only used as a stative intensifier in current speech.

- 6.25 a. *E-majing lenglengen.*
 3SG:REAL-work very
 “He worked very hard.” [dictionary - lenglengen]
- b. *E-sa nga e-sa lenglengen.*
 3SG:REAL-appear AUGCO 3SG:REAL-appear very
 “Many appear.” [dictionary - nawel]

No examples of *lenglengen* in a negative clause are attested in the corpus.

6.3.1.2 *Temijpal* - The Intensifier

Temijpal is presented six times in the corpus meaning ‘very’. McKerras (2001: ms) records this modifier three times in his dictionary, guiding his classification of this modifier as rare, although it does occur in the newest data collected in the Uripiv corpus, meaning it is known and still used by current speakers.

Data set 6.26 shows *temijpal* used to mean ‘very’ in the new data. 6.26.a shows it used with an action verb ‘laugh’, and 6.26.b and 6.26.c with stative verbs ‘be full’ and ‘be hot’. Most of the examples of *temijpal* in the new data exist within augmentative subordinate clauses, as illustrated by 6.26.

- 6.26 a. *E-men nga e-men temijpal.*
 3SG:REAL-laugh AUGCO 3SG:REAL-laugh very
 “He laughed and laughed a lot.” [Y3.4-30]
- b. *Nereur nga o-wun temijpal...*
 island SUB 3SG:REAL-be.full very
 “The island that is very full...” [Y3.2-13]
- c. *O-tutun nga o-tutun temijpal.*
 3SG:REAL-be.hot AUGCO 3SG:REAL-be.hot very
 “It was very hot.” [Y3.4-8]

There is a single example in McKerras’ dictionary (2001: ms) that shows *temijpal* in a main clause construction.

- 6.27 *E-lep temijpal.*
 3SG:REAL-be.big very
 “It is extremely big.” [dictionary - temijpal]

No examples of *temijpal* in a negative clause are attested in the corpus.

6.3.1.3 *Bbong* - The Limiter

Bbong is used to limit the degree to which the verb applies, meaning ‘only’ or ‘just’.

Example 6.28 shows *bbong* used to limit the verb ‘talk’, modifying it to ‘only talk in our language’.

- 6.28 *Rrap-jilwer bbong nale se kerr.*
 1INCL.PL:IRR-talk GEN.LIM words CL.GEN 1INCL.PL:IRR:POSS
 “We’ll only talk in our language.” [Dictionary58]

Example 6.29 shows *bbong* used to limit the verb ‘lying’, to mean ‘just lying’.

- 6.29 *Nuñet san nga mi-matur bbong mare e.*
 snake INDF:SG SUB 3SG:SUBJ-lie GEN.LIM above LOC:DIST:AUG
 “A snake that is just lying up there.” [VNM4-3]

There is also a reduced form *bo*, recorded in the spoken corpus and McKerras' dictionary (2001: ms).

- 6.30 a. *Ĕe-les-i* *bo* *maniok.*
 1SG:IRR-see-TRANS GEN.LIM cassava
 "I will only look for cassava." [BANANA1.7]
- b. *Ni natu-n* *san-san* *bo.*
 3SG child-3SG:POSS DUP-be.one GEN.LIM
 "He only had one child." [Dictionary-59]

Bbong/bo is seen modifying a number of predicates, which are comprised of a variety of stative verbs as well as actions. *Bbong* is the most commonly seen limiter in the corpus, which suggests that *bbong* is a general limiter that is more productive than *mun* (6.1.1.1.1) and *kis* (6.3.1.4).

- 6.31 *lik* 'stay, sit, live'
rĕt 'find'
tngi 'skim'
vtivter 'be enough'
an/lai 'go/get'
vi 'be'
jilwer 'talk'
maur 'live'

No examples of *bbong* in a negative clause are attested in the corpus

6.3.1.4 *Kis* - The Limiter

McKerras' dictionary records examples that show *kis* functioning similarly to the limiter *bbong* (section 6.3.1.3) with the meaning 'only'. *Kis* is also shown reduplicating, which may indicate that it was historically a verb and has since become a verbal modifier, although there are no examples of it inflected as a verb in the full Uripiv corpus.

- 6.32 a. *Inu be-vel kis-kis ãela-k.*
 1SG 1SG:IRR-go DUP-LIM foot-1SG:POSS
 “I’ll go in bare feet only.” [dictionary - kis(kis)]

Kis is only seen once in the Uripiv corpus outside of McKerras’ work, illustrated in 6.33. This example indicates a similar function to that identified by McKerras. There are 35 total examples of *kis* in the corpus.

- 6.33 *Mesal san o-k-men kis.*
 fish INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-IMPF-laugh LIM
 “A fish just always laughing.” [VNM5-2]

Kis is seen modifying the predicates listed in 6.34, which similarly to *bbong* in (6.3.1.3) show a variety of stative and action verbs.

- 6.34 *su* ‘paddle’
rpok ‘be like that’
vi ‘be’
ser ‘blow’
ver ‘want (to fight)’
vel ‘walk’

No examples of *kis* in a negative clause are attested in the corpus

6.3.2 Aspectual

6.3.2.1 *Jer* - totally

The aspectual modifier *jer* is used to modify the meaning of verbs to emphasise the permanence of a usually temporary state.

Example 6.35 shows *jer* being used to mark a permanent state. The 3SG subject lies down totally and therefore is ‘bed-ridden’.

6.35 *E-matur* **jer.**
 3SG:REAL-lying TOT
 “He is bed-ridden.” lit: he lies down permanently [dictionary – jer]

Example 6.36 shows the second use of *jer*, meaning to be stuck. This example shows a truck has been stuck in the mud, however, this situation was not permanent as the truck was later moved from the mud. This example could also be interpreted with *jer* expressing intensity, meaning ‘very stuck’ or ‘completely stuck’.

6.36 *Trak e-sek* **jer.**
 truck 3SG:REAL-stuck TOT
 “The truck is stuck.” [ICR24-3]

Example 6.37 discusses a man’s burial, using the action verb ‘go’ to mean ‘go into the ground forever’.

6.37 *E-van ngatan jer renye dan.*
 3SG:REAL-go down TOT LOC.PREP ground
 “He went down into the ground (forever).” [Y3.5-33]

The particle *jer* ‘totally’ is also used to create a more intense form of a verb. The following instances of *jer* as an intensifier are recorded in McKerras’ dictionary (2001: ms), the new data also appears to show *jer* as a marker of permanence.

- 6.38 a. *O-suwsuw* **jer-jer.**
 3SG:REAL-DUP-finish DUP-TOT
 ‘Completely finished’[dictionary - jer]
- b. *O-mrrol* **jer** *pelak.*
 3SG:REAL-be.short TOT very
 ‘It is extremely short.’ [dictionary – jer]

Jer is also used to modify the subject of a verb, meaning the action is still undertaken by multiple actors but the actors are each doing the action separately. This distributes the action individually across the multiple actors.

Example 6.39 shows *jer* used to modify *tepi* ‘hide’ to *tepi jer* ‘hide separately’ (as in McKerras’ dictionary).

- 6.39 *Ko birterawarrend nir ar-tepi jer ngaut.*
 CONJ old.man PL 3PL:REAL-hide TOT inland
 “And the old men all hid themselves inland.” [EEL2-14]

Example 6.40 shows *jer* used to indicate that a person stayed behind after other people had gone.

- 6.40 *E-lik jer.*
 3SG:REAL-stay TOT
 “He stayed behind.” [dictionary - jer]

6.3.2.2 *Kele* - Repetition

Kele is a post-verbal modifier that indicates the repetition of the action encoded by the verb. Examples 6.41.a and 6.41.b show *kele* post-verbally.

- 6.41 a. *Pita e-v-e kele nato nga nir.*
 P. 3SG:REAL-count-TRANS REP chicken MOD PL
 “Pita counted the chickens again.” [ICR18-12]
- b. *Kup-les-i-∅ kele ta.*
 2SG:IRR-look-TRANS-3SG:OBJ REP POL
 “Look again, please.” [ICR22-11]

No examples of *kele* in a negative clause are attested in the new data or McKerras’ dictionary.

7. Clause Structure

This section will describe the structure of basic clauses in the Uripiv language, including the various elements of a complete clause, both verbal and non-verbal. Verbal clauses include subject as a core argument (7.1.2 and 7.1.3), and object if transitive (7.1.3). Obliques include non-core arguments (7.1.4) which express information in prepositional phrase structures. Local nouns and certain temporal constructions can form obliques without a preposition (7.2.3.9). Standard negation and its impact on verbal clauses will be considered in (7.1.5). Interrogatives will be discussed, both polar (7.1.6.1) and constituent (7.1.6.2). Imperatives are discussed in (7.1.7) along with prohibitives (7.1.8), as well as reflexives and reciprocals (7.1.9-7.1.10). Types of non-verbal predicates are addressed in (7.2).

7.1. The Structure of Verbal Clauses

The structure of verbal clauses can be described in terms of the core arguments present, especially in terms of the order they occur in. The grammatical functions presented by Andrews (1985) will be used to describe different types of clauses and their core arguments. Intransitive clauses use the S function and transitive clauses use the A and the O function (Andrews, 1985: 8). The intransitive S function (S) refers to the single core argument in an intransitive construction (Andrews, 1985: 8). The transitive A function (A) refers to the entity that takes the agent/actor role in a prototypical transitive construction, and the O function (O) refers to the entity in a prototypical transitive construction that fills the role of patient or undergoer (Andrews, 1985: 6-8). In Uripiv, the A function corresponds to the subject and the O function corresponds to the object.

Typological research concludes that there are three principle ways to encode the grammatical functions: verb agreement morphology, word order patterns, and nominal or case morphology (Andrews, 2007; Keenan, 1976). Uripiv utilizes two of these strategies, with word order patterns and verb-agreement morphology assigning grammatical functions to arguments.

The basic constituent orders for verbal constructions in Uripiv are as follows:

INTRANSITIVE	Subject + Verb	SV
TRANSITIVE	Subject + Verb + Object	AVO

The data displays a strict SVO word order. Typologically, this basic word order is consistent with other features in the language, with Uripiv displaying the predicted Head-Modifier orders including: preposition-noun phrase, post-modifiers of nouns and verbs, and possessive constructions displaying a POSSESSUM:POSSESSOR order (Dryer, 2013a, b, c; Greenberg, 1966: 104-107).

7.1.1. *Morphosyntactic Alignment*

An analysis of morphosyntactic alignment considers the method languages use to encode S, A, and O, especially considering how the functions are grouped according to strategies used to encode them. In Uripiv, the S and A functions are encoded using the pre-verbal subject markers (section 5.2.1-5.2.3), and an optional subject noun phrase which also occurs pre-verbally (section 5.2.1). The O function is encoded using an optional object suffix (section 5.2.5), with an object noun phrase occurring post-verbally (section 5.3.6 and 5.3.7), or just an object suffix.

When the grammatical relations S and A are encoded using the same strategies and O is encoded differently, the system can be described as nominative/accusative (Payne, 1997: 217). The grouping of S and A comprises the nominative while the contrastive encoding of O comprises the accusative (Payne, 1997: 218). The nominative/accusative alignment is expressed through word order and verbal morphology in Uripiv.

7.1.2. Intransitive Clauses – One Core Argument

The defining characteristic of intransitive verbs is their inability to take more than one core argument (Dixon, 1994: 113-27; Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2002: 2; Evans, 2003: 11). The one core argument present in intransitive constructions is the subject grammatical relation, with the grammatical S function (S). This argument is encoded with the obligatory subject prefix inflected on the verb. The intransitive subject (S) may additionally be encoded with a (pro)nominal argument, so that the subject prefix is a cross-index (Haspelmath, 2013). Intransitive constructions follow the basic constituent order pattern of SV, encoding the (pro)nominal subject before the verb.

Example 7.1 shows a nominal intransitive subject, 7.2 shows the corresponding intransitive verb. 7.1 presents an active predicate, while 7.2 displays a stative predicate. The subject marker inflected on the verb agrees with the person and number of the nominal subject (S), illustrating the ability of the subject inflection to take a co-nominal argument, forming a cross-index. Both examples show the subject noun phrase placed before the verb presenting an SV order with agreement marking on the verb.

- 7.1 *[Susi]_S [e_(S)-van]_V...*
 S. 3SG:REAL-go
 “Susi went...” [ICR23-2]
- 7.2 *[Liwe-k]_S [o_(S)-toto]_V.*
 tooth-1SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-be.loose
 “My tooth is loose.” [ICR17-3]

Example 7.3.a and 7.3.b show the subject grammatical relation, and S function filled by a pronominal argument. The verbal inflection agrees in person and number with the pronominal subject. An active and a stative predicate are illustrated.

- 7.3 a. *[Inu]_S [nu_(S)-an]_V.*
 1SG:POSS 1SG:REAL-go
 “I am going” [UPVT2-2]
- b. *[Kem]_S [nam_(S)-welili]_V.*
 1EXCL.PL 1EXCL.PL:REAL-be.small
 “We are small.” [ICR:9-5]

7.1.3. Transitive Clauses – Two Core Arguments

Transitive verbs are able to take two core arguments with the grammatical relations of subject and object (Dixon, 1994: 113-27; Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2002: 2; Evans, 2003: 11). In Uripiv, transitive constructions present a Subject + Verb + Object (SVO) order. The subject and object constituents are required and correspond to the A function and O function respectively.

The A function is automatically encoded into a construction with the obligatory subject prefix inflected on the verb. It is often also encoded with a co-nominal argument. This coding pattern is aligned with the intransitive S function. The O function can be expressed through a nominal argument in the object position

following the verb. It may also be expressed through an object suffix inflected on the transitive verb (section 5.3.5). The object suffixes may co-occur with a (pro)nominal object.

Data set 7.4.a-c shows nominal subjects (A) of transitive clauses. 7.4.d shows a pronominal subject (A), and 7.4.e shows the A function encoded only with a verbal inflection.

- 7.4 a. *[Tasu su-k]_A [o_(A)-lol-i]_V [nalok san.]_O*
 mother CL.GEN-1SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-make-TRANS laplap INDF:SG
 “My mum made a laplap.” [ICR16-4]
- b. *[Mobb]_A [e_(A)-les-i]_V [nesi ngok nir]_O.*
 lizard 3SG:REAL-see-TRANS ant DEM:INTR PL
 “The lizard sees those ants” [ICR15-3]
- c. *[Mitu-k nuru]_A [or_(A)-la-i]_V [nubo]_O.*
 uncle-1SG:POSS DU 3DU:REAL-sing-TRANS song
 “My (two) uncles sing songs.” [ICR16-6]
- d. *[Kem]_A [nam_(A)-ev-e]_V [naul le]_O.*
 1EXCL.PL 1EXCL.PL:REAL-read-TRANS book DEM:PROX
 “We are reading this book.” [ICR12-15]
- e. *[Nu_(A)-rro-i]_V [nalok]_O.*
 1SG:REAL-eat-TRANS laplap
 “I eat laplap.” [Y1:2A-4]

There are several methods of encoding the object (O) as discussed in section 5.3.5-5.3.7. Example 7.5.a shows a nominal object, and 7.5.b shows the object (O) encoded as an object suffix and a co-nominal object. This is a translated example, however, so this co-occurrence possibility will need to be followed up with spoken text data and native speaker grammaticality judgements.

- 7.5 a. *[Nu_(A)-mrre-ni]_V [lipti su-k]_O.*
 1SG:REAL-like-TRANS tea CL.GEN-1SG:POSS
 “I like my tea.” [ICR20-12]

- b. [Sivir Nir]_A [ar_(A)-lolo-ni-r_(O)]_V [nulse-r.]_O
 parrot PL 3PL:REAL-show.off-TRANS-3PL:OBJ colour-3PL:POSS
 “The parrots showed off their colours.” [Y2.5-5]

7.1.4. Non-Core Arguments – Obliques

Non-core arguments are those arguments without a grammatical relation (subject or object), or function (S, A, O) that are expressed as obliques (Payne, 1997: 211). Obliques are marked mostly by the presence of a preposition, with exception of local nouns. There is a subclass of local nouns that require no preposition to introduce them, although they are still considered obliques because of their optional status in clauses (see section 3.3). Obliques may comprise full noun phrases or locative pronouns (3.1.2).

A three-way distinction has been made amongst the prepositional forms in many Malakula and Vanuatu languages (cf. Barbour, 2012: 270). This distinguishes between noun-like prepositions (using nominal morphology), verb-like prepositions (using verbal inflections), or simple prepositions. Prepositions typically do not take affixes, however there is a small class of noun-like prepositions, discussed in section 7.2.3.7. This class includes *re(nge)* and *ji*, which display nominal morphology, taking possessive suffixes (described in section 4.2.1) in certain contexts.

7.1.4.1 Prepositional Phrases

There are three forms attested as prepositions which introduce non-core arguments into a clause.

7.6	<i>re(nge)</i>	general preposition	LOC.PREP
	<i>ji</i>	preposition – animate location	ANIM.PREP
	<i>tei~tevi</i>	comitative preposition	COM.PREP

7.1.4.2 General Preposition *re(nge)*

Re(nge) is the most commonly occurring preposition in the corpus and is used primarily to encode spatial information including location, source, or goal.

7.7.a-b show *re(nge)* encoding a location, firstly with an intransitive verb, and then with a transitive verb. 7.7.c shows the reduced form *re* encoding a goal, which is the end location of a motion. *Renge* and *re* occur in free variation throughout the corpus. *Re(nge)* was discussed earlier in example 3.32, where it does not appear with *orsel* – as *orsel* was a destination. *Re(nge)* appears in example 7.7.a to encode a location in the garden.

- 7.7 a. *Setoko e-majing rengo orsel.*
 S. 3SG:REAL-work LOC.PREP garden
 “Setoko was working in the garden.” [VNM3-2]
- b. *O-rw-i kon rengo orsel se-n.*
 3SG:REAL-plant-TRANS corn LOC.PREP garden CL.GEN-3SG:POSS
 “He planted corn in his garden.” [VNM10-4]
- c. *Ar-vitan ngatan re dan.*
 3PL:REAL-fall.down down LOC.PREP ground
 “They fall down to the ground.” [Y2:3-4]

7.1.4.3 Locations

Locations are introduced with the preposition *re(nge)*, unless the location refers to an animate noun. Animate nouns as locations are introduced with the preposition *ji* (see section 7.1.4.5).

- 7.8 a. *E-la-i* *tweni paep* *se-n*
3SG:REAL-take-TRANS out pipe CL.GEN-3SG:POSS

reng *trasis* *se-n.*
LOC.PREP trousers CL.GEN-3SG:POSS
“He took his pipe out of his trousers.” [Y3.4-5]
- b. *Renge* *naim* *nga* *Melsisi...*
LOC.PREP village SUB M.
“In the village of Melsisi...” [Y3.5-2]
- c. *Re* *nereur* *nga* *Pentecost...*
LOC.PREP island SUB P.
“On the island of Pentecost” [Y3.5-2]
- d. *Dip̃ang* *e-saut* *mare* *reng* *duru-n.*
green.coconut 3SG:REAL-be.many up LOC.PREP trunk-3SG:POSS
“Many green coconuts are up in the tree.” [ICR:8-2]

7.1.4.4 Temporal

Temporal obliques may be marked with a preposition, in which case *re(nge)* is used.

- 7.9 a. *Renge* *daron* *ngok...*
LOC.PREP time DEM:INTR
“At that time...” [Y3.5-12]
- b. *Re* *oklok* *rivriv...*
LOC.PREP o'clock afternoon
“Until 5 o'clock in the afternoon...” [LW1-1]
- c. *Renge* *Sarete* *san...*
LOC.PREP S. INDF:SG
“One Saturday..” [Y2:9-8]

- d. *Renge Sarede rorong...*
 LOC.PREP S. morning
 “On Saturday morning...” [UPVT2-12]

7.1.4.5 Animacy Preposition – *Ji*

Animate nouns refer to people, animals, or other living entities. Uripiv speakers distinguish between animate and inanimate nouns (objects, concepts) in that animate nouns take a different preposition than inanimate nouns. Constructions with an inanimate location use the preposition *re(nge)*, whereas constructions with animate locations appear to use *ji*. This raises a question of whether the use of *ji* is triggered by animacy in the location or animacy in the mover.

Example 7.10 uses two animate nouns, *nuru* ‘they’ as the animate subject moving and *inu* ‘I’ as the location of an animate entity. As this example has both an animate noun as the location and the moving entity in subject position, there is no way to determine which animate entity triggers *ji*.

- 7.10 *Nuru or-lalos vini ji inu.*
 3DU 3DU:REAL-swim come ANIM.PREP 1SG
 “They (two) swam over towards me.” [Y3.1-32]

Example 7.11 uses one animate noun encoded using the subject marker *drrap* (rare form of 1INCL.PL *rrap*-). The location noun is *vanu* ‘country’, which is inanimate. Notice the use of the preposition *re(nge)* as opposed to *ji*.

- 7.11 *Drrap-an renge vanu mu-nij.*
 1INCL.PL:IRR-go LOC.PREP country 3SG:SUBJ-different
 “Let us go to other countries”. [McKerras, 2001: ms]

The same pattern is shown in example 7.12, with an animate mover not triggering *ji*. This indicates the use of *ji* may be triggered by an animate location.

7.12 *E-tkai inu van renge hospital.*
 3SG:REAL-take 1SG go LOC.PREP hospital
 “She took me to the hospital”. [Y3.1-43]

Example 7.13 has an animate noun as the destination, and this has triggered the preposition *ji*.

7.13 *Nu-merre-ni pi-an ji jinibb.*
 1SG:REAL-want-TRANS 3SG:IRR-go ANIM.PREP man
 “I want her to go to a man”. [Y3.3-8]

There are no constructions in the corpus where there is an inanimate noun moving towards an animate destination. Based on the data available, *ji* appears to be used only where an animate destination is expressed, as in examples 7.10 and 7.13.

7.1.4.6 Noun-like Qualities of *re(nge)* and *Ji*

The prepositions *re(nge)-* and *ji-* are both noun-like, in that the prepositions may be inflected with a possessive suffix. Although the possessive suffix paradigm is similar to the direct object suffix paradigm, the two differ in the third person singular form; the third person singular object suffix is zero marked whereas the possessive form is *-n*. This allows the correct paradigm to be identified, with data set 7.14 showing the preposition *re(nge)* inflected with the 3SG possessive suffix *-n*. In each example, there is no (pro)nominal prepositional object and the possessive suffix serves as the only expression of the location.

7.14 a. *E-tepi renge-n...*
 3SG:REAL-hide LOC.PREP-3SG:POSS
 “He hides in it.” [VNM8-3]

b. *Jut nga par-rul-∅ renge-n...*
 place SUB 3PL:IRR-lay-3SG:OBJ LOC.PREP-3SG:POSS
 “The place where they lay it (their eggs) in...” [Y2.4-12]

- c. *Par-tev-tev-i-∅* *reng-n...*
 3PL:IRR-DUP-fill-TRANS-3SG:OBJ LOC.PREP-3SG:POSS
 “They fill something into it...” [Y2.4-13]

Data set 7.15 shows the animate preposition *ji* inflected with the 3SG possessive suffix *-n* (7.15.a) and the 1SG possessive suffix *-k* (7.16.b). Example 7.15.b is particularly important because it illustrates suffixation with a different member of the possessor suffix paradigm.

- 7.15 a. *O-k-verus* *van ji-n...*
 3SG:REAL-IMPf-call go ANIM.PREP -3SG:POSS
 “He called out to him” [Y2.6-14]
- b. *Natu nevö kup-luwi vini ji-k...*
 small turtle 2SG:IRR-return come ANIM.PREP -1SG:POSS
 “Small turtle, you come back to me” [VAN7-8]

7.1.4.7 Comitative – *Te(v)i*

The preposition *te(v)i* is displayed in the corpus when a human entity is accompanied by a second human entity in the action expressed by the verb.⁹

Data set 7.16 illustrates this, with additional participants added in using the comitative preposition *te(v)i*.

- 7.16 a. *Nu-rongwos* *ḃe-la-i* *nubo*
 1SG:REAL-know/can 1SG:IRR-sing-TRANS song
- tevi* *tasu* *su-k.*
 COM.PREP mother CL.GEN-1SG:POSS
 “I can sing songs with my mum.” [VAN5-1]
- b. *Nu-rongwos* *be-vel* *tevi*
 1SG:REAL-know/can 1SG:IRR-walk.around COM.PREP

⁹ McKerras hypothesises that *te(v)i* occurs when the relationship expressed between the speaker and the human being referred to is closer than the relationship between the speaker and the addressee (2001: ms). This analysis is compatible with the analysis of comitative.

Dan ko Robin.
 D. CONJ R.

“I can walk around with Dan and Robin.” [VAN2-2]

c. *Apu Kalua e-lik*
 grandfather K. 3SG:REAL-live

tei mebbu-n.
 COM.PREP grandchildren-3SG:POSS
 “Apu Kalua lives with his (two) grandchildren.” [Y2.1-2]

7.1.4.8 Instruments - *e*

An instrument is a non-core participant categorized by the ability to cause an action to occur indirectly. An agent is required to operate the instrument, but the instrument completes the action (Payne, 1997: 106).

The following data set 7.17 shows three examples of an instrument. 7.17.a shows the instrument ‘rope’ introduced by the instrument preposition *e*. The third person singular participant is using the rope to tie something up, but ultimately it is the rope, the instrument, that holds the object in place. 7.17.b shows a walking stick introduced as an instrument by the instrument preposition *e*. The stick is clearly an instrument as the third person singular participant is actively using it to complete the action of walking. 7.17.c illustrates the same pattern, with the instrument ‘bow’ introduced with the instrument preposition *e*. The pre-nominal instrument preposition *e* contrasts in function with the locative demonstrative *e* that occurs clause finally.

7.17 a. *E-sr-e e dil san.*
 3SG:REAL-tie-TRANS INSTR rope INDF:SG
 “He ties it up with a rope.” [dictionary - esre]

- b. *E-jilog* *e* *nai*.
 3SG:REAL-hop INSTR stick
 “He walks with a walking stick.” [dictionary - ejil(jil)og]
- c. *E-krekras-i-∅* *e* *nevis* *se-n*.
 3SG:REAL-deceive-TRANS-3SG:OBJ INSTR bow CL.GEN-3SG:POSS
 “He deceived him with his bow.” [dictionary - ek(rek)rasi]

7.1.4.9 Inherently Oblique Constructions

Certain spatial locations are inherently oblique in nature, and do not need any oblique morphology. Example 7.18 shows *orsel* ‘garden’ acting as a local noun. Local nouns are classified by their ability to function as obliques without a preposition (section 3.3).

- 7.18 *Ana e-van orsel*.
 A. 3SG:REAL-go garden
 “Ana went to the garden.” [ICR23-12]

Example 7.19 shows *naim* ‘home’ as a local noun.

- 7.19 *Ar-sa-i-∅ van naim e*.
 3PL:REAL-take-TRANS-3SG:OBJ go home LOC:DIST:AUG
 They took (it) home.” [Y2.1-23]

Some temporal locations can also function as obliques without prepositional marking.

- 7.20 a. [*Vesan*], *ar-lol-i sowen ne kastom...*
 once 3PL:REAL-do-TRANS dance NH kastom
 “Once, they had a kastom dance.” [Y3.5-4]
- b. [*Rorpong san*], *e-verus mebbu-n nuru...*
 morning INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-said grandchild-3SG:POSS DU
 “One morning, he said to his grandchildren...” [Y2.1-3]

- c. *Poro b-an re maket*
 COND 1SG:IRR-go LOC.PREP market
- [*lelingen rorong ngel*].
 today morning DEM.PROX
 “If I go to the market this morning.” [BANANA1.1]

7.1.4.10 Third Arguments

Rather than ditransitive clauses with two objects, additional participants can be added as obliques with *ji* or *te(v)i* (see also *ji* (7.2.3.5) or *tevi* (7.2.3.6)).

- 7.21 a. *Kup-la-i-ϕ tevi.*
 2SG:IRR-give-TRANS-3SG:OBJ COM.PREP
 “Give it to him.” [dictionary - *ela(i)*]
- b. *E-la tweni ji-n.*
 3SG:REAL-take off ANIM.PREP-3SG:POSS
 “He takes it away from him.” [dictionary - *ela(i)*]

7.1.5. Standard Negation

Declarative constructions are negated using a simple pre-verbal negative particle (*s)ete*. The literature defines standard negation as negation occurring in a declarative main clause (Dahl, 1979; Miestamo, 2007; Payne, 1985).

Example 7.22 shows a standard main clause declarative using the negative particle *sete*. The negator occurs in the first position in the verb phrase.

- 7.22 *Bilse nevö sete e-malum.*
 shell turtle NEG 3SG:REAL-be.soft
 “A turtle shell is not soft.” [ICR14-3]

Barbour (2015: 449) classifies Uripiv’s negator as a simple Left Edge negator, because it is the initial element in the verb complex. This is unusual in Malakula

- c. *E-priv* *lenglengen.*
 3SG:REAL-be.long very
 “It is very long.” [VAN315]
- d. *Ete* *e-priv...*
 NEG 3SG:REAL-be.long
 “It won’t be long...” [VAN6-5]

7.1.5.1 The Negative Existential

A negative existential verb *jiki(e)* exists, which means ‘be not’.

- 7.24 a. *Ni* *ḃela-n* *e-jkie.*
 3SG leg-3SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-be.not
 “It has no legs.” (Lit: It’s legs are not.) [ICR7-14]
- b. *Lipti se* *kerr* *e-jki!*
 tea CL.GEN 1EXCL.PL 3SG:REAL-be.not
 “Our tea is not (here)!” [ICR20-11]
- c. *Ni* *e-jki* *reng* *boriti.*
 3SG 3SG:REAL-be.not LOC.PREP pandanus.mat
 “He is not on the mat.” [ICR21-9]

7.1.6. Interrogatives

The term interrogative refers to the type of illocutionary force that is used when a speaker wants to ask a question. The Uripiv corpus presents examples of both polar and constituent interrogatives.

7.1.6.1 Polar Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives are questions that request a yes or no answer. Based on available data, polar interrogatives are distinguished from declarative

constructions as the interrogatives display a rising intonation at the end of the construction, where declarative constructions do not.

There are very few examples of polar interrogatives in the recorded corpus, however data sets 7.25 and 7.26 show examples of polar interrogatives. These examples illustrate that the only difference between a declarative and a polar interrogative is the rising voice pitch in interrogative forms.

Data set 7.25 shows a polar interrogative in 7.25.a and the answer to the question in 7.25.b.

- 7.25 a. *Tasu so-m e-vi nait?* [^]
 mother CL.GEN-2SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-be octopus
 “Your mother is an octopus?” [OCTOPUS-26]
- b. *O-wra, “O’o.”* [˘]
 3SG:REAL-say yes
 “She said, “yes”” [OCTOPUS-27]

Data set 7.26 shows a negative polar interrogative with its parallel declarative response.

- 7.26 a. *Ko ete kam-ok-an orsel?* [^]
 CONJ NEG 2PL:REAL-IMPf-go garden
 “You didn’t go to the garden?” [CHILDHOOD1-18]
- b. *E-jki, nam-ok-an orsel.* [˘]
 3SG:REAL-be.not 1EXCL.PL:REAL-IMPf-go garden
 “No, we went to the garden.” [CHILDHOOD1-19]

A third polar interrogative is illustrated in 7.27, again showing rising intonation.

- 7.27 *Ko ete kam-ok-lol-i nalok orsel?* [^]
 CONJ NEG 2PL:REAL-IMPf-make-TRANS laplap garden
 “You didn’t make a laplap in the garden?” [CHILDHOOD1-23]

7.1.6.2 Constituent Interrogatives

Constituent interrogatives are questions used to elicit information based on the interrogative form used, often referred to as open questions as they require more than a yes/no answer. The following constituent interrogatives are presented in the corpus.

7.28	<i>sev</i>	‘what’
	<i>si</i>	‘who’
	<i>ngabe</i>	‘where’
	<i>niben</i>	‘where’
	<i>seveling</i>	‘where’
	<i>evis</i>	‘how many’

Nominal constituent interrogatives are optionally followed by the demonstrative particle *ko*, which appears to ‘point’ to the referent of the constituent being questioned.

7.1.6.2.1 The Common Interrogative - *Sev*

The common interrogative *sev* is used to inquire about entities which are expressed as common nouns. When asking about a specific entity, the interrogative constituent *sev* ‘what’ fills the slot in the clause that the specific entity would have filled. 7.29.a and 7.29.b show *sev* used as the subject of the construction, while 7.29.c and 7.29.d show *sev* as the object of the construction.

The grammatical relation of the constituent interrogative accounts for the pre/post-verbal positioning of *sev*.

7.29	a.	<i>Sev</i>	<i>o-to</i>	<i>lolo</i>	<i>narr</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>Maya?</i>
		what	3SG:REAL-be	inside	basket	CL.GEN	M.
		“What is inside Maya’s basket?” [ICR13-1]					

- b. *Sev ko san e-terter?*
 what DEM INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-be.hard
 “What is hard?” [ICR14-1]
- c. *Magret o-tor-i sev ko*
 M. 3SG:REAL-hold-TRANS what DEM
- san renge nevre-n?*
 INDF:SG LOC.PREP hands-3SG:POSS
 “What is Magret holding in her hands?” [ICR13-5]
- d. *Ana o-songn-i sev ko*
 A. 3SG:REAL-fill-TRANS what DEM
- renge narr se-n?*
 LOC.PREP basket CL.GEN-3SG:POSS
 “What has Ana filled her basket with?” [ICR13-13]

The interrogative constituent *sev* combines with the verb *loli* ‘do’ to ask about the actions of an entity. This expression is illustrated in examples 7.30.a-7.30.c.

- 7.30 a. *Mesal ngok o-lol-i sev ko?*
 fish DEM:INTR 3SG:REAL-do-TRANS what DEM
 “What is that fish doing?” [ICR12-8]
- b. *Ar-lol-i sev ko?*
 3PL:REAL-do-TRANS what DEM
 “What are they doing?” [ICR12-1]
- c. *Guli o-lol-i sev ko?*
 dog 3SG:REAL-do-TRANS what DEM
 “What is the dog doing?” [ICR12-2]

7.1.6.2.2 The Personal Interrogative - *Si*

When asking information about a personal entity, the interrogative constituent *si* ‘who’ is used in place of the subject.

- 7.31 a. *Si ko jinibb nen?*
 who DEM man DEM
 “Who is this man?” [Y3.3-14]
- b. *Si ko san niko ji-n e-terter?*
 who DEM INDF:SG DEM strength-3SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-be.strong
 “Who is the strong one?” [Y3.3-5]

7.1.6.2.3 The Spatial Interrogatives - Ngabe and Nibe

There are two spatial interrogative forms in Uripiv: *ngabe* and *nibe(n(i))*.

Ngabe asks about the location of an activity.

- 7.32 a. *Nesenwarreng nga e-van ngabe e?*
 girl SUB 3SG:REAL-go where LOC:DIST:AUG
 “Where is that girl going?” [ICR10-1]
- b. *Lekter nga e-van ngabe e?*
 woman SUB 3SG:REAL-go where LOC:DIST:AUG
 “Where is that woman going?” [ICR10-3]
- c. *Sele-n o-wra-i, “kup-an ngabe?”*
 friend-3SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-say-TRANS 2SG:IRR-go where
 “His friend said, “where are you going?” [Y3.4-19]

Nibe(n(i)) asks about the location of an object. 7.33.a appears to be non-verbal, with *nibeni* as the subject, followed by a nominal predicate. 7.33.b and 7.33.c have headless relative clauses as their nominal predicate.

- 7.33 a. *Nibe neiren se kami?*
 where joy CL.GEN 2PL
 “Where is your joy?” [dictionary - nibe]
- b. *Nibeni [nga mu-songsong ko nga mu-ow?]*
 where SUB 3SG:SUBJ-be.brown CONJ SUB 3SG:SUBJ-be.white
 “Where is the one that is brown and white?” [ICR18-8]

- c. *Nibeni* [nga mu-motmot?]
 where SUB 3SG:SUBJ-be.black
 “Where is the black one?” [ICR18-10]

7.1.6.2.1 The Temporal Interrogative - *Seveling*

McKerras’ dictionary defines *seveling* as the temporal interrogative ‘when’. The temporal interrogative is used to ask when an action occurred/will occur. There are no text examples of this interrogative, although the legacy data includes examples.

- 7.34 a. *Ku-les-i-∅* *seveling* *ko?*
 2SG:REAL-see-TRANS-3SG:OBJ when DEM
 “When did you see him?” [dictionary - *seveling*]
- b. *Ko* *kup-luwi* *seveling?*
 CONJ 2SG:IRR-return when
 “And when will you go back?” [dictionary - *olwi*]

7.1.6.2.1 The Quantificational Interrogative - *Evis*

The interrogative constituent *evis* is used to ask ‘how many/much’ of an object there are. While *sev*, *si*, *ngabe*, *niben*, and *seveling* have nominal functions, *e-vis* is verbal.

In 7.35.a *e-vis* occurs alongside a specific entity, encoded as the subject, as it is the subject that is being quantified.

- 7.35 a. *Ĕbela-n* *e-vis?*
 leg-3SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-how.many
 “How many legs?” (Lit: It’s legs are how many?) [ICR7-1]
- b. *E-vis* *le* *renge* *nir?*
 3SG:REAL-how.many DEM:PROX LOC.PREP PL
 “How much for these?” (Lit: These are how many?) [Y2.9-18]

7.1.7. Imperatives

Imperative constructions, or commands, are formed like declarative constructions. Verbs in imperative constructions typically take the second person singular irrealis form as the speaker is telling the other conversational participant to do something. Commands can be softened by the inclusion of the politeness marker *ta*.

7.36.a shows a younger speaker telling Tomsin to look, and includes the clause-final politeness marker *ta*. 7.36.b shows a speaker telling their addressee to look at something. 7.36.c shows a child telling their pet turtle to come back to them, after the turtle ran away. In each one, an irrealis subject prefix occurs.

- 7.36 a. *Tomsin, kup-les-i-∅ ta.*
T. 2SG:IRR-look-TRANS-3SG:OBJ POL
“Tomsin, look!” [ICR17-5]
- b. *Kup-les-i!*
2SG:IRR-look-TRANS
“Look!” [ICR18-9]
- c. *Natu nevö kup-luwi vini ji-k!*
small turtle 2SG:IRR-return toward.speaker ANIM.PREP:1SG:POSS
“Small turtle, come back to me!” [VAN7-8]

7.1.8. Prohibitives

Prohibitives are formed using an imperative construction and the preverbal negator *(s)ete*. The irrealis mood is used for prohibitives as the action being prohibited would hypothetically occur in future time. There is no separate prohibitive construction in Uripiv.

Example 7.37 shows a prohibitive construction, formed using an imperative negated with *(s)ete*.

7.37 *Ete kup-lol-i-∅!*
 NEG 2SG:IRR-do-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
 “Don’t (you) do it!” [dictionary - sete]

Example 7.38 shows another prohibitive formed with an imperative and (*s*)*ete*.

7.38 *Ete kup-tur lat nga mar-an e!*
 NEG 2SG:IRR-stand place SUB 3SG:SUBJ-eat LOC:DIST:AUG
 “Don’t stand up in the place where people are eating!” [dictionary - naten]

7.1.9. Reflexives

A reflexive construction occurs when the same entity fills the role of both A and O, so the entity does the action of the transitive verb to themselves (Payne, 1997: 241).

Reflexive constructions may use the reflexive marker *lweni*. The reflexive marker can occur along with an O marked only by an object suffix on the marker (7.39.a), or a pronominal O (7.39.b). Each example presents the same entity for the A and O functions of the construction.

- 7.39 a. *Ku-tve-i lweni-m.*
 2SG:REAL-cut-TRANS REFL-2SG:OBJ
 “You cut yourself.” [dictionary - lweni]
- b. *Pu-wnga-ni lweni ni.*
 3SG:IRR-feed-TRANS REFL 3SG
 “He will feed himself” [ICR16.8]

Reflexive constructions can also be formed without any overt marking, as in example 7.40.

7.40 *Ko birterawarrens nir ar-tep-i jer ngaut.*
 CONJ old.man PL 3PL:REAL-hide-TRANS TOT inland
 “And the old man all hid themselves inland.” [EEL2-14]

7.1.10. Reciprocals

A reciprocal is a construction that occurs when two participants act equally upon each other, that is, both participants fill A and O function simultaneously (Payne, 1997: 244). No examples of a reciprocal construction have been identified in the data yet.

7.1.11. Clausal modifiers

Many of the verbal modifiers discussed in chapter 6 also function as clausal modifiers. The two functions can be distinguished from one another on the basis of their position in the clause. The verbal modifiers included in chapter 6 are placed before an object in the verb phrase, whereas clausal modifiers will be positioned after the object. The following list provides clausal modifiers attested in the corpus.

7.41 *kele* ‘REP’
bo ‘GEN.LIM’

Example 7.42 shows modifier *kele* in clausal modifier position,

7.42 *Pi-an pi-les-i kele nanu san kele.*
3SG:IRR-go 3SG:IRR-see REP thing INDF:SG REP
“He went back to see something again.” [S.N.1-5]

Example 7.43 shows *bo* (*bbong*) in clausal modifier position.

7.43 *Ni natu-n san-san bo.*
3SG child-3SG:POSS DUP-be.one GEN.LIM
“He, his child (is) just one.” [dictionary - bo]

7.2. Non-Verbal Predicates

The corpus attests primarily verbal clauses, including clauses with adjectival/stative verbs carrying verbal inflections, however, non-verbal clauses exist. Dryer (2007: 224-275) identifies three types of non-verbal predicates: adjectival, nominal, and locative. In Uripiv, adjectival clauses are expressed verbally, whereas locative and nominal predicates can be expressed verbally or non-verbally.

7.2.1. Adjectival Predicates

Adjectival predicates are expressed with a stative verb, other Malakula languages may also have a small closed class of true adjectives. This is the case in Uripiv.

Example 7.44.a and 7.44.b show verbal adjectives modifying a noun phrase.

- 7.44 a. *Sunsun ngel e-ingango.*
shirt DEM:PROX 3SG:REAL-be.yellow
“This shirt is yellow.” [ICR4-6]
- b. *Wene nai e-lep.*
fruit tree 3SG:REAL-be.many
“There are a lot of fruit.” [ICR8-7]

Example 7.45 shows a negated verbal adjective.

- 7.45 *Ko duru nai sete e-malum.*
CONJ trunk tree NEG 3SG:REAL-be.soft
“But a tree’s trunk is not soft.” [ICR14-5]

7.2.2. Locative Predicates

Clauses with locative information can be verbal or non-verbal. Verbal clauses often use the verb *to* ‘exist’ to locate entities.

Data set 7.46 illustrates the use of the copula verb *to* to locate the entity inside Maya’s basket.

- 7.46 a. *Sev o-to lolo narr se Maya?*
what 3SG:REAL-exist inside basket CL.GEN M.
“What is inside Maya’s basket?” [ICR13-1]
- b. *Naim su-k o-to*
house CL.GEN -1SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-exist
- mori naim se-n.*
close house CL.GEN -3SG:POSS
“My house is close to his house.” [dictionary - oto]

Example 7.47 encodes the location of an entity in a non-verbal clause, using a demonstrative determiner to encode the proximity of the entity.

- 7.47 *Ni le ngel.*
3SG DEM:PROX DEM:PROX
“Here it is.” [ICR18-9]

Example 7.48 shows a locative predicate negated by the negative existential *jiki* ‘be not’.

- 7.48 *Nato ngel san e-jki.*
chicken DEM:PROX INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-be.not
“One of these chickens is not here.” [ICR18-8]

7.2.3. Nominal predicates

7.2.3.1 Existential Clauses

Existential clauses are used to express the existence of an entity. Verbal existential clauses are formed with the existential verb *vi* ‘be’, and may be negated with the negative existential morpheme *jiki*. Non-verbal existential predicates are also negated with verbal *jiki*.

7.49 *E-vi nanu san...*
3SG-REAL-be thing INDF:SG
“There is a thing...” [Y2.7-22]

Example 7.50 shows a non-verbal clause stating that a dog has four legs. This construction displays a vestigial subject prefix, which historically was a verbal inflection. The productive subject prefix that would occur if the number were a prototypical verb is *e-* (see section 4.6 on numerals and section 5.2.1-5.2.3 on subject indexes).

7.50 *Ĕela-n i-vij.*
leg-3SG:POSS 3SG:VEST-be.four
“It has four legs.” [ICR7-2]

Example 7.51 shows a negated non-verbal existential predicate.

7.51 *Telefon nir e-jki.*
telephone PL 3SG:REAL-be.not
“There were no telephones.” [CHILDHOOD1.26]

7.2.3.2 Classificatory Clauses

Verbal classificatory clauses use the existential verb *vi* ‘be’.

Data set 7.52 illustrates *vi* used to classify what an entity is.

7.52 a. *Ngok e-vi kamiong ko san.*
DEM:INTR 3SG:REAL-be truck DEM INDF:SG
“That is a truck.” [ICR19-2]

b. *Ngok e-vi baskel ko san.*
DEM:INTR 3SG:REAL-be bicycle DEM INDF:SG
“That is a bicycle.” [ICR19-6]

7.2.3.3 Identificational Clauses

Identificational clauses are used to name the subject entity. These non-verbal clauses are formed by two noun phrases, one following the other.

Example 7.53 shows an identificational clause. The subject entity is encoded in the first noun phrase ‘my name’ which is followed by the noun phrase containing the personal name *D*.

7.53 [*Inu nise-k* *D*].
1SG name-1SG:POSS D.
“My name is D.” [PIKININI1-2]

7.2.3.4 Ownership Clauses

Non-verbal clauses expressing a possessive relationship are called ownership clauses. In Uripiv, these structures are formed by juxtaposing the possessor and possessum, which may include the possessor as a nominal argument or just through the appropriate possessive information (4.2).

7.54 [Julie]_{POSS'R} [natu-[n]]_{POSS'M} nuru].
J. child-3SG:POSS DU
“Julie, her children (are) two.” [S.N.1-1]

8. Complex Clauses

This section presents an overview of complex clauses and their functions in Uripiv. The chapter begins with subordinate clauses (8.1) (complement, relative, adverbial, conditional), before moving on to clausal conjunction (8.2).

8.1. Subordinate Clauses

Typological studies have identified three separate types of subordinate clauses: complement clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses. These subordinate clauses may be marked with three devices: special verb forms, word order, and subordinating morphemes (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007: 238). Uripiv utilizes two of these devices with a subordinating morpheme *nga*, and special verb forms attested in the corpus. Subordinate structures may be introduced with the subordinating morpheme *nga*, but they are not always; likewise, the subjunctive mood is used in some types of subordinate clause, while irrealis mood is used in others.

Table 21: Subordinate Clause Marking in Uripiv

	Subordinator <i>nga</i>	Subjunctive indexes	Irrealis indexes
Relative Clauses	Yes	Yes	Rare
Complement Clauses			
• Desiderative/Antidesiderative	No	No	Yes
• Ability/Knowledge	No	No	Yes
• Sensory/Perception	Rare	Rare	Yes
• Utterance	Rare	No	Yes
Adverbial Subordinate Clauses	Yes	No	Yes

8.1.1 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are a type of subordinate clause that occur within a noun phrase to modify the head noun. Uripiv relative clauses are embedded within the main clause, introduced by the subordinate clause marker *nga*, and follow Lehmann (1986) and Song (2001: 214) in that they encode qualities or characteristics pertaining to the head noun. Relative clauses have been discussed in depth in section 4.3, in terms of: the subordinator *nga*, subjunctive indexes, position of the head, form of the co-referential argument, and the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy. These properties are illustrated below in 8.1.

- 8.1 a. *Nevöt* [*nga mi-lep lenglengen*] *o-wra...*
stone SUB 3SG:SUBJ-be.big very 3SG:REAL-say
“The stone that was very big said...” [Y3.3-13]
- b. *Ni o-rongwos pi-majing*
3SG 3SG:REAL-know/can 3SG:IRR-build
- naim [nga mar-res nir]*
house SUB 3PL:SUBJ-be.good PL
“He can build houses that are good” [VAN9-2]
- c. *Daron [nga mar-mirr] ko ar-an*
time SUB 3PL:SUBJ-be.ripe CONJ 3PL:REAL-go
- ar-ta-i-∅ ko ar-jol-i-∅...*
3PL:REAL-cut-TRANS-3SG:OBJ CONJ 3PL:REAL-peel-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
“When they are ripe they go cut it down and peel it...” [VNM14-5]

8.1.1.1 Temporal and Locative Adverbial Clauses

Temporal and locative adverbial clauses have been included as a subsection of relative clauses, as they are typologically likely to take the form of relative clauses

(Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007: 244). In Uripiv, these adverbial clauses include a local noun as a head, then the subordinator *nga* and a relative clause structure - including subjunctive or irrealis prefixes.

Temporal adverbial clauses are introduced by the noun *daron* 'time', followed by the subordinator *nga*. The verb within the subordinate clause takes a subjunctive subject prefix.

- 8.2 a. *daron* [*nga mu-smok mu-suv*]
time SUB 3SG:SUBJ-smoke 3SG:SUBJ-be.finished
'the time when he finished smoking' [Y3.4-7]
- b. *daron* [*nga Leitau mi-matur*]
time SUB L. 3SG:SUBJ-SLEEP
'the time when Leitau slept' [VAN7-6]
- c. *daron* [*nga mar-ling-i narlu-r jijle*]
time SUB 3PL:SUBJ-lay-TRANS egg-3PL:POSS EGR
'the time when they had finished laying their eggs' [Y2.4-6]
- d. *daron* [*nga nat mu-tutun ñi-lep*]
time SUB state.of 3SG:SUBJ-be.warm 3SG:SUBJ-big
'the time when it was very warm' [Y2.4-2]

Locative adverbial clauses are structured the same, with the head noun *lat* 'place' followed by the subordinator *nga* and a relative clause structure 'where the girl went down into'.

- 8.3 *E-les-i nanu san e-tiv*
3SG:REAL-see-TRANS thing INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-sprout
- pelari renge lat...*
come.out LOC.PREP place
'He saw a thing come out of the place...

[*nga nesevin*]...
SUB girl
'where the girl...'

[*nga me-an ngatan rene-n*].
 SUB 3SG:SUBJ-go down LOC.PREP-3SG:POSS
 where (she) went down into.”
 “where the girl went down into.” [Y3.5-35]

Example 8.4 shows a locative adverbial phrase ‘where it sank’.

8.4 *Ko dis e-rve-i-∅ lweni van lat*
 CONJ sea 3SG:REAL-pull-TRANS-3SG:OBJ back go place
 “And the sea pulled it back out to the place...”

nga mu-rron e.
 SUB 3SG:SUBJ-sink LOC:DIST:AUG
 where it sank.”
 “And the sea pulled it back out to the place where it sank.” [VNM2-5]

8.1.2 Complement Clauses

A complement clause is an embedded structure that acts as a core argument of a complement taking predicate (CTP) (Noonan, 2007: 52). Complement clauses allow the speaker to complete the meaning of an expression with a clausal-like structure that functions as a noun phrase. Complement clauses in Uripiv are post-posed as objects to the matrix clause that they modify. Most complement clauses do not take the subordinator *nga*, and also will not use the subjunctive mood, instead consistently attesting irrealis prefixes.

Table 22: Complement Clause Marking in Uripiv

	Subordinator <i>nga</i>	Subjunctive indexes	Irrealis indexes
Complement Clauses			
• Desiderative/Antidesiderative	No	No	Yes
• Ability/Knowledge	No	No	Yes
• Sensory/Perception	Rare	Rare	Yes
• Utterance	Rare	No	Yes

8.1.2.1 Desiderative Predicates

Desiderative predicates appear in the corpus with the verbs *mrreni* ‘want to do s.t.’, *rnge* ‘sense’, and *wra* ‘want to’. These desiderative predicates always take complements inflected with the irrealis mood, instead of the subjunctive.

Wra is also used as an utterance predicate ‘say’ (section 8.1.2.5), Neverver attests a similar desiderative/utterance predicate *ver* (Barbour, 2012: 379), as do Malakula languages Unua, Naman, Avava, and Neve’ei (Crowley, 2006a, b, c; Pearce: 2015). Examples 8.5.a and 8.5.b show *wra* as a desiderative, taking an irrealis complement.

- 8.5 a. *Tata o-wra... [pi-an pu-tutumun].*
father 3SG:REAL-want 3SG:IRR-go 3SG:IRR-fishing
“Dad wanted to go fishing.” [VAN6-1]
- b. *Leitau mu-wra*
L. 3SG:SUBJ-want
- [pi-an pu-wnga-ni-ϕ].*
3SG:IRR-go 3SG:IRR-look.after-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
“Leitau wanted to look after it.” [VAN7-7]

Rnge functions to express a sense, such as: hearing, seeing, feeling. It can also be used as a complement taking desiderative predicate ‘want’. There are no examples of *rnge* ‘want’ taking a nominal object.

- 8.6 a. *O-rnge... [pu-smok].*
3SG:SUBJ-sense 3SG:IRR-smoke
“He wants to smoke.” [dictionary - ornge]
- b. *O-rnge... [pi-matur].*
3SG:SUBJ-sense 3SG:IRR-sleep
“He wants to sleep.” [dictionary - ornge]

Mrreni is attested as desiderative CTP (complement taking predicate). Examples 8.7.a and 8.7.b illustrate the irrealis inflections on the complement verb. There are no examples of *mrreni* taking a nominal object.

- 8.7 a. *Tom e-mrre-ni* [pu-rw-i...
 T. 3SG:REAL-want-TRANS 3SG:IRR-plant-TRANS
 “Tom wants to plant...

metai nai san.
 sapling tree INDF:SG
 plant a tree.”
 “Tom wanted to plant a tree.” [VAN8-1]
- b. *Froki e-mrre-ni* [p̃i-la-i nubo...
 F. 3SG:REAL-want-TRANS 3SG:IRR-sing-TRANS song
 “Froggy wanted to sing a song ...

tevi wila nir.
 COM bird PL
 with the birds.”
 “Froggy wanted to sing a song with the birds.” [VNM15-5]

Example 8.8 shows the desiderative verb *mrreni* ‘want to do.’ with a complement clause functioning as its object. This example is different as the complement clause is introduced by the subordinator *nga*, which previous examples have not been.

- 8.8 *Ko [nu-mrre-ni [nga bo-rro-i-ϕ]]*.
 CONJ 1SG:REAL-want-TRANS SUB 1SG:IRR-eat-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
 “And I want to eat it.” [VAN4-6]

Mrreni is also used to mean ‘like s.t’, which also takes a complement.

- 8.9 a. *Nu-mrre-ni... [be-matur]*.
 1SG:REAL-like-TRANS 1SG:IRR-sleep
 “I like to sleep.” [Y1.1A-2]

- b. *Nu-mrre-ni* [be-vat-i boriti].
 1SG:REAL-like-TRANS 1SG:IRR-weave-TRANS pandanus.mat
 “I like to weave mats.” [Y1.1A-6]
- c. *Nam-merre-ni...* [nab-row reŋe plen].
 1EXCL.PL:REAL-like-TRANS 1EXCL.PL:IRR-fly LOC.PREP plane
 “We like to fly in the plane.” [ICR11-10]

Mrreni also takes nominal objects.

- d. *Nu-mrre-ni* mango.
 1SG:REAL-like-TRANS mango
 “I like mango.” [ICR:2-3]

8.1.2.2 Anti-Desiderative Predicates

There is also an anti-desiderative complement taking predicate, *musus* meaning ‘not want’. *Musus* does not co-occur with negator *sete*. Its complements take irrealis morphology, and no overt complementiser.

- 8.10 a. *O-musus...* [p̃i-les-i b̃erp̃er].
 3SG:REAL-not.want 3SG:IRR-see-TRANS pig
 “He doesn’t want to see the pigs.” [dictionary- omusus]
- b. *O-musus...* [pi-mn-i mersin].
 3SG:REAL-not.want 3SG:IRR-drink-TRANS medicine
 “He doesn’t want to drink the medicine.” [dictionary- omusus]

8.1.2.3 Ability and Knowledge Predicates

Uripiv attests a verb, *rongwos*, that has knowledge-based functions, as it encodes the state of knowing something. It also introduces complements of ability ‘to know how to’. This combination of know that/know how is a common feature in Uripiv’s neighbouring Malakula languages (Barbour, 2012: 378), with cognate

forms in: Neverver, Naman (Crowley, 2006c), Avava (Crowley, 2006b), and Neve’ei (Musgrave, 2007). These forms are shown in 8.11.

8.11	<i>rongwos</i>	Uripiv
	<i>rongil</i>	Neverver
	<i>rongdur</i>	Naman
	<i>rokut</i>	Avava
	<i>rogulel</i>	Neve’ei

Barbour (2012: 378) discusses whether the Neverver *rongil* was historically a nuclear SVC. This kind of analysis is also possible for Uripiv, where *rongwos* could comprise *rong* ‘to know something’ and post-verbal modifier *wos* ‘to complete an action successfully’, *rong* is not attested without *wos* in the corpus.

In Uripiv, constructions expressing ability use *rongwos* as the first verb, which is then followed by an irrealis complement that indicates what the subject is able to do. The subordinator *nga* does not occur with knowledge predicates to introduce the complement. Example 8.12 illustrates an ability construction, with the first verb ‘can’ followed by the construction ‘build houses that are good’. While the matrix clause is coded for realis mood, the complement clause is coded for irrealis mood, and the embedded relative clause is introduced by *nga*, and carries a subjunctive subject index.

8.12	<i>Ni</i>	<i>o-rongwos</i>		<i>[pi-majing</i>	<i>naim]</i> ...
	3SG	3SG:REAL-know/can		3SG:IRR-build	house
	“He can build houses...				

	<i>[nga</i>	<i>mar-res</i>		<i>nir]</i> .
	SUB	3PL:SUBJ-be.good		PL
	that are good.”			

“He can build houses that are good.” [VAN9-2]

- b. *O-rnge* *drrela-n*.
 3SG:REAL-sense voice-3SG:POSS
 “He listens to his voice.” [dictionary- ornge]

Example 8.17 shows a complement clause functioning as the object of the transitive perception verb *les-i* ‘see s.t.’. This complement clause does not use the subordinator, but it uses the subjunctive mood, like 8.17.a above.

- 8.17 *E-les-i* [*nuwi mu-wun mu-to*].
 3SG:REAL-see-TRANS water 3SG:SUBJ-be.full 3SG:SUBJ-exist
 “He saw there was lots of water.” [VNM3-6]

Example 8.18 shows another complement clause as the object of *les-i* ‘see s.t.’. It is introduced with the subordinator *nga* and uses the subjunctive prefix *mi-*.

- 8.18 *E-les-i...* [*nga drrav se-n*
 3SG:REAL-see-TRANS SUB canoe CL.GEN-3SG:POSS
 “He saw that his canoe...

mi-sal *ngasu pa.]]*
 3SG:SUBJ-float.away distant PERF
 had floated away.”
 “He saw that his canoe had floated away.” [VAN6-8]

8.1.2.5 Utterance Predicates

Utterance predicates are commonly attested with the verb *wra* ‘say’ and *ngoni* ‘ask’, as this type of predicate is used to report speech. Examples 8.19 and 8.20 show the complement as the object of *wra*. For direct speech, the mood of the predicate and the complement are independent of each other, as the mood of the complement depends the mood used in the utterance itself. In example 8.19, the utterance predicate comprises a second complement construction with the desiderative CTP *mrre*. It is followed by an irrealis complement.

- 8.19 a. *O-wra,* [*Tata nu-mrre-ni...*
 3SG:REAL-say father 1SG:REAL-want-TRANS
 “He said, father I want to...

bo-lol-i... *natu orsel su-k san].*
 1SG:IRR-make-TRANS small garden CL.GEN-1SG:POSS INDF:SG
 make a small garden for me.”
 “He said, “Father I want to make a small garden for me.”
 [VNM10-2]

- 8.20 *O-wra,* [*Be-an be-la-i*
 3SG:REAL- 1SG:IRR-go 1SG:IRR-get-TRANS
 say
 “He said, “I will go and get

betiv sopor]...
 breadfruit INDF:PL
 “some breadfruit.”
 “He said, “I will go and get some breadfruit.”” [Y2.1-3]

8.1.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses serving an “adverbial” function, modifying a verb phrase or an entire clause, without being an argument of the clause itself (Payne, 1997: 297). The term adjunct is proposed instead of argument, as adverbial clauses modify already complete clauses (Payne, 1997: 297). Adverbial clauses express information about time, place, manner, purpose, or reason.

8.1.3.1 Purpose Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses encoding the purpose of an action in the main clause are created with the subordinator *nga*. The adverbial clause is post-posed to the main clause that it modifies. When positioned after a noun, adverbial clauses can be

- c. *Apu Kalua e-van orsel...*
 grandfather K. 3SG:REAL-go garden
 “Apu Kalua went to the garden...”
- [*nga pi-la-i betiv*].
 SUB 3SG:IRR-get-TRANS breadfruit
 to get breadfruit.”
 “Apu Kalua went to the garden to get breadfruit.” [Y2.1-4]

8.1.3.2 Condition Consequence Clauses

The particle *poro* introduces the condition clause of a condition-consequence construction. The conditional *poro* marks a proposition that is hypothetical.

Example 8.23 shows a future conditional as well as a hypothetical result, which is dependent on the future condition. The verb of the condition takes an irrealis index and the future consequence also takes an irrealis index.

- 8.23 a. *Poro b-an re maket*
 COND 1SG:IRR-go LOC.PREP market
 “If I go to the market,”
- ko re-k be-la nuver.*
 CONJ LOC.PREP-1SG:OBJ 1SG:IRR-take island.cabbage
 “I will take some island cabbage for me.” [BANANA1-1/2]

Example 8.24 displays the same pattern as 8.23, although the temporal reference is now past. The conditional is counter-factual as the speaker did in fact move to Port Vila. Again, the conditional is introduced with *poro*, and the verb is coded for irrealis mood.

- 8.24 a. *Rrek poro ete be-vini iel Vila...*
 maybe COND NEG 1SG:IRR-come LOC:PROX V.
 “Perhaps, if I hadn’t come to Vila...” [IFIWERE2-1]

<i>nab-lik</i>	<i>kobo</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>nereur.</i>
1EXCL.PL:IRR-stay	only	LOC.PREP	island
“we would have stayed on the island.” [IFIWERE2-2]			

8.2. Clausal Conjunction

There are three conjunctions attested in the corpus, each with a different function, which are listed below.

- | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| 8.25 | <i>ko</i> | 1. ‘coordinating conjunction’ |
| | | 2. ‘adversative conjunction’ |
| | <i>nga</i> | ‘augmentative conjunction’ |
| | <i>vajin</i> | ‘temporal conjunction’ |

8.2.1 Coordinating Conjunction - *Ko*

The coordinating conjunction *ko* functions like ‘and’ in English, by connecting two noun phrases (see 3.6), verb phrases, or clauses together.

8.27.a shows *ko* connecting two verb phrases together, while 8.27.b shows *ko* connecting two complete clauses together.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------------------|------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 8.27 | a. | <i>Nato</i> | <i>nen</i> | <i>e-ru</i> | <i>or-ow</i> |
| | | chicken | DEM | 3SG:REAL-be.two | 3DU:REAL-be.white |
| | | “Those two chickens are white | | | |

<i>ko</i>	<i>or-mer.</i>
CONJ	3DU:REAL-be.brown
and brown.” [ICR18-4]	

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|------------|------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------|
| b. | <i>Nesi</i> | <i>nga</i> | <i>nir</i> | <i>ar-sa</i> | <i>renge</i> | <i>böjunmesal</i> | <i>nir,</i> |
| | ant | SUB | PL | 3PL:REAL-climb | LOC.PREP | shellfish | PL |
| | “The ants climb over the shellfish, | | | | | | |

ko ar-an melwe rao nai san.
 CONJ 3PL:REAL-go under leaf stick INDF:SG
 “and (they) go under a leaf.” [ICR15-5]

The conjunction *ko* also functions as an adversative in contexts where ‘but’ would occur in English. The first sentence will usually outline an expectation and the second clause, introduced by *ko*, will incorporate a counter example, or an unexpected event. 8.28 shows a counter example introduced by *ko*. 8.29 shows an unexpected event introduced by *ko*.

8.28 *Menu ne wila e-malum,*
 nest NH bird 3SG:REAL-be.soft
 “A bird’s nest is soft,

ko duru nai sete e-malum.
 CONJ tree NEG 3SG:REAL-be.soft
 “but a tree is not soft.”
 “A bird’s nest is soft, but a tree is not soft.” [ICR14-5]

8.29 *Nam-son-i-∅*
 1EXCL.PL:REAL:push-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
 “We pushed

e-terter nga e-terter,
 3SG:REAL-be.hard AUGCO 3SG:REAL-be.hard
 and pushed,

ko trak e-sek.
 CONJ truck 3SG:REAL-caught

malum renge laplap.
 still LOC.PREP mud
 but the truck was still stuck in the mud.”
 “We pushed and pushed but the truck was still stuck in the mud.”
 [ICR24-7]

8.2.2 *Augmentative Conjunction - Nga*

Haspelmath (2007: 25) discusses structures involving “the combination of several identical elements to express intensity of an action or a high degree of a property”, proposing the term *augmentative conjunction*.

In Uripiv, the particle *nga* occurs between two identical predicates, intensifying the action or property expressed by the first predicate. The morpheme *nga* has also been described introducing relative clauses, and some subordinate complement clauses. This means that augmentative conjunction has properties of subordination, because it employs an otherwise subordinating morpheme. It also has properties of coordination, because the verb in the augmenting clause is inflected with independent clause morphology rather than subjunctive morphology.

Data set 8.30 shows *nga* used as an augmentative conjunction between the identical stative predicates, indicating the intense nature of the property encoded by the verb. The conjoined clauses contain verbs that are indexed with realis mood.

- 8.30 a. *E-sij* *nga* *e-sij*.
3SG:REAL-be.bad AUGCO 3SG:REAL-be.bad
“It is very bad.” [VAN3-10]
- b. *O-rrow* *nga* *o-rrow*.
3SG:REAL-be.heavy AUGCO 3SG:REAL-be.heavy
“It is very heavy.” [Y2.7-16]
- c. *E-lep* *nga* *e-lep* *lenglengen*.
3SG:REAL-be.big AUGCO 3SG:REAL-be.big very
“It is very big.” [Y2.8-2]

Data set 8.31 shows *nga* as an augmentative conjunction, this time indicating the intensity of the action denoted in the verb.

8.31 a. *E-mn-i-∅* ***nga***
3SG:REAL-drink-TRANS-3SG:OBJ AUGCO

e-mn-i-∅.
3SG:REAL-drink-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
“He drank a lot.” [VNM3-8]

b. *E-ting* ***nga*** *e-ting*.
3SG:REAL-cry AUGCO 3SG:REAL-cry
“He was crying a lot.” [Y2.6-20]

9. Complex Predicates

This chapter will provide an overview of complex predicates in Uripiv, including: nuclear (9.1.1) and core (9.1.2) serial verb constructions.

9.1. Serial Verb Constructions

The term serial verb construction (SVC) refers to a sequence of two or more verb roots which are seen to behave as a single predicate, thus existing within a single clause (Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2006: 1; Durie, 1997: 289-290). Aikhenvald et al. (2006: 1) elaborates, stating a serial verb construction is a “sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort”.

In terms of the Oceanic languages, descriptions tend to distinguish between nuclear layer and core layer serialization, which is based on the layered clause structure presented by Foley and Olsen (1985). Using this layered clause structure, both nuclear (verb root sequences) and core (inflected verb sequences) SVCs have been identified. The verb roots that occur in serial structures are also found in the Uripiv corpus as the only inflected verb in a simple clause.

In the complex structures previously discussed, overt subordinators and coordinators, the use of subjunctive morphology, and specific patterns of realis and irrealis morphology have all signalled the type of structure being examined. Serial verbs display different coding properties.

9.1.1 Nuclear Serial Verbs

Nuclear serial verbs in Uripiv display a number of properties that distinguish them from core serial verbs, as well as from other types of complex clauses. Similar features were identified by Barbour (2012: 316) for nuclear SVCs in Neverver.

Nuclear SVCs:

- form a single complex nucleus;
- have component parts that are absolutely contiguous;
- have only one subject argument;
- have no morphological marking of syntactic juncture;
- display semantic coherence

Although subject/mood marking is obligatory in Uripiv, nuclear SVCs display more than one verb root, but only one inflection per construction. Only the left most verb, V_1 , will be inflected. The structure of the nuclear SVC is [index – V_1 – V_2]

There are several common semantic categories of these nuclear structures.

Examples from each category illustrate the properties listed above.

9.1.1.1 Directional SVCs

Directional SVCs are constructed with an intransitive inflected verb (V_1), which is followed by a directional verb root (V_2). The situations in these SVCs share the same participant as agent.

9.1.1.2 Action + Go

Data set 9.1 illustrates the ‘action + go’ serial structure, with a variety of action verbs. The action verb, V₁, is inflected whereas V₂ *van* ‘go’ is not. The V₂ *van* encodes movement and can be determined as a verb and not a preposition as it is attested as an independent verb in simple clauses throughout the corpus. *Van* is always followed by directional information in the form of a prepositional phrase beginning with *re(nge)* or a local noun.

- 9.1 a. *[E-vel van] renge nuwi seser san.*
 3SG:REAL-walk go LOC.PREP river INDF:SG
 “It walked to a river.” [VNM1-3]
- b. *[O-su van] renge nereur san.*
 3SG:REAL-paddle go LOC.PREP island INDF:SG
 “He paddled to an island.” [VAN6-2]
- c. *[O-wlu van] re naim e.*
 3SG:REAL-run go LOC.PREP house LOC:DIST:AUG
 “He ran back to the house.” [VAN7-2]
- d. *[mu-klu van] renge mesa e.*
 3SG:REAL-look go LOC.PREP clear.place LOC:DIST:AUG
 “He looked at the clear place.” [VAN6-8]
- e. *Ko [o-un van] ngatan e.*
 CONJ 3SG:REAL-dive go down LOC:DIST:AUG
 “And he dived down.” [VAN7-10]
- f. *Mol [o-k-tutur van]...*
 M. 3SG:REAL-IMPF-go.for.walk go
 “Mol went for a walk...” [VNM7-2]
- g. *Nariv san [e-sa van] mare renge duru.*
 rat INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-climb go up LOC.PREP tree
 “A rat climbed up the tree.” [VNM13-3]

9.1.1.3 Action + Come

The same serialization pattern occurs with Action + Come. Data set 9.2 illustrates the ‘action + come’ serial structure, with a variety of action verbs. The action verb, V_1 , is inflected whereas V_2 *vini* ‘come’ is not.

- 9.2 a. “*Natu nevö [kup-luwi vini] ji-k.*”
small turtle 2SG:IRR-come come ANIM.PREP-1SG:POSS
“Small turtle, come back to me.” [VAN7-8]
- b. “*Natu nariv, [kup-jubbul vini] ngatan iel...*”
small rat 2SG:IRR-go.down come down LOC:PROX
“Small rat, get down here...” [VNM13-4]
- c. *Guli san [e-vel vini].*
dog INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-walk come
“A dog walked over.” [Y2.8-6]
- d. *Tata [mu-lwi vini].*
father 3SG:SUBJ-return come
“Dad came back.” [VAN6-7]

While most nuclear SVCs involve two verb roots, example 9.2.e displays three verb roots forming a nuclear SVC.

- e. [*E-il jubbul vini] ngatan e.*
3SG:REAL-fall go.down come down LOC:DIST:AUG
“It fell down.” [VNM13-6]

9.1.1.4 Action + Return

The third nuclear serialization pattern occurs with Action + Return.

Data set 9.3 illustrates the ‘action + return’ serial structure, with a variety of action verbs. The action verb, V_1 , is inflected whereas V_2 *luwi* ‘return’ is not. A single agent is introduced in the directional SVC.

- 9.3 a. *[O-wra luwi]...*
 3SG:REAL-say return
 “He replied...” [Y2.1-13]
- b. *Wene dawo [par-etiv luwi]...*
 fruit natapoa.tree 3PL:IRR-sprout return
 “The fruit of the Natapoa tree sprouts again.” [Y2.3-16]
- c. *Ete e-priv ko dis [o-ubbun luwi].*
 NEG 3SG:REAL-be.long CONJ sea 3SG:REAL-be.high return
 “It wasn’t be long until the tide was high again.” [Y2.7-9]

9.1.1.5 Other Nuclear SVCs

There are further subtypes of serial verb constructions attested in Uripiv that are beyond the scope of this project.

9.1.2 Core Serial Verbs

Like nuclear SVCs, core SVCs also contain a sequence of two or more verbs, however, core SVCs display an inflection on each component verb. Core SVCs have a set of properties which allow them to be distinguished from nuclear SVCs. These properties are similar to properties identified for core SVCs in Neverver by Barbour (2012: 333).

Core Serial Verbs:

- have no overt marking of linkage;
- display concordant marking of mood;
- normally, involve some sharing of arguments.

Due to the limitations of the Uripiv corpus, including extensive audio recordings of natural speech, there are additional core SVC properties that are hypothesized. At this stage there is insufficient evidence to confirm these properties. These properties include:

- dependent marking of aspect and polarity;
- mono-clausal intonation;
- mono-clausal syntactic behaviour;
- mono-clausal semantic behaviour.

The structure of the core SVC is [index – V₁ – index – V₂]

9.1.2.1 No overt marking of linkage

Data set 9.4 illustrates core serial verb constructions, all of which display no overt markings of linkage between the component verbs, as is consistent with Barbour’s (2012: 333) analysis of SVCs in Neverver. Example 9.4.c shows *van* as V₂. It also occurs in a nuclear SVC as V₂.

- 9.4 a. *Nuru [or-an or-pej-ø].*
 3DU 3DU:REAL-go 3DU:REAL-look.for-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
 “They (two) went and looked for him.” [Y2.1-19]
- b. *[E-van o-wli] trak se-n.*
 3SG:REAL-go 3SG:REAL-buy truck CL.GEN-3SG:POSS
 “He went and bought his truck.” [VNM12-5]
- c. *[E-jiol e-van] ngatan...*
 3SG:REAL-bend.over 3SG:REAL-go down
 “He bent down.” [Y26-20]

9.1.2.2 Concordant marking of mood

In addition to the concordant marking of realis mood in the previous data set, data set 9.5 illustrates serial verb constructions which display concordant marking of irrealis mood. Regarding aspect, only V1 is coded for immediacy in 9.5.a.

- 9.5 a. *[Pi-a-maur pi-vi] duru nai*
 3SG:IRR-IMM-grow 3SG:IRR-be tree
- nga mi-lep san.*
 SUB 3SG:SUBJ-be.big INDF:SG
 “It will grow into a tree that is big.” [VAN8-7]
- b. *[Kup-an kup-met-eni] ta*
 2SG:IRR-go 2SG:IRR-look-TRANS POL
- neñi-m reñge klas.*
 face-2SG:POSS LOC.PREP mirror
 “Go and look at your face in the mirror.” [VAN3-8]
- c. *Daron [nga nat mu-tutun ñi-lep],*
 time SUB state.of 3SG:SUBJ-be.warm 3SG:SUBJ-big
 “When it was very warm,” [Y2.4-2]
- d. *Daron [nga mu-smok mu-suv].*
 time SUB 3SG:SUBJ-smoke 3SG:SUBJ-be.finished
 “When he finished smoking.” [Y3.4-7]

9.1.2.3 Sharing of arguments

Most SVCs share arguments, in same-subject SVCs, there is identity between S/A functions or subject argument. In switch-function SVCs the O function of V₁ becomes the S/A function of V₂.

9.1.2.4 Same-subject Core SVCs

The most common type of a core SVC appears in the corpus as a same-subject sequential serial verb.

Example 9.6 shows a same-subject sequential SVC, where V₁ involves a verb indicating motion and V₂ expresses an action. Together, they express the meaning ‘go and do V₂’. In the case of 9.6.a, the sequence means ‘go and follow’. Both verbs take the same subject, in this case ‘he’, showing argument sharing. They are both inflected with a realis mood index, showing concordant mood, and there is no overt marking of linkage. The second verb is marked as transitive and allows the object ‘a creek’ to be added to the proposition which would not be possible with the intransitive V₁ *van* ‘go’ occurring on its own.

9.6.a [E-*van* *e-vijur-i*] *krik* *san*.
3SG:REAL-go 3SG:REAL-follow-TRANS creek INDF:SG
“He went and followed a creek.” [VNM3-5]

9.6.b *Ko* [nu-*van* *nu-tev-ni-ø*].
CONJ 1SG:REAL-go 1SG:REAL-bury-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
“And I went and buried him.” [VNM11-5]

Examples 9.7.a-e illustrate more same-subject sequential SVCs. Examples 9.7.a-d show V₁ ‘go’ and V₂ action, with concordant realis mood. 9.7.d shows concordant irrealis mood. Example 9.7.e shows V₁ ‘do’ and V₂ ‘open eyes’, with concordant realis mood.

9.7 a. [Be-*an* *be-la-i*] *betiv* *sopor...*
1SG:IRR-go 1SG:IRR-get-TRANS breadfruit INDF:PL
“I’m going to go and get some breadfruit...” [Y2.1-3]

b. [E-*van* *o-wl-i*] *trak...*
3SG:REAL-go 3SG:REAL-buy-TRANS truck
“He went and bought a truck...” [VNM12-5]

- c. [*Or-an* *or-wulwul*]...
 3DU:REAL-go 3DU:REAL-sell
 “They (two) went and sold...” [Y2.9-8]
- d. [*Kup-an* *kup-met-eni-∅*] *ta*.
 2SG:IRR-go 2SG:IRR-look-TRANS-3SG:OBJ POL
 “Go and look (at it) please.” [VAN3-8]
- e. *Sekaul* [*o-lol-i* *e-mra*].
 hibiscus 3SG:REAL-do-TRANS 3SG:REAL-open.eyes
 “The hibiscus opened his eyes.” [Y2.6-9]

SVCs appear to be used to encode aspect. However, this is the only example of *lik* ‘stay’ attested as V₁. This may be transferred from the continuous construction in Bislama, *stap go* ‘be going’.

- 9.8 [*Pi-lik* *pi-mten-i*] *suri* *nanen* *se-n...*
 3SG:IRR-stay 3SG:IRR-watch-TRANS follow food CL.GEN-3SG:POSS
 “He is looking for his food... [pikinini.14]

Osu is attested as V₂, encoding the finishing of the event in V₁.

- 9.9 [*Nu-rraw-e* *nijir* *nir* *o-su*].
 1SG:REAL-wash-TRANS clothing PL 3SG:REAL-be.finished
 “I washed all the clothes.” [LW1.9]

9.1.2.5 Switch-function Core SVCs

Example 9.10 illustrates a same subject directional SVC, using the verb ‘come’, with V₁ indicating motion and V₂ indicating the transportation. This initial same subject SVC then forms V₁ as part of a switch-function SVC. V₂ is transitive, to allow for the object *inu* ‘me’. The object/O function of the same subject core serial verb becomes the subject/S function of V₂ in larger switch-function core SVC.

- 9.10 *Ata* [[*e-vini*V₁ *e-nge-ni*]V₂V₁
 A. 3SG:REAL-come 3SG:REAL-transport-TRANS

inu(o, s) [*nu-an*]V₂ *Lise*.
 1SG 1SG:REAL-go L.
 “Ata came and transported me to Lise.” [LW2.1]

9.1.2.6 Ambient Core SVCs

Ambient SVCs use V₂ to encode a modification of the entire proposition in V₁. They display a third person singular prefix affixed to V₂, regardless of the inflection on V₁. The V₂ components are attested outside serial verb constructions as stand-alone verbs, hence their analysis as serial verb components rather than as verbal modifiers or adverbs.

- 9.11 a. [*Ar-wen* *e-rres*].
 3PL:REAL-bear.fruit 3SG:REAL-be.good
 “They bear fruit well.” [VNM10-6]
- b. [*Nam-son-i-∅* *e-terter*].
 1EXCL.PL:REAL-push-TRANS-3SG:OBJ 3SG:REAL-be.hard
 “We pushed it hard.” [ICR24-7]
- c. [*Ar-tapo* *e-lep*].
 3PL:REAL-lay.egg 3SG:REAL-be.many
 “They laid many eggs.” [VAN1-8]

In summary, the Uripiv corpus has allowed for the identification of several types of nuclear and core serial verb constructions. More work is needed on this topic, particularly in the area of prosodic properties, and to identify further subtypes of serial construction.

10. Thesis Summary

This thesis begins with an introductory chapter, which explains the language context of Uripiv. The language context includes information about Uripiv including its demography, the language's genetic affiliations, and previous linguistic research on the Uripiv language and other Malakula Island languages. Methods of data analysis used to produce this grammar sketch are described in brief. The final page of this chapter outlines topics covered in the remainder of the thesis, including the next chapter: an overview of phonology.

Chapter two, an overview of phonology, provides an analysis of the sound system of Uripiv. It begins by establishing 17 contrasting consonants and 6 contrasting vowels. This chapter contains a reanalysis of some of the earlier work on Uripiv phonology, especially that of Ross McKerras (2001: ms). After contrast has been established, the chapter moves on to a discussion of some of the phonotactic constraints that are evident in Uripiv, including: CC sequences, VV sequences, and reduplication patterns. This discussion leads into an analysis of Uripiv's phonological processes, including: vowel deletion, assimilation processes, dissimilation processes, and morpheme-initial consonant alternation. A short discussion of stress patterns and intonation follows, however this will need to be revisited at a later stage after more audio data has been collected. Chapter two concludes with a proposed new working orthography for Uripiv, which is based on McKerras' orthography (2001: ms), but with changes made due to the reanalysis of the phonology.

Chapter three, Nominals, begins with a discussion of pronouns, highlighting: independent personal pronouns, locative pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns in

Uripiv. A paradigm is provided for each of these category of pronoun, largely following earlier work by McKerras (2001: ms). Next there is a discussion of local nouns, which include both temporal and spatial local nouns. Following this, personal nouns are covered, with a mention of personal proper names and kinship terms. Once the different sub-classes of nouns have been presented, there is an analysis of several strategies for nominal derivation used in Uripiv. These include the process of conversion, the initial consonant alternation discussed in chapter two, the *nV*- prefix, the *-(i)en* suffix, a simulfix of *nV*- and *-(i)en*, a combination of initial consonant alternation and the suffix *-(i)en*, and compounding. Each nominal derivation strategy is used to change the word class of a lexeme in Uripiv, in these strategies this either results in a change to a nominal, or another word class. After this, there is a brief discussion of methods used to coordinate nominals, including: prosodic listing, and the use of linking particles to join nominals.

Chapter four is concerned with the noun phrase, which presents the nominal modifiers attested in the data. Nominal modifiers have been broken down into six categories: lexical modifiers, possession, relativisation, demonstratives, anaphoric particles, and quantifiers. The section discussing lexical modifiers is comprised of a small set of lexemes that can be categorised as true adjectives in Uripiv, as they do not take the verbal inflections that most other modifiers in the language do. The analysis of possession is divided into direct or indirect possession. The section begins with a discussion of possession as a whole before moving on to the two separate methods. Direct possession begins with the presentation of the possessive paradigm, as well as a discussion of theory, the use of direct possession, and contexts in which it occurs in Uripiv. The section on indirect

possession is slightly more complex, with the introduction of possessive classifiers. After a discussion of theory, and the uses of indirect possession, each possessive classifier is discussed in detail. Each possessive classifier has its own use and context in which it is (or was) likely to occur in Uripiv. However, this section concludes with a discussion of the apparent collapse of the classifier system in Uripiv, with speakers tending to use the general classifiers *se* and *ne* in contexts that would historically have triggered another, more specific classifier. The processes of relativisation are discussed next, beginning with a paradigm of subordinate clause-specific subjunctive subject prefixes. This is followed by some discussion of relative clause literature, before illustrating the relativisation possibilities in Uripiv, which include relativising the subject, object, genitive, oblique, object of comparison, and finally the typologically uncommon headless relative clause. The next section introduces the demonstrative particles *ko* and *le*, which follow a nominal. The demonstrative particle *ko* refers to an entity that has already been introduced, whereas *le* refers to an entity that has been introduced that is also spatially proximal to the speaker. The final section of chapter four introduces number modification. It begins with a discussion of the decimal system of Uripiv, before moving onto quantifiers, and finishing with the singular, dual, and plural number markers. These three forms of modification are discussed together as they encode similar information and share a modifier slot in Uripiv. Chapter five collapses an analysis of verbs and the verb complex into a single section. It begins with an outline of the structure of the verb complex in Uripiv before moving onto detailed descriptions of the pre-verbal modifiers. The pre-verbal modifiers include the first order realis, irrealis, adversative, and subjunctive prefixes, the second order immediacy prefix, and the third order habitual prefix.

Where applicable, a paradigm is provided for each moods, typically following McKerras (2001: ms). After this, there is a discussion of the verb classes in Uripiv: intransitive, transitive, and ambitransitive. This section provides information about each type verb class, and illustrates the key features of each type, including transitive suffixes, nominal/pronominal objects and object marking, and reduplication.

Chapter six analyses several common post verbal modifiers attested in the data. The modifiers in this chapter are divided into three subsections: verbal modifiers attracted to the negative, fixed post-verbal modifiers, and modifiers that have not been attested in negative clauses yet. The verbal modifiers attracted to the negative include three post-verbal modifiers that are attracted to the negator (*s)ete*), changing to a pre-verbal position following the negator in negative clauses. Fixed post-verbal modifiers include seven modifiers that have been attested in a negative clause in their affirmative post-verbal position. Finally, seven modifiers that have not been attested in negative clauses are presented. Their potential to shift to a pre-verbal position in negative clauses will need to be considered in future work.

Chapter seven provides an outline of the overall clause structure of Uripiv, with a discussion of morphosyntactic alignment, clause types, and an analysis of non-core arguments which introduces several prepositions. The discussion of non-core arguments begins with an outline of the structure of the preposition phrase. Prepositions attested in the data are presented, along with comments on their spatial and temporal meanings, and animacy, and the use of prepositions to introduce third participants into clausal structures. The chapter continues with a discussion of the strategies of standard negation in Uripiv, polar and constituent

interrogatives, imperatives, prohibitives, reflexives, reciprocals, and general clausal modifiers. After this, there is a discussion of non-verbal clauses in Uripiv and how they compare to verbal clauses encoding similar information.

Chapter eight presents an account of subordinate clauses. The discussion of relative clauses is somewhat brief, as they are discussed in detail in chapter four. This chapter introduces complement clauses, with a discussion of complement taking predicates, including: desiderative/anti-desiderative predicates, ability and knowledge predicates, perception predicates, and utterance predicates. Adverbial clauses are discussed next, particularly purpose and condition-consequence clauses. The addition of complement and adverbial clauses to the discussion of subordinate structures creates a clear pattern explaining the use of the subjunctive mood paradigm. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of clausal conjunction, with coordinating conjunction and augmentative conjunction.

Chapter nine provides a brief overview of complex predicates, including nuclear and core serial verb structures. There are several criteria for the classification of each type of SVC, along with several sub-types of each SVC type. The analysis of multiverb structures in Uripiv is an area identified for further research.

The analysis of the Uripiv language variety that is presented in this grammar sketch has aimed to be as comprehensive, although limitations in the range of topics covered, and the depth at which the included topics have been investigated are acknowledged. There are many features of Uripiv that simply are not within the scope of this one-year project, most importantly, a complete phonological analysis. It is essential now to work with native speakers to further investigate

features of the grammar, especially the phonological analysis of orthographic <w> and <v>, and the potential demise of the bilabial trill.

With plans to extend this thesis into a published work in the near future, there is an opportunity to cover these topics in detail. The extension of this thesis will also draw in data from a wider range of sources than those used for this project, including the translated New Testament, and additional audio data collected by the Malekula Languages Project. An important upcoming project is the development of a usable dictionary for the speech community, along with other community resources that will be developed as a direct result of this project. Preliminary work on the dictionary has commenced, utilising Ross McKerras' (2001: ms) wealth of data and examples. Analysis of the Uripiv New Testament is also underway and is already contributing examples of rarely attested structures.

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Appendix I

Table 23: The New Audio Corpus

Title	File Name	Description
Eel	upv_leserserkam_story	This recording tells the story of the last Leserserrkab, or Lisepep, on Uripiv island. The Leserserrkab is a mythical creature with very long arms and fingers, large ears, and long hair. The text tells the tale of how the Uripiv people chased the Leserserrkab away, onto the island of Tongoa, where her descendants still live today.
Bananas	upv_bananas	Speaker Elita Veremaito talks about what she would do if she went to the market this morning, including talking about the foods, like bananas, that she would have bought.
Childhood	upv_childhood	Elita talks about her childhood on Uripiv.
Last Weekend 1	upv_last weekend01	This text describes what Elita did the previous weekend.
Last Weekend 2	upv_last weekend02	This text describes what Loti did the previous weekend.
If I Were 1	upv_if I were_01	Elita is responding to the prompt “if you hadn’t moved to live in Vila, what would you be doing?”.
If I Were 2	upv_if I were_02	Loti is responding to the prompt “if you hadn’t moved to live in Vila, what would you be doing?”.
Samira and Nadia	upv_Samira_Nadia	Elita is watching two children and describes what they are doing.
Pikinini	upv_pikinini	This text describes childhood, from the time the child is an infant to when they grow up.
What to Buy	upv_what to buy	This is a recording of a speaker talking about what she

		wants to buy, if she goes to the market.
UPVT1	upvt01	Text by Elita Veremaito, recorded on Monday morning, Elita responds to the prompt, "what did you do last weekend?".
UPVT2	upvt02	Loti, responds to the prompt "what did you do last weekend?".
Octopus	upv_octopus	Elita tells the story of a daughter of an octopus.
Next Weekend	upv_next weekend	First Elita and then Loti respond to the prompt "What are you doing next weekend?".
No Maniok	upv_no maniok	Elita and Loti respond to the prompt "What would you do if you go to the market today to buy manioc but can't find any?".

Appendix II

Table 24: The New Text Corpus

Series	Number	Title
I Can Read Readers	1	I can read
	2	I like food
	3	Animals
	4	Colours
	5	In the sky
	6	My house
	7	How many legs
	8	In the Garden
	9	Big and little
	10	Where are they going?
	11	Come with us!
	12	What are they doing?
	13	What is it?
	14	Soft and hard
	15	Ants and lizard
	17	Loose tooth
	18	The chickens
	19	What has wheels
	20	At the store
	21	Where are they?
	22	In the sea
	23	T-shirts
	24	Uncle's truck
	Vanua Readers	1
2		Ben I traem blong wokbaot
3		Sanbij
4		Kon
5		Mi save singsing
6		Papa I go huk
7		Smol totel
8		Wan tri
9		Wan gudfala man
Vinmavis Readers	1	Davo
	2	Puskat itul
	3	Setoko
	4	Geri ko numet
	5	Mesal
	6	Mowe nato
	7	Jam
	8	Del
	9	Nariv ko numon
	12	Kal
	13	Cat and dog
	14	Trak se Setoko
	15	Birtera ko nariv
	17	Froki
	19	Naim suk

Year 1 Readers	1a	I like...
	1b	I can...
	2a	I eat...
	2b	I like and I eat..
Year 2 Readers	1	Apu Kalua
	2	Man faol
	3	Natapoa
	4	Dobbrer nir
	5	Nasiviru
	6	Waet hibiscus
	7	Bigfala sapraes
	8	Bigfala taro
	9	Sawan
Year 3 Readers	1	Lukluk gud
	2	Aelan blong Tolamb
	3	Man we I strong
	4	Laugh to tears
	5	Nakavika
	6	Kev Valeva
	7	Saeklon Nigel
	8	Win blong Disemba
	9	Maket insaed long solwota

Appendix III

Text Sample 1 - Y1a: I like..

- 001 *Nu-merre-ni* *nanen nir.*
1SG:REAL-like-TRANS food PL
“I like food.”
- 002 *Nu-merre-ni* *navij.*
1SG:REAL-like-TRANS banana
“I like banana.”
- 003 *Nu-merre-ni* *mango.*
1SG:REAL-like-TRANS mango
“I like mango.”
- 004 *Nu-merre-ni* *mesal.*
1SG:REAL-like-TRANS fish
“I like fish.”
- 005 *Nu-merre-ni* *naus.*
1SG:REAL-like-TRANS pawpaw
“I like pawpaw.”
- 006 *Nu-merre-ni* *nabet.*
1SG:REAL-like-TRANS taro
“I like taro.”
- 007 *Nu-merre-ni* *narrlu nato.*
1SG:REAL-like-TRANS egg chicken
“I like eggs.”
- 008 *Nu-merre-ni* *nanen ngok nir.*
1SG:REAL-like-TRANS food DEM:INTR PL
“I like those foods.”

Text Sample 2 - ICR18: The Chickens

001 *Nato.*
 chicken
 “Chickens.”

002 *Meri nuru Pita nato se nuru e-lim.*
 M. 3DU P. chicken CL.GEN 3DU 3SG:REAL-be.five
 “Meri and Pita have five chickens.”

003 *Nato nga mi-lep nen o-songsong.*
 chicken SUB 1SG:SUBJ-be.big DEM NH-3SG:POSS
 “The chicken that is big and red.”

004 *Nato nen e-ru*
 chicken DEM 3SG:REAL-be.two

or-ow ko or-mer.
 3DU:REAL-be.white CONJ 3DU:REAL-be.brown
 “Two white and brown chickens.”

005 *Nato nen san o-motmot.*
 chicken DEM INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-black
 “One black chicken.”

006 *Nato nen san o-songsong ko o-w.*
 chicken DEM INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-be.red CONJ 3SG:REAL-be.white
 “A red and white chicken.”

007 *Pita e-v-e nato nen nir.*
 P. 3SG:REAL-count-TRANS chicken DEM PL
 “Pita counted the chickens.”

008 *I-tes, e-ru, i-tul,*
 3SG:VEST-be.one 3SG:REAL-be.two 3SG:VEST-be.three

i-vij, ei!
 3SG:VEST-be.four hey
 “One, two, three, four, hey!”

009 *Nato ngel san e-jki!*
 chicken DEM:PROX INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-be.not
 “This chicken is not.”

010 *Nibeni nga mu-songsong*
 where SUB 1SG:SUBJ-red

ko nga mu-ow?
 CONJ SUB 1SG:SUBJ-be.white
 “Where is the (one that is) red and white?”

011 *Meri o-wra, kup-les-i-ø!*
 M. 3SG:REAL-say 2SG:IRR-see-TRANS-3SG:OBJ

Ni le ngel!
 3SG DEM:PROX DEM:PROX
 “Meri said, look! It is here!”

012 *Pita e-v-e kele*
 P. 3SG:REAL-count-TRANS REP

nato nga nir, i-tes,
 chicken SUB PL 3SG:VEST-be.one

e-ru, i-tul, i-vij, ei!
 3SG:REAL-be.two 3SG:VEST-be.three 3SG:VEST-be.four hey
 “Pita counted the chickens again, one, two, three, four, hey!”

013 *Nato ngel san e-jki!*
 chicken DEM:PROX INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-be.not
 “One chicken is not here!”

014 *Nibeni nga mu-motmot nen?*
 SPAT.INTR.OBJ SUB 1SG:SUBJ-black DEM
 “Where is the black chicken?”

015 *Meri o-wra, kup-les-i!*
 M. 3SG:REAL-say 2SG:IRR-see-TRANS

Ni le ngel.
 3SG DEM:PROX DEM:PROX
 “Meri said, look! It is here”

016 *Pita e-v-e kele nato nga nir,*
P. 3SG:REAL-count-TRANS REP chicken SUB PL

i-tes, e-ru, i-tul, i-vij, ei!
3SG:VEST-one 3SG:REAL-two 3SG:VEST-three 3SG:VEST-four hey
“Pita counted the chickens again, one, two, three, four, five.”

017 *Or-sorsan ko vajin.*
3DU:REAL-normal DEM now
“They are normal now.”

018 *Nir jikle ngel pa.*
3PL EGR DEM:PROX PERF
“They were already here.”

Text Sample 3 - upv_last weekend01: Last Weekend

Spoken by Elita Veremaito

001 *Re Fraede rorong,*
 LOC.PREP Friday morning
 “On Friday morning,”

002 *Nu-an re mijingen,*
 1SG:REAL-go LOC.PREP work
 “I went to work,”

003 *Nu-an nu-majing e-jpari re*
 1SG:REAL-go 1SG:REAL-work 3SG:REAL-reach LOC.PREP

5 *oklok rivriv.*
 5 o'clock afternoon
 “and I worked until 5 o'clock in the afternoon.”

004 *Ko bosu-k e-vini e-lng-i*
 CONJ boss-1SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-come 3SG:REAL-take-TRANS

inu re-n naem.
 1SG LOC.PREP-3SG:OBJ house
 “Then my boss came and took me back to the house.”

005 *Ale mu-su nu-an nu-lalos jikle.*
 then 1SG:REAL-be.finished 1SG:REAL-go 1SG:REAL-bathe EGR
 “After, I went and bathed.”

006 *Ko nu-an re a... INTV.*
 CONJ 1SG:REAL-go LOC.PREP uh... INTV
 “And I went to INTV.”

007 *Brata su-k, joji-k nir (sori)*
 brother CL.GEN-1SG:POSS brother-1SG:POSS 3PL sorry

ar-lol-i nanen se tata se kem
 3PL:REAL-make-TRANS food CL.GEN uncle CL.GEN 1EXCL.PL:POSS

nga welili, nga mi-mij.
 SUB be.small SUB 1SG:REAL-DEAD

“(My brothers, sorry) My brothers made a meal for our younger paternal uncle who was dead.”

- 008 *Ale nam-maen jijle o-su ko*
 then 1EXCL.PL:REAL-eat EGR 3SG:REAL-be.finished CONJ
nam-luwi vini re naem e.
 1EXCL.PL:REAL-return come LOC.PREP house LOC:PROX:AUG
 “We ate, and then we went back home again.”
- 009 *Ale ko nu-matur.*
 then DEM 1SG:REAL-sleep
 “Then I slept.”
- 010 *Ko mevi rorpong nen kele*
 CONJ tomorrow morning DEM REP
nu-mer-mera rorpong susu ko.
 1SG:REAL-DUP-get.up morning early DEM
 “The next morning I got up early.”
- 011 *Nu-rraw-e-r nijor nir o-su.*
 1SG:REAL-wash-TRANS-3PL:OBJ clothes 3PL 3SG:REAL-be.finished
 “I washed all the clothes.”
- 012 *Ko re mete nial e-ru, ko nu-an*
 CONJ LOC.PREP time 3SG:REAL-be.two CONJ 1SG:REAL-go
nu-luwi kele van re kele me-jingen.
 1SG:REAL-return REP go LOC.PREP REP 1SG:SUBJ-work
 “At 2 o'clock, I went back to work again.”
- 013 *Ko nu-an luwi re 11 oklok*
 CONJ 1SG:REAL-go go.back LOC.PREP 11 o'clock
nat nga mu-pong.
 time SUB 3SG:SUBJ-night
 “I went back at 11 o'clock at night.”
- 014 *Re-k ngok kobo*
 LOC.PREP-1SG:OBJ DEM:INTR now
 “Ating hem ia nomo.”
- 015 *E-vi bongsi jilweren su-k.*
 3SG:REAL-be end story 1SG:POSS-1SG:POSS
 “This is the end of my story.”

Text Sample 4 - The Last Leseserrkab on Uripiv
Told by Elder Mark

001 *Leseserrkab ko pa, san e-lik iel tuwi*
lisepsep DEM PERF INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-live LOC:PROX long.time

rengē bereng san niko iokuan Ji Nawu.
LOC.PREP cave INDF:SG DEM LOC:DIST:AUG J. N.
“The Leserrkab, she lived here long ago in a cave over yonder at Ji Nawu.”

002 *Bereng ne-n ar-wera nise-n*
cave DEM 3PL:REAL-say name-3SG:POSS

ko bereng dia-lov-lov.
DEM cave excrement-DUP-be.soft
“That cave is known as Bereng Dialovlov (the cave of soft shit).”

003 *Ko leseserrkab nesevin san e-lik re-n.*
CONJ L. female INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-live LOC.PREP-3SG:OBJ
“The female Leserrkab lived there.”

004 *Ko tetajer o-k-oj-i bipiwarreng*
CONJ often 3SG:REAL-IMPF-chase-TRANS boy

nir ko o-k-rro-i-r.
PL CONJ 3SG:REAL-IMPF-eat-TRANS-3PL:OBJ
“She often used to chase after children, catch them and eat them.”

005 *Moro rorpong, bipiwarreng nir par-an*
when morning boy PL 3PL:IRR-go

par-evarrong, ko o-j-i-r.
3PL:IRR-hunting CONJ 3SG:REAL-chase-3PL:OBJ
“When it was morning, the children would go hunting, and she chased them.”

006 *O-rru-r re-r, ko*
3SG:REAL-seize-3PL:OBJ LOC.PREP-3PL:OBJ CONJ

o-rro-i-r.
3SG:REAL-eat-TRANS-3PL:OBJ
“She seized them and ate them.”

- 007 *Mian ko birterawarrang ar-lolar e.*
 after DEM old.man 3PL:REAL-be.angry LOC:PROX:AUG
 “The old men of the island soon became fed up with the Leseserrkab.”
- 008 *Ar-wera, “o, rrap-revj-i*
 3PL:REAL-say oh 1INCL.PL:IRR-kill-TRANS

pi-ni leseserrkab ngok.
 3SG:SUBJ-be.dead lisepsep DEM:INTR
 “They said, “Oh, we will kill that Lisepsep.”
- 009 *O-rro-i ãpetãpeti bipiwarreng se kerr nir”*
 3SG:REAL-eat-TRANS all boy CL.GEN 1INCL.PL PL
 “She is eating up all our children.”
- 010 *Ko nabong san, ar-wera, “Kerr*
 CONJ day INDF:SG 3PL:REAL-say 1INCL.PL

rrap-itev-i bipiwarreng sopor,
 1INCL.PL:IRR-COM-TRANS boy INDF:PL

par-an par-evarrong ngalu ko kerr
 3PL:IRR-go 3PL:IRR-hunting shoreward CONJ 1INCL.PL

rrap-tep-tep-i jer ngaut”.
 1INCL.PL:IRR-hide TOT ashore
 “We will take some children to go fishing on the reef, and we will hide ourselves inland.”
- 011 *Ar-lol-i ko pa erpok.*
 3PL:REAL-do-TRANS CONJ PERF be.thus
 “They did it, and it was thus.”
- 012 *Ar-an, ar-pitevi bipiwarreng nen nir,*
 3PL:REAL-go 3PL:REAL-COM boy DEM PL

ko nir ar-an ar-evarrong ngalu.
 CONJ 3PL 3PL:REAL-go 3PL:REAL-hunting shorewards
 “They went, and their children, they went and hunted by the shore.”
- 013 *Ko birterawarrang nir ar-tep-i jer ngaut.*
 CONJ old.man PL 3PL:REAL-hide TOT ashore
 “And the old men hid separately on inland.”

- 014 *Mian ko leseserrkab nga mu-rnge*
 after DEM lisepsep SUB 1SG:SUBJ-hear
- bipiwarrang nir mar-kail ngalu, ko*
 boy PL 3PL:REAL-shout shorewards CONJ
- e-ivare re naim se-n,*
 3SG:REAL-come.outside LOC.PREP house CL.GEN-3SG:POSS
- ko e-vel pi-an ngalu*
 CONJ 3SG:REAL-walk 3SG:IRR-go shoreward
- e-poj-i bipiwarrang nir.*
 3SG:REAL-chase-TRANS boy PL
- “After the Leseserrkab heard the boys shouting, she came outside her house and walked to the shore and chased the boys.”

- 015 *Daron nga mi-vel mi-an, ko*
 time SUB 1SG:SUBJ-walk 3SG:SUBJ-go CONJ
- birterawarrang ar-wolu vitu suri, mian*
 old.man 3PL:REAL-run follow after after
- ko birterawarrang san e-lw-e*
 DEM old.man INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-shoot-TRANS
- niliw e.*
 arrow INSTR
- “When she had walked away, the men ran after her and a man shot an arrow at her. “

- 016 *E-lw-e, ko e-lw-e wos*
 3SG:REAL-shoot-TRANS CONJ 3SG:REAL-shoot-TRANS SUCC
- mete-n devje-n.*
 eye-3SG:POSS side-3SG:POSS
- “He shot and it hit her right in her eye.“

- 017 *Leseserrkab nga mu-turimare o-wlu,*
 lisepsep SUB 1SG:SUBJ-stand.up 3SG:REAL-run
- o-wlu, e-van ko e-ilong*
 3SG:REAL-run 3SG:REAL-go CONJ 3SG:REAL-swim
- ngalu re dis.*
 shoreward LOC.PREP sea
- “The leseserrkab stood up and ran and swam into the ocean.”

- 018 *E-ilong ko pa; e-ilong, e-ilong,*
 3SG:REAL-swim CONJ PERF SG:REAL-swim 3SG:REAL-swim
mi-an ko e-ilong toku Tongoa.
 3SG:SUBJ-go CONJ 3SG:REAL-swim ashore T.
 “She swam; swam and swam until she came ashore on Tongoa.”
- 019 *Ko meri ie ar-les-i-ø mi-long*
 CONJ man LOC:PROX:AUG 3PL:REAL-see-TRANS-3SG:OBJ 3SG:SUBJ-swim
toku, ko ar-rul totkoni.
 ashore CONJ 3PL:REAL-hold firmly
 “The men there saw her swim ashore, and got hold of her.”
- 020 *Mar-rul totkoni, ko ar-teve-i tweni*
 3PL:SUBJ-hold firmly CONJ 3PL:REAL-cut-TRANS off
rao boro-n nuru.
 auricle ear-3SG:POSS 3DU
 “They held her firmly and they cut off her ears.”
- 021 *Ko nir san e-tka-i-ø.*
 CONJ 3PL INDF:SG 3SG:REAL-marry-TRANS-3SG:OBJ
 “And one of them married her.”
- 022 *Ko e-vasus, natu-n e-lep.*
 CONJ 3SG:REAL-give.birth child-3SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-be.many
 “And she had many children.”
- 023 *Metka ne-n e-maur e-jpari*
 family NH-3SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-live 3SG:REAL-until
lelingen-ngok, nika Tongoa
 now-DEM:INTR here T.
 “Her family (descendants) still live here on Tongoa.”
- 024 *Ko metka se leseserrkab*
 CONJ family CL.GEN lisepsep
nen nir, dewaki nevre-r
 DEM PL nail hand-3PL:POSS

ko dewaki bela-r ar-julu ngavilvilsen.
CONJ nail foot-3PL:POSS 3PL:REAL-grow quickly
“And the family of the Leserserrkab, their nails and their fingernails grow
very quickly.”