

http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

Espiegle's Bay:

Grammatical Topics

A thesis

submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics

at

The University of Waikato

by

ROXANNA THERESA HOLMES



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2014

Abstract

Espiegle's Bay: Grammatical Topics is a linguistic description of some of the grammatical features of the Espiegle's Bay language variety of North-West Malakula, Vanuatu. The data used for this project comprise 16 documents. 13 of these are transcriptions of recordings from two speakers of the language variety. The remaining documents consist of data elicited between 2011 to 2013 from the same two speakers. This description sketches the Espiegle's Bay language's nouns and nominal morphology, verbs and verbal morphology, clause structure, and valence operations. In addition to pronouns, there are three main noun classes: common nouns, personal nouns, and local nouns. Nominal modifiers appear post-nominally. Verbs are sub-divided into four main verb classes: inherently intransitive verbs, inherently transitive verbs, ambitransitive verbs, and morphologically related intransitive-transitive verb pairs. There appear to be no inherent ditransitive verbs in the language, however ditransitive clauses can be derived. Morphologically transitive verbs can decrease in valence by reduplication. There are a set of pre-verbal prefixes which agree with the grammatical subject and encode a two-way distinction between non-future and future tense. The simplicity of tense-marking contrasts with the complexity of aspect. There are fourteen aspectual modifiers found in the language, including quantificational markers and phasal markers. Like many Malakula languages, these kinds of verbal modifiers appear post-verbally. The basic word order of Espiegle's Bay is SVO; however, the fronting of direct objects is common. In the description of the language's clause structure and valence operations, typological frames of alignment, transitivity, and valency are employed. In this thesis, it is argued that some inherently intransitive verbs and inherently transitive verbs can increase in valence by a valence increasing morpheme *ngen* which resembles a preposition but is functionally distinct.

Acknowledgements

In writing this project, I am deeply indebted to Gayleen Tarosa and Miriam Harrison who kindly provided the recorded data. I am especially grateful to Gayleen who also transcribed and translated most of the thirteen recordings used for this project. To both of you, I give my sincere thanks.

Academic supervision for the project was kindly provided by Dr Julie Barbour, who has been offering me support and guidance since my first linguistics class in 2008. Thank you for constantly positive support, patience, time and critique from 2008 until now. If not for you, I would never have had the opportunity to undertake study at this level.

Many thanks to all my peers in General and Applied Linguistics, particularly Kanuahea who has been my 'linguistics buddy' all throughout this project. Your encouragement, support, and in-the-same-boat-as-me positive banter always cheered me up during my slumps. To my parents, Anna and Adam, thank you for your ongoing support and encouragement with my studying endeavours, and for being a constant source of guidance and wisdom. I love you both.

Finally, I must thank my partner Mark for being there for me many a late night while I scratched my head over new concepts and rambled on about the difficulty of graduate study. Your support, patience, words of wisdom, and love kept my feet on the ground.

Table of Contents

		Abstract	i
		Acknowledgements	ii
		List of Figures	viii
		List of Tables	viii
		Abbreviations and Conventions	x
1.		Introduction	1
	1.1	Linguistic Background	1
	1.2	Previous Research	3
	1.3	Genetic Affiliation	4
	1.4	Research Aims	5
	1.5	Data Collection	6
	1.6	Data Processing	8
	1.7	Data Analysis	10
	1.8	Phonology	11
		1.8.1 The Consonant Inventory	11
		1.8.2 The Vowel Inventory	15
	1.9	The Content of the Thesis	17
2.		Nominals	19
	2.1	Introduction	19
	2.2	Pronouns	19
		2.2.1 Independent Pronouns	19
		2.2.2 Subject Prefixes	21
	2.3	Noun Classes	22
	2.4	Common Nouns	23
	2.5	Common Noun Nominal Modification	24
		2.5.1 Lexical Modifiers	25
		2.5.2 Quantifiers	26
		2.5.3 Demonstratives	26
		2.5.4 Number	29
	2.6	Personal Nouns	31
		2.6.1 Personal Proper Names	31

2.6.2 Kin Terms 32
2.7 Local Nouns 34
2.7.1 Proper Place Names 34
2.7.2 Absolute Local Pronouns 36
2.7.3 Locative Part Nouns 39
2.7.4 Temporal Local Nouns 40
2.7.4.1 Parts of the Day 40
2.7.4.2 Time Counters 42
2.8 Possession 43
2.8.1 Genitive Morphemes *se* and *ne* 46
2.9 Nominalisation 49
2.10 Noun Phrase Coordination 50
2.10.1 Conjunctive Coordination 50
2.10.1.1 Prosodic Listing 50
2.10.1.2 Comitative Preposition *ron* 50
2.10.2 Disjunctive Coordination 51
2.11 Noun Phrase Heads 52
3. Verbs and the Verb Phrase 57
3.1 Introduction 57
3.2 Verb Phrase Structure 57
3.3 The Verb Phrase Head 59
3.4 Subject-Tense Prefixes 60
3.4.2 Tense Marking Properties 61
3.4.2.1 Non-Future Tense 61
3.4.2.2 Future Tense 62
3.4.3 Subject Noun Phrase Suppression 63
3.5 Verb Classes 64
3.5.1 Inherently Intransitive Verbs 65
3.5.2 Inherently Transitive Verbs 68
3.5.3 Ambitransitive Verbs 69
3.5.4 Morphologically Related Intransitive-Transitive Verb Pairs 71
3.6 Non-Typical Verbs 73
3.6.1 The Lexically Intransitive-Transitive Verb Pair 73

3.6.2 The Sensory Verb *rongo* 74
3.6.3 The Verb *wis* 75
3.6.4 The Similitive Verb *plek* 76
3.7 Verbal Reduplication 77
3.8 Negative Morphology 78
3.9 Aspectual Markers 79
3.9.1 Pre-Verbal Modifiers: *me* 'recent past' and *pe* 'intentive' 80
3.9.2 Post-Verbal Aspectual Markers 81
3.9.2.1 Quantificational Aspect: *sek* and *po* 81
3.9.2.2 Phasal Aspect 84
3.9.2.3 The Perfect Aspect Marker *pi* 86
3.9.3 Other Post-Verbal Aspectual Markers 86
3.9.3.1 *lëkhen* 'to go back/return' 87
3.9.3.2 *wochokh* 'together' 88
3.9.3.3 *lomton* 'properly' 88
3.9.3.4 *nenev* 'all' 89
3.9.3.5 *mëne* 'inability' 90
4. Clause Structure 93
4.1 Introduction 93
4.2 Basic Word Order 93
4.3 Verbal Clauses 96
4.3.1 Intransitive Verbs 96
4.3.2 Prototypical Transitive Verbs 98
4.4 Omission of the Subject-Tense Prefix 101
4.5 Serial Verbs 104
4.6 Non-Core Arguments 105
4.6.1 *rëngen* 'LOC' 106
4.6.2 *ron* 'comitative' 108
4.6.3 *chi* 'personal locational preposition' 109
4.6.4 Inherently Forming Obliques 111
4.7 Argument Suppression 112
4.8 Verbal Negation 113
4.9 Fronting of Constituents 115

4.10 Permission Constructions 116
4.11 Imperatives 116
4.12 Negative Imperatives 118
4.13 Interrogatives 120
4.13.1 Constituent Interrogatives 120
4.13.2 Polar Interrogatives 122
4.14 Reciprocals 123
4.15 Non-Verbal Clauses 123
4.15.1 Adjectival Predicates 124
4.15.2 Locative Predicates 125
4.15.3 Nominal Predicates 126
4.15.3.1 Existential Clauses 126
4.15.3.2 Classificatory Clauses 127
4.15.3.3 Identificational Clauses 127
4.15.3.4 Ownership Clauses 128
4.16 Subordination 129
4.16.1 Complement Clauses 129
4.16.2 Relative Clauses 130
4.17 Adverbial Clauses 132
4.17.1 Temporal Clauses 132
4.17.2 Reason Clauses 133
4.17.3 Conditional Clauses 134
4.18 Coordination 135
5. Valence 137
5.1 Introduction 137
5.2 Valence: An Integrated Approach 137
5.3 Valence Increase 140
5.3.1 Valence Increase of Inherently Intransitive Verbs 140
5.3.1.1 Semantic Valence Increase of *kul* 'sing' 141
5.3.1.2 Semantic Valence Increase of *pas* 'work' 142
5.3.1.3 Semantic Valence Increase of *rongo nem* 'feel happy' 143

5.3.2 Valence Increase of Inherently Transitive Verbs 144
5.3.3 Semantic Properties of Derived Ditransitives vs. the Ditransitive Proposition 145
5.4 Valence Decrease 149
5.4.1 Unspecified Object Deletion 149
Appendix A Recorded Data 161
Appendix B Ethical Approval For Project 179

.

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: The Genetic Relationship of Proto Oceanic to Proto Austronesian 4

Figure 1.2: The Genetic Relationship of Malua Bay to Proto Oceanic 5

List of Tables

Table 1.1 Espiegle's Bay Elicited Data 6

Table 1.2 Espiegle's Bay Recorded Data 7

Table 1.3 The Consonant Inventory of Espiegle's Bay 12

Table 1.4 Espiegle's Bay Nasals 12

Table 1.5 Espiegle's Bay Plain, Voiceless Plosives 13

Table 1.6 Espiegle's Bay Prenasalised Plosives 13

Table 1.7 Espiegle's Bay Plain Fricatives 14

Table 1.8 Espiegle's Bay Alveolar Affricates 14

Table 1.9 Espiegle's Bay Liquids 15

Table 1.10 Espiegle's Bay Approximants 15

Table 1.11 The Vowel Inventory of Espiegle's Bay 16

Table 1.12 Vowel Contrasts in Espiegle's Bay 16

Table 2.1 Espiegle's Bay Independent Pronoun Paradigm 19

Table 2.2 Espiegle's Bay Subject Prefixes 21

Table 2.3 Espiegle's Bay Noun Classes 22

Table 2.4 Espiegle's Bay Basic Numerals 29

Table 2.5 Numeral Compounds Eleven to Nineteen 30

Table 2.6 Numeral Compounds Twenty to Ninety 30

Table 2.7 Espiegle's Bay Kin Terms 32

Table 2.8 Espiegle's Bay Proper Place Names 35

Table 2.9 Absolute/Deictic Local Pronouns in Espiegle's Bay 36

Table 2.10 Time Counters 42

Table 2.11 Espiegle's Bay Possessive Suffixes 44

Table 2.12 Espiegle's Bay Bound Nominals 45

Table 2.13 Types of Possession in Espiegle's Bay 49

Table 3.1 Espiegle's Bay Verb Phrase Structure 58

Table 3.2	Espiegle's Bay Subject-Tense Prefixes	61
Table 3.3	Inherently Intransitive Verbs	65
Table 3.4	Inherently Transitive Verbs	68
Table 3.5	Intransitive-Transitive Verb Pairs	71
Table 4.1	Intransitive Propositions	98
Table 4.2	Transitive Propositions	101
Table 4.3	Functions of Prepositions	105
Table 4.4	Espiegle's Bay Interrogative Lexemes	120
Table 5.1	Parameters of Transitivity	139
Table 5.2	Syntactic-Semantic Valence Increase of Inherently Transitive Verbs	143
Table 5.2	Syntactic-Semantic Valence Increase of Derived Ditransitives vs. Ditransitive Propositions	148

Abbreviations and Conventions

-	Separate Morpheme
.	Separate words in a multi-word gloss or meanings in a semantically complex morpheme
‗	Suppressed Nominal
---	Prototypical Position of a Fronted Constituent
Ø	3SG.NFUT
1SG	First Person Singular
2SG	Second Person Singular
3SG	Third Person Singular
1PL.INCL	First Person Plural, Inclusive
1PL.EXCL	First Person Plural, Exclusive
2PL	Second Person Plural
3PL	Third Person Plural
CC	Complement Clause
CL	Clause
COMIT	Comitative
COMPL	Completive Marker
COND.C	Conditional Clause
CONT	Continuative Aspect
COP	Copula
D.OBJ	Direct Object
DEMS	Demonstrative Determiner
DISJUNCT	Disjunction
DEMS.PN	Demonstrative Pronoun
DRINK.CLS	Drink Classifier
DURAT	Durative Aspect
EMPHZ	Emphasizer
EXT.P	Extended Patient Marker
FOOD.CLS	Food Classifier
FUT	Future Tense
GEN.CLS	General Classifier

I.OBJ	Indirect Object
HAB	Habitual Aspect
HUM.GEN	Human Genitive Morpheme
INABIL	Inability Marker
INT	Intentive Marker
INTRS	Intransitive
LIMIT	Limiter
LOC	Locative
LOC.PSN	Personal Locational Preposition
MC	Main Clause
N	Noun
NEG1	Negative Prefix
NEG2	Negative Suffix
NEG.IMP1	Negative Imperative Prefix
NFUT	Non-Future Tense
NHUM.GEN	Non-Human Genitive Morpheme
NOM	Nominaliser
NP	Noun Phrase
NUM	Numeral
PERF	Perfect Aspect
PLURAL	Plural Modifier
POSS	Possessor
PP	Prepositional Phrase
REA.C	Reason Clause
RC	Relative Clause
SENSE	Sensory Verb
SUBJ.	Subject
SUBORD	Subordinator
SUBJ.-INDX	Subject Index
TEL	Telic Marker
TMP.CL	Temporal Clause
TRS	Transitive
VP	Verb Phrase

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Linguistic Background

The Republic of Vanuatu is an archipelago comprising 82 small islands of volcanic origin. The country lies between latitudes 13˚ and 21˚ *S*, and longitudes 166˚ and 177˚ *E*, with its closest geographical neighbours New Caledonia to the South-West and the Solomon Islands to the North-East. Of Vanuatu's 82 islands, 65 are inhabited and, in total, contain a population of approximately 234,000 (Vanuatu National Statistics Office, 2009, p.1). Amongst the population there are approximately 80 indigenous languages actively spoken, with an average of 2,000 speakers per language (Lynch & Crowley, 2001, p.5). All of these indigenous languages belong to the Oceanic branch of the Austronesian family. The vast majority of the population of Vanuatu are also second-language speakers of Bislama, a variety of Melanesian Pidgin which occupies a role similar to that of a *lingua franca*. A number of the population are also speakers of English and French, which are the languages of formal education. Unsurprisingly, Vanuatu is the world's most linguistically diverse nation, with more languages per head of population than any other country (Crowley, 2006a, p.3).

Malakula, the second-largest island in the nation of Vanuatu, has a population of approximately 22,934 (Vanuatu National Statistics Office, 2009, p.3). There are 24 indigenous languages actively spoken on the island, alongside Bislama, English and French. There are also 15 moribund languages (spoken only by a few elderly people) and 8 languages which are known to have become extinct (Lynch & Crowley, 2001, p.17-18). While Malakula is undoubtedly very linguistically diverse, the indigenous languages on the island are surprisingly poorly documented.

From the early 1800s to the 1980s, only a handful of extensive documentary and descriptive linguistic works were published on Malakula's indigenous languages. In order of publication these works were: Morton's (1891, p.34-72) grammar sketch of Pangkumu (of Southern Malakula), Rays's (1893), grammar sketch of Aulua (of Eastern Malakula), and subsequently his description of the geographical distribution of Malakula's languages (Ray, 1926, p.273-283), Deacon's (1934) ethnography of Malakula which contained some linguistic data on several languages, Tyron's (1976) extensive survey of all the languages on Vanuatu

(Malakula included), Charpentier's (1979) grammar sketch of Port Sandwich (of South-East Malakula), Fox's (1979) grammar of Big Nambas (of North-West Malakula), Charpentier's (1982) survey of all the languages of Southern Malakula, and Clark's (1985) description of the language groups, chains and clusters in Central and Northern Vanuatu (Malakula included). Further, according to Crowley (Lynch & Crowley, 2001, p.82), only two of the four grammar sketches published during this period – Port Sandwich and Big Nambas – were, in fact, reasonably detailed while the other two – Pangkumu and Aulua – were 'sketchy' at best.

In the late 90's, Crowley, a specialist in Oceanic languages/linguistics from the University of Waikato, took an interest in the linguistic situation on Malakula during his visit to a friend in Vinmavis village (located in North-Central Malakula). Crowley took with him a small amount of written material on Neve'ei, which he found in Deacon (1934),and read aloud some passages of the language to several of the village members, who instantly proclaimed that the language was, indeed, their own (Crowley, 2006a, p.9). Intrigued, Crowley subsequently undertook a number of fieldtrips to North-Central Malakula from November 2000 to October 2004, gathering extensive linguistic data not only on the Neve'ei language, but on other indigenous languages spoken in the area (Crowley, 2006a, p.9).

His keen interest in the indigenous languages of Malakula inspired a number of (then) graduate linguistic students and researchers to carry out documentary and descriptive linguistic work on the island. Consequently, the amount of published material on Malakula's indigenous languages increased and, as of 2013, very detailed linguistic work has been published on the Malakula languages of Aulua (see Paviour-Smith, 2005a; Paviour-Smith, 2005b; Paviour-Smith & Makenzie, 2005), Uripiv (see McKerras, 2005), Naman (see Crowley, 2006a), Tape (see Crowley, 2006b), Avava (see Crowley, 2006c), Neve'ei (see Musgrave, 2007), Unua (see Pearce, 2007; Pearce, 2010a; Pearce, 2010b), Tirax (Brotchie, 2009), and Neverver (see Barbour 2010a; Barbour, 2010b; Barbour, 2011a; Barbour, 2011b; Barbour, 2012).However, there are still a large number of Malakula's indigenous languages which need to be documented and described – many of which are moribund and at high risk of extinction. One of these languages, and indeed the subject of this thesis, is the language variety spoken in Espiegle's Bay in North-West Malakula.

Espiegle's Bay is a language variety spoken by the Espiegle's Bay community of North-West Malakula. It is recorded as being a dialect of 'Malua Bay' (SIL International, 2011), which is a language with approximately 500 speakers (Lynch & Crowley, 2001, p.82) in several villages on the North-West coast of Malakula. The exact relationship of Espiegle's Bay with the language spoken in Malua Bay is unknown. Like many of Malakula's languages, the Espiegle's Bay language is only used orally by the community of speakers.

1.2 Previous Research

There has been almost no previous linguistic research carried out on the Malua Bay language and, by extension, the Espiegle's Bay language variety. According to Lynch & Crowley (2001, p.22), the only known piece of published research on the Malua Bay language is Tyron's (1976) wordlists. However, as yet unpublished documentary and descriptive linguistic research on the language has been carried out at the University of Waikato since 2011.

In 2011, a phonological analysis of the Espiegle's Bay variety of the Malua Bay language was carried out at the University of Waikato by a small cohort of post-graduate linguistic students, of which I was one of, with Dr Julie Barbour. Along with a description of the language's phonology, we produced a draft orthography of the language and several 'big books' (e.g. alphabet book, number book) for community use. For this project, we worked with Gayleen Tarosa who is a native speaker of the Espiegle's Bay language variety. In 2012, work continued on the Espiegle's Bay language variety by a new group of post-graduate students (along with Dr Julie Barbour as Supervisor) who began analysis of the language's morphology, namely inflectional morphology and derivational morphology, with Gayleen Tarosa as their language consultant. For their project, these students each produced a brief linguistic account of the noun phrase and the verb phrase, as well as a community-related literacy resource. The language recordings used in the 2011 and 2012 projects, and their subsequent transcriptions and translations, comprised some of the text corpus for my thesis project.

In late 2012 fellow master's student and friend, Kanuahea Wessels, began her master's thesis project which was to document and describe the Malua Bay language. This project was completed in late November 2013. Due to the university's thesis examination process, her

work was unavailable to me for reference in my project. Likewise, the student work on nominal and verbal morphology was not available to me for this project. This project on Espiegle's Bay is an extension of the work I began in 2011, on the phonology of the language.

1.3 Genetic Affiliation

All of the indigenous languages of Vanuatu belong to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family. The Austronesian language family is one of the largest in the world in terms of membership, with an estimated 1200 member languages (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002, p.1); approximately 450 of which belonging to the Oceanic subgroup (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002, p.1).

The genetic relationship of the Oceanic subgroup to the Austronesian language family is shown in Figure 1.1

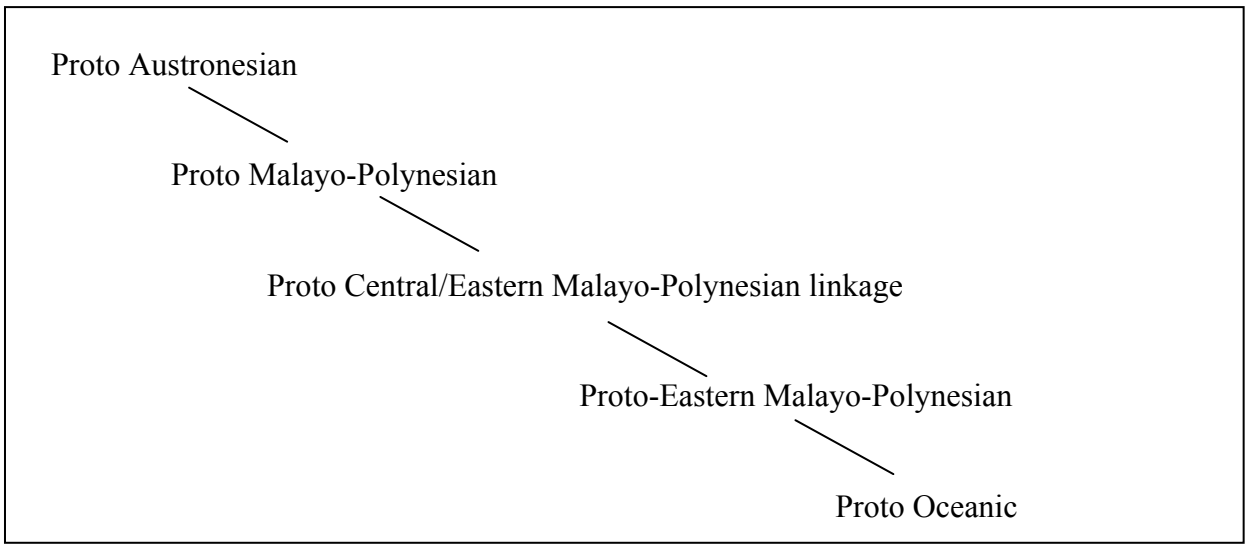


Figure 1.1: The Genetic Relationship of Proto Oceanic to Proto Austronesian (adapted from Ross, Pawley & Osmond, 2007, p.7).

The languages of the Oceanic subgroup can be divided into one of three sub-regions on the basis of a number of geographical, sociocultural and linguistic factors (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002, p.3). These sub-regions are Micronesia, Polynesia and Melanesia. Most of the indigenous languages of Vanuatu are considered Melanesian in affiliation.

The Melanesian languages of the Oceanic subgroup can be further placed into one of four groups, with one of these being the 'Southern Oceanic linkage'. The Vanuatu languages in the Southern Oceanic linkage are then further split into three geographical regions: North Vanuatu, Central Vanuatu and South Vanuatu. The Malua Bay language, and most likely the Espiegle's Bay variety, falls into the North Vanuatu linguistic region. The full genetic relationship of the Malua Bay language to the Oceanic subgroup is shown in Figure 1.2.

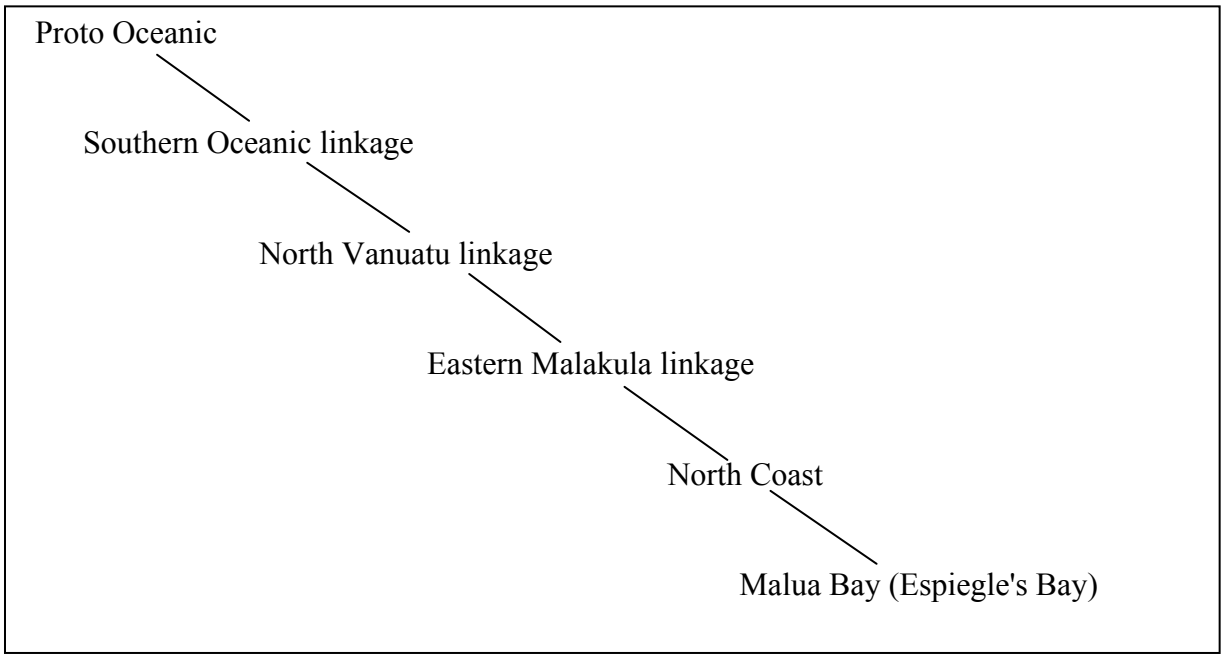


Figure 1.2: The genetic relationship of Malua Bay to Proto Oceanic (adapted from Ross, Pawley and Osmond, 2007, p.8; and Lynch, 2012, p.2[1]).

1.4 Research Aims

The aim of this thesis is to describe a selection of the linguistic structures of the Espiegle's Bay language, using a corpus of texts (which includes spoken recordings of the texts) from two speakers of the language. In particular, before I began this project, I had an interest in valency operations, and I set out to explore these in the text corpus. The methodologies of language description and language typology are employed to describe the language's noun phrase structure, verb phrase structure, basic clause structure, and syntactic and semantic valency operations.

[1] The Proto Oceanic to the North Vanuatu linkage genetic relationship is adapted from Ross, Pawley and Osmond (2007, p.8), while the Eastern Malakula linkage to Malua Bay relationship is adapted from Lynch (2012, p.2).

1.5 Data Collection

The data for this project was collected under approvals given to Dr. Julie Barbour, the project supervisor. For this project, I received a corpus of 13 texts, which included spoken recordings of the texts, from two speakers of the Espiegle's Bay language variety. A number of these texts were recorded, transcribed and translated as part of the 2011 and 2012 post-graduate projects, while several were newly recorded in 2013 for this project. Most of the texts were translated into English by Gayleen Tarosa, and approximately half were also transcribed by her. While Gayleen was the language consultant for the 2011 and 2012 post-graduate projects on the Espiegle's Bay language, she did not participate directly in this thesis project, as she completed her own Master's thesis in mid-2013 and thus returned home to Vanuatu.

Alongside the 13 texts, I also worked with three sets of elicited data. Some of this data was elicited by me in 2011 for my post-graduate phonology project, while some elicitation was carried out by Dr. Julie Barbour in July 2013 during her research visit to Vanuatu. Table 1.1 shows some general information about the elicited data, such as the dates when the data was collected, and the sources of information. Table 1.2 shows some general information about the recorded texts, such as the length of the recordings, who the speakers were, and the text genre.

File Name	Title	Date	Elicited By	Elicitation Source
mll_eb_elicitold	*2011 Project Elicitation*	*02/11-12/11*	*Roxanna Holmes at the University of Waikato*	*Gayleen Tarosa*
mll_eb_observations	*2013 Miriam's Home*	*07/13*	*Dr. Julie Barbour at Miriam's home in Vanuatu*	*Miriam Harrison*
mll_eb_elicit2013	*2013 Vanuatu Trip*	*07/13*	*Dr. Julie Barbour at Miriam's home in Vanuatu*	*Miriam Harrison*

Table 1.1: Espiegle's Bay Elicited Data

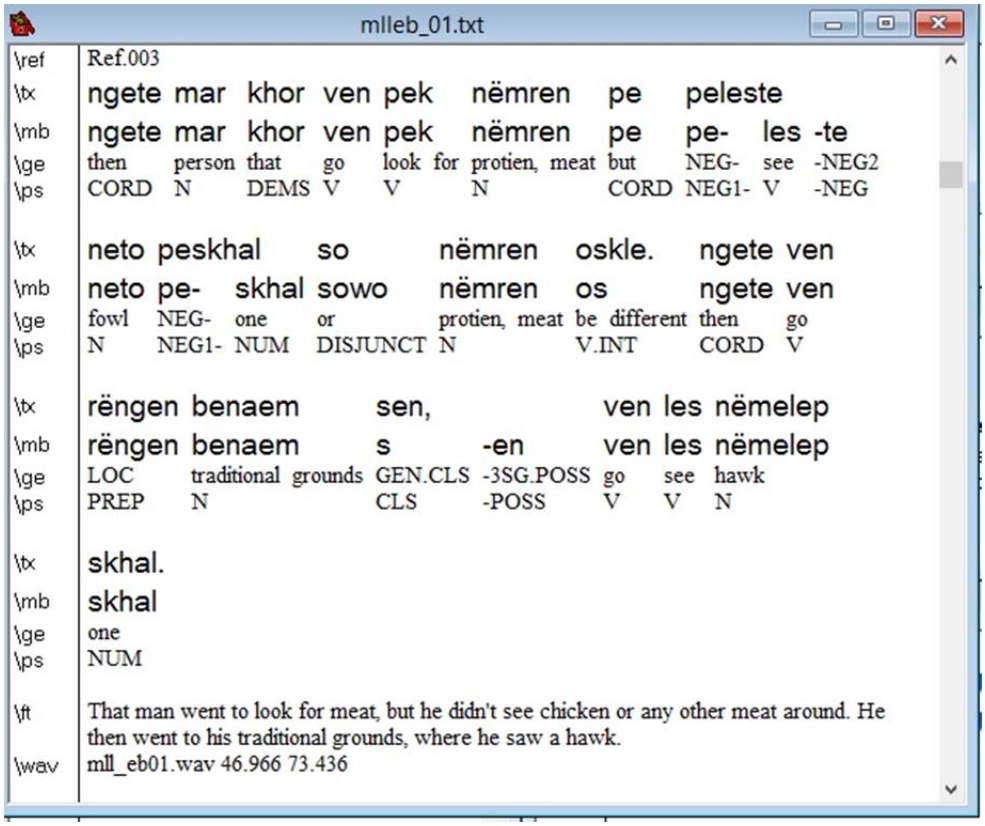
File Name	Title	Date	Length	Speakers	Genre
mll_eb01	*Hawk story*	*03/11*	*5.13mins*	*Gayleen Tarosa*	*Traditional story*
mll_eb02	*Yalo cave story*	*03/11*	*7.23mins*	*Gayleen Tarosa*	*Folk tale, with some narrative recount*
mll_eb03	*Kerikeri trip*	*04/11*	*6.46mins*	*Gayleen Tarosa*	*Narrative recount*
mll_eb04	*Uses of Coconut*	*05/11*	*2.40mins*	*Miriam Harrison*	*Procedure*
mll_eb05	*Vegetable gardening*	*7/11*	*2.4mins*	*Miriam Harrison*	*Procedure*
mll_eb06	*Conflict story*	*7/11*	*14.2mins*	*Miriam Harrison*	*Narrative recount*
mll_eb07	*Terms of address story*	*01/12*	*5.29mins*	*Gayleen Tarosa*	*Informative explanation*
mll_eb08	*New Zealand life*	*01/12*	*8.2mins*	*Gayleen Tarosa, V.*	*Interview*
mll_eb09	*Gayleen's childhood*	*01/12*	*4.54mins*	*Gayleen Tarosa*	*Narrative recount*
mll_eb10	*Scholarship story*	*01/12*	*6.25mins*	*Gayleen Tarosa*	*Personal opinion, with some narrative recount*
mll_eb11	*Christmas in NZ*	*01/12*	*4.54mins*	*Gayleen Tarosa*	*Narrative recount, with some personal opinion*
mll_eb12	*Miriam's childhood*	*07/13*	*7.2mins*	*Miriam Harrison*	*Narrative recount*
mll_eb13	*Natural Disaster*	*07/13*	*3.4mins*	*Miriam Harrison*	*Narrative recount*

Table 1.2: Espiegle's Bay Recorded Data

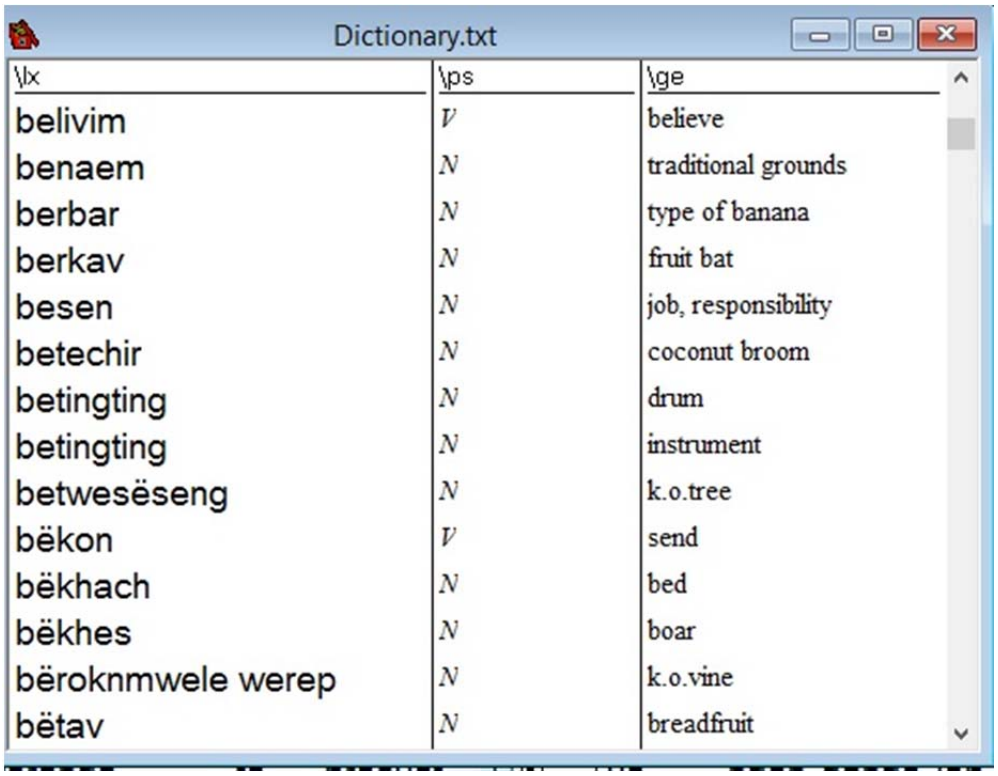
1.6 Data Processing

The corpus I received from Dr Julie Barbour had been segmented in Transcriber, with transcriptions and translations.

Before any linguistic analysis of the corpus could be carried out, the data needed to be organized into a workable digital format. Toolbox, an open-source program developed specifically for digitizing linguistic data, was used for this step. In Toolbox, each transcriber file was imported. Toolbox allows the user to select a format type, and for these files the import type was 'text'. Simultaneously, the recording of each text was imported into the toolbox, and spliced into parts with its specific text. This is exemplified in the screenshot below. The /ref (reference) line indicates the segmented unit. The 'unit' is the following transcription until the next /ref line. The /ref line co-ordinates with the /wav line's digital timestamps. The /tx (text) line shows the transcription of the recording. The /mbline shows the morpheme segments, while the /ge line shows the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss of the /mb line. The /ps (part of speech) line shows the part of speech of each item. The /ft (free translation) line shows the English translation of the transcription. Finally, the /wav line shows the recording which has been imported, with the numbers to the right of the /wav line digital timestamps that mark the start and end point of the spliced section.

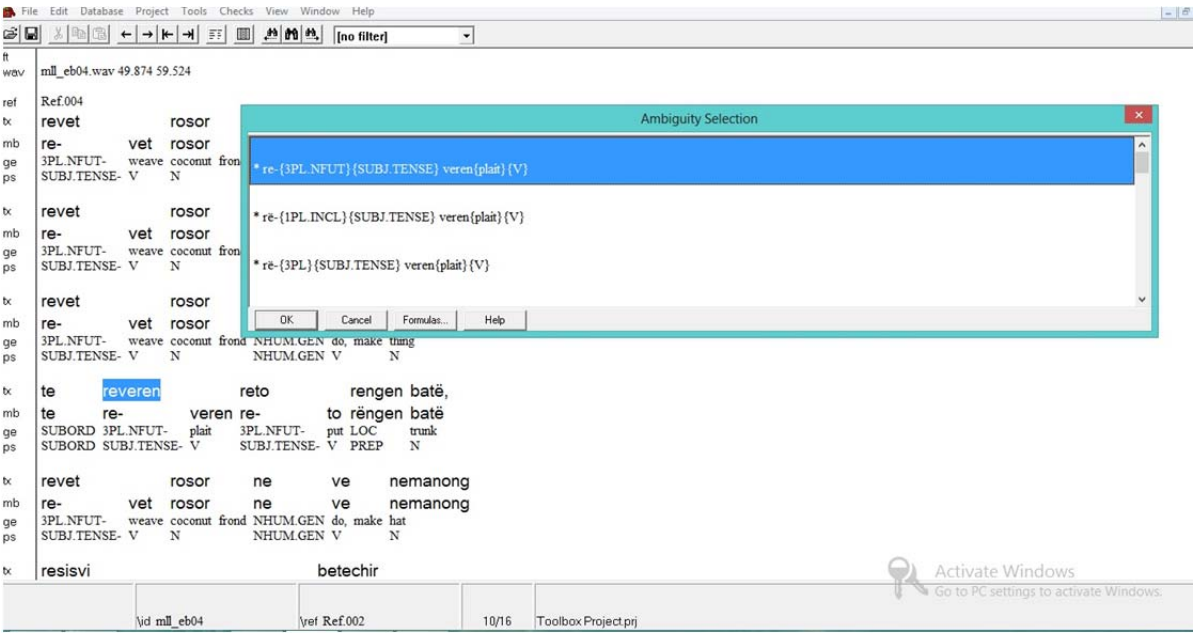


A useful tool in Toolbox is the dictionary developer tool. Alongside the text files and digital recordings, I also received a rough Espiegle's Bay language dictionary which had been developed in the programme by Dr Julie Barbour. This dictionary contained the English translation of a number of lexical items, and some general glossing of a few grammatical items. A screenshot of my working version of the dictionary tool in Toolbox is shown below. The \lx column shows the orthographic representation of each item, the \ps column shows the functional gloss of each item, and the \ge column shows the English translation of each item.



\lx	\ps	\ge
belivim	*V*	believe
benaem	*N*	traditional grounds
berbar	*N*	type of banana
berkav	*N*	fruit bat
besen	*N*	job, responsibility
betechir	*N*	coconut broom
betingting	*N*	drum
betingting	*N*	instrument
betwesëseng	*N*	k.o.tree
bëkon	*V*	send
bëkhach	*N*	bed
bëkhes	*N*	boar
bëroknmwele werep	*N*	k.o.vine
bëtav	*N*	breadfruit

Following the import of the dictionary into the program, the texts were interlinearized. A simple button press runs the interlinearization process, which matches a item, or a string of characters, in the text to the items in the dictionary, and subsequently inserts the dictionary information into the text. In this project, it was often the case that the program had multiple interpretations for an item or string of items, thus the process often paused so that the user can choose which interpretation is correct. This is shown in the screenshot below, in which the string *re-veren*had three possible interpretations.



1.7 Data Analysis

In the analysis of Espiegle's Bay, I make reference to and employ a number of typological frames, such as those which deal with clause structure (see §4.2 to §4.3) and valence change (see §5.1 to §5.5). Linguistic typology is the practice of classifying languages or components of languages based on shared formal characteristics, and is an extremely useful tool in documentary and descriptive linguistics (Whaley, 1997, p.7). Whaley (1997) provides a useful explanation of how linguistic typology informs documentary and descriptive linguistic research:

> It [linguistic typology] aides in the learning about languages that previously have not been documented by making the linguist aware of what is 'out there' and what is 'typical'.....In the same vein, if linguists know what is common in language, they will be able to quickly recognize unexpected patterns in the language(s) being examined (Whaley, 1997, p.15-17).

In this thesis, a number of general, Oceanic and Northern Vanuatu typological frames are referenced and employed to facilitate the analysis of and support the description of the linguistic structures of the Espiegle's Bay language corpus. This is particularly evident in Chapters 4 and 5 of the thesis, which deal with basic clause structure and alignment, and valence change respectively.

Through the process of data analysis, hypotheses about the Espiegle's Bay language system were generated and testedby cross-checking findings against the entire Espiegle's Bay corpus, as well as against current typological frames of Oceanic and Northern Vanuatu languages. If there were contradictions between the noted findings and the rest of the corpus, then the hypotheses were re-worked or abandoned. Working hypotheses were entered into the thesis document. Contradictions with current Oceanic and/or Northern Vanuatu typological frames were noted, and the findings looked into further. However, if further investigation did not reveal contradictions within the text corpus itself, then the hypotheses were considered working and entered into the thesis document. For a project of this scale, the goal was to ensure that the findings were consistent within the available Espiegle's Bay corpus.

1.8 Phonology

As mentioned in §1.2, in 2011, a small cohort of post-graduate students (of which I was one) carried out a phonological analysis of the Espiegle's Bay language variety. We each produced a description of the language's phonology and a draft orthography. The draft orthography produced for the 2011 project constitutes the orthographic conventions used in this thesis. Below is a brief description of the phonological segments in the language, as well as several tables which show the phonemic representations of segments, their orthographic convention, and some illustrative words to show the orthography in use. The draft orthography was constructed with consideration to Bislama and English, which are languages that many Espiegle's Bay members speak (Tarosa, personal communication, 2011). Any changes from the phonemic form to the orthographic form were a result of this consideration.

1.8.1 The Consonant Inventory

Table 1.3 below shows the consonant phoneme inventory, indicating the place and manner of articulation. There are eighteen consonant segments in the Espiegle's Bay language. Like the Neverver language of Malakula (Barbour, 2012, p.67), prenasalisation is a prominent feature of the Espiegle's Bay consonant inventory.

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

Table 1.3: The Consonant Inventory of Espiegle's Bay

Attested in the Espiegle's Bay corpus are three nasal consonants. These are/m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, which contrast in the morpheme-initial position.The phonemic, phonetic and orthographic form of these nasals is shown in the Table below, along with some illustrative words.

Contrasting Segments	Orthographic Representation	Phonetic Word Form	Orthographic Word Form	Translation
/m/ [m]	*m*	[mereng]	*mereng*	'dry'
		[min]	*min*	'to drink'
/n/ [n]	*n*	[nenav]	*nenav*	'yesterday'
		[niŋa]	*ninga*	'ngali nut'
/ŋ/ [ŋ]	ng	[ŋer]	*nger*	'to cry'
		[ŋir]	*ngir*	'to laugh'

Table 1.4: Espiegle's Bay Nasals

There are three plain, voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/, which contrast in the morpheme-initial, medial, and final positions. The plain voiced plosives [b], [d], and [g]are not present in the data. The phonemic, phonetic and orthographic form of these plosives is shown in the table below, along with some illustrative words.

Contrasting Segments	Orthographic Representation	Phonetic Word Form	Orthographic Word Form	Translation
/p/ [p]	*p*	[pene]	*pene*	'maternal uncle'
		[naxap]	*nakhap*	'fire'
/t/ [t]	*t*	[tete]	*tete*	' to demolish'
		[^{n}duwat]	duwat	'woman'
/k/ [k]	*k*	[kem]	*kem*	'2PL'
		[nəmtak]	*nëmt-ak*	'eye-1SG.POSS'

Table 1.5: Espiegle's Bay Plain, Voiceless Plosives

There are three prenasalised plosives, /b/, /d/ and /g/, which contrast with the plain plosive series above. The prenasilisation is homorganic at the labial, aveolar and velar points of articulation. Table 1.6 shows the phonemic, phonetic and orthographic form of each of these plosives, along with some illustrative words.

Contrasting Segments	Orthographic Representation	Phonetic Word Form	Orthographic Word Form	Translation
/b/ [^{m}b]	*b*	[^{m}benaem]	*benaem*	'traditional grounds'
		[^{m}bətkon]	bëtkon	'to send'
/d/ [^{n}d]	*d*	[^{n}den]	*den*	'ground'
		[^{n}dəmas]	*dëmas*	'demons'
/g/ [^{ŋ}g]	*g*	[^{ŋ}geka]	*geka*	'yam'
		[^{ŋ}gəsek]	*gës-ek*	'nose-1SG.POSS'

Table 1.6: Espiegle's Bay Prenasalised Plosives

Attested in the corpus are three plain fricatives, /v/, /s/ and /x/, which contrast at the morpheme-initial, morpheme-medial, and morpheme-final positions. Table 1.7 shows the phonemic, phonetic and orthographic form of each of these fricatives, along with some illustrative words.

Contrasting Segments	Orthographic Representation	Phonetic Word Form	Orthographic Word Form	Translation
/v/ [v]	*v*	[vat]	*vat*	'four'
		[^{m}berkav]	*berkav*	'fruit bat'
/s/ [s]	*s*	[sat]	*sat*	'bad'
		[^{n}das]	*das*	'sea'
/x/ [x]	*kh*	[xar]	*khar*	'3PL'
		[nemax]	*nemakh*	'mosquito'

Table 1.7: Espiegle's Bay Plain Fricatives

There are two aveolar affricates: /tʃ/ and the prenasalised /dʒ/. The plain voiced alveolar-affricate, /dʒ/, was not attested in the Espiegle's Bay corpus. Table 1.8 shows the phonemic, phonetic and orthographic form of each of these affricates, along with some illustrative words.

Contrasting Segments	Orthographic Representation	Phonetic Word Form	Orthographic Word Form	Translation
/tʃ/ [tʃ]	*ch*	[tʃəpir]	*chëpir*	'until'
		[tʃal]	*chal*	'road'
/dʒ/ [^{n}dʒ]	*j*	[^{n}dʒəpnon]	*jëpnon*	'half'
		[^{n}dʒar]	*jar*	'spear'

Table 1.8: Espiegle's Bay Aveolar Affricates

There are two liquids, /r/ and /l/, both of which havea wide distribution. These phonemes contrasted in the morpheme-initial, morpheme-medial and morpheme-final positions. The /r/ segment is trilled, but was sometimes produced as a flap in rapid speech. Table 1.9 shows the phonemic, phonetic and orthographic form of these two liquids, along with some illustrative words.

Contrasting Segments	Orthographic Representation	Phonetic Word Form	Orthographic Word Form	Translation
/r/ [r]	*r*	[ratax]	*ratakh*	'to get up'
		[morov]	*morov*	'to be alive'
/l/ [l]	*l*	[lalen]	*lalen*	'inside'
		[lolo]	*lolo*	'to vomit'

Table 1.9: Espiegle's Bay Liquids

There are two approximants: the voiced labio-velar approximant, /w/, and the palatal approximant /j/. These approximants have been attested to contrast in the morpheme-initial position. This is shown in Table 1.10.

Contrasting Segments	Orthographic Representation	Phonetic Word Form	Orthographic Word Form	Translation
/w/ [w]	*w*	[wake]	*wake*	'dig'
		[wer]	*wer*	'to tell'
/j/ [j]	*y*	[jat]	*yat*	'to sit'
		[jev]	*yev*	'to pull'

Table 1.10: Espiegle's Bay Approximants

1.8.2 The Vowel Inventory

The vowel inventory of the Espiegle's Bay language contains six vowel segments. All six vowels occur morpheme medially and finally, with /o/, /ʊ/ and /e/ also appearing at syllable initial position. The near-high, near-back vowel /ʊ/ is sometimes realised as [u], but its occurrence is sporadic. Compared to the other vowels, the /i/ and /ʊ/ segments have a relatively limited distribution. All vowels only contrast once in the same environment, as shown in Table 1.11. Table 1.12 below shows the vowel inventory of the Espiegle's Bay language corpus.

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

Table 1.11: The Vowel Inventory of Espiegle's Bay

The orthographic representation of each of these vowels is displayed below. The left column shows the phonemic representation, the middle column shows the orthographic representation, and the right column illustrates the orthographic representation in use, with some illustrative items.

Contrasting Segments	Orthographic Representation	Phonetic Word Form	Phonemic Word Form	Translation
/a/ [a]	*a*	[lalen]	*lalen*	'inside'
		[navitʃ]	*navich*	'banana'
/e/ [e]	*e*	[lelten]	*lelten*	'inside'
		[nevil]	*nevil*	'month'
/ë/ [ə]	*ë*	[ləlax]	*lëlakh*	'husband'
		[nəvat]	*nëvat*	'money'
/i/ [i]	*i*	[lililep]	*lililep*	'to be big'
		[nani]	*nani*	'coconut'
/o/ [o]	*o*	[lol]	*lol*	'to stay'
		[novos]	*novos*	'bow'
/u/ [ʊ]	*u*	[lʊlʊk]	*luluk*	'to cover'
		[nʊwal]	*nuwal*	'hole'

Table 1.12: Vowel Contrasts in Espiegle's Bay

1.9 The Content of the Thesis

The current work is a small-scale grammar sketch of the Espiegle's Bay language variety. It is based on a corpus of 16 documents. Of these, 13 are transcriptions of recordings from two speakers of the language variety, and constitute approximately 75 minutes of recorded speech. The remaining documents consist of data elicited between 2011 to 2013 from the same two speakers. The grammar is not exhaustive and there are many topics which remain to be explored and described.

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the Espiegle's Bay language and to this thesis project. Espiegle's Bay's linguistic background and genetic affiliation is described, as well as the research aims and methodology of this current work. A working orthography is also presented.

Chapter 2 is a description of the language's nominal morphology, including noun classes, nominal modifiers, and noun phrase structure. Like the Vanuatu language of Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p.105-163) nouns are attested as belonging to three main classes: common nouns, personal nouns, and local nouns.

Chapter 3 describes the language's verbs and verbal morphology, including its syntactic verb classes, verb phrase structure, and aspectual markers. Like a number of Vanuatu languages, such as Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p.277) and Lolovoli (Hyslop, 2000, p.324-320), we find a class of transitive verbs which forms intransitive counterparts through the process of reduplication.

Chapter 4 describes the clause structure of the Espiegle's Bay language corpus, including its basic word order, verbal and non-verbal clauses, subordinate clauses and adverbial clauses. Haspelmath's (2011) work on alignment typology provides the typological frame for the discussion of clause structure in this chapter.

Finally, Chapter 5 presents a discussion on syntactic and semantic valence change in the Espiegle's Bay language corpus. This chapter utilizes Dixon and Aikhenvald's (2000, p.19) notion of a combined syntactic-semantic approach to the discussion of valence change. Hopper and Thompson's (1980) seminal article on transitivity parameters is also made reference to with regard to the discussion of semantic valence alternations.

The thesis concludes with appendices displaying three of the sixteen documents that I worked from, as well as a copy of the signed confirmation letter that I received stating that the research I intended to carry out met with the ethical standards set down by the University of Waikato.

Chapter 2

Nominals

2.1 Introduction

In the Espiegle's Bay language corpus, in addition to pronouns (§2.2), these are three main noun classes: common nouns (§2.4); personal nouns (§2.6); and local nouns (§2.7). Some stative verbs can also form nouns through nominalisation (§2.9). Like in many Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002, p.50), we find that in the Espiegle's Bay corpus the noun phrase is head-initial, with nominals modifiers following the head (§2.11). A number of items can modify common nouns, such as quantifiers, numerals and demonstratives (§2.5).Some stative verbs can also be used adjectivally. Local nouns and most personal nouns do not take nominal modification in the corpus. However, possession can occur with all noun classes (§2.8).

2.2 Pronouns

2.2.1 Independent Pronouns

Attested in the Espiegle's Bay language corpus is a closed set of independent pronouns. These pronouns distinguish between the categories of first, second and third person, and between singular and non-singular referents. In the first person non-singular series, there is a distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person pronouns. Unlike many Vanuatu languages, such as Lolovoli (Hyslop, 2001, p.95), Naman (Crowley, 2006a, p.56) and South Efate (Thieberger, 2006, p.103), Espiegle's Bay does not appear to have a separate dual, trial or paucal series. Table 2.1 shows the full independent pronoun paradigm in the Espiegle's Bay language corpus.

	Singular		Non-singular
First Person	*khunu*	Inclusive	*nakër*
		Exclusive	*kënam*
Second Person	*nokh*		*këm*
Third Person	*khaën (kha)*		*khar*

Table 2.1: Espiegle's Bay Independent Pronoun Paradigm

These independent pronouns can serve as subjects, objects, indirect objects and obliques. This is exemplified in (2.1) to (2.3). The entities which pronouns can refer to in the corpus are humans or live animals, thus entities which are animate.

In this example, the independent pronoun *khaën* '3SG' is the subject of the clause, while the independent pronoun *khunu* '1SG' is the direct object.

(2.1) Subject

[*khaën*]^{NP} [*Ø-klesur* *khunu*]^{VP}

3SG 3SG.NFUT-look after 1SG

'She looked after me.' *mll_eb12.ref.011*

In this example, the independent pronoun *khunu* '1SG' is the indirect object of the clause.

(2.2) Subject/INDX D.Object I.Object

[*rë-s-koron* *noren* *ngen*[1] *khunu*]^{VP}

3PL-FUT-bring food EXT.P 1SG

'They'll bring the food to me.' *mll_eb_elicitold.ref.007*

In this example, the independent pronoun *kënam* '1PL.EXCL' is an oblique referent. It is introduced by the prepositional marker *chi*, which specifically introduces human participants.

(2.3) Subject INDX Verb Oblique

[*nëran*]^{NP} [*Ø-terter*]^{VP} [*chi* *kënam*]^{PP}

time 3SG.NFUT-difficult LOC.PSN 1PL.EXCL

'It was a difficult time for us.' *mll_eb06.ref.036*

In the corpus, we find a shortened form of the third-person singular pronoun which takes the form *kha*. This form is used by the older of the two speakers. It is attested in the subject position, as (2.4) and (2.5) show.

[1] In the corpus, *ngen* is attested as a valence increasing morpheme and is referred to in this thesis as a 'extended patient' marker. The syntactic and semantic specifics of this marker are discussed in §5.3.

(2.4) Subject INDX Verb

[*kha*]^{NP} [*Ø-nger*]^{VP}

3SG 3SG.NFUT-cry

'She cried.' *mll_eb06.ref.027*

(2.5) Subject INDX Verb

[*kha*]^{NP} [*Ø-wo* *ker-vëlvëla* *pi*]^{VP}

3SG 3SG.NFUT-say 2PL.NFUT-migrate PERF

'He said 'You've already moved'. ' *mll_eb06.ref.056*

2.2.2 Subject Prefixes

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus there is a closed set of subject prefixes which attach to the verb root and are in agreement with the verb's grammatical subject. Like the independent pronoun series discussed in 2.2.1, these prefixes make a distinction between first, second and third person, and between singular and non-singular referents. Also like the independent pronoun series, unlike most Vanuatu languages such as Lolovoli (Hyslop, 2001, p.95), Naman (Crowley, 2006a, p.56), Avava (Crowley, 2006c, p.38), South Efate (Thieberger, 2006, p.103), and Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p.107), a separate dual, trial or paucal series is not attested in the corpus. Table 2.2 displays the full subject prefix paradigm.

	Singular		Non-singular
First Person	*në*	Inclusive	*rë*
		Exclusive	*brë*
Second Person	*khe*		*ker*
Third Person	*Ø*		*re*

Table 2.2: Espiegle's Bay Subject Prefixes

Some examples of subject-verb agreement attested in the corpus are shown below. In (2.6), the pronominal subject *kënam* '1PL.EXCL' is in agreement with the subject prefix *brë-* '1PL.EXCL.NFUT'. Both the independent pronoun and the subject prefix encode the first person, plural. In (2.7), the subject *khunu* '1SG' is in agreement with the subject prefix *në-* '1SG.NFUT'. Both the independent pronoun and the subject prefix encode the third person, singular.

(2.6) Subject

[*kënam*]^{NP}	[*brë-lol*]^{VP}	[*rëngen*	*nëvenu*	*leplep*]^{PP}
1PL.EXCL	1PL.EXCL.NFUT-stay	LOC	place	big

'We lived on the main island.' *mll_eb09.ref.007*

(2.7) Subject

[*khunu*]^{NP}	[*në-sul*	*not*]^{VP}
1SG	1SG.NFUT-burn	garden

'I burned the garden.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.01*

2.3 Noun Classes

Like in the Vanuatu languages of Lolovoli (Hyslop, 2001) and Neverver (Barbour, 2012), in the Espiegle's Bay language corpus nouns are attested as belonging to three main classes. These three main noun classes are Common Nouns (§2.4), Personal Nouns (§2.6) and Local Nouns (§2.7). Each main noun class has several sub-classes, as shown in Table 2.3. The main noun classes and their sub-classes are described in the sections below.

Common Nouns	Indigenous Items
	Borrowed Terms
Personal Nouns	Personal Proper Names
	Kin Terms
Local Nouns	Proper Place Names
	Absolute/Deictic Local Nouns
	Locative Part Nouns
	Temporal Nouns

Table 2.3: Espiegle's Bay Noun Classes

2.4 Common Nouns

The vast number of nouns attested in the Espiegle's Bay corpus fall into the class of common nouns. Most common nouns have the initial sequence *n(V)-* , and *n(V)-* nouns are considered canonical common nouns. This characteristic has also been attested in the Central Malakula language of Neverver, where approximately 87% of common nouns have the initial sequence *n(V)-* (Barbour, 2012, p.113). Further research may find that this property is typical of Malakula languages. Some examples of *n(V)*-initial common nouns attested in the Espiegle's Bay corpus are:

(2.8)

naber	' house post'
nakhap	'fire'
nekhven	'fruit'
neto	'fowl'
nëkhopu	'bamboo'
nëmach	'fish'
nombur	'conch shell'
nukhuli	'dog'

Non-prototypical common nouns are those which do not have an initial *n(V)-* sequence or borrowings. A number of these non-prototypical nouns are *b(w)V-* initial words, but there also those which have initial sequences of *rV-, jV-, gV-, and lV-*. Some examples of *b(w)V-* initial non-prototypical common nouns attested in the corpus are shown in (2.9).

(2.9)

bakhe	'shark'
benaem	'traditional grounds'
berkav	'fruit bat'
betechir	'coconut broom'
botlas	'big spider'
bëkhes	'boar'
buak	'water taro'
bwechekh	'k.o. tree'
bwetechir	'thatch pins'

Some examples of non-prototypical common nouns which have other initial sequences are shown in (2.10).

(2.10)

jëchelweren	'story'
rosor	'coconut frond'
gës-	'nose'
jëng-	'mouth'
lëw-	'teeth'
langruprup	'cyclone'
geka	'yam'

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, other non-prototypical common nouns are borrowed items which appear to derive from Bislama, which has English vocabulary as one of its sources. Some examples of borrowed items attested in the corpus are shown in (2.11).

(2.11)

bred	'bread'
comiti	'commitee'
ticha	'teacher'
klasrum	'classroom'
brata	'brother'
pasis	'a passage'
pein	'paint'
famli	'family'

2.5 Common Noun Nominal Modification

In addition to the common noun prefix, members of the class of common nouns are distinguishable from other noun classes by their ability to take nominal modification, as well as their ability to be modified by a relative clause (see Chapter 4). In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, nominal modifiers appear post-nominally. Forms which may modify common nouns include lexical modifiers (§2.5.1), quantifiers (§2.5.2), demonstrative determiners (§2.5.3), demonstrative pronouns (§2.5.4), and numerals (§2.5.5).

2.5.1 Lexical Modifiers

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, some stative verbs have an adjectival use in the sense that they can serve as modifiers of the noun head. The small set of stative verbs which can serve as lexical nominal modifiers is displayed in (2.12).

(2.12) *leplep* 'big'
wewerik 'small'
kotkot 'small'

As (2.13), (2.14), and (2.15) show, stative verbs which function as lexical modifiers appear after the head noun.

In (2.13), the stative verb *leplep* 'big' modifies the noun head *nëvat* 'money' to give the meaning 'a lot of money'.

(2.13) *brë-s-wol* [*nëvat* *leplep*]^{NP}
1PL.EXCL-FUT-spend money big
'We'll spend a lot of money.' *mll_eb03.ref.006*

In (2.14), the stative verb *wewerik* 'small' modifies the noun head *netchel* 'mat'. The modified NP encodes the meaning 'small mat'.

(2.14) *re-vet* [*netchel* *wewerik*]^{NP}
3PL.NFUT-weave mat small
'They weaved small mats.' *mll_eb_weave.ref.019*

In (2.15), the stative verb *kotkot* 'small' modifies the noun head *famili* 'family' to give the meaning 'small family'.

(2.15) [*famili* *kotkot* *s-enam*]^{NP} *brë-rongo* *nem*
family small GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-SENSE good
'Our small family feels happy.' *mll_eb03.ref.022*

2.5.2 Quantifiers

A small-set of post-nominal quantifiers are attested in the corpus. These are shown in (2.16). Like the lexical modifiers in (2.12), quantifiers appear after the noun head. Their function is to add some kind of quantificational element to the noun head.

(2.16) *nenge* 'some'
polpol 'all; every'

In (2.17), the quantifier *polpol* 'every' modifies the noun head *nëmere* 'people' to give the meaning 'everyone'.

(2.17)

[*nëmere*	*polpol*]^{NP}	*te*	*re-ven*	*lalen*	*rë-s-chëplen*	*nëvat*
people	every	SUBORD	3PL.NFUT-go	inside	3PL-FUT-throw	stone

'Everyone who enters may throw a stone.' *mll_eb02.ref.017*

In (2.18), the quantifier *nenge* 'some' modifies the pronominal noun head *nakër* '1PL.INCL' to give the meaning 'some of us'.

(2.18)

[*nakër*	*nenge*]^{NP}	*tëso*	*rë-s-rongo*
1PL.INCL	some	COND	1PL.INCL-FUT-SENSE
nem	*te*	*rë-s-ven*	*Letepkhe*
good	SUBORD	1PL.INCL-FUT-go	Letepkhe

'Some of us, if we still feel good then we'll go to Letepkhe.'
mll_eb06.ref.049

2.5.3 Demonstratives

In the corpus, some noun heads can be followed by a demonstrative determiner *khor*. We find that there is an anaphoric determiner of the shape *khor* 'that', which signals an entity which has been previously mentioned or is retrievable from the speech situation. This is exemplified in the set of examples below. In (2.19), the noun head *nëmelep* 'hawk' is being introduced to the scene. In (2.20), which follows (2.19), the noun head *nëmelep* 'hawk' is mentioned with the demonstrative determiner *khor* 'that' which appears directly after the noun head.

(2.19) *Ø-ven* *les* [*nëmelep* *skhal*]^{NP}
3SG.NFUT-go see hawk one
'He saw a hawk.' *mll_eb01.ref.003*

(2.20) [*nëmelep* *khor*]^{NP} *Ø-lol*
hawk DEMS 3SG.NFUT-stay
rëngen *benaem* *s-en*
LOC traditional grounds GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS
'That hawk lived in his traditional grounds.' *mll_eb01.ref.004*

In addition to the demonstrative determiner *khor,* a demonstrative pronoun with an anaphoric function is attested in the corpus of the shape *khori*. This demonstrative typically combines with the similitive verb *plek* 'be like that' to refer to the content of the previous discourse as the manner in which the verb of the current event is being carried out. This is exemplified in (2.21) and (2.22). In (2.21), the demonstrative pronoun *khori,* in combination with the similitive verb *plek,* is referring to a particular manner of death that occurs when someone breaks a taboo, which was discussed earlier in the discourse. In (2.22), the sequence *plek khori* is referring to the how people eat local pudding in general.

(2.21) [*khar* *polpol*]^{NP} [*re-mas* *plek* *khori*]^{VP}
3PL every 3PL.NFUT-die like.so DEMS.PN
'Everyone died like that.' *mll_eb01.ref.023*

(2.22) [*re-och* *sek* *nelok* *khor*]^{VP} [*Ø-plek* *khori*]^{VP}
3PL.NFUT-eat DURAT laplap DEMS 3SG.NFUT-like.so DEMS.PN
'They ate and ate the laplap like that.' *mll_eb01.ref.014*

Sometimes the sequence *plek khori* appears as *plek khoriri*. This can be observed in the mll_eb01 text in Appendix A.

When *khori* occurs alone its functions is typically to point back to the immediately prior event in the discourse as its reference. This is shown in (2.23). In this example, *khori* is referring to the event of people going to church.

(2.23)	*nëmere*	*re-ven*	*pi*	*rëngen*
	people	3PL.NFUT-go	PERF	LOC
	church,	[*khori*]^{NP}	*rëngen*	*Fridei*
	church	DEMS.PN	LOC	Friday

'People had already gone to church, this was on Friday.' *mll_eb06.ref.043*

It should be noted that there are exceptions to the general use of *plek khori* and *khori*. In example (2.33) in §2.6.2 for instance, the sequence *plek khori* is used to refer to the referents of the verb *romrom* 'think', who are mentioned at the start of the clause.

Also in the corpus is a demonstrative pronoun of the shape *khongeni* 'this one'. It is attested to have an anaphoric function, pointing back to the noun or noun phrase it represents. This means that while *khori* points back to an event, *khongeni* points back to a specific entity.

In (2.24) below, *khongeni* 'this one' is referring to a specific woman who the speaker knows. The speaker is telling the addressee that he cannot take her with him. It is important to note here that *khongeni* 'this one' in this example is a fronted object noun phrase. The fronting of constituents is discussed in §4.9.

(2.24)	[*khongeni*]^{NP}	*nokh*	[*pep-lev*	*mëne-te*
	this one	2SG	NEG.IMP-take	INABIL.-NEG2

'This one you cannot take.' *mll_eb012.ref.014*

In the next example, *khongeni* 'this one' is referring to a particular job that the speaker has to carry out, but does not want to.

(2.25)	*pe*	[*khongeni*]^{NP}	*Ø -ve*	*dange*	*skhal*
	but	this one	3SG.NFUT-COP	thing	one
	te	[*pete*	*Ø -rongo*	*nem-en*	*rëngen*
	SUBORD	not	3SG.NFUT-SENSE	good-NOM	LOC

'But this one is a thing that there is no happiness in.' *mll_eb06.ref.011*

2.5.4 Number

There are two types of nominal modification which indicate that a noun phrase is non-singular. These are the plural marker *ngenar*, as shown in (2.26) and (2.27), and basic numerals, as shown in (2.28).

In example (2.26) below, *ngenar* modifies the common noun *dëkhpis* 'child' to give the meaning 'children'.

(2.26) *nëran* *te* [*dëkhpis* *ngenar*]^{NP} *sëkhsëkhe* *wor*
time SUBORD child PLURAL not exist CONT
'Before the children were born... (lit. when the children still did not exist).'
mll_eb06.ref.010

As (2.27) shows, the plural marker appears to have the shortened form *ar*. In this example the kin term *mama* 'mother' is functioning as a common noun. This is discussed in further detail in §2.11. The plural form *ar* follows the noun *mama* 'mother' that it modifies, again giving a plural meaning.

(2.27) [*mama* *ar*]^{NP} *vet*
mother PLURAL weave
'The mothers weave.' *mll_eb_mh_weaving.ref.019*

The numerical system is basically decimal, using the number ten as its base. Interestingly, the forms six to nine share the initial sequence *khV-*. Table 2.4 displays the basic numerals attested in the corpus.

skhal	'one'	*khewen*	'six'
ru	'two'	*khebit*	'seven'
til	'three'	*khëwel*	'eight'
vat	'four'	*khasëv*	'nine'
lëm	'five'	*sëngavil*	'ten'

Table 2.4: Espiegle's Bay Basic Numerals

These basic numerals can be expanded into an open-ended counting system. Numerals between eleven and nineteen in the corpus are expressed as compounds involving the basic numeral *sëngavil*' 'ten', followed by the form *remene* and the basic numerals one to nine. This is exemplified in Table 2.5. Decades twenty to ninety are expressed by the form *ngovil*, which may be a special compounding form of *sëngavil* 'ten', followed by a basic numeral. This is exemplifed in Table 2.6.

sëngavil remene skhal	'eleven'
sëngavil remene ru	'twelve'
sëngavil remene til	'thirteen'
sëngavil remene vat	'fourteen'
sëngavil remene lëm	'fifteen'
sëngavil remene khewen	'sixteen'
sëngavil remene khembit	'seventeen'
sëngavil remene khëwel	'eighteen'
sëngavil remene khasëv	'nineteen'

Table 2.5: Numeral Compounds Eleven to Nineteen

ngovil ru	'twenty'
ngovil til	'thirty'
ngovil vat	'fourty'
ngovil lëm	'fifty'
ngovil khewen	'sixty'
ngovil khembit	'seventy'
ngovil khëwel	'eighty'
ngovil khasëv	'ninety'

Table 2.6: Numeral Compounds Twenty to Ninety

Numerals occur post-nominally to the noun phrase head. They are attested with common nouns, which are countable. This is exemplified in (2.28). In this example three common nouns are modified by numerals. The first is *nët-uk* 'child' which is modified by the numeral *vat* to form the meaning 'four children'. The second is *duwat* 'female' which is modified by

the numeral *skhal* to form the meaning 'one girl'. The third is *nëmermer* 'male' which is modified by the numeral *til* 'three' to form the meaning 'three boys'.

(2.28)

[*nët-uk*	*vat,*]^{NP}	[*duwat*	*skhal*
child-1SG.POSS	four	female	one
po]^{NP}	[*nëmermer*	*til*]^{NP}	
LIMIT	male	three	

My four children are only one girl, and three boys.' *mll_eb07.ref.009*

A generalized structure of the noun phrase with common nouns heads can be extracted from the examples presented in this section. Evidence for the position of relative clauses is given in §4.16.2.

NP = N + (AdjV) + (Limit) + (Num/Quant/Plural) + (Dems) + (Rel.C)

2.6 Personal Nouns

The category of personal nouns includes personal proper names of human individuals, and kin terms when they are used to refer to specific individuals. The identifying syntactic characteristics of this noun class is that its members cannot take any of the common noun modifiers described above, including numerals, quantifiers and demonstratives.

2.6.1 Personal Proper Names

In the corpus, the sub-class of personal proper names consist of items which are the names of specific human individuals. In order to retain the anonymity of the people being referred to in the corpus, only the first initials of personal names are used in examples, such as in (2.29).

(2.29)

[*M.*]^{NP}	*së-metur*	*Molin*
M.	3SG.FUT-sleep	Molin

'M. will sleep at Molin.' *mll_eb06.ref.034*

Attested in the corpus is a single example of a proper name taking nominal modification. In the example below, the proper name *J.* appears with the plural marker *ngenar* and forms an

associative plural construction (Daniel & Moravcsik, 2013). In this example, the proper name *J.* is followed by the plural marker *ngenar* to form the meaning 'J and his siblings'.

(2.30) [*J.* *ngenar*]^{NP} *re-pe-nem-te* *ngen*
J. PLURAL 3PL.NFUT-NEG1-good-NEG2 EXT.P
'J. and his siblings weren't good to him.' *mll_eb06.ref.027*

2.6.2 Kin Terms

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find that there are a small number of kin terms which are used to refer to family members. Interestingly, while the vast majority of kin terms are free forms, there is one example of a kin term which is a bound nominal. Table 2.7 displays the full set of kin terms attested in the corpus.

pepe	'mother'
tate	'father'
sokho	'sister'
brata	'brother'
vave	'paternal aunt'
pëne	'maternal uncle'
tetlalo	'male cousin'
vave kotkot	'female cousin' (lit. small aunt)
pupu	'grandfather'
putwat	'grandmother'
lele	'older sibling'
tes-	'younger sibling'

Table 2.7: Espiegle's Bay Kin Terms

In (2.31), the kin term *putwat* 'grandmother', in combination with the general classifier *s-* and the possessor suffix *-ok* '1SG.POSS, is used by the speaker to refer to her biological grandmother.

(2.31) *re-lev* [*putwat* *s-ok*]^{NP}
3PL.NFUT-take grandmother GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS
'They took my grandmother.' *mll_eb012.ref011*

In (2.32), the kin term *pupu* 'grandfather' is used by the speaker to refer to her biological grandfather.

(2.32) [*pupu*]^{NP} *Ø-chëpare* *nekhap*
grandfather 3SG.NFUT-ignite fire
'Grandfather lit the fire.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.07*

Kin terms can function as common nouns with common noun modifiers. When a kin term is used as common noun, the derived noun refers to the kin category rather than a specific kin individual. In this usage, the kin term may be followed by either the plural marker *ngenar*, asin (2.33), or a numeral, as in (2.34). This type of flexibility in kin term class membership is also observed in the Central Vanuatu language of Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p.136-137).
In (2.33) below, the kin terms *pene* 'maternal uncle', *vave* 'paternal aunt' and *pupu* 'grandfather' are being modified by the plural marker *ngenar*. In this example, the speaker is referring to kin categories in a very general sense. She is talking about family that people usually miss when they are celebrating holidays in a foreign country. In (2.34), the speaker is referring to a group of aunties that someone has, rather than to a specific individual aunt.

(2.33) [*pene* *ngenar,*]^{NP} [*vave* *ngenar,*]^{NP}
maternal uncle PLURAL paternal aunt PLURAL
[*pupu* *ngenar,*]^{NP} *nëran* *te*
grandfather PLURAL time SUBORD
[*re-rov* *dange*]^{VP} [*re-romrom* *ven*
3PL.NFUT-do thing 3PL.NFUT-think.INTRS go
sek *plek* *khori*]^{VP}
HAB like.so DEMS.PN
'Maternal uncles, paternal aunts, grandfathers - when they do things they usually think of them.' *mll_eb08.ref.010*

(2.34) *khar* *re-kat* [*vave* *til*]^{NP}
3PL 3PL.NFUT-COP paternal aunt three
'They have three paternal aunts.' *mll_eb07.ref.010*

Kin terms, in the corpus, also commonly combine with personal proper names to refer to individuals who bear a particular relation to the speaker such as *Putwat M.* 'Grandmother M.' or *Pupu R.* 'Grandfather R'.

2.7 Local Nouns

The third category of nouns is the class of local nouns. The members of this noun class subdivide into local nouns with spatial meanings, and local nouns with temporal meanings. Spatial local nouns include proper place names, absolute local nouns, and locative part nouns. Temporal local nouns include parts of the day, and time counters. Except for the parts of the day, which can take the frequentative marker *sespe*, members of this noun class do not occur with any nominal modification in the corpus.

2.7.1 Proper Place Names

The sub-class of proper place names includes items which are the names of fixed geographical locations, such as countries, islands, cities, towns and communities. Members of this sub-class have the characteristic of being able to form obliques without any additional morphology. This is exemplified in (2.35) and (2.36). In (2.35), the proper place name *Molin* refers to a specific area on Malakula Island in Vanuatu that the subject plans to go to. In (2.36), the proper place name *Ambrëm* refers to Ambrym Island, which is one of the islands of Vanuatu. Thus, both proper place names are examples of fixed geographical locations. In both (2.35) and (2.36), the proper place name inherently forms a locative phrase. As discussed later in §4.6, phrases which encode spatial information such as location, origin, source or goal are usually formed with the prepositional marker *rëngen* 'LOC'.

(2.35) *rë-s-ven* [*Molin*]^{PP}
1PL.INCL-FUT-go Molin
'We will go to Molin.' *mll_eb13.ref.006*

(2.36) *re-lol* [*Ambrëm*]^{PP}
3PL.NFUT-stay Ambrym
'They lived on Ambrym island.' *mll_eb13.ref.004*

Some examples of proper place names attested in the data are shown in Table 2.8.

Molin	'Molin'
Espiegel	'Espiegle's Bay'
Malua	'Malua Bay'
Ambrëm	'Ambrym Island'
Atchin	'Atchin Island'
Davorlewele	'Davorlewele Village'
Meltekhruv	'Meltekhruv Village'

Table 2.8: Espiegle's Bay Proper Place Names

A number of borrowed items also constitute proper place names in the sense that they refer to specific, fixed geographical locations, and can form obliques without any additional morphology. Some of the borrowed proper place name items attested in the Espiegle's Bay corpus are:

(2.37) *Papua* 'Papua New Guinea'
Solomon 'Solomon Islands'
Fiji 'Fiji'
Vila 'Port Vila'

An example of a borrowed item being used as a proper place name is shown below. In this example, the borrowed item *Fiji* refers to the Pacific island of Fiji in Melanesia in the South Pacific Ocean. Like the proper place names in (2.35) and (2.36) above, the borrowed proper place name *Fiji* can form a locative phrase without any additional morphology.

(2.38) *G.* *Ø-ven* *pi* [*Fiji*]^{PP}
G. 3SG.NFUT-go PERF Fiji
G. had already gone to Fiji.' *mll_eb06.ref.007*

2.7.2 Absolute Local Pronouns

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus we find that there are a number of local pronouns which are absolute and deictic. They are absolute in the sense of referring consistently to a particular direction; some are also deictic in that they are bound to the speaker's point of view (Hyslop, 2001, p.52).

Like many Oceanic languages (Ross, 2004, p.499; Barbour, 2012, p.143), in the Espiegle's Bay corpus there is a set of local demonstrative pronouns, which signal the distance of an object with respect to the speaker. A three-way contrast is made between proximal, intermediate, and distal, as summarized in the Table below.

iten	here (in front of self/ very close by)
eve	there (medium distance)
lukhse	there (far away)

Table 2.9: Absolute/Deictic Local Pronouns in Espiegle's Bay

Some examples of these absolute/deictic local pronouns in the corpus are shown below.
In example (2.39), the speaker uses the local pronoun *iten* to refer to ants on the ground immediately in front of her.

(2.39) [*në-les* *nësesakh* *lep* *iten*]^{VP}
1SG.NFUT-see ant many here
'I see a lot of ants here.' *mll_ebelicitold.ref.007*

In example (2.40), the speaker uses the local pronoun *eve* to refer to chickens which are approximately a metre away from where she is standing.

(2.40) [*në-les* *neto* *lep* *eve*]^{VP}
1SG.NFUT-see chicken many there
'I see a lot of chickens over there.' *mll_ebelicitold.ref.007*

In the next example, the speaker uses the local pronoun *lukhse* to refer to hawks which are flying in the distance. The hawks are barely visible.

(2.41) [*në-les* *nëmelep* *lep* *lukhse*]^{VP}
1SG.NFUT-see hawk many over there
'I see lots of hawks way over there.' *mll_ebelicitold.ref.007*

While this set of local pronouns utilizes both the absolute and deictic frames of reference, the remainder of the local pronouns do not. Instead, these local pronouns only readily employ the absolute frame. Further data is required to decide whether or not they are also deictic.

On the horizontal plane, we find a two-way contrast between *ermoro* 'inland' and *erwa* 'seaward', with inland 'up' from the reference point and seaward 'down'. This two-way contrast is also found in the Vanuatu languages of Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p.140) and Lolovoli (Hyslop, 2001, p.210). Hyslop (2001, p.210), in her grammar sketch of Lolovoli, provides a useful explanation for this inland-seaward contrast. She states:

> Considering that land rises up from the sea, it is not surprising that locations which are inland are considered to be 'up' from the deictic centre, and locations which are towards the sea are 'down' (Hyslop, 2001, p.210).

Given that the Espiegle's Bay speech community is located on the north-west coast of Malakula, where inland of the community is towards the bush and seaward is toward the coast, Hyslop's (2001, p.210) explanation of the inland-seaward contrast could also be applied to the Espiegle's Bay language. Some examples of these horizontal plane absolute pronouns are shown below.

In this example, the speaker uses the local pronoun *ermoro* 'inland' to refer to a bush area located up a small hill, inward of the coast, that she plans to go to.

(2.42) *khunu* *jë-ven* [*ermoro* *lames*]^{NP}
1SG 1SG.FUT-go inland bush
' I will go up to the bush.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.01.01*

In this example, the speaker uses the local pronoun *erwa* 'seaward' to refer to the seashore, which is located downward from her current location.

(2.43) *khunu* *jë-ven* [*erwa* *leltas*]^{NP}
1SG 1SG.FUT-go seaward sea shore
' I will go down to the seashore.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.01.01*

While both these examples place the speaker at the deictic centre, these forms can probably be used non-deictically.

On the vertical plane, a simple two-way contrast is made between *lemsakh* 'up' and *lelten* 'down'. This is exemplified in (2.44) and (2.45).

In example (2.44), the speaker uses the local pronoun *lemsakh* 'up' in reference to how yam vines climb up wood.

(2.44) *re-chem* *ven* [*lemsakh*]^{NP}
3PL.NFUT- vine go up
'They trained up.'

In example (2.45), the speaker uses the local pronoun *lelten* 'down' to refer to the directional motion of a young boy's action of sitting.

(2.45) *khaën* *Ø-yat* [*lelten*]^{NP}
3SG 3SG.NFUT-sit down
'He sat down.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.002*

Finally, in the group of locatives is a particle *eri*, which appears to have the function of emphasizing the location of some event. The location itself, having been mentioned earlier in the discourse, is not specified. In the corpus, this form never appears alone. It either follows an absolute local pronoun, or precedes the demonstrative *khor*. This is exemplified in (2.46), (2.47) and (2.48) below.

In example (2.46), the speaker is emphasizing that, because of coming to New Zealand, her children are able to have a better education. Earlier in the discourse, she had been discussing a number of good points about New Zealand.

(2.46) *mëten* *rë-ma* *rë-lol* [*iten* *eri*]^{NP}
because 1PL.INCL.NFUT-come 1PL.INCLNFUT-stay here EMPHZ
'Because we came and stayed right here...' *mll_eb08.ref.004*

In example (2.47), the speaker is talking about how, when she was a child, she and her siblings would paddle a canoe to Atchin Island from Malakula for the specific purpose of going to school. Immediately prior to this example, the speaker stated that her first school was on Atchin Island.

(2.47) *brë-ven* [*eri* *khor*]^{NP}
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-go EMPHZ DEMS
'We went specifically to that place (to go to school).' *mll_eb09.ref.008*

Example (2.48) occurs immediately after the example above in (2.47). Here, the speaker is emphasizing the duration she was at the school on Atchin. In this example, *class one* refers to a child's first year of primary education, while *class four* refers to a child's fourth year of primary education.

(2.48) *në-lol* [*eri* *khor*]^{NP} *rëngen*
1SG.NFUT-stay EMPHZ DEMS LOC
class one *ven* *chëper* *class four*
class one go until class four
'I stayed right here from class one until class four.' *mll_eb09.ref.009*

2.7.3 Locative Part Nouns

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, two locative part nouns are attested *lalen* 'inside' and *chaling* 'outside'. Locative part nouns allow speakers to orient events and participants relative to some specified object such as a house or village. This is exemplified in (2.49) and (2.50) below.

In (2.49), the speaker is talking about how people would, as-per-custom, pray inside Yalo cave. Here, *lalen* 'inside' is referring to the inside of the cave. Yalo cave is located in Northwest Malakula, and is believed to have spiritual properties.

(2.49) *nëmere* *re-werwar* *sek* [*lalen*]^{NP}
people 3PL.NFUT-pray HAB inside
'People customarily prayed inside.' *mll_eb02.ref.003*

In (2.50), the speaker makes this statement whilst inside someone's home. Thus, *chaling* 'outside' in this example is referring to the outside of someone's house.

(2.50) *jë-metur* [*chaling*]^{NP}
1SG.FUT-sleep outside
'I'll sleep outside.' *mll_eb06.ref.029*

2.7.4 Temporal Local Nouns

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find that there are two sub-classes of temporal local nouns. These are Parts of the Day and Time Counters. In the corpus, temporal local nouns are only attested with absolute temporal reference.

2.7.4.1Parts of the Day

In the corpus, we find that the diurnal span can be divided into three segments: morning *'rororan'*, afternoon *'rovrov'*, and evening *'malek'*.

Parts of the day are only attested with absolute temporal reference, using the present moment (i.e. the moment of speech) as the reference time. When the verb takes non-future tense marking, the relevant temporal location precedes the moment of speech. By contrast, when the verb takes future tense marking, the relevant temporal location follows the moment of speech. This is exemplified in (2.51), (2.52) and (2.53).

In (2.51), the speaker is talking about her family's plans to go to Kerikeri. Thus here, the temporal location follows the present moment, with the subject affix prefixed to the verb,*brë-* '1PL.INCL', marked with the future tense suffix *-s*. Tense marking is discussed in detail in §3.4.

(2.51) [*brë-s-ven*]^{VP} *rëngen* *fridei* *rovrov*
1PL.INCL-FUT-go LOC Friday afternoon
[*brë-s-ma* *lëkhen*]^{VP} *rëngen* *sundei* *rororan*
1PL.INCL-FUT-come back LOC Sunday morning
'We are to go on Friday afternoon and come back on Sunday morning.'
mll_eb03.ref.004

In (2.52), the speaker is talking about what she plans to eat in the evening. Here, like (2.51), the temporal location follows the present moment.

(2.52) [*malek*]^{NP} [*jë-och* *geka*]^{VP}
evening 1SG.FUT-eat yam
Tonight, I'll eat yam.' *mll_ebelicitold.ref.002*

In (2.53), the speaker is talking about what she ate yesterday morning for breakfast. Here, the temporal location precedes the present moment, with the verb marked for non-future tense via the subject prefix *në*-'1SG.NFUT'.

(2.53) [*nenav*]^{NP} [*në-och* *navich* til]^{VP} [*rororan*]^{PP}
yesterday 1SG.NFUT-eat banana three morning
'Yesterday, I ate three bananas in the morning.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.013*

In the corpus, *rororan* 'morning' is attested with the frequentative marker *sespe* 'every'. No other examples of nominal modification involving the parts of the day are attested in the corpus. Interestingly, in the corpus, the noun head can either precede or follow the modifier. This is exemplified in (2.54) and (2.55). In (2.54), the noun head *rororan* 'morning' precedes the modifier *sespe* 'every', while in (2.55) the noun head *rororan* 'morning' follows the modifier *sespe* 'every'. The variation in the position of the noun head is possibly an influence of the English language.

(2.54) [*rororan* *sespe*]^{NP} *brë-sëwe* *nok*
morning every 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-paddle canoe
'Every morning, we paddled the canoe.' *mll_eb09.ref.011*

(2.55) [*sespe* *rororan*]^{NP} *brë-chëper* *nëwonwon*
every morning 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-touch sand
'Every morning, we would touch the sand.' *mll_eb09.ref.013*

Two more items, which refer to specific moments in time within the diurnal span, are attested in the Espiegle's Bay corpus. These are *ran* 'dawn' and *lelekhwat* 'midnight'.

(2.56) [*R.*]^{NP} [*pe-metur-te* *veve.veve* *ran*]^{VP}
R. NEG1-sleep-NEG2 on-going dawn
'R. didn't sleep until dawn.' *mll_eb09.ref.005*

(2.57) [*brë-yat.at* *lelekhwat*]^{VP}
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-sit.CVCREDUP midnight
'We sat until midnight.' *mll_eb06.ref.047*

2.7.4.2 Time Counters

The second sub-class of temporal local nouns comprises time counters. Table 2.10 shows the full set of time counters attested in the data.

nevar	'yesterday'
nenav	'yesterday'
sumu	'today'
mavëkh	'tomorrow'
tue	'long ago; in the past'

Table 2.10: Time Counters

In the corpus, time counters are only attested with absolute temporal reference. This is exemplified in (2.58) and (2.59). In (2.58), the temporal location follows the reference time. In (2.59), the temporal location precedes the reference time.

(2.58) [*nenav*]^{NP} [*në-och* *po* *geka*]^{VP}
yesterday 1SG.NFUT-eat LIMIT yam
'Yesterday, I ate only yam.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.01.12*

(2.59) [*sumu*]^{NP} [*khaën* *Ø-ve* *namba* *twenty two* *Novemba*]^{VP}
today 3SG 3SG.NFUT-COP number twenty two November
'Today it is the 22nd of November.' *mll_eb010.ref.001*

Interestingly, in the corpus we find that time counters can combine with parts of the day, which establishes more clearly a particular diurnal span as the temporal location of an event. Here, the time counter serves as the noun phrase head.

(2.60) *sumu rovrov* 'this afternoon'
nenav rororan 'yesterday morning'
mavëkh malëk 'tomorrow night'

2.8 Possession

Possession is another type of nominal modification which appears in the corpus. However, unlike the other types of nominal modification discussed in §2.5, possession is attested to occur with not only common nouns, but personal nouns and local nouns also.

Like a number of Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002, p.41), in the Espiegle's Bay language corpus we find that there is a morphosyntactic distinction between directly and indirectly possessed nouns, and that this morphosyntactic distinction corresponds to a semantic one.

With directly possessed nouns, the possessed noun is a bound nominal which is inflected by a possessor suffix. This is exemplified in (2.61). In this example, *nëmal-* 'leg' is the bound nominal to which the possessor suffix *-ak*'1SG.POSS' is attached.

(2.61) [*nëmal-ak*]^{NP}
leg-1SG.POSS
'My leg.' *mll_ebelicitold.ref.002*

With indirectly possessed nouns, the possessed noun is a free form noun. Following the free noun is a relational classifier which is inflected by a possessor suffix. This is exemplified in

(2.62). In this example, the free form *nuwa* 'water' is the possessed noun, and *nëm* is the classifier to which the possessor suffix *-ak*'1SG.POSS' is attached.

(2.62) [*nuwa* *nëm-ak*]^{NP}
water DRINK.CLS-1SG.POSS
'My water.' *mll_ebelicitold.ref.002*

The possessor suffixes constitute a paradigm very similar to that of independent pronouns. Possessor suffixes distinguish between first, second and third person, and between singular and non-singular referents. In the first-person non-singular series, there is a distinction between the inclusive and exclusive. This is summarized in Table 2.11, which shows the full possessor suffix paradigm attested in the Espiegle's Bay language corpus.

	Singular		Non-singular
First Person	*-ak (-uk, -ok)*	Inclusive	*-er*
		Exclusive	*-enam*
Second Person	*-om*		*-em (-am)*
Third Person	*-en*		*-ar*

Table 2.11: Espiegle's Bay Possessive Suffixes

Like many Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002, p.41), in the Espiegle's Bay corpus we find that the morphosyntactic difference between direct possession and indirect possession also corresponds to a semantic difference between alienable possession and inalienable possession. What constitutes as 'alienable' or 'inalienable' varies from language to language, but the basic shared criterion is that inalienability assumes that the possessed noun has a permanent and/or inherent association with the possessor, while alienability assumes that the relationship between the possessor and possessed noun is relative and terminable (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002, p.40-43). In Espiegle's Bay, the possessed noun of a direct possession construction is 'inalienable' in the sense that all its members are either body parts or younger relations, which have a permanent and inherent association with the possessor. Table 2.12 shows the full set of bound nominals attested in the corpus.

Body Part	Gloss	Body Part	Gloss
nëmel-	leg/foot	*lëw-*	teeth
bat-	head	*lew-*	stomach
gës-	nose	*nëmt-*	eye
bukht-	'back'	*nemb-*	'body'
nëvr-	arm/hand	*nëb-*	'skin'
jëng-	mouth	*nëvr-*	'hair'
Kinship Term	Gloss	Common Noun	Gloss
tes-	'younger sibling'	*nët-*	'child'

Table 2.12: Espiegle's Bay Bound Nominals

In contrast, the possessed noun of an indirect possessive construction is 'alienable' in the sense that all its members are items like food, drink and animals, for which possession is relative and terminable. In the corpus, all nouns which are not body parts or younger kin relations are 'alienable'. Different kinds of alienable possession are distinguished by a set of three pronominal classifiers. These relational classifiers specify the nature of the semantic relationship between the possessor and the possessed noun, and are: the classifier *r-*for food possession, the classifier *nëm-*for drink possession, and the classifier *s-* for all other kinds of alienable possession. This is exemplified in (2.63), (2.64) and (2.65).

In (2.63) below, the possessed noun *nelok* 'local pudding' is a food item. Thus the classifier it appears with is *r-*, which marks food possession.

(2.63) [*nelok* *r-ok*]^{NP}
local pudding FOOD.CLS-1SG.POSS
'My local pudding.'*mll_ebelicitold.ref.004*

In (2.64), the possessed noun *nuwa* 'water' is a drink item. Thus the classifier it appears with is *nëm-*, which marks drink possession.

(2.64) [*nuwa* *nëm-om*]^{NP}
water DRINK.CLS-2SG.POSS
'Your water.' *mll_ebelicitold.ref.004*

In (2.65), the possessed noun *stori* 'story' is a general item. Thus the classifier it appears with is *s-*, which is the general classifier.

(2.66) [*stori* *s-er*]^{NP} *Ø-pol* *eri* *khor*
story GEN.CLS-1PL.INCL.POSS 3SG.NFUT-finish here DEMS
'Our story finishes here.' *mll_eb01.ref.025*

2.8.1 Genitive Morphemes *se* and *ne*

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find that there are two further types of indirect possession to account for instances where both the possessed noun and the possessor are non-pronominal. The first of these involves the human genitive morpheme *se*, which occurs in examples when the possessor is human and the possessed noun is an inanimate object. This morpheme sits between the possessed noun and the possessor, as in (2.67). In this example, the possessed noun *nele* 'word' appears before the human genitive morpheme *se*, while the possessor *nasup lemsakh* 'God', appears after the human genitive morpheme *se*.

(2.67) *re-tevni* [*nele* *se* *nasup* *lemsakh*]^{NP} *lalen*
3PL.NFUT-bury word HUM.GEN chief above inside
'They buried God's word (lit. the words of the chief above) inside.' *mll_eb02.ref.003*

The second type of indirect possession involves the non-human genitive morpheme *ne*, which occurs when both the possessed noun and the possessor are non-human. Like the human genitive morpheme *se*, this morpheme sits between the possessed noun and possessor. This is exemplified in (2.68), with *rosor* 'coconut frond' the possessed noun and *nani* 'coconut' the possessor.

(2.68) *pepe* *ngenar* *re-vet* [*rosor* *ne* *nani*]^{NP}
mother PLURAL 3PL.NFUT-weave frond NHUM.GEN coconut
'The mothers wove the coconut's frond.' *mll_ebelicitold.ref.022*

Of the two genitive morphemes the morpheme *ne* is by far more widely used, and is attested to have several semantic functions. *Ne* can be used to refer to something as coming from or belonging to a particular place. In (2.69) below, the *jëchelweren* 'story' belongs to *nuwal Yalo*

'Yalo cave' in an abstract sense. In (2.70), the *nële* 'word'/'language' being referred to belongs to '*Espiegle's Bay*'.

(2.69) *khaën* *Ø-ve* [*jëchelweren* *ne* *nuwal* *Yalo*]^{NP}
3SG 3SG.NFUT-COP story NHUM.GEN hole Yalo
'It is the story of Yalo cave.' *mll_eb02.ref.001*

(2.70) [*nële* *ne* *Espiegle's Bay*]^{NP}
word NHUM.GEN Espiegle's Bay
'Language of Espiegle's Bay.' *mll_ebelicitold.ref.033*

Ne can indicate the purpose to which something is put. In (2.71), the *nëmren* 'meat' is specifically for the meal specified in the noun phrase *noren khor* 'that meal'.

(2.71) [*nëmren* *ne* *noren* *khor*]^{NP}
meat NHUM.GEN food DEMS
'Meat for that meal.' *mll_eb01.ref.002*

Ne can indicate that something is physically a part of a larger whole. In (2.72) below, *rokho* 'leaf' is a part of *nani* 'coconut'. In (2.73), *naber* 'post' is a part of *naem* 'house'.

(2.72) [*rokho* *ne* *nani*]^{NP}
leaf NHUM.GEN coconut
'Leaves of the coconut.' *mll_eboldelicit.ref.006*

(2.73) [*naber* *ne* *naem*]^{NP}
post NHUM.GEN house
'Post of the house.' *mll_eboldelicit.ref.006*

Interestingly, when the non-human genitive morpheme *ne* is used to indicate that something is a part of a larger whole, it can be stranded with no possessor if that possessor is inherently known, or can be retrieved from the earlier discourse. The sentence in (2.74) provides the context to illustrate this point. In (2.74), the speaker specifies that a lot of things can be made from coconuts.

(2.74) [[*nani*]^{NP} [*Ø-ve* *dange* *skhal*]^{VP}]$^{M.C}$
coconut 3SG.NFUT-COP thing one
[*te* [*mëroten*]^{NP} [*Ø-ve* [2] _____
SUBORD person 3SG.NFUT-make
ngen *dange* *lep*]^{VP}]$^{Sub.C}$
EXT.P thing many
'The coconut is something that people make many things with.'*mll_eb04.ref.002*

The possessor *nani* 'coconut', in specific reference to the items that can be made from it, is suppressed throughout the rest of the discourse, such as in (2.75) and (2.76, which follow (2.74). In (2.75), the possessor component of *dëron ne* is suppressed. In (2.75), the possessor component of *rosor ne* is suppressed. The suppressed component is indicated by '_____'.

(2.75) *mëroten* *Ø-sëpe* [*dëron* *ne* _____]^{NP}
person 3SG.NFUT-cut trunk NHUM.GEN
Ø-ve *nëkhap*
3SG.NFUT-make firewood
'People cut the trunk of (the coconut) to make firewood.' *mll_eb04.ref.002*

(2.76) *re-vet* [*rosor* *ne* _____]^{NP}
3PL.NFUT-weave frond NHUM.GEN
Ø-ve *nëvrevër*
3SG.NFUT-make fan
'They wove (the coconut's) fronds to make fans.' *mll_eb04.ref.004*

[2] _____ is used to indicate a suppressed nominal. Suppression is discussed in detail in §3.4.3 and §4.7.

The types of possession which have been discussed in this section are summarized in Table 2.13 below.

Direct Inalienable Possession	*bound possessum*	+	*possessor suffix*		
Indirect Alienable Possession	*free possessum*	+	*classifier*	+	*possessor suffix*
Human Indirect Possession	*free possessum*	+	*human genitive morpheme*	+	*free form human possessor*
Non-Human Indirect Possession	*free non-human possessum*	+	*non-human genitive morpheme*	+	*free form non-human possessor*

Table 2.13: Types of Possession in Espiegle's Bay

2.9 Nominalisation

In the Espiegle's Bay language corpus, we find that there is a suffix of the shape *-en*, which attaches to the root of some intransitive verbs to derive a noun. This is exemplified below.

(2.77) *roch-en* 'illness' from *roch* ' be ill'
morov-en 'life' from *morov* 'be alive'
romrom-en 'mind' from *romrom* 'think'
khirkhir-en 'education' from *khirkhir* ' to be taught'
nem-en 'happiness' from *nem* 'be happy'

We also find evidence of a nominalisation process that involves a simulfix of the shape *në-* V *-en*. This is exemplified in (2.78).

(2.78) *në-morov-en* 'heart' from *morov* 'be alive'
në-mas-en 'death' from *mas* 'die'

2.10 Noun Phrase Coordination

In the Espiegle's Bay language corpus, there are several strategies which are employed to signal that two entities are functioning as joint participants in an event. We find two types of noun phrase coordination: conjunctive coordination and disjunctive coordination. Conjunctive coordination can be signalled by prosodic listing or a prepositional construction. Disjunction coordination is signalled by a disjunctive coordinator.

2.10.1 Conjunctive Coordination

2.10.1.1 Prosodic Listing

In the corpus, the most basic means of conjoining two NPs is a brief intonation break, marked by a comma in the examples below, between nouns. This strategy is referred to as prosodic listing[3]. In the recorded data, we hear a slight raise in intonation at the end of each NP. In the example below, this intonational raise is marked by the upwards arrow on the nouns *jeche, wetepël* and *nabov*, which are kinds of yams.

(2.79)	*not*	*khor*	*Ø-chem*	*pe*	*pete*	*po*	*geka*	*po*
	garden	DEMS	3SG.NFUT-train up	but	not	LIMIT	yam	LIMIT
	[*o*	*jeche,*↗]^{NP}	[*wetepël,* ↗]^{NP}	[*nabov,* ↗]^{NP}				
	DISJUNCT	k.o. yam	k.o. yam	nabov				

'That garden, it grew upwards but not only the normal yam or the jeche, wetepel, nabov yams.' *mll_eb05.ref.018*

2.10.1.2 Comitative Preposition *ron*

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, the preposition *ron* encodes the comitative function. Specifically, the preposition *ron* introduces a human participant that volitionally accompanies a participant which is encoded as a core argument in a clause.

In the example below, *G.*, who is the name of a specific person and is the clause's grammatical subject, is in discussion with family heads, referred to as *tate ngenar* 'fathers', about the distribution of land. The noun phrase *tate ngenar* 'fathers' is introduced by the comitative preposition *ron*.

[3] The term 'prosidic listing' is taken from Barbour (2012, p.126)

(2.80) Subject

[*G.*]^{NP}	*Ø-rov*	*sek*	*den*	[*ron*	*tate*	*ngenar*]^{NP}]^{PP}
G.	3SG.NFUT-do	HAB	ground	COMIT	father	PLURAL

'G. was dealing with/distributing the land with the fathers.'*mll_eb06.ref.002*

However, this comitative prepositional marker is also attested as a phrasal adjunct. In this use, *ron* acts like a nominal coordinator, coordinating two noun phrases. This is exemplified in (2.81). In this example, the noun phrase *ngen nët-en* 'his child' is coordinated to the noun phrase *duwat s-en* 'his wife' through the preposition *ron* to form the meaning 'his child and wife'.

(2.81)

khaen	*Ø-wer*	[*ngen*	*nët-en*	*ron*
3SG	3SG.NFUT-tell	EXT.P	child-3SG.POSS	COMIT
duwat	*s-en*]^{NP}	*te*	*rë-s-rov*	*nelok*
female	GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS	SUBORD	3PL-FUT-make	local pudding

'He told his child and wife to make the local pudding.' *mll_eb01.ref.006*

2.10.2 Disjunctive Coordination

Disjunctive coordination between two noun phrases is signalled by the disjunctive coordinator *sowo* 'or', as in (2.82). In this example, the numeral *sëngavil* 'ten' is coordinated to the noun phrase *nemtenel sëngavil remene skhal* 'eleven hours' through the disjunctive coordinator *sowo* 'or' to form the meaning 'ten or eleven hours'.

(2.82)

nemtenel	*vis,*	[*sëngavil*	*sowo*
time, o'clock	how many	ten	DISJUNCT
nemtenel	*sëngavil*	*remene*	*skhal*]^{NP}
time, o'clock	ten	NUM	one

'How many hours? Ten or eleven hours? *mll_eb06.ref.046*

This coordinator sometimes appears in its shortened forms '*so*', as in (2.83), which is sometimes further shortened to *'o'*, as in (2.84). The form '*o*' might also derive from *'o'* in Bislama.

(2.83) *jë-lol* *rëngen* [*Molin* *so* *Pëpetpëkh*]^{NP}
1SG.NFUT-STAY LOC Molin DISJUNCT Pepetpekh
'I can stay at Molin or Pepetekh.' *mll_eb06.ref.019*

(2.84) [*mama* *ngenar* *o* *tate* *ngenar*]^{NP} *re-yat*
mother PLURAL DISJUNCT father PLURAL 3PL.NFUT-sit
'The mothers or fathers would sit.' *mll_eb05.ref.008*

2.11 Noun Phrase Heads

In the Espiegle's Bay language corpus, the noun phrase is head-initial. We find that a number of different words can function as the head of the noun phrase. In the corpus, the most commonly occurring noun phrase head is an independent pronoun. This is quite possibly because the text corpus mostly comprises of narrative monologues. Noun phrases with independent pronouns as heads are free in distribution, occurring as pre-verbal grammatical subjects, post-verbal objects and obliques. This is exemplified in (2.85), (2.86), (2.87) and (2.88).

In (2.85), the independent pronoun *kënam* '1PL.INCL' serves as the head of the noun phrase in the subject position.

(2.85) Subject
[*kënam*]^{NP} *brë-lol* *rëngen* *nëvenu* *leplep*
1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.NFUT LOC place big
'We stayed at a big place.' *mll_eb09.ref.007*

In (2.86), the independent pronoun *khunu* '1SG' serves as the head of the noun phrase in the direct object position.

(2.86) Direct Object
ker-pep-och-te [*khunu*]^{NP}
2PL.FUT-NEG.IMP1-eat-NEG2 1SG
'Don't eat me.' *mll_eb01.ref.010*

In this example, the independent pronoun *nokh* '2SG' serves as the head of the noun phrase in the indirect object position. It is introduced by the extended patient marker *ngen*, which is discussed in detail in §5.3.

(2.87)

		Indirect Object	
rë-s-koron	*chanis*	[*ngen*	*nokh*]^{NP}
3PL-FUT-give	chance	EXT.P	2SG

'They'll give a chance to you.' *mll_eb06.ref.021*

In (2.88), the independent pronoun *khunu* '1SG' serves as the head of the noun phrase in the oblique. It is introduced by the personal locational preposition *chi*. This preposition is discussed in detail in §4.6.3.

(2.88)

			Oblique	
[*khaën*]^{NP}	[*Ø-yat*	*iten*]^{VP}	[*chi*	*khunu*]^{PP}
3SG	3SG.NFUT-sit	here	LOC.PSN	1SG

'He is sitting here by me.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.01.03*

Common nouns also commonly occur as the head of a noun phrase. Such nouns may stand alone in the noun phrase or may be modified with any one of the modifiers discussed in §2.5. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, common nouns are attested as heads in the subject position and the direct object position, as exemplified in (2.89) and (2.90).

In (2.89), the common noun *nëmelep* 'hawk', which has been modified by the demonstrative determiner *khor*, functions as the head of the noun phrase in the subject position.

(2.89)

Subject				
[*nëmelep*	*khor*]^{NP}	*Ø-lol*	*rëngen*	*benaem*
hawk	DEMS	3SG.NFUT-stay	LOC	traditional grounds
s-en				
GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS				

'That hawk stayed in his traditional grounds.' *mll_eb.01.ref.004*

In (2.90), the common noun *nëban* 'burnt garden rubbish' functions as the head of the noun phrase in the direct object position.

(2.90) Direct Object

re-chere	[*nëban*]^{NP}
3PL.NFUT-rake	burnt garden rubbish

'They raked up the burnt garden rubbish.'

Personal nouns, such as personal proper names and kin terms, may also serve as the head of the noun phrase. In the corpus, personal nouns are attested as heads in the subject and direct object positions. This is shown in examples (2.91) and (2.92).

In (2.91) below, the kin term *tate* 'father' is head of the noun phrase in the subject position.

(2.91) Subject

[*tate*]^{NP}	*Ø-wer*	*ngen*	*khunu*
father	3SG.NFUT-tell	EXT.P	1SG

'Father told me.' *mll_eb06.ref.021*

In (2.92), the personal proper name *R.* is head of the noun phrase in the direct object position.

(2.92)

nëmen	*khor*	*Ø-rup*	[*R.*] ^{NP}
black magic	DEMS	3SG.NFUT-hit	R.

'That black magic hit R.' *mll_eb06.ref.005*

In the corpus, the single example of a modified proper name, where the proper name *J.* is modified by the plural marker *ngenar* to form an associative plural construction, functions as the head of the noun phrase in the subject position. This is shown below.

(2.93) Subject

[*J.*	*ngenar*]^{NP}	*re-pe-nem-te*	*ngen*
J.	PLURAL	3PL.NFUT-NEG1-good-NEG2	EXT.P

'J. and his siblings weren't good to him.' *mll_eb06.ref.027*

In the corpus, kin terms functioning as common nouns can serve as the head of the noun phrase in the subject position and the direct object position. In (2.94), the kin term *tate* 'father', which is modified by the plural marker *ngenar*, serves as the head of the noun phrase in the subject position. In (2.95), the kin term *vave* 'paternal aunt', which is modified by the numeral *til* 'three', serves as the head of the noun phrase in the direct object position.

(2.94) Subject

[*tate*	*ngenar*]^{NP}	*re-yat*	*rëngen*	*netrach*
father	PLURAL	3PL.NFUT-sit	LOC	truss

'The fathers sat on the truss.' *mll_eb06.ref.037*

(2.95) Direct Object

khar	*re-kat*	[*vave*	*til*]^{NP}
3PL	3PL.NFUT-COP	paternal aunt	three

'They have three paternal aunts.' *mll_eb07.ref.010*

Local nouns, such as proper place names, absolute/deictic local pronouns, and locative part nouns may serve as the head of the noun phrase. They are relatively restricted in distribution in the sense that they almost exclusively occur as obliques, as exemplified in (2.96), (2.97) and (2.98). However, there are a few occurrences of proper place names occurring as the grammatical subject of non-verbal clauses, as in (2.97). Local nouns are not attested to take nominal modification.

In example (2.96) below, the proper place name *Pëpetpëkh*, which is the name of an area on Malakula, serves as the head of the noun phrase in the oblique. As discussed earlier in 2.3.4.1, proper place names may form locative phrases without any additional morphology.

(2.96) Oblique

khunu	*jë-lol*	[*Pëpetpëkh*]
1SG	1SG.FUT-stay	Pepetpekh

'I will stay at Pepetpekh.' *mll_eb06.ref.023*

In (2.97), the proper place name *Davorlewele,* which is a community on Malakula, serves as the head of the noun phrase in the subject position of the non-verbal clause. Non-verbal clauses are discussed in detail in §4.15.

(2.97) Subject

[*Davorlewele*]^{NP}	*pete*	*nevenu*	*s-ok*
Davorlewele	not	place	GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS

'Davorlewele is not my place.' *mll_eb06.ref.018*

In (2.98), the locative part noun *lalen* 'inside' is the head of the noun phrase in the oblique position. Here, the speaker is talking about how people would, as-per-custom, pray inside Yalo cave.

(2.98) Oblique

nëmere	*re-werwar*	*sek*	[*lalen*]
people	3PL.NFUT-pray	HAB	inside

'People (as per custom) prayed inside.' *mll_eb02.ref.003*

In (2.99), the speaker is quoting her father who, while in hospital with the speaker's mother, stated that he would pay the female hospital staff extra to look after her. Here, the absolute/deictic local pronoun *iten* refers to within the hospital, and serves as the noun phrase head of the oblique.

(2.99) Oblique

jë-wol	*duwat*	[*iten*],	*rë-s-klesur*	*nokh*
1SG.NFUT-buy/sell	woman	here	3PL-FUT-look after	2SG

I'll pay the women here to look after you.' *mll_eb12.ref.007*

Chapter 3

Verbs and the Verb Phrase

3.1 Introduction

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find that verbs are distinguished from other word classes by their ability to take person and tense marking, which take the shape of pronominal prefixes. Unlike in most Malakula languages (Hyslop, 2001, p.55; Crowley, 2006a p.98; Crowley, 2006b, p.139; Crowley, 2006c, p.67; Barbour, 2012, p.164), in Espiegle's Bay subject-tense prefixation on the verb is not fully obligatory in the sense that it is not a typical element of imperative and prohibitive constructions. It is also sometimes dropped in basic declaratives under certain conditions (see §4.4).Verbs are divided into sub-classes on the basis of their syntactic behaviour, namely the number of core arguments they can take without any additional morphology. In the corpus, we find four sub-classes of verbs: inherently intransitive verbs (§3.5.1), inherently transitive verbs (§3.5.2), ambitransitive verbs (§3.5.3), and there are also morphologically related intransitive-transitive verb pairs (§3.5.4). Unlike the Vanuatu languages of Lolovoli (2001) and South Efate (2006), verbs in the Espiegle's Bay language corpus do not heavily exhibit the A-type versus O-type verb distinction (§3.5). In the corpus, only one verb is attested to exhibit O-type verb properties. This is detailed in §3.5. Verbs which have atypical properties are discussed in §3.6. A number of aspectual markers are attested in the corpus, including quantificational markers and phasal markers. These are considered in §3.9.

3.2 Verb Phrase Structure

In the corpus, we find that the verb phrase comprises a verb, which is typically inflected for person and tense, as the head; post-verbal modifiers including aspectual markers; a nominal phrase as the direct object argument; and/or a prepositional phrase as the oblique. Attested in the corpus are two modifiers which are pre-verbal. They sit immediately prior the verb head. Table 3.1 displays the general structure of the Espiegle's Bay verb phrase.

VP=	(Subject-Tense)	(Neg1/Imp1/Neg.Imp1)	(Pre-V Modifier)	HEAD	(Aspect1)	(Neg2)	(Aspect2)	(Direct Object)	*ngen* + (Indirect Object)

Table 3.1: Espiegle's Bay Verb Phrase Structure

Unlike many Malakula languages, such as Lolovoli (Hyslop, 2001, p.55), Naman (Crowley, 2006a, p.98) and Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p.164), in the Espiegle's Bay corpus the only obligatory element of the verb phrase is the verb head, with subject-tense marking morphologically being non-obligatory elements. In the corpus, we find that subject-tense is not a typical element of imperative (3.1), negative imperative (3.2), constituent interrogative (3.3) and polar interrogative constructions (3.4). It is also worth noting that imperative constructions also do not have an overt subject noun phrase, while the interrogative constructions do. In (3.3), we find the independent pronoun *nokh* '2SG' is the subject of the main clause, while the independent pronoun *khaën* '3SG' is the subject of the subordinate clause. In (3.4), the independent pronoun *nokh* '2SG' is the subject. The morphosyntactic properties of imperatives and interrogatives are discussed in further detail in §4.11 and §4.13. Subject-tense marking can also sometimes be dropped in basic declaratives under certain conditions. This is discussed in detail in §4.4.

(3.1) [*këron* *khunu*]^{VP}
leave 1SG
'Leave me alone!' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.008*

(3.2) [*pep-chëper-te* *khunu*]^{VP}
NEG.IMP1-touch-NEG2 1SG
'Don't touch me!' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.010*

(3.3) *jet* *na* [*nokh*]^{NP} [*rom*]^{VP} *te*
what now 2SG think SUBORD
[*khaën*]^{NP} [*pe-nem-te* *iten* *ne* *New Zealand*]^{VP}
3SG NEG1-good-NEG2 here NHUM.GEN New Zealand
'What do you think is not good about New Zealand?'
mll_eb08.ref.013

(3.4) *mama,* [*nokh*]^{NP} [*les*]^{VP} *te* *New Zealand* *khaën* *nem*
mama 2SG see SUBORD New Zealand 3SG good
'Mum, do you find New Zealand good?' *mll_eb08.ref.001*

3.3 The Verb Phrase Head

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find that the prototypical head of a verb phrase is the verb root, either intransitive (3.5), transitive (3.6), or ditransitive (3.7), to which a subject-tense prefix is typically attached. In (3.5), the personal proper name *M.* is the single core argument of the intransitive verb *mëtur* 'sleep'. In (3.6), the independent pronoun *khunu* '1SG' is the subject argument of the transitive verb *sul* 'to burn', while the common noun *not* 'garden' is the direct object argument. In (3.7), there is no overt subject argument, but the subject is encoded on the verb through the subject prefix *re-* '3PL.NFUT', the common noun *besen* 'job' is the ditransitive verb's *koron* 'give; bring' direct object, and the modified common noun *mëroten sëkhalekh* 'each man' is the indirect object. The indirect object is introduced by the extended patient marker *ngen*. This extended patient marker is discussed in detail in §5.3.

(3.5) Subject
[*M.*]^{NP} [*së-metur*]^{VP}
M. 3SG.FUT-sleep
'M. will sleep.' *mll_eb06.ref.034*

(3.6) Subject Direct Object
[*khunu*]^{NP} [*në-sul* *not*]^{VP}
1SG 1SG.NFUT-burn garden
'I burned the garden.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.007*

(3.7)

Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object		
[*re-koron*	*besen*	*ngen*	*mëroten*	*sëskhalekh*]^{VP}
3PL.NFUT-give	job	EXT.P	person	individually

'They gave responsibilities to each man.' *mll_eb01.ref.003*

3.4. Subject-Tense Prefixes

Verbs are typically marked with subject prefixes which attach to the verb root, and are in agreement with the verb's grammatical subject. These prefixes make a distinction between first, second and third person, and between singular and non-singular referents. Unlike most Vanuatu languages, such as Lolovoli (Hyslop, 2001, p.95), Naman (Crowley, 2006a, p.56), Avava (Crowley, 2006c, p.38), South Efate (Thieberger, 2006, p.103), and Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p.107), a separate dual, trial or paucal series is not attested in the corpus. While most subject prefixes in Vanuatu languages (Hyslop, 2001, p.95; Crowley, 2006a, p.56; Crowley, 2006c, p.38; Thieberger, 2006, p.103; Barbour, 2012, p.107) encode the categories of subject and mood, subject prefixes in the Espiegle's Bay corpus appear to encode the categories of subject and tense, with tense involving a two-way distinction between future and non-future. Thus, these morphemes can be more accurately referred to as 'subject-tense' prefixes.

There appears to be a morphological distinction between future and non-future tense, with most future tense forms carrying a suffix of the shape *-s*. In the non-singular series, all future tense prefixes are attested with the suffix. In the singular series, the second-person singular, future tense prefix is attested with the suffix.

There is some portmanteau morphology in the singular series. The first person singular non-future subject-tense prefix *në-* has the phonemic form /nə/, while the first person singular future subject-tense subject prefix *jë-* has the phonemic form /^{n}ʤə/. It is a possibility that *jë-* /^{n}ʤə/ is a fused morpheme originally comprising /nə + s/, which could have collapsed to the form /ns/, and then to /^{n}ʤə/.

We also find homonymy between the first-person plural inclusive future subject-tense prefix and the third person future subject-tense prefix. Table 3.2 below displays the full subject-tense prefix paradigm.

	Singular		Non-singular
First Person			
Non-Future	*në-*	Inclusive	*rë-*
		Exclusive	*brë-*
Future	*jë-*	Inclusive	*rë-s*
		Exclusive	*brë-s*
Second Person			
Non-Future	*khe-*		*ker-*
Future	*khe-s*		*ker-s*
Third Person			
Non-Future	*Ø-*		*re-*
Future	*së-*		*rë-s*

Table 3.2: Espiegle's Bay Subject-Tense Prefixes

3.4.2 Tense Marking Properties

3.4.2.1 Non-Future Tense

In the corpus, non-future tense appears to be used to express past events, that is, events which have taken place prior the reference time. In examples (3.8) and (3.9) below, the temporal reference is absolute, with the reference time being the moment of speech. It is also used to express states-of-being in the sense that it marks that the state specified still holds at the moment of speech. This is shown in (3.10) and (3.11)

In this example, the first person singular, non-future subject-tense prefix *në-* '1SG.NFUT' is used to express that the event of going to the garden occurred prior the moment of speech.

(3.8)

Subj.-INDX

[*nenav*]^{NP} [*në-ven*]^{VP} [*rëngen not*]^{PP}

yesterday 1SG.NFUT-go LOC garden

'Yesterday, I went to the garden.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.021*

In this example, the first person plural, exclusive, non-future subject-tense prefix *brë-* '1PL.EXCL.NFUT' is used to express that the event of demolishing the house took place prior to the moment of speech.

(3.9) Subj.-INDX

[*brë-tete* *naem*]^{VP}

1PL.EXCL.NFUT-demolish house

'We demolished the house.' *mll_eb06.ref.014*

In examples (3.10) and (3.11), the first-person singular, non-future subject-tense prefix *në-* is used to express that the state of being sick (3.10), and the state of being alive (3.11) still hold at the moment of speech.

(3.10) Subject INDX

[*khunu*]^{NP} [*në-roch*]^{VP}

1SG 1SG.NFUT-ill

'I'm sick.' *mlleb_elicit_2013.ref.002*

(3.11) Subj.-INDX

[*në-morov*]^{VP}

1SG.NFUT-be alive

'I'm alive.' *mlleb_elicit_2013.ref.002*

3.4.2.2 Future Tense

In the corpus, we find that future tense can be used to express events which take place in the absolute future, as in (3.12), as well as events which take place in the relative future, as in (3.13).

In (3.12) below, the temporal reference is absolute, with the reference time being the moment of speech. Here, the first person singular, future subject-tense marker *jë-* expresses that the event of the subject eating with her husband's family will take place following the moment of speech.

(3.12)

	Subj.-INDX		
[*mavëkh*]^{NP}	[*jë-or*]^{VP}	[*ron*	*famli*
tomorrow	1SG.FUT-eat.INTRS	COMIT	family
se	*lëlakh*	*s-ok*]^{PP}	
HUM.GEN	husband	GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS	

'Tomorrow I will eat with my husband's family.' *mll_eb_elicit2014.ref.014*

The example below is a part of a direct quote from a story, thus here the temporal reference is relative. The chronology of events within the story serves as the reference time. In this example, the first person plural, inclusive, future subject-tense marker *rë-s-* '1PL.INCL-FUT' marks that the event of the wife being taking away will occur in the relative future.

(3.13)

Subj-INDX		
[*rë-s-lev*	*duwat*	*s-om*]^{VP}
1PL.INCL-FUT-take	female	GEN.CLS-2SG.POSS

'We'll take your wife.' *mll_eb12.ref.009*

Interestingly, in the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find that there are a large number of aspectual markers, and that these markers are employed extremely often. In the corpus, it is somewhat rare to find a sentence that does not have any form of aspectual modification. The simplicity of tense-marking thus contrasts with the complexity of aspect. Aspectual modification is discussed in §3.9.

3.4.3 Subject Noun Phrase Suppression

Because subject-tense prefixes are in agreement with the verb's grammatical subject, we often find in the corpus that the subject noun phrase of a clause is suppressed. Subject noun phrase suppression is a common property of Vanuatu languages (Crowley, 2006a, p.147; Crowley, 2006b, p.164; Crowley, 2006c, p.105; Barbour, 2012, p.266) and occurs frequently in narratives when the intended referent is an animate being which can be retrieved from the discourse and/or from subject-tense marking on the verb head. For example, in (3.14) and (3.15) the same participant is the agent/actor of both clauses. In the first clause, (3.14), the subject noun phrase is overtly expressed as the independent pronoun *khunu* '1SG'. The

subject is also indexed[1] on the verb with the subject-tense prefix *në-* '1SG.NFUT'. In the second clause, (3.15), the subject noun phrase is suppressed, but is retrievable from the first clause as well as from subject indexing on the verb head. Like (3.14), the verb in (3.15) is indexed with the subject-tense prefix *në-* '1SG.NFUT'.

(3.14) Subject INDX

[*khunu*]^{NP}	[*në-les*	*dange*	*skhal*]^{VP}
1SG	1SG.NFUT-see	thing	one

'I saw one thing.' *mll_eb03.ref.013*

(3.15) Subj.-INDX

[*në-wer*	*ngen*	*nët-uk*	*ngenar*]^{VP}
1SG.NFUT-tell	EXT.P	child-1SG.POSS	PLURAL

'I told my kids.' *mll_eb03.ref.013*

3.5 Verb Classes

In this analysis, verbs are sub-divided into three classes on the basis of the number of core arguments they can take without any additional morphology, and a forth class which shows morphologically related intransitive-transitive verb pairs. We find that there are thus four syntactic sub-classes of verbs. These are:

- inherently intransitive verbs (§3.5.1)
- inherently transitive verbs (§3.5.2)
- ambitransitive verbs (§3.5.3), and
- morphologically related intransitive-transitive verb pairs (§3.5.4)

It is important at this point to establish that, unlike the Vanuatu languages of Lolovoli (Hyslop, 2001, p.80-90) and South Efate (Thieberger, 2006, p.171-194), verbs in the Espiegle's Bay language corpus do not heavily exhibit the A-type versus O-type verb distinction. In the corpus, all verbs but one are attested as 'A-type' in the sense that when the

[1] The term 'indexing' is borrowed from Haspelmath's (2013) article on argument indexing in non-European languages in which he proposes a "conceptual framework for thinking and talking about bound person forms in a non-Eurocentric way (p.1)".

subject of a intransitive verb (S) increases in valency, it becomes the A function of the derived transitive clause, with the introduced argument taking the P function. Similarly, when a transitive verb undergoes valence decrease, its A function becomes the subject of the derived intransitive. Valency processes are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

The one verb in the corpus which is 'O-type' is the verb *rëkhes* 'open', which is an ambitransitive verb. Example (3.16) shows *rëkhes* in its transitive use, where the A is an semantic agent and the P (or O) is a semantic patient. Example (3.17) shows *rëkhes* in its intransitive use, in which its S is a semantic patient.

(3.16)

A/Subject/Agent	INDX	P/Direct Object/Patient
[*khaën*]^{NP}	[*Ø-rëkhes*	*windo*]^{VP}
3SG	3SG.NFUT-open	window

'He opened the window.' *mll_eb03.ref.015*

(3.17)

S/Subject/Patient			INDX	
[*nëvat*	*khor*	*khaën*]^{NP}	[*Ø-rëkhes*	*kotkot*]^{VP}
stone	DEMS	3SG	3SG.NFUT-open	small

'The stone had cracked open.' *mll_eb01.ref.021*

3.5.1 Inherently Intransitive Verbs

Verbs which are inherently intransitive can take only a single core argument. This argument is a pre-verbal, subject grammatical relation. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find that the subject argument of intransitive verbs is typically a semantic agent, although it can also be a semantic experiencer. Some examples of inherently intransitive verbs which are attested in the corpus are displayed in Table 3.3.

ven	'go'
ma	'come
mas	'die'
metur	'sleep'
yat	'sit'

Table 3.3: Inherently Intransitive Verbs

In the example below, the independent pronoun *khaën* '3SG' is the grammatical subject of the inherently intransitive verb *yat* 'sit', and is a semantic agent participant.

(3.18) Subject/Agent INDX

[*khaën*]^{NP}	[*Ø-yat*]^{VP}	[*rëngen*	*front*]^{PP}
3SG	3SG.NFUT-sit	LOC	front

'She sat at the front.' *mll_eb03.ref.015*

In the next example, the independent pronoun *khunu* '1SG' is the grammatical subject of the inherently intransitive verb *metur* 'sleep'. This subject is a semantic experiencer participant; he/she experienced the action of sleeping.

(3.19) Subject/Exper. INDX

[*khunu*]^{NP}	[*në-metur*]^{VP}
1SG	1SG.NFUT-sleep

'I slept.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.001*

In example (3.20), the independent pronoun *khaën* '3SG' is the grammatical subject of the inherently intransitive verb *mas* 'die', and is a semantic experiencer participant - he will undergo the experience of dying a natural death.

(3.20) Subject/Experiencer INDX

[*khaën*]^{NP}	[*së-mas*	*lomton*]^{VP}
3SG	3SG.FUT-die	properly

'He will die naturally.' *mll_eb02.ref.014*

Adjectival verbs also fall into the inherently intransitive verb group. This sub-category contains the following items, which are distinct because in addition to functioning as inflected verbs, they may also be nominal modifiers.

(3.21) *wewerik* 'tiny'
leplep 'big'
kotkot 'small'

Example (3.22) shows the adjectival verb *wewerik* 'small' functioning adjectivally. Here, *wewerik* 'small' modifies the common noun *netchel* 'mat' to form the meaning 'small mats'. In (3.23), *wewerik* 'small' is used as an intransitive verb. Here, *werwerik* 'small' is indexed with the subject-tense prefix *brë-* '1PL.EXCL.NFUT'. When used verbally, *werwerik* 'small' carries the meaning 'to be young'.

(3.22) Subj.-INDX
[*re-vet* [*netchel* *wewerik*]^{NP}]^{VP}
3PL.NFUT-weave mat small
'They wove small mats.' *mll_eb_weave.ref.019*

(3.23) Subj.-INDX
[*brë-wewerik* *po*]^{VP}
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-small only
'We were only young.' *mll_eb09.ref.011*

Example (3.24) shows the adjectival verb *leplep* 'big' functioning adjectivally. Here, *leplep* 'big' modifies the borrowed common noun *famili* 'family' to form the meaning 'big family'. In (3.25), *leplep* 'big' is used as an intransitive verb. Here, *leplep* 'big' is indexed with the subject-tense prefix *në-* '1SG.NFUT'. When used verbally, *leplep* 'big' carries the meaning 'to be big'. Combined with *ma* 'come', this phrase means 'become big' or 'grow up'.

(3.24) *khaën* *Ø-ma* [*rëngen* [*famili* *leplep* *skhal*]^{NP}]^{PP}
3SG 3SG.NFUT-come LOC family big one
'He comes from a big family.' *mll_eb07.ref.006*

(3.25) *nëran* *te* [*në-ma* *në-leplep*]^{VP}
time SUBORD 1SG.NFUT-come 1SG.NFUT-big
'When I grew up...' *mll_eb09.ref.012*

3.5.2 Inherently Transitive Verbs

Verbs which are inherently transitive take two core arguments. These are coded as a pre-verbal, subject grammatical relation, and a post-verbal, direct object grammatical relation. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find that the subject argument of inherently transitive verbs is typically a semantic agent, but can also be an experiencer or force. The direct object argument is typically a semantic patient, but can also be a theme. Some examples of inherently transitive verbs which are attested in the corpus are displayed in Table 3.4.

rup	'hit'
chëchre	'follow'
sëwe	'paddle'
lev	'take'
klesur	'look after'
reke	'crack'
kur	'boil'
les	'see'

Table 3.4: Inherently Transitive Verbs

In this example, we find that the pre-verbal subject argument *nëmen khor* 'the black magic' of the inherently transitive verb *rup* 'hit' is a semantic agent, while the post-verbal direct object argument *R.* 'R' is a semantic patient. Here, *nëmen khor* 'the black magic' volitionally performs the action of hitting *R.*, who undergoes a visible change of state from not being hit to being hit.

(3.26) Subject/Agent Direct Object/Patient

[*nëmen*	*khor*]^{NP}	[*Ø-rup*	[*R.*]^{NP}]^{VP}
black magic	DEMS	3SG.NFUT-hit	R.

'The black magic hit R.' *mll_eb013.ref.008*

In the next example, we find that the pre-verbal subject argument *langruprup* 'cyclone' of the inherently transitive verb *reke* 'crack' is a semantic force, while the post-verbal direct object argument *naem s-enam* 'our house' is a semantic patient. Here, *langruprup* 'cyclone' non-consciously instigates the action of cracking *naem s-enam* 'our house'.

(3.27) Subject/Force

[*langruprup*]^{NP} [*Ø-ma* *Ø-reke*

cyclone 3SG.NFUT-come 3SG.NFUT-crack

Direct Object/Patient

[*naem* *s-enam*]^{NP}]^{VP}

house GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS

'The cyclone came and cracked our house.' *mll_eb013.ref.003*

In example (3.28), we find that the pre-verbal subject argument *khunu* '1SG' of the inherently transitive verb *les* 'see' is a semantic experiencer, while the post-verbal direct object argument *mëroten skhal* 'a man' is a semantic theme. As the verb phrase, *Ø-mas* '3SG.NFUT-die', following *mëroten skhal* 'a man' shows, the man is dead. Here, *khunu* '1SG' experiences seeing a dead man with *mëroten skhal* 'a man', who is dead, the theme of the subject's experience.

(3.28) Subject/Experiencer Direct Object/Theme

[*khunu*]^{NP} [*në-les* [*mëroten* *skhal*]^{NP}]^{VP} [*Ø-mas*]^{VP}

1SG 1SG.NFUT-see person one 3SG.NFUT-die

'I saw a man who was dead.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.009*

3.5.3 Ambitransitive Verbs

In the corpus, a very small number of verbs are attested as ambitransitive in the sense that the same verb form can take either one core argument or two core arguments. Only three verbs in the corpus are attested as ambitransitive. These verbs are *tar* 'help', *vet* 'weave', and *rëkhes* 'open'. In the corpus, *tar* 'help' and *vet* 'weave' are attested as A-type ambitransitive verbs, as exemplified in (3.29) and (3.30). *Rëkhes* 'open' is attested as an O-type ambitransitive verb, as discussed in §3.5, and it is the only O-type verb in found the Espiegle's Bay corpus. It is likely that a larger corpus would contain more examples O-type verbs. Interestingly, early in the analysis of verb classes, there were a number of verbs which were noted as ambitransitive but were later found to be examples of inherently transitive verbs with suppressed objects.

In this example, the ambitransitive verb *tar* 'help' takes a single core pre-verbal argument, which is the independent pronoun *khar* '3PL'. This single core argument is a subject grammatical relation and is a semantic agent. Here, *khar* '3PL', which translates to *they* in this specific sentence, is the potential instigator of the action of helping, in a general sense.

(3.29) [*khar*] [*re-save-tar*]^{VP}

3PL 3PL.NFUT-can-help

'They can help.' *mll_eb_elicitold.ref027*

In (3.30), the ambitransitive verb *tar* 'help' takes two core arguments. Its pre-verbal argument *khaën* '3SG' is a subject grammatical relation and encodes the A function, while its post-verbal argument *s-er* 'our (country)' is a direct object grammatical relation and encodes the P function. It is important to note here that the possessum of the possessor *s-er* 'GEN.CLS-1PL.INCL.POSS' is suppressed, but is retrievable from the discourse context. Here, the subject argument is a semantic agent, *khaën* '3SG' will perform the action of helping, while the direct object argument is a semantic patient, *s-er* 'our (country)' is the thing that will be helped. If we compare (3.29) to (3.30), we find that the single core argument of *tar* 'help' in its intransitive use corresponds to the A function in its transitive use, with the P function newly introduced to the transitive event. Thus, *tar* 'help' is an A-type ambitransitive verb.

(3.30) A/Subject P/Direct Object

[*khaën*]^{NP} [*së-tar* [_____ *s-er*]^{NP}]^{VP}

3SG 3SG.FUT-help GEN.CLS-1PL.INCL.POSS

'He will help our country.' *mll_eb08.ref.019*

In (3.31), the ambitransitive verb *vet* 'weave' takes a single core pre-verbal argument, which is kin term functioning as a common noun *mama ar* 'mothers'. This pre-verbal argument is a subject grammatical relation and is a semantic agent. Here, the mothers are performing the action of weaving in general.

(3.31) S/Subject

[*mama ar*]^{NP} [*vet*]^{VP}

mother PLURAL weave

'The mothers weave.' *mll_eb_mh_weaving.ref.019*

In (3.32), the ambitransitive verb *vet* 'weave' takes two core arguments. Its pre-verbal argument is suppressed, but is retrievable from the discourse context. In this narrative, the speaker is talking about how women weave mats. The subject is also indexed on the verb via the subject-tense prefix *re-* '3PL.NFUT'. The verb's pre-verbal argument is a subject

grammatical relation and is a semantic agent, while its post-verbal argument *netchel werwerik* 'small mats' is a direct object grammatical relation and is a semantic patient. The subject volitionally performs the action of weaving on the direct object, which undergoes a change of state from not being wove to being woven. Here, the subject encodes the A function while the direct object encodes the P function. If we compare (3.31) to (3.32), we find that the single core argument of *vet* 'weave' in its intransitive use corresponds to the A function in its transitive use, with the P function newly introduced to the transitive event. Thus, *vet* 'weave' is an A-type ambitransitive verb.

(3.32) A/Subj.-INDX P/Direct Object

[*re-vet* [*netchel werwerik*]^{NP}]^{VP}

3PL.NFUT-weave mat small

'They wove small mats.' *mll_eb_mh_weaving.ref.019*

3.5.4 Morphologically Related Intransitive-Transitive Verb Pairs

Like a number of Oceanic languages, such as Motu, Longgu, Paamese and Tamambo (Evans, 2003, p.82), the Espiegle's Bay language has a class of verbs which are morphologically related verb pairs. Morphologically transitive verbs form their intransitive counterparts through initial CV or CVC reduplication, with the A function of the transitive verb becoming the S function of the reduplicated intransitive. Some examples of morphologically related intransitive-transitive verbs pairs are:

Transitive		Intransitive	
khil	'dig up sth.'	*khil-khil*	'dig'
khichi	'scoop sth.'	*khich-khichi*	'scoop'
chir	'sweep sth.'	*chi-chir*	'sweep'
tin	'cook sth.'	*ti-tin*	'cook'
ruv	'plant sth.'	*ru-ruv*	plant'

Table 3.5: Intransitive-Transitive Verb Pairs

In (3.33), the morphologically transitive verb *khil* 'dig.TRS' takes two core arguments. Its pre-verbal argument is suppressed but retrievable from subject-tense indexing on the verb. The verb is indexed with the first-person singular, non-future subject-tense perfix *në-*

'1SG.NFUT', thus in this sentence the speaker is the subject. This pre-verbal argument is a subject grammatical relation and encodes the A function, while the post-verbal argument *geka* 'yam' is a direct object grammatical relation and encodes the P function. Here, the subject has performed the action of digging up the yam.

(3.33) A/Subj.-INDX P/Direct Object

[*në-khil* [*geka*]^{NP}]^{VP}

1SG.NFUT-dig.TRS yam

'I dug up yam.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.005*

In (3.34), this verb's morphologically intransitive counterpart *khil.khil* 'dig.INTRS' takes a single core argument, which is suppressed but retrievable from subject-tense indexing on the verb. The verb is indexed with the first-person singular, non-future subject-tense prefix *në-* '1SG.NFUT', thus in this sentence the speaker is the subject. The single core argument is a subject grammatical relation and encodes the S function. Here, the speaker has performed the action of digging in the garden in a general sense. Thus, the A function of the transitive verb corresponds to the S function of the verb's intransitive counterpart.

(3.34) S/Subj.-INDX

[*në-khil.khil*]^{VP} [*rëngen not*]^{PP}

1SG.NFUT-dig.INTRS LOC garden

'I dug in the garden.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.008*

In (3.35), the morphologically transitive verb *chir* 'sweep.trs' takes two core arguments. Its pre-verbal argument *khunu* '1SG' encodes the A function, and it is a subject grammatical relation and a semantic agent. Its post-verbal argument *naem* 'house' encodes the P function, is a direct object grammatical relation and is a semantic patient. Here, the subject volitionally performs the action of sweeping on the house. The house undergoes a change of state from not being swept to being swept.

(3.35) A/Subject P/Direct Object

[*khunu*]^{NP} [*në-chir* [*naem*]^{NP}]^{VP}

1SG 1SG.NFUT-sweep house

'I swept the house.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.014*

In (3.36), the verb's morphologically intransitive counterpart *chir.chir* 'sweep.INTRS ' takes a pre-verbal, single core argument. This pre-verbal argument *khunu* '1SG' encodes the S function, is a subject grammatical relation and a semantic agent. Here, the subject is performing the action of sweeping in a general sense. There is no indication of a specific area which is being swept. Thus, the A function of the transitive verb corresponds to the S function of its intransitive counterpart.

(3.36) S/Subject

[*khunu*]^{NP} [*në-chir.chir*]^{VP}

1SG 1SG.NFUT-sweep.INTRS

'I swept.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.012*

3.6 Non-Typical Verbs

3.6.1 The Lexically Intransitive-Transitive Verb Pair

In the corpus, there was a single example found of a transitive verb which forms an intransitive counterpart through a separate lexeme. The transitive verb *och* 'eat.TRS' has the intransitive form *or* 'eat.INTRS', as shown in (3.37) and (3.38).

In the example below, the intransitive verb form *or* 'eat.INTRS' takes a single core argument, which is a subject grammatical relation. This single core argument is suppressed, but retrievable from the subject-tense prefix indexed on the verb, which is the first-person singular non-future prefix *në-* '1SG.NFUT'. Thus, the subject is the speaker. Here, the subject has performed the action of eating in general. It is ungrammatical to specify a patient, in the direct object grammatical relation, for the intransitive verb *or* 'eat.INTRS'.

(3.37) Subj.-INDX

nenav [*në-or*]^{VP}

yesterday 1SG.NFUT-eat.INTRS

'Yesterday, I ate.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.011*

In the next example, the transitive verb form *och* 'eat.TRS' takes two core arguments. Its pre-verbal subject argument is suppressed but, like (3.37), is retrievable from the subject-tense prefix indexed on the verb, which is the first-person singular non-future *në-* '1SG.NFUT'. Thus, again, the subject is the speaker. Its post-verbal argument *geka* 'yam' is a direct object grammatical relation. Here, the subject has the performed the action of eating yams.

(3.38) Subj.-INDX Direct Object

nenav [*në-och* *po* [*geka*]^{NP}]^{VP}

yesterday 1SG.NFUT-eat.TRS LIMIT yam

'Yesterday, I ate only yam.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.012*

3.6.2 The Sensory Verb *rongo*

The sensory verb *rongo* encodes the emotional sensations of feeling and desire, as in (3.39) and (3.40), and the physical sensation of hearing, as in (3.41). This verb can stand alone in the verb phrase (3.39 and 3.41) or it can compound with a stative verb (3.40). The specific sensation which *rongo* encodes can be deduced from the discourse context and/or, when applicable, from the type of stative verb it compounds with. For example, in (3.39), where *rongo* occurs with the stative verb *nem* 'be good' to form the compound *rongo nem*, it encodes the emotional sensation of happiness. In contrast, in (3.40), it is possible to deduce that the meaning of *rongo* takes is related to the sensation of desire (or the lack of) as the discourse topic is about moving to a new area. Finally in (3.41), the speaker is introducing the topic of her discussion, thus the only logical meaning of *rongo* is related to the sensation of hearing.

(3.39) [*rë-s-rongo* *nem*]^{VP}

3PL-FUT-SENSE good

'If they feel happy....' *mll_eb06.ref.021*

(3.40) [*Ø-pe-rongo-te* *pe-ven*]^{VP} *Leglag*
3SG.NFUT-NEG1-SENSE-NEG2 INT.-go Leglag
'She didn't want to go to Leglag.' *mll_eb06.ref.033*

(3.41) [*brë-s-rongo* *jëchelweren* *skhal*]^{VP} *te* *khaën*
1PL.EXCL-FUT-sense story one SUBORD 3SG
Ø -ve *jëchelweren* *ne* *nuwal* *Yalo*
3SG.NFUT-cop story NHUM.GEN hole Yalo
'We'll hear a story that is the story of Yalo Cave.' *mll_eb02.ref.001*

3.6.3 The Verb *wis*

Wis means 'to make a liquid by squeezing out the juices', and is applied to the making of coconut milk. When this verb is in its transitive form, it carries the meaning 'to squeeze coconut milk onto sth'. In the example below, the coconut milk is being squeezed onto food. Here, the direct object *noren* 'food' is introduced by the extended patient marker *ngen*. This marker is discussed in detail in §5.3.

(3.42) Subj.-INDX Direct Object
[*re-wis* [*ngen* *noren*]^{NP}]^{VP}
3PL.NFUT-squeeze.coco.milk EXT.P food
'They squeezed the coconut milk onto food.' *mll_eb04.ref.005*

By contrast, when *wis* is in its reduplicated intransitive form (i.e. *wis.wis*), it carries the meaning 'squeeze to make coconut milk'. This is exemplified in (3.43), where the speaker is talking about how fruit of the coconut is grated and squeezed to make coconut milk. It is important to note that in this example the main clause has a fronted object, which is *nekhen ne* 'fruit of (the coconut)'.

(3.43) Fronted NP

[*nekhven*	*ne*	_____]^{NP}	[*re-khor*]^{VP},
fruit	NHUM.GEN		3PL.NFUT-scrape
[*re-wis.wis*	*ngen*]^{VP}		
3PL.NFUT-squeeze.to.make.coco.milk	EXT.P		

The fruit of (the coconut) they grate and squeeze to make coconut milk for (people).' *mll_eb04.ref.005*

3.6.4 The Similitive Verb *plek*

The similitive verb *plek* 'be like so' typically combines with the demonstrative pronoun *khori* to refer to the content of the previous discourse as the way in which the verb of the current event is being carried out, as in (3.44). In this example, 'never done that sort of thing' is referring to how the speaker and her partner had to move house, which they'd never done before.

(3.44)

[*brë-pe-rovrov-te*	*dange*]^{VP}
1PL.NFUT.EXCL-NEG1-do.CVCREDUP-NEG2	thing
[*Ø -plek*	*khori*]^{VP}
3SG.NFUT-like.so	DEMS.PN

We'd never done that sort of thing.' *mll_eb06.ref.009*

This verb is also often used in combination with the verb *les* 'see' to describe how something looks. This is exemplified in (3.45) where the speaker is talking about how her family's belongings looked like rubbish.

(3.45)

[*dangtar*	*s-enam*]^{NP}	[*khe-les*	*plek*	*toti*]^{VP}
belongings	GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS	2SG.NFUT-see	like.so	rubbish

'Our belongings looked like rubbish.' *mll_eb06.ref.039*

Plek 'be like so' can also combine with the interrogative *jet* 'what' to form the manner interrogative 'how', as in (3.46).

(3.46)	[*brë-s-sul*	*toti*	*s-enam*]^{VP}	[*së-plek*	*jet?*]^{VP}
	1PL.EXCL-FUT-burn	rubbish	GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS	3SG.FUT-like	what

'How will we burn our rubbish?' *mll_eb06.ref.011*

3.7 Verbal Reduplication

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, the primary function of verbal reduplication is to form intransitive verbs from transitive stems (see §3.5.4 and Chapter 5). However, reduplication is also attested as a way to indicate that an event is on-going at the reference time. This is exemplified in (3.47) and (3.48). Interestingly, the vast majority of these examples also include specification of the completion of the on-going event via the telic marker *pol*, as in (3.48).

(3.47)	*re-nger-nger*	*në-mas-en*	*Ø-plek*	*te*
	3PL.NFUT-cry-cry	NOM1-die-NOM2	3SG.NFUT-be.like.so	SUBORD
	Ø-wo	*mëroten*	*skhal*	*Ø-mas*
	3SG.NFUT-say	person	one	3SG.NFUT-die

'They cried and cried like someone had died.' *mll_eb06.ref.042*

(3.48)	[*brë-nger*	*nger*	*nger*	*nger*	*pol*]^{VP}
	1PL.EXCL.NFUT-cry	cry	cry	cry	TEL
	rëngen	*batën*	*nauch*	*se*	*A.*
	LOC	whole plant	nauch	HUM.GEN	A.

'They cried and cried and cried until done at A's nauch tree.' *mll_eb06.ref.043*

With regard to the reduplicative structure of verbs, we find that most verbs in the Espiegle's Bay corpus are monosyllabic roots consisting of closed syllables, and that verbs of this type typically exhibit full reduplication. This is shown in (3.49).

(3.49)	Base form	Reduplicated form	Gloss
	lol	*lol-lol*	'stay'
	mas	*mas-mas*	'die'
	sul	*sul-sul*	'burn'
	nger	*nger-nger*	'cry'

In the corpus two closed syllable, monosyllabic roots are attested to exhibit partial reduplication. In these instances, it is the initial CV- of the verb root which is reduplicated. This is shown in (3.50).

(3.50)	Base form	Reduplicated form	Gloss
	ruv	*ru-ruv*	'plant'
	tin	*ti-tin*	'cook'

Attested in the Espiegle's Bay corpus is a single example of a closed syllable, monosyllabic root in which reduplication appears to occur on the final -*VC* of the root.

(3.51)	Base form	Reduplicated form	Gloss
	yat	*yat-at*	'sit'

3.8 Negative Morphology

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, verbal clauses can be made negative by a simulfix of the shape *pe*- V -*te*. The prefixal element, *pe*-, occurs directly before the verb head, while the suffixial element, -*te*, occurs directly after the verb head. This is exemplified in below in (3.52) and (3.53). In (3.52), the verb *och* 'eat.TRS' is made negative by the simulfix, while in (3.53) the verb *les* 'see' is made negative by the simulfix.

(3.52) *khaën* [*pe-och-te*]^{VP}
3SG NEG1-eat-NEG2
'He hadn't eaten.' *mll_ebelicitold.ref.003*

(3.53) *khaën* [*pe-les-te* *neto*]^{VP}
3SG NEG1-see-NEG2 chicken
'He didn't see a chicken.' *mll_ebelicitold.ref.003*

In negative clauses, aspectual markers typically occur within the simulfix, sitting between the verb head and the negative suffixal element, as in (3.54). In this example, the aspectual marker *lomton* 'properly' sits immediately before negative suffixial element *-te*.

(3.54) *khaën* *Ø–ve* *mëroten* [*Ø-pe-metur* *lomton -te*]^{VP}
3SG 3SG.NFUT-make person 3SG.NFUT-NEG1-sleep properly- NEG2
'It made that person not sleep properly.' *mll_eb10.ref.018*

However, some aspectual markers are attested outside the simulfix, directly after the negative suffixial element, as shown in (3.55). Here, the habitual aspect marker *sek* 'HAB' sits immediately after the negative suffixial element *-te*.

(3.55) *nëmere* [*re-pe-ven-te* *sek*]^{VP} *rëngen*
people 3PL.NFUT-NEG1-go-NEG2 HAB LOC
'People usually didn't go to (Yalo cave).' *mll_eb02.ref.002*

An extended discussion of verbal negation is featured in §4.8.

3.9 Aspectual Markers

Like the Vanuatu languages of Lolovoli (Hyslop, 2001, p.242-271) and Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p.305-339), the Espiegle's Bay language corpus is attested to have a large number of aspectual markers - thirteen have been identified. Of these fourteen, twelve are post-verbal and one is pre-verbal. There is also a pre-verbal temporal marker which I've included in this section, as it is the only modifier of its type attested in the corpus. In basic declarative clauses, post-verbal aspectual markers occur immediately following the verb head. In negative clauses, some post-verbal aspectual markers occur within the negative simulfix, while some occur outside the negative simulfix, as mentioned in §3.8. Pre-verbal aspectual markers are attested immediately prior the verb, in between the subject-tense prefix and the verbal predicate.

In his typological work on major aspectual categories, Bhat (1999) identifies three major categories of aspect: perfectivity, phasal aspect, and quantificational aspect. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find three markers of phasal aspect (§3.9.2.2), two markers of quantificational aspect (§3.9.2.1), one marker of perfect aspect (§3.9.2.3), which is different to the notion of perfectivity (see Bhat, 1999, p.170), and seven other aspectual markers which do not fit into any specific category (§3.9.3), as well as the single attested temporal marker (§3.9.1).

3.9.1 Pre-Verbal Modifiers: *me* 'recent past' and *pe* 'intentive'

In the corpus, the pre-verbal aspectual marker *me* 'just' expresses that an action has occurred in the recent past, as in (3.56). In this example, the speaker is specifying that she and her family had only just arrived in New Zealand. *Me* 'just' occurs immediately before the verb, sitting in-between the subject-tense prefix and the verbal predicate.

(3.56) [*brë- me -ma* *po*]^{VP} [*New Zealand*]^{PP}
1PL.NFUT-EXCL-just-come LIMIT New Zealand
'We had only just arrived in New Zealand.' *mll_eb010.ref.032*

In the corpus, the pre-verbal temporal marker *pe* expresses the meaning that the subject has intent to carry out some action. In (3.57), the speaker is specifying that she and her family have no dedicated place they intend to move to. In (3.58), the speaker is expressing that she didn't think that her brother intended to tell the family about a specific event which had recently occurred. In (3.59), the speaker is talking about how Christmas is a time when people intend to be happy. Like the pre-verbal modifier *me*, *pe* sits in-between the subject-tense prefix and the verbal predicate.

(3.57) *nëvenu* *sëkhsekhe* *te* [*brë-pe-ven*]^{VP}
place not exist SUBORD 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-INT-go
'There is no place that we intend to go.' *mll_eb06.ref.015*

(3.58) *brë-pe-rom-te* *te* [*Ø-pe-wer*]^{VP}
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-NEG1-think-NEG2 SUBORD 3SG.NFUT-INT.-tell
'We didn't think that he would tell (us).' *mll_eb06.ref.055*

(3.59) *khaën* *Ø -ve* *nëran* *skhal* *te*
3SG 3SG.NFUT-COP time one SUBORD
nëmere *re-rongo* *te* [*re-pe-rongo* *nem*
people 3PL.NFUT-sense SUBORD 3PL.NFUT-INT-sense good
sek]^{NP} *rëngen*
HAB LOC
'It is a time that people want, when they intend to be happy.' *mll_eb011.ref.003*

3.9.2 Post-Verbal Aspectual Markers

3.9.2.1 Quantificational Aspect: *sek* and *po*

According to Bhat (1999), quantificational aspect concerns the quantificational characteristics of events (p.53). In the Espiegle's Bay language corpus, we find quantitative aspectual markers which can encode an event as: lasting only a certain amount of time (durative), or occurring as part of a general habit or custom (habitual). We also find a marker which expresses that an event is the single, specific event.

In the corpus, the aspectual marker *sek* is attested to express the habitual aspect, and the durative aspect. In positive clauses, this marker occurs immediately after the verb head, as in (3.60), (3.61) and (3.62). In negative clauses, this marker is attested to occur immediately after the suffixial element of the negative simulfix, as in (3.60). Its primary function in the corpus is to express the habitual in the sense that it marks that an action occurs usually, ordinarily or customarily. This is exemplified in the next three examples.

In (3.60), *sek* 'HAB' modifies the verb *ven* 'go' to express that the subject participants thoughts are usually on (lit. go to) their family.

(3.60) [*laler*]^{NP} [*khaën*]^{NP} [*Ø-ven* *sek* *tokh*]^{VP}
heart 3SG 3SG.NFUT-go HAB EXIST
[*ron* *famli* *s-er*]^{PP}
COMIT family GEN.CLS-1PL.INCL.POSS
'Our heart is usually on our family.' *mll_eb08.ref.009*

In (3.61), *sek* 'HAB' is used to express that the subject participants do not ordinarily eat New Zealand food.

(3.61) [*nakër*]^{NP} [*rë-pe-och-te* *sek*
1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL.NFUT-NEG1-eat.TRS-NEG2 HAB
noren *se* *dëkhar*]^{VP}
food HUM.GEN white person
'(Because) we don't eat the food here usually (lit. the food of the white person)...' *mll_eb08.ref.015*

In (3.62), *sek* 'HAB' is used to express that the subject participants pray inside Yalo cave as-per-custom.

(3.62) [*nëmere*]^{NP} [*re-werwar* *sek* *lalen*]^{VP}
people 3PL.NFUT-pray HAB inside
'People would customarily pray inside.' *mll_eb02.ref.003*

This marker's secondary function appears to be to express the durative aspect in the sense that it denotes that an action is extended through time. This is exemplified in (3.63). Here, the subject participants are eating the local pudding until such a time that it is all gone.

(3.63) Subj.-INDX
[*re-och* *sek* *nelok* *khor*]^{VP}
3PL.NFUT-eat.TRS DURAT local pudding DEMS
'They ate and ate the local pudding.' *mll_eb01.ref.014*

In the corpus, we often find the habitual/iterative marker *sek* co-occurring with two other aspectual markers. It is attested specifically with *lomton* 'properly' and *mëne* 'INABIL', as in (3.64) and (3.65). Interestingly, both of these markers are ones which are attested to occur within the negative simulfix in negative clauses. *Sek* 'HAB/DURAT', on the other hand, is attested as occurring post the negative simulfix in negative clauses.

(3.64)

Ø-lev	*monei*	*se*	*tate*	*s-ok,*
3SG.NFUT-take	money	HUM.POSS	father	GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS
te	[*Ø-to*	*lomton*	*sek*]^{VP}	
SUBORD	3SG.NFUT-put	properly	HAB	

'He took my father's money that he had been saving.' *mll_eb13.ref.004*

(3.65)

nëmere	[*re-pe-lev*	*mëne-te*	*sek*]^{VP}
people	3PL.NFUT-NEG1-take	INABIL-NEG2	HAB

'People usually couldn't take (this kind of opportunity).' *mll_eb010.ref.007*

In contrast to *sek*, the post-verbal marker *po* expresses that an action is the only, single action occurring within the speech event. In a sense, it emphasizes a specific action. This is exemplified in (3.66) and (3.67).

In this example, *po* 'LIMIT' modifies the verb *pray* 'pray' to emphasize that the subject participants are praying to God specifically, for guidance.

(3.66) Subj.-INDX

[*brë-pray*	*po*	*nasup*	*lemsakh*]^{VP}
1PL.NFUT-EXCL-pray	LIMIT	chief	above
khe-s-lol	*ron*	*kënam*	
2SG-FUT-stay	COMIT	1PL.EXCL	

'We just pray that God, you will be with us.' *mll_eb06.ref.012*

In the next example, *po* 'LIMIT' modifies the verb *ven* 'go' to express that the subject participants will just go to Molin, and that's it.

(3.67) Subj.-INDX

[*rë-s-ven*	*po*]^{VP}
1PL.INCL-FUT-go	LIMIT

'We'll just go.' *mll_eb06.ref.028*

3.9.2.2 Phasal Aspect

Bhat (1999, p.49) describes phasal aspect as concerning the various 'phases' of an event, such as its inception, progression (continuing or changing) and completion. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find two phasal aspectual markers which encode the completion of an event, and one phasal aspectual marker which encodes that an event or state of being is still ongoing.

The aspectual marker *chëleng* expresses that an action is completive in the sense that 'the object of the action is totally affected, consumed, or destroyed by the action' (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994, p.57). This is exemplified in (3.68) and (3.69). In positive clauses, this marker occurs immediately after the verb head. It is not attested in any negative clauses in the corpus.

In this example, (3.68), *chëleng* 'COMPL' modifies the verb *to* 'put' to express that the subject participants have completed the action of putting up a house. Thus, here, the direct object *naem s-enam* 'our house' is totally affected by the action *to* 'put'.

(3.68) Subj.-INDX

[*re-to*	*chëleng*	*naem*	*s-enam*]^{VP}
3PL.NFUT-put	COMPL	house	GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS

'They finished putting up our house.' *mll_eb06.ref.053*

In the next example, (3.69), *chëleng* 'COMPL' modifies the verb *mormor* 'to clear.INTRS' to express that the subject participants have completed the action of clearing. The thing which has been completely cleared is retrievable from the main clause, which is *den* 'ground'. The text this sentence is taken from is about gardening procedures in the community.

(3.69)

[*re-ve*	*den*	*khor*]^{MC}	[*re-mormor*	*chëleng*]$^{Sub.C}$
3PL.NFUT-made	ground	DEMS	3PL.NFUT-clear	COMPL

'They ploughed the ground that they had completely cleared'. *mll_eb04.ref.009*

The post-verbal telic marker *pol* describes that the action denoted by the verb is 'complete'. It is attested with verbs which are not inherently telic or punctual when indexed with a non-future subject-tense marker. This is exemplified below with the verb *pas* 'work'. In (3.70), the event of working is atelic and non-punctual. In (3.71), the verb *pas* is made telic by the aspectual marker *pol*.

(3.70) Subj.-INDX

[*brë-pas* *ngen* *naem*]^{VP}

1PL.EXCL.NFUT-work EXT.P house

'We worked on the house.' *mll_eb06.ref.050*

(3.71) Subj.-INDX

[*Ø-pas* *pol*]^{VP} [*rëngen* *pablik* *woks*]^{PP}

3SG.NFUT-work TEL LOC public works

'He finished work at the Public Works.' *mll_eb06.ref.044*

The continuative aspectual marker *wor* expresses the meaning of 'still' with regard to whether or not an action, or state, is ongoing. In positive clauses, this marker occurs immediately after the verb head, as in (3.72) and (3.73). In negative clauses, this marker is attested to occur immediately after the suffixial element of the negative simulfix, as in (3.74).

In example (3.72), *wor* 'CONT' modifies the compound verb *rongo nem* 'feel good' to express that the subject participants state of 'feeling good' is still occurring and if it continues they will go to Letepkhe.

(3.72) [*tëso* *rë-s-rongo* *nem* *wor*]^{VP} *te* *rë-s-ven* *Letepkhe*

if 1PL.INCL-FUT-SENSE good CONT SUBORD 1PL.INCL-FUT-go Letepkhe

'If we still feel good, then we'll go to Letepkhe.' *mll_eb06.ref.049*

In the next example, *wor* 'CONT' modifies the stative verb *morov* 'be alive' to express that the speaker's parents are still alive.

(3.73) [*tate,* *pepe* *s-ok*]^{NP} [*re-morov* *wor*]^{VP}

father mother GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS 3PL.NFUT- be alive CONT

'My mother and father are still alive.' *mll_eb07.ref.004*

In the final example, *wor* 'CONT' modifies the verb *ma* 'come', which has been made negative by the simulfix *pe-* V *-te*, to express that the subject participant *A.* has still not come.

(3.74) [*A.*]^{NP} [*Ø-pe-ma-te* *wor*]^{VP}
A. 3SG.NFUT-NEG1-come-NEG2 CONT
'A. has still not come.' *mll_eb06.ref.041*

3.9.2.3 The Perfect Aspect Marker *pi*

The post-verbal perfect aspect marker *pi* expresses the meaning that the action or state denoted by the verb has already occurred. This is shown in (3.75) and (3.76). In the corpus, this marker is only attested in clauses which are syntactically intransitive. There are also no examples of this aspectual marker in negative constructions. A larger corpus would confirm if these restrictions are on *pi* or simply a result of the small corpus for this project.

In (3.75), *pi* 'PERF' modifies the intransitive verb *vëlvëla* 'migrate' to express that the subject participants had already moved away.

(3.75) Subj.-INDX
[*ker-vëlvëla* *pi*]^{VP}
2PL.NFUT-migrate PERF
'You had moved away.' *mll_eb06.ref.056*

In (3.76), *pi* 'PERF' modifies the stative verb *tërtëra* 'elderly' to express that the subject *mama leplep* 'big mother' is already old.

(3.76) [*mama* *leplep* *wele*]^{NP} [*Ø -tërtëra* *pi*]^{VP}
mother big expression of sympathy 3SG.NFUT-elderly PERF
'Big mother was old.' *mll_eb06.ref.013*

3.9.3 Other Post-verbal Aspectual Markers

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find a number of post-verbal markers which encode something of the temporal structure of an event but that do not fit into any specific sub-category of aspect (as defined and described by Bhat, 1999). These post-verbal aspectual markers are discussed below.

3.9.3.1 *lëkhen* 'to go back/return'

The aspectual marker *lëkhen* expresses the meaning of going in, to, or toward a former location or condition. This verb is attested in the corpus with the motion verbs *ven* 'go' and *ma* 'come', as in (3.77) and (3.78), as well as with the verb *lol* 'stay', as in (3.79). It is not attested in any negative constructions.

In (3.77), *lëkhen* modifies the verb *ven* 'go' to express that the speaker will go back to her country.

(3.77) Subj.-INDX1 INDX2

[*jë-ven*	*lëkhen*]^{VP}	[*jë-tar*	*se*	*countri*]^{VP}
1SG.FUT-go	back	1SG.FUT-help	HUM.GEN	country

'I'll go back and help my country.' *mll_eb010.ref.005*

In (3.78), *lëkhen* modifies the verb *ma* 'come' to express that the subject participants will come back to Hamilton on Sunday.

(3.78) Subj.-INDX

[*brë-s-ma*	*lëkhen*]^{VP}	[*rëngen*	*Sundei*	*khor*]^{PP}
1PL.EXCL-FUT-come	back	LOC	Sunday	DEMS

'We'll come back on that Sunday.' *mll_eb03.ref.018*

In (3.79), *lëkhen* modifies the serial verbs *ma* 'come and *lol* 'stay' to express that the subject participants will come and stay back at the location specified by the speaker. Serialisation is discussed in §4.5.

(3.79) Subj.-INDX1 INDX2

[*kers-ma*	*kers-lol*	*lëkhen*	*po*	*iten*]^{VP}
2SG.FUT-come	2SG.FUT-stay	back	LIMIT	here

You'll come and stay only back here' *mll_eb06.ref.056*

Interestingly, *lëkhen* is sometimes used in conjunction with the verb *mul* 'return', possibly as a kind of emphatic. This is shown in (3.80) and (3.81).

(3.80) [*nakër*]^{NP} [*rë-mul* *lëkhen* *rëngen* *s-er*]^{VP}
1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL.FUT-return back LOC GEN.CLS-1PL.INCL.POSS
'We'll return back to our country.' *mll_eb08.ref.019*

(3.81) [*jë-mul* *lëkhen,*]^{VP} *jë-ven* *jë-rov*
1SG.FUT-return back 1SG.FUT-go 1SG.FUT-do
'I'll return back (home), and go and do (what I came here to learn).'
mll_eb010.ref.005

3.9.3.2 *wochokh* 'together'

The aspectual marker *wochokh* 'together' expresses that all of the participants encoded on a clause's subject argument have carried out an action together. Predictably, clauses with this aspectual marker have non-singular subjects. In positive clauses, this marker appears immediately after the verb head, as in (3.82) and (3.83). Note that in both these examples, the subject is indexed on the verb, with the subject argument itself suppressed. This marker is not attested in any negative clauses in the corpus.

(3.82) Subj.-INDX
[*brë-s-ven* *wochokh*]^{VP}
1PL.EXCL-FUT-go together
'We'll go together.' *mll_eb11.ref.008*

(3.83) Subj.-INDX
[*brë-och* *wochokh*]^{VP}
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-eat.TRS together
'We ate together' *mll_eb06.ref.045*

3.9.3.3 *lomton* 'properly'

The post-verbal aspectual marker *lomton* 'properly' expresses the meaning that an action or state has been carried out or has occurred in a natural and/or proper manner. In positive clauses, this marker appears immediately after the verb head, as in (3.84) and (3.85). In negative clauses, the marker sits in between the verb root and the negative suffixial element -*te*, as in (3.86).

In this example, *lomton* 'properly' modifies the verb *mas* 'to die' to express that the subject *khaën* '3SG' will die a natural death (i.e. of old age).

(3.84) [*khaën*]^{NP} [*së-mas* *lomton*]^{VP}
3SG 3SG.FUT-die properly
'He will die a natural death.' *mll_eb02.ref014*

In this example, *lomton* 'properly' modifies the verb *ve* 'do' to express that the subject participants, which are suppressed but indexed on the verb, have ploughed the ground in the proper manner.

(3.85) Subj.-INDX
[*re-ve* *lomton* *den*]^{VP}
3PL.NFUT-do properly ground
'They ploughed the dirt properly.' *mll_eb05.ref.009*

In this example, *lomton* 'properly' modifies the verb *mas* 'die', which has been made negative by the negative imperative simulfix *pep-* V *-te*, to express that the subject *khaën* '3SG' cannot die a natural death.

(3.86) [*khaën*]^{NP} [*pep-mas* *lomton* *-te*]^{VP}
3SG NEG.IMP1-die properly -NEG2
'He cannot die a natural death.' *mll_eb02.ref.015*

3.9.3.4 *nenev* 'all'

The function of the aspectual marker *nenev* 'all' varies depending on whether or not the verbal predicate is intransitive or transitive. When this marker appears in an intransitive clause, it expresses the meaning that an action occurs in a way which involves all of the participants encoded on the subject argument. In (3.87), the subject argument is suppressed but its participants are indexed on the verb by the third-person plural non-future prefix *re-*. Here, *nenev* 'all' modifies the reduplicated verb *mas.mas* 'die' to express that all of the participants encoded on the subject have died.

(3.87) Subj.-INDX

[*re-masmas* *nenev*]^{VP}

3PL.NFUT-die.INTRS all

'They all died.' *mll_eb01.ref.019*

When this marker appears in a transitive clause, it indicates that all of the participants encoded on the direct object argument have been affected by the action denoted by the verb. This is exemplified in (3.88). Here, the direct object *bëkhack b-enam* 'our beds' has been fronted. In this example, *nenev* 'all' expresses that all the beds have been prepared.

(3.88) Fronted NP

[*bëkhach*	*b-enam*]^{NP}	[*re-ve*	*sesa*	*nenev*	*pi*]^{VP}
bed	BED.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS	3PL.NFUT-do	prepare	all	PERF

'Our beds were already all prepared.' *mll_eb03.ref.016*

Nenev 'all' is also attested to occasionally encode a completive meaning in relation to an activity, as in (3.89). In this example, *nenev* modifies the verb *tëvni* 'bury' to express that the action of burying a person has been completed.

(3.89)

neran	*te*	[*re-tëvni*	*nenev*]^{VP},
when	SUBORD	3PL.NFUT-bury	COMPL
re-ven	*lalen*	*nuwal*	*yalo*
3PL.NFUT-go	inside	cave	yalo

'When they finish burying him, they go inside Yalo cave.'

mll_eb02.ref.022

3.9.3.5 *mëne* 'inability'

The marker *mëne* expresses the inability of the subject to carry out an action. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, this marker is used in conjunction with either the prohibitive simulfix or negative simulfix, directly preceding the suffixial element. This is exemplified in (3.90) and (3.91).

In example (3.90), *mëne* 'INABIL' modifies the verb *lev* 'take', which has been made negative by the negative imperative simulfix *pep-* V *-te*, to express that the subject *nokh* '2SG' is unable to take the speaker's daughter, who is referred to by the fronted object *khongeni* 'this one'.

(3.90) FRONTED NP

[*khongeni*]^{NP}	[*nokh*]^{NP}	[*pep-lev*	*mëne*	*-te*]^{VP}
this one	2SG	PROH1-take	INABIL	-NEG2

'You cannot take her (lit. This one, you cannot take).' *mll_eb12.ref.014*

In this example, *mëne* 'INABIL' modifies the verb *ma* 'come', which has been made negative by the negative simulfix *pe-* V *-te*, to express that the subject *botko mar khor* 'the little boy' is unable to come inside the house.

(3.91)

[*botko*	*mar*	*khor*]^{NP}	[*Ø -pe-ma*	*mëne-te*	*laem*]^{VP}
small	person	DEMS	3SG.NFUT-NEG1-come	INABIL-NEG2	house

'That little boy couldn't come into the house.' *mll_eb02.ref.018*

Chapter 4

Clause Structure

4.1 Introduction

This section will describe the basic clause structure of the Espiegle's Bay language. In verbal clauses, core arguments are encoded as subject, direct objects or indirect objects (§4.2 and §4.3). Unlike many Malakula languages, subject-tense prefixation on the verb is not obligatory (§4.4). Non-core arguments are encoded as obliques. Most obliques are introduced by prepositions, though some local nouns can form obliques without any additional morphology (§4.6). Argument suppression is a common property of the language (§4.7). Verbal clauses are negated discontinuously (§4.8). Constituent fronting is briefly discussed in §4.9. Permission constructions are considered in §4.10, imperatives in §4.11, negative imperatives in §4.12, interrogatives in §4.13, and reciprocals in §4.14. Non-verbal clause types are discussed in §4.15. Subordination is addressed in §4.16, adverbial clauses in §4.17, and coordination in §4.18.

4.2 Basic Word Order

The basic word order of Espiegle's Bay is SVO. Like most Oceanic languages with VO word order (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002, p.50), Espiegle's Bay is typologically 'well-behaved' in the sense that the language has prepositions rather than postpositions, adjectival verbs occur post-nominally rather than pre-nominally, and genitive constructions are ordered possessed-possessor. Typological research shows that the constituents of a clause can be encoded through word order, syntactic processes, pronominals, person marking on verbs agreement, and case marking of full noun phrases (see Payne, 1997; Givón, 2001; Van Valin, 2001; Andrews, 2007). In Espiegle's Bay, subject is encoded through ordering properties and verb agreement; direct object is encoded purely through ordering properties; and indirect object is encoded through ordering properties and verbal morphology. Like indirect objects, obliques are typically encoded through ordering properties, but they are distinguished by morphology in the form of prepositions. Some obliques can be formed without any additional morphology. This is further discussed in §4.6.

The basic word order patterns for Espiegle's Bay are presented in (4.1) below.

(4.1) **Intransitive** *Subject+Verb*
Transitive *Subject+Verb+Direct Object*
Ditransitive *Subject+Verb+Direct Object+Indirect Object*

In most discussions of argument structure in individual languages, reference is made to the typological notions S, A, P (or O), T and R (or G) (Haspelmath, 2011, p.535-536). Haspelmath (2011, p.534-566) distinguishes three major approaches of how S, A and P, specifically, are defined and used. These are the Dixonian approach (Dixon, 1994, 2010), the Comrian approach (Comrie, 1989; Lazard, 2002), and the Bickelian approach (Bickel & Nichols 2009, Bickel , 2011). I favour the Comrian approach, where S, A and P are defined as grammatical functions used to compare the coding properties of the core arguments of intransitive and prototypical transitive verbs. In Comrie's approach (1989, p.111), 'S' refers to the single core argument of an intransitive verb, 'A' refers to the function played by the agent/actor of a prototypical transitive verb, and 'P' refers to the function played by the patient/undergoer of a prototypical transitive verb. On 'T' and 'R', which are used to account for the two objects of ditransitive verbs, I favour the approach of Dryer (1986, p.808-845), and later Croft (1990, p.102-111), where 'T' refers to the function played by the theme-like participant of a prototypical ditransitive verb, and 'R' refers to the function played by the recipient-like argument of a prototypical ditransitive verb.

At this point it is useful to clarify that 'grammatical functions' are not the same as 'grammatical relations'. Andrews (1985) provides a useful distinction between the two notions:

> A grammatical function will be any relationship which it might be useful to recognize which is definable over sentence structures of a language under study, regardless of the extent to which it is important for the grammatical principles of a language. On the other hand, a grammatical relation in a language will be a grammatical function that is generally significant for the workings of the grammatical principles of that language, and which it would therefore be reasonable (although not necessarily correct) to posit as a primitive element in the sentence structures of a language (Andrews, 1985, p.68).

Following this definition, grammatical functions are more or less language universal categories, while grammatical relations are language specific (Hyslop, 2001, p.54). In Espiegle's Bay, we find that the core arguments encoding the grammatical functions S, A, P, T and R are mapped onto the grammatical relations of subject, direct object, and indirect object in intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive constructions.

Arguments with the grammatical functions S and A are mapped onto the subject grammatical relation and have the following properties:

- the subject argument is pre-verbal;
- the person and number of the subject argument is indexed on the verb in the form of a subject-tense prefix.

Arguments with the grammatical functions of P and T are mapped onto the direct object grammatical relation and have the following properties:

- the direct object argument is post-verbal.

Arguments with the grammatical function of R are mapped onto the indirect object grammatical relation have the following properties:

- the indirect object argument typically follows the direct object argument;
- the indirect object is introduced by an extended patient marker *ngen*, which directly precedes it.

If we compare intransitive constructions which encode the S function, and transitive constructions which encode the A and P functions, we find that Espiegle's Bay treats S and A in the same way, while P is treated distinctly. How a language treats S, A, and P is called its monotransitive alignment, with Espiegle's Bay displaying the nominative-accusative pattern. This is shown in (4.2).

(4.2)

	Subject/Nominative	**Direct Object/Accusative**
Intransitive	S	
Transitive	A	P

Similarly, if we compare transitive constructions which encode the P function, and ditransitive constructions which encode the T and R functions, we find that Espiegle's Bay treats P and T the same way, while R is treated distinctly. How a language treats P, T and R is called its ditransitive alignment (see Croft, 1990, p.102-111), with Espiegle's Bay displaying the indirective pattern. This is shown in (4.3).

(4.3)

	Direct Object	**Indirect Object**
Monotransitive	P	
Ditransitive	T	R

Non-core arguments encode the oblique function and map onto the oblique grammatical relation. Obliques have the following properties:

- obliques are always optional;
- obliques follow the verb head and its core arguments;
- obliques are introduced by prepositions, except for temporal local nouns which form obliques without a preposition.

4.3 Verbal Clauses

4.3.1 Intransitive Verbs

In a clause with an intransitive (i.e. one argument) verb, we find that the single core argument encodes the S function which maps onto subject grammatical relation, as shown in (4.6). Here, the proper name *Pasta T.* is the subject argument. This core argument is indexed on the verb, although in (4.4) below, the index is a zero morpheme.

(4.4)

S/Subject INDX

[*Pasta T.*]^{NP} [*Ø-ma*]^{VP}

Pastor T. 3SG.NFUT- come

'Pastor T. came.' *mll_eb13.ref.009*

Intransitive verbs can take non-core arguments, which are encoded as obliques and map onto oblique grammatical relation. Structurally speaking, non-core arguments occur after the intransitive verb's single core argument and are typically introduced by prepositions, as in (4.5). Here, the preposition *rëngen* 'LOC' introduces the oblique *netrach* 'truss tree'.

(4.5)

			Oblique	
[*tate*	*ngenar*]^{NP}	[*re-yat*]^{VP}	[*rëngen*	[*netrach*]^{NP}]^{PP}
father	PLURAL	3PL.NFUT-sit	LOC	truss

'The fathers sat on the truss tree.' *mll_eb06.ref.037*

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, the single core argument of an intransitive verb has been identified with the semantic roles of agent, experiencer and patient (as defined by Payne, 1997), as (4.6), (4.7) and (4.8) demonstrate. In examples (4.6) and (4.7), the single core argument is suppressed, but is indexed on the verb.

In (4.6) below, the single core argument is a subject grammatical relation and a semantic agent. Here, the subject will carry out the action of eating.

(4.6)

	Agent/Subj-INDX
[*nenav*]^{NP}	[*në-or*]^{VP}
tomorrow	1SG.NFUT-eat.TRS

'Tomorrow, I'll eat.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.001*

In (4.7), the single core argument is a subject grammatical relation and a semantic experiencer. Here, the subject is experiencing the emotion of happiness.

(4.7)

Experiencer/Subj.-INDX	
[*në-rongo*	*nem*]^{VP}
1SG.NFUT-feel	happy

'I feel happy.' *mll_eb08.ref007*

In (4.8), the single core argument *nëvat khor khaën* ' the stone' is a subject grammatical relation and a semantic patient. Here, the subject has gone from a state of being uncracked to being cracked. As discussed in §3.5, *rëkhes* 'open' is the single example of an O-type verb found in the corpus.

(4.8) S/Subj./Patient

[*nëvat*	*khor*	*khaën*]^{NP}	[*Ø-rëkhes*	*kotkot*]^{VP}
stone	DEMS	3SG	3SG.NFUT-open	small

'The stone had cracked open.' *mll_eb01.ref.021*

Table 4.1 displays the full levels of encoding of an intransitive verb's single core argument. It is important to note that it is likely a larger corpus would produce further semantic roles.

Semantic Level (semantic roles)	Agent Experiencer Patient	
Universal Level (grammatical functions)	S	
Clause Level (grammatical relations)	Subject	VERB

Table 4.1: Intransitive Propositions

4.3.2 Prototypical Transitive Verbs

In a clause with a prototypical transitive (i.e. two argument) verb, there is a pre-verbal argument which encodes the A function, and maps onto the subject grammatical relation. There is also a post-verbal argument which encodes the P function and maps onto the object grammatical relation. According to Comrie (1989, p.111), a prototypical transitive verb is a physical effect verb like 'kill' or 'hit', which involves a fully volitional agent participant and a fully affected patient participant. Inherently, in a prototypical transitive situation, we find that the argument which encodes the A function and maps onto the subject grammatical relation is a semantic agent, whereas the argument which encodes the P function and maps onto the direct object grammatical relation is a semantic patient, such as in (4.9). In this example, the subject *khaën* '3SG' volitionally carries out the action of getting up and shooting the hawk. The hawk '*nëmelep khor*' is the direct object and is a fully affected patient participant. He goes from a state of not being shot to being shot.

(4.9) Agent/A/Subject Patient/P/D.Object

[*khaën*]^{NP}	[*Ø-rakhtakh*	*Ø-chëro*	[*nëmelep*	*khor*]^{NP}]^{VP}
3SG	3SG.NFUT- get up	3SG.NFUT-shoot	hawk	DEMS

'He got up and shot the hawk.' *mll_eb01.ref.005*

In less transitive constructions (refer to the discussion of Hopper & Thompson's (1980) transitivity parameters in §5.2), where A is not a semantic agent and P is not a semantic patient, we find the same ordering of arguments. The pre-verbal argument maps onto the subject grammatical relation, and encodes the A function. Such arguments are attested in the corpus as either a force or experiencer, as in (4.10) and (4.11) . The post-verbal argument maps onto the direct object grammatical relation, and encodes the P function. In the corpus, post-verbal arguments are attested as either a semantic Theme or Beneficiary, as in (4.12) and (4.13).

In (4.10), the subject argument *langruprup* 'cyclone' is a semantic force, as it non-consciously carries out the action of cracking the house.

(4.10) A/Force/Subject

[*langruprup*]^{NP}	[*Ø-ma*	*Ø -reke*
cyclone	3SG.NFUT-come	3SG.NFUT-crack
naem	*s-enam*]^{VP}	
house	GEN.CLS-1PL.POSS.EXCL	

' The cyclone came and cracked our house.' *mll_eb13.ref.003*

In (4.11), the subject argument is suppressed, but is indexed on the verb by the zero morpheme *Ø* '3SG.NFUT'. Here, the subject is a semantic experiencer, as he coincidentally sees a hawk while out looking for ingredients to make a local pudding.

(4.11) A/Experincer/Subj.-INDX

[*Ø-les*	*nëmelep*	*skhal*]^{VP}
3SG.NFUT-see	hawk	one

'He saw a hawk.' *mll_eb01.ref.003*

In (4.12), the direct object argument *mama* 'mother' is a semantic theme. Here, the subject participants are going to see the speaker's mother, who is the locus of the event.

(4.12)

		P/Theme/D.Object
[*re-ven*	*re-les*	[*mama*]^{NP}]^{VP}
3PL.NFUT-go	3PL.NFUT-see	mother

'They went and saw mum.' *mll_eb12.ref.010*

In (4.13), the direct object argument *se nëmere* 'our people' is a semantic beneficiary. In this example, the subject participants intend to help their people in Vanuatu by using the skills and education they've acquired while living in New Zealand.

(4.13)

	P/Beneficiary/D.Object	
[*brës-tar*	[*se*	*nëmere*]^{NP}]^{VP}
1PL.EXCL.FUT-help	HUM.GEN	people

Oblique		
[*rëngen*	*nevenu*	*s-enam*]^{PP}
LOC	place	GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS

'We'll help our people in our country.' *mll_eb10.ref.011*

Like intransitive verbs, transitive verbs can take non-core arguments (which encode the oblique function and map onto the grammatical relation of oblique). Non-core arguments occur after the transitive verb's post-verbal core argument and are typically introduced by prepositions, as in (4.13) and (4.14). In example (4.14) the oblique *senior level* 'senior level' is introduced by the locative preposition *rëngen*.

(4.14)

			Oblique		
në-tichim	*sek*	*chemistri*	[*rëngen*	*senior*	*level*]^{PP}
1SG.NFUT-teach	HAB	chemistry	LOC	senior	level

'I teach chemistry at the senior level.' *mll_eb10.ref.013*

Table 4.2 displays the full multi-level encoding of the two core arguments of transitive verbs. It is important to note that a larger corpus would likely produced more semantic roles than those listed here.

Semantic Level (semantic roles)	Participant 1 Agent Force Theme Experiencer		Participant 2 Beneficiary Patient Theme
Universal Level (grammatical functions)	A		P
Clause Level (grammatical relations)	Subject	VERB	Direct Object

Table 4.2: Transitive Propositions

4.4 Omission of the Subject-Tense Prefix

As mentioned in §3.2, in the Espiegle's Bay corpus subject-tense prefixation on the verb is not obligatory. It is not a required property of imperative (§4.11), negative imperative (§4.12), constituent interrogative (§4.13) and polar interrogative (§4.13) constructions. It can also be dropped in declarative clauses, when the noun phrase position is filled with a pronoun, as in (4.15) and (4.17), or when the pronoun is available within a larger clausal structure, as in (4.19). Interestingly, in the current corpus, the omission of the subject-tense prefix is only attested in clauses which have non-future time reference, with the time reference retrievable from the immediately prior clause or from the discourse context. The prototypical structure of pronominal clause is Pron + Indx - V. A second common structure is Indx - V, in which the subject noun phrase is suppressed. Subject noun phrase suppression is discussed in 4.31. The Pron + V structure, where subject-tense is not marked on the verb, appears to be a stylistic option available to speakers.

In example (4.15) below, the speaker is talking about her previous job in Vanuatu as a teacher. In clause three of the example, the subject noun phrase position is filled with the first-person singular pronoun *khunu* '1SG', with the predicate *ven* 'go' not indexed with a subject-tense prefix. Here, tense is retrievable from the clause immediately before, in which the verb *rov* 'do' is indexed with the first-person singular non-future prefix *në-*. The expected

structure of the final clause is shown in (4.16), where the verb is indexed with the first-person singular, non-future prefix *në-*.

(4.15)	[*khaën*	*Ø-ve*	*dange*	*te*,]^{CL1}	[[*në-rov*	*gaker*
	3SG	3SG.NFUT	thing	SUBORD	1SG.NFUT-do	year
	sëngavil	*remene*	*khewen*	*na*]^{VP}	*te*,]^{CL2}	[[*khunu*]^{NP}
	ten	NUM	six	now	SUBORD	1SG
	[*ven*	*po*]^{VP}	*rëngen*	*klasrum*]^{CL3}		
	go	LIMIT	LOC	classroom		

'It is a thing that I did for sixteen years, that is, I would go only to the classroom....' *mll_eb10.ref.019*

(4.16)	[*khunu*]^{NP}	[*në-ven*	*po*]^{VP}	*rëngen*	*klasrum*
	1SG	1SG.NFUT-go	LIMIT	LOC	classroom

'I would go only to the classroom...' [*constructed example*]

In the next example, the speaker is talking about her and her children's trip to KeriKeri in New Zealand. Here, the subject noun phrase position is filled by the first-person exclusive independent pronoun *kënam* '1PL.EXCL', with subject-tense not indexed on the verb. The tense, as non-future, is retrievable from the listeners knowledge of the topic. Before she began her story, the speaker gave a brief talk in English about how she and her three children had recently gone to Kerikeri. The typical structure of this clause would be Pron + Indx - V. This is shown in (4.18), in which the verb indexed with the first-person exclusive non-future prefix *brë-*.

(4.17)	*në-rongo*	*te*	*jë-wer*	*ngen*
	1SG.NFUT-sense	SUBORD	1SG.FUT-tell	EXT.P
	nakër	*jechelweren*	*te*	[*kënam*]^{NP}
	1PL.INCL	story	SUBORD	1PL.EXCL
	[*ven*	*eve*]^{VP}	*Kerikeri*	
	go	there	Kerikeri	

'I want to tell us a story about when we went to Kerikeri.'
mll_eb03.ref.002

(4.18) [*kënam*]^{NP} [*brë-ven* *eve*]^{VP} Kerikeri
1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-go there Kerikeri
'We went to Kerikeri.'

In the final example, the speaker is talking about returning to Vanuatu with her children and using the education they received to help their country. In the third clause, the verb phrase does not contain an overt subject pronoun nor is the verb indexed with a subject-tense prefix. Here, subject-tense marking is retrievable from on the predicate in the immediately previous clause, with the subject pronoun retrievable from the direct object pronoun in the first clause. In the first clause, the direct object pronoun is the first-person plural exclusive *kënam* '1PL.EXCL', while in the second clause the subject-tense prefix is the first-person plural, exclusive non-future prefix *brë-* '1PL.EXCL.NFUT'.

(4.19)

			Direct Object
[*re-pe-koron*	*lelesokh-en*	*ngen*	*kënam*
3PL.NFUT-INT-give	educate-NOM	EXT.P	1PL.EXCL
	Subj.-INDX		
po,]^{CL1}	[*brë-pe-mul*	*lëkhen,*]^{CL2}	[[*ven*]^{VP}
LIMIT	1PL.EXCL.NFUT-INT-return	back	go
rëngen	*nevenu*	*s-enam*]^{PP}]^{CL3}	
LOC	place	GEN.CLS-1PL.POSS	

They intended to give an education to just us, so we'd go back,
we'd go back to our country (and use it to help our people).' *mll_eb10.ref.011*

The typical structure of the third clause would be Pron + Indx - V, as shown in (4.20).

(4.20) [[*kënam*]^{NP} [*brë-ven*]^{VP} [*rëngen* *nevenu* *s-enam*]^{PP}]
1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-go LOC place GEN.CLS-1PL.POSS
'We'd go back to our country.'

4.5 Serial Verbs

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus are several examples same-subject sequential serial verbs[1]. This serial verb construction involves an initial motion verb, typically either *ven* 'go' or *ma* 'come', followed by a second verb expressing an action. This is exemplified in (4.21), (4.22) and (4.23). Each verb carries its own subject-tense prefix.

In (4.21), the serial verb construction involves the motion verb *ven* 'go' followed by the action verb *metur* 'sleep', and produces the meaning 'go and sleep'.

(4.21) [*brë-s-ven* *brë-s-metur*]^{VP} [*Kerikeri*]^{PP}
1PL.EXCL-FUT-go 1PL.EXCL-FUT-sleep Kerikeri
'We'll go and sleep at KeriKeri.' *mll_eb03.ref.003*

In (4.22), the serial verb construction involves the motion verb *ven* 'go' and the action verb *wale* 'open', and produces the meaning 'go and open'.

(4.22) [*re-ven* *re-wale* *nelok*]^{VP}
3PL.NFUT-go 3PL.NFUT-open local pudding
'They went and opened the local pudding.' *mll_eb01.ref.013*

In (4.23), the serial verb construction involves the motion verb *ma* 'come' and the action verb *pële* 'chase', and produces the meaning 'come and chase'.

(4.23) [*rë-s-ma* *rë-s-pële* *kënam*]^{VP}
3PL-FUT-come 3PL-FUT-chase 1PL.EXCL
'They'll come and chase us.' *mll_eb06.ref.005*

[1] This terminology is taken from Barbour (2012, p.342)

4.6. Non-Core Arguments

In Espiegle's Bay, we find that non-core arguments encode the oblique function and map onto the grammatical relation of oblique. Obliques take the form of either full noun phrases or pronouns, and are typically introduced by prepositions which serve as identifiers of an argument's non-core status. However, some local nouns can form obliques without any additional morphology. The structure of the prepositional phrase is:

PP ⟶ Preposition + (NP)

The class of prepositions in Espiegle's Bay is a small closed class; only three have been identified. However, the range of meanings associated with each preposition is quite broad. Following Hyslop (2001, p.133-163) and Barbour (2012, p.269-279), I will discuss the properties of prepositions with reference to their semantic function, rather than syntactic type. Table 4.3 displays the semantic properties of each preposition. Each preposition is described and illustrated in the following sections.

		rëngen	*ron*	*chi*
Spatial	in, at	✓		
	on	✓		
	source (from)	✓		
	goal (to)	✓		
Temporal	in, on	✓		
Comitative	with (volitional)		✓	
Accompanitive	with (non-volitional)			
	- non human		✓	
	-human			✓
Personal (combines with nouns denoting a human participant)	location at a person's place			✓
	motion to a person's place			✓
	benefactive			✓
Locution	about a topic to a person			✓

Table 4.3: Functions of Prepositions

4.6.1 *rëngen* 'LOC'

The preposition *rëngen* is the most widely occurring preposition in the Espiegle's Bay corpus. Its most common function is to encode spatial information, such as location, origin, source and goal. This is exemplified below.

In (4.24), *rëngen* introduces the location of the verb event. Here, the location of the verb *khil.khil* 'dig.INT' is *not* 'garden'.

(4.24)

	LOCATION (in)	
[*në-khilkhil*]^{VP}	[*rëngen*	*not*]^{PP}
1SG.NFUT-dig.INT	LOC	garden

'I dug in the garden.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.08*

In (4.25), *rëngen* 'LOC' introduces the spatial origin of the speaker in a relative clause structure. In this example, the oblique is suppressed, as indicated by the underline. It is coreferential with the head noun *nevenu* 'place'.

(4.25)

					ORIGIN (from)	
rëngen	*nevenu*	*te*	*khunu*	*në-ma*	[*rëngen*	———]^{PP}
LOC	place	SUBORD	1SG	1SG.NFUT-come	LOC	

'In the place that I come from...' *mll_eb10.ref.009*

In (4.26), *rëngen* introduces the material of the direct object *dange lep* 'a lot of things'. In this example, the material of the direct object is *nani* 'coconut'.

(4.26)

	Direct Object		MATERIAL(from)	
[*re-rov*	[*dange*	*lep*]^{NP}]^{VP}	[*rëngen*	*nani*]^{PP}
3PL.NFUT-make	thing	a lot	LOC	coconut

'They make a lot of things from coconut.' *mll_eb04.ref.006*

In (4.27), *rëngen* is used to indicate the physical goal of the verb event. Here, *rëngen* introduces the common noun *chech* 'church' as the goal location of the verb event *ven* 'to go'.

(4.27)

		GOAL(to)	
rororan	*brë-ven*	[*rëngen*	*chech*]^{PP}
morning	1PL.EXCL.NFUT-go	LOC	church

'In the morning, we went to church.' *mll_eb03.ref.017*

Attested in the data is a single occurrence of *rëngen* with the function of indicating the location of one object 'on' another. In (4.28), the second *rëngen* introduces the item that the thatch is being placed on top of, which is *nakhnaem* 'door'.

(4.28)

		LOCATION (in)		LOCATION (on top of)	
re-to	*nëmen*	[*rëngen*	*rowat*]^{PP}	[*rëngen*	*nakhnaem*]^{PP}
3PL.NFUT-put	black magic	LOC	thatch	LOC	door

'They put black magic in the thatch on the door.' *mll_eb12.ref.004*

Another function of *rëngen* is to encode temporal information. Specifically, it encodes the time in which an event will take place or has taken place. This is exemplified in (4.29) and (4.30). In (4.29), *rëngen* introduces the day which the event of 'going' will take place, that is *Fridei rovrov* 'Friday afternoon'. In (4.30), *rëngen* is used to introduce the year in which the speaker went to Yalo Cave. In this example, the oblique of the first prepositional phrase is suppressed, but is presumably Yalo cave based on the discourse context.

(4.29)

	TIME (on)		
brë-s-ven	[*rëngen*	*Fridei*	*rovrov*]^{PP}
1PL.EXCL-FUT-go	LOC	Friday	afternoon

'We'll go on Friday afternoon.' *mll_eb03.ref.004*

(4.30)

			TIME(in)	
khunu	*në-ven*	*po*	[*rëngen*	*1999*]^{PP}
1SG	1SG.NFUT-go	LIMIT	LOC	1999

'I just went in 1999.' *mll_eb02.ref.005*

Interestingly, *rëngen* can also introduce the topic that is being discussed. In this use it marks a core argument as the topic of discussion, usually a direct object participant. This is exemplified below.

(4.31) *jë-wer* *po* [*rëngen* *famli* *s-ok*]^{PP}
1SG.NFUT-tell LIMIT about family GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS
'I will just talk about my family.' *mll_eb07.ref.002*

4.6.2 *ron* 'comitative'

The preposition *ron* encodes the comitative function. Specifically, the preposition *ron* introduces a human participant that volitionally accompanies a participant which is encoded as a core argument in a clause. This is exemplified in (4.32) and (4.33).

In (4.32), 'the fathers', *tate ngenar*, who are introduced by the preposition *ron* 'COMIT', are volitionally negotiating the distribution of land with G, who is the participant encoded on the subject argument.

(4.32)
COMITATIVE
[*G.*]^{NP} [*Ø-rov* *sek* *den*]^{VP} [*ron* *tate* *ngenar*]^{PP}
G. 3SG.NFUT-do HAB ground COMIT father PLURAL
'G. was dealing with/distributing the land with the fathers.'*mll_eb06.ref.002*

In (4.33), 'the daughter', *nët-uk duwat*, who is introduced by the preposition *ron* 'COMIT', is volitionally being accompanied to the garden by her mother, who is encoded as a subject-tense prefix on the verb.

(4.33) Subj.-INDX
COMITATIVE
[*në-ven*]^{VP} [*rëngen* *not*]^{PP} [*ron* *nët-uk* *duwat*]^{PP}
1SG.NFUT-go LOC garden COMIT CHILD-1SG.POSS female
'I went to the garden with my daughter.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.02*

Amongst the elicited material is a single example of *ron* encoding the accompanitive function. In (4.34), *ron* introduces a non-human participant which is being carried by a human participant who is encoded as the grammatical subject. Here, the speaker, who is suppressed but indexed on the verb, is carrying a basket to the garden. Inherently, the accompaniment of the basket is non-volitional.

(4.34) Subj.-INDX

[*në-ven*]^{VP}	[*rëngen*	*not*]^{PP}	[*ron*	*nesip*	*s-ok*]^{PP}
1SG.NFUT-go	LOC	garden	COMIT	basket	GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS

'I went to the garden with my basket.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.03*

Ron is also attested as a phrasal adjunct. In this use, *ron* acts like a nominal coordinator, coordinating two noun phrases. This is exemplified in (4.35). In this example, *ron* co-ordinates the noun phrases *nët-en* 'his child' and *duwat s-en* 'his wife' to form the meaning 'his child and wife'.

(4.35)

khaen	*Ø-wer*	[*ngen*	[[*nët-en*]^{NP}	*ron*
3SG	3SG.NFUT-tell	EXT.P	child-3SG.POSS	CORD
[*duwat*	*s-en*]^{NP}]^{NP}	*te*	*rë-s-rov*	*nelok*
female	GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS	SUBORD	3PL-FUT-make	local pudding

'He told his child and wife to make the local pudding' *mll_eb01.ref.006*

4.6.3 *chi* 'personal locational preposition'

The preposition *chi* encodes spatial information, specifically human destination and location, as well as accompanitive, beneficative and experiencer-like information when the non-core participant is a human entity. This is exemplified below.

In (4.36), the preposition *chi* is used to introduce the kin term *pene s-en* 'his uncle' who is the human destination of the event of 'taking the yam'.

(4.36)

			DESTINATION		
[*khaën*]^{NP}	[*Ø-lev*	*geka*]^{VP}	[*chi*	*pene*	*s-en*]^{PP}
3SG	3SG.NFUT-take	yam	LOC.PSN	maternal uncle	GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS

'He took the yam to his maternal uncle.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.02*

In (4.37), *chi* is used to introduce the location of the participant encoded on the subject noun phrase. Here, the location of the subject participant is next to the speaker, who is encoded on the pronoun *khunu* '1SG'.

(4.37)

			LOCATION	
[*khaen*]^{NP}	[*Ø-yat*	*iten*]^{VP}	[*chi*	*khunu*]^{PP}
3SG	3SG.NFUT-sit	here	LOC.PSN	1SG

'He was sitting here by me.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.03*

In (4.38), *chi* is used to introduce a non-volitional, accompanitive human participant. Here, *chi* introduces the noun phrase *putwat s-en* 'his grandmother' as the person who the subject participant has left the direct object participant, *kokot* 'small boy', to be taken care of by.

(4.38)

			ACCOMPANITIVE		
[*khunu*]^{NP}	[*në-koron*	*kokot*]^{VP}	[*chi*	*putwat*	*s-en*]^{PP}
1SG	1SG.NFUT-leave	small boy	LOC.PSN	grandmother	GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS

'I left the child with his grandmother.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.05*

In (4.39), *chi* introduces a human participant who benefits from the action carried out the participants encoded on the subject argument. Here, the subject argument is suppressed, but is indexed on the verb. In this example, *chi* introduces the noun phrase *kem dëkhpis ngenar* 'you and your kids', who will benefit from the subject's action of 'helping their people'.

(4.39) Subj.-INDX

[*re-save-tar*	*se*	*nëmere*	*s-er*]^{VP}
3PL.NFUT-ABIL-help	HUM.GEN	people	GEN.CLS-1PL.INCL.POSS

BENEFICIATIVE

[*chi*	*kem*	*dëkhpis*	*ngenar*]^{PP}
LOC.PSN	2PL	child	PLURAL

'They'll be able to help our people and you kids.' *mll_eb08.ref.019*

In example (4.40), *chi* introduces a human participant who is the experiencer the verb event of 'a difficult time'.

(4.40)

		EXPERIENCER	
[*nëran*]^{NP}	[*Ø-terter*]^{VP}	[*chi*	*kënam*]^{PP}
time	3SG.NFUT-difficult	LOC.PSN	1PL.EXCL

'It was a difficult time for us.' *mll_eb06.ref.036*

Interestingly, *chi* also appears to have the function of specifying the topic of discussion in a sentence when that topic is a human entity. This is exemplified in (4.41).

(4.41)

TOPIC				
[*chi*	*khunu,*]^{PP}	*në-rongo*	*te*	*jë-lev*
LOC.PSN	1SG	1SG.NFUT-sense	SUBORD	1SG.FUT-take
nët-uk	*së-ruru*	*khor*	*së-ven*	*ron*
child-1SG.POSS	3SG.FUT-two	DEMS	3SG.FUT-go	with
khunu	*eve*	*Kerikeri*	*khori*	*khaën*
1SG	there	Kerikeri	DEMS.PN	3SG
Ø-terter	*chov*			
3SG.NFUT-difficult	too			

As for me, I felt that taking my two kids with me to Kerikeri would be too difficult.'
mll_eb03.ref.005

4.6.4 Inherently Forming Obliques

Proper place names, a type of local noun (see §2.7.1 for further information), can form obliques without any additional morphology. This is exemplified in (4.42) and (4.43). In (4.42), the proper place name *Pëpetpëkh*, which is the name of an area on Malakula, inherently forms a locational prepositional phrase. Here, *Pëpetpëkh* is the place that the participant encoded as the subject argument intends to stay at.

(4.42)

Subject		Oblique		
[*khunu*]^{NP}	[*jë-lol*]^{VP}	[*Pëpetpëkh,*]^{PP}	[*nokh*]^{NP}	[*khe-s-lol*]^{VP}
1SG	1SG.FUT-stay	Pëpetpëkh	2SG	2SG-FUT-stay
[*rëngen*	*basis*]^{PP}			
LOC	beach			

'I will stay at Pepetpepkh, you will stay at the beach. *mll_eb06.ref.023*

Like (4.42), in (4.43) the proper place place name *Molin* also inherently forms a locational prepositional phrase. Here, *Molin* is the place that the participant encoded on the subject argument refuses to go to. Phrases which encode spatial information such as location are typically formed with the prepositional marker *rëngen* 'LOC'.

(4.43) Subject Oblique

[*khunu*]^{NP} [*pep-ven-te*]^{VP} [*Molin*]^{PP}

1SG PROH1-go-NEG2 Molin

'I'm not going to Molin.' *mll_eb06.ref.027*

4.7 Argument Suppression

Like many Malakula languages (see Crowley 2006a, 2006b, 2006c; Barbour, 2012), in Espiegle's Bay direct object arguments and non-core arguments can be omitted when the referent of the argument is already known. Either the referent is known through the physical context or is retrievable from the discourse. This is exemplified in (4.44) and (4.45). This process has already been described for the grammatical subject (see §3.4.3).

In example (4.44), the direct object argument of the verb *lev* 'take' is suppressed. The syntactic position of this suppressed argument is indicated by the underline. In this example, the implied object is *netchel* 'mats', which is known from the larger discourse context. In the text where this example is from, the narrative topic is how mats are woven. As such, the direct object referent in (4.44) is implicitly known by the speaker and the listeners.

(4.44) [*mëroten*]^{NP} [*së-lev* _____]^{VP} [*së-tekwes*]^{VP}

person 3SG.FUT-take 3SG.FUT-straighten

'Someone will take (the mat) and straighten it' *mll_eb_weaving.ref.006*

In (4.45), the participant encoded on the oblique is suppressed. This is indicated by the stranded prepositional marker *rëngen* in the prepositional phrase. The syntactic position of this suppressed oblique is denoted by the underline. In this example, the implied oblique is *Chrismas* 'Christmas' which, like in (4.44), is known from the larger discourse context. In the text where this example is from, the topic of discussion is the speaker's first Christmas in

New Zealand. As such, in (4.45), the oblique referent is implicitly known by the speaker and the listeners.

(4.45) [*re-rov* *dange* *lep* *sek*]^{VP} [*rëngen* _____]^{PP}
3PL.NFUT-do thing many HAB LOC
'They do lots of things at (Christmas).' *mll_eb11.ref.004*

4.8 Verbal Negation

In Oceanic languages, we find that verbal negation is typically marked discontinuously (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002, p.51). Espiegle's Bay agrees in this regard, with verbal clauses negated by a simulfix of the shape *pe- V –te.* This is exemplified in (4.46) to (4.49). Interestingly, we find that subject-tense prefixation is not an obligatory element of the negative clause. In the corpus, if the subject noun phrase position is filled with an independent pronoun, then the verb is not indexed with a subject-tense prefix. This is shown in (4.46) and (4.47). When the subject noun phrase position is filled with a full noun, the verb is indexed with a subject-tense marker, as in (4.49). When the subject noun phrase is suppressed, we find that the verb is indexed with subject-tense prefix to encode the subject participant. This is shown in (4.48). As discussed in §3.8, post-verbal modifiers typically occur within the simulfix, sitting between the verb head and the negative suffixal element. However, some modifiers are attested outside the simulfix, directly after the negative suffixial element. Pre-verbal modifiers are not attested in negative constructions.

In (4.46), the independent pronoun *khunu* '1SG' is encoded on the subject argument, with the verb *mas* 'die' not indexed with a subject-tense prefix. In this example, tense can be retrieved from the immediately following clause where the verb *morov* 'alive' is indexed with the first-person singular, non-future prefix *në-*.

(4.46) [*khunu*]^{NP} [*pe-mas-te,*]^{VP} [*në-morov* *po*]^{VP}
1SG NEG1-die-NEG2 1SG.NFUT-alive LIMIT
'I wasn't dead, I was just alive.' *mll_eb13.ref.005*

In (4.47), the independent pronoun *khunu* '1SG' is encoded on the subject argument, with the compound verb *rongo nem* 'feel happy' not indexed with a subject-tense prefix. Tense marking can be retrieved from the earlier discourse. The speaker's utterance is a part of wider discussion, where she's talking about her feelings on a job she once had in Vanuatu. In the positive, declarative constructions prior to this example, the verb is indexed with non-future tense marking.

(4.47) [*khunu*]^{NP} [*pe-rongo* *nem-te*]^{VP}
1SG NEG1-sense good-NEG2
'I didn't feel happy.' *mll_eb10.ref.014*

Example (4.48) shows how the verb is marked when the subject noun phrase is suppressed. Here, the verb is indexed with a subject-tense marker, specifically the first-person plural non-future prefix *brë-*. This prefix attaches to the prefixial element of the negative simulfix.

(4.48) Subj.-INDX
[*brë-pe-ven-te*]^{VP} [*rëngen* *nok* *den*]^{NP}
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-NEG1-go-NEG2 LOC canoe vehicle
'We didn't go by motor vehicle.' *mll_eb09.ref.006*

Example (4.49) shows how the verb is marked when the subject noun phrase is a full noun. Here, the common noun *nëmere* 'people' is encoded on the subject noun phrase, with the verb indexed with the third-person plural, non-future prefix *re-* '3PL.NFUT'.

(4.49) Subject INDX
[*nëmere*] [*re-pe-ven-te* *sek*] [*rëngen*]
people 3PL.NFUT-NEG1-go-NEG2 HAB LOC
'People didn't usually go inside.' *mll_eb02.ref.002*

4.9 Fronting of Constituents

In many Vanuatu languages (see Hyslop, 2001; Crowley, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c; Barbour, 2012), constituent fronting is relatively common. According to Crowley (2006b, p.204) the most common function of constituent fronting is to put a noun phrase into a position of pragmatic salience. Correspondingly, in the Espiegle's Bay corpus we find that the direct object argument is sometimes fronted to emphasis it as the 'topic' of a clause. This is exemplified below.

In (4.50) below, the noun phrase *khongeni* 'this one' has been fronted to the subject position from the direct object position. Its prototypical syntactic position in the clause is indicated by the dotted line. In this example, *khongeni* 'this one' is referring to a specific woman which the speaker knows. The speaker is telling the addressee that he cannot take her with him. The fronting of the noun phrase *khongeni* 'this one' emphasizes the speaker's prohibition of the addressee's intended action.

(4.50) FRONTED NP

[*khongeni*]^{NP}	[*nokh*]^{NP}	[*pep-lev*	*mëne*	*-te*	---------]^{VP}
this one	2SG	NEG.IMP1-take	INABIL	NEG2	

'You will not take this one.' *mll_eb12.ref.014*

In (4.51), the noun phrase *monei se tate khor* 'the father's money' has been fronted to the subject position from the direct object position. Its prototypical syntactic position in the clause is indicated by the dotted line. In this example, the fronted noun phrase is referring to the speaker's father's money, which the father had been carefully storing in a bag before a cyclone swept it away. In the text where this example is from a number of other items had been swept away by the cyclone, but they are not fronted noun phrases. The noun phrase *monei se tate khor* 'the father's money' is specifically fronted to emphasize the pragmatic importance of this item, which has been lost.

(4.51) FRONTED NP

[*monei*	*se*	*tate*	*khor*]^{NP}	[*Ø -sungun*	------]^{VP}	[*rëngen*	*bag*]^{NP}
money	HUM.GEN	father	DEMS	3SG.NFUT- load		LOC	bag

'He had loaded his money (lit. the father's money) into a bag.' *mll_eb13.ref.004*

4.10 Permission Constructions

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, there are several elicited examples of permissive clauses. These examples were elicited on my behalf and do not come with spoken recordings, thus I am unable to analyse their intonational properties. Permissive clauses are structurally parallel to basic future tense declarative clauses. The only indicator that the construction expresses the permission of some event is the discourse context and/or the subsequent clause. This is exemplified below. In (4.52), it is possible to interpret the first clause as a permissive construction based on the negative imperative construction which follows it, which specifies the restrictions on where the addressee can take her basket to.

(4.52)	[*khë-s-lev*	*deng*	*s-om,*]^{VP}	*pe*
	2SG-FUT-take	basket	GEN.CLS-2SG.POSS	but
	[*khë-pep-lev*	*luwe-te*	*deng*	*ngen*]^{VP}
	2PL.NFUT-NEG.IMP1-take	away-NEG2	basket	EXT.P

'You can take your basket, but you can't take that basket to..'

mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.05

4.11 Imperatives

In Espiegle's Bay there is no distinct overt morphology for marking imperatives. According to Aikhenvald (2010, p.38), in languages which lack dedicated imperative forms we often find that a special intonation contour or irregular TAM marking is employed to distinguish imperatives from declarative clauses. Espiegle's Bay follows Aikhenvald's analysis. In imperatives, stress is placed on the initial syllable of the verb root, whereas in declaratives the verb is not noticeably stressed. Imperatives are also unmarked for subject-tense on the verb, whereas declaratives have near obligatory subject-tense marking.

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, the addressee of a command is not overtly expressed; the subject noun phrase is suppressed and there is no subject-tense marking on the verb. This is exemplified in (4.53) and (4.54).

(4.53) [*koron* *ma* *deng* *s-ak*]^{VP}
give come basket GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS
'Give me my basket!' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.011*

(4.54) [*këron* *khunu*]^{VP}
leave 1SG
'Leave me alone!' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.008*

Not overtly expressing the addressee of a command is a common property of imperatives in many languages (Aikhenvald, 2010, p.3). Aikhenvald (2010) provides a useful explanation for this property, stating that "the semantic core of the imperative mood is that the subject is invariably the addressee, and that addressee is overwhelmingly a second person referent, usually a singular 'you' " (p.3-4).

Interestingly, in the Espiegle's Bay corpus we also find a semantic-syntactic 'lesser imperative'[2] form in the sense that rather than expressing a command, this form expresses that an action is desirable. In the lesser imperative clause, the addressee is overtly expressed on the subject noun phrase. Thus, the lesser imperative construction is structurally parallel to basic declarative clauses with omitted subject-tense prefixes (see §4.4). This is exemplified in (4.50) and (4.51). It is possible to distinguish lesser imperatives from declarative clauses with omitted subject-tense prefixes by the context in which the utterance is said. In (4.55), for example, the speaker states that the addressee should go to Molin during a discussion about where the addressee's family should move to. In (4.56), the speaker is specifying that the addressee, who is the speaker's mother, is the one who should go with her younger siblings to Kerikeri. She, the eldest sibling, and her father will stay back.

(4.55) [*nokh*]^{NP} [*ven*]^{VP} [*Molin*]^{PP}
2SG go Molin
'You should go to Molin.'*mll_eb06.ref.032*

[2] The term 'lesser imperative' is specific to this thesis. It is used to refer to constructions which have some imperative properties, but are not imperative in the same way full imperatives are in both structure and meaning.

(4.56) [*brës*-lol]^{VP} [*nokh po,*]^{NP} [*nokh*]^{NP} [*ven*]^{VP}
1PL.EXCL.FUT-STAY 2SG LIMIT 2SG go
'We'll stay, only you can go (with them).' *mll_eb03.ref.005*

4.12 Negative Imperatives

In Espiegle's Bay, negative imperatives have distinct morphology, being morphologically marked by a simulfix of the shape *pep-* V –te. While this prohibitive simulfix is similar in shape to the negative verbal simulfix, *pe-* V *-te*, the first negative element is distinct. This is exemplified below.

In (4.57), the speaker is commanding the addressee *T.* not to eat the lolly. Here, the prefixial element of the simulfix takes the shape *pep-*.

(4.57) [*T.,*]^{NP} [*pep- och –te* *lolly*]^{VP}
T. NEG.IMP1-eat-NEG2 lolly
'T., don't eat the lolly!' *mll_ebelicit2011.ref.001*

In (4.58), the speaker is saying that the participant encoded on the subject argument, *T.*, mustn't eat the lolly. Here, the prefixial element of the simulfix takes the shape *pe-*.

(4.58) [*T.,*]^{NP} [*Ø -pe- och –te* *lolly*]^{VP}
T. 3SG.NFUT-NEG1-eat-NEG2 lolly
'T. mustn't eat the lolly.' *mll_ebelicit2011.ref.001*

Like imperative clauses, negative imperatives do not overtly express the addressee, as in (4.59).

(4.59) [*pep-chëper -te* *khunu*]^{VP}
NEG.IMP1-touch -NEG2 1SG
'Don't touch me!' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.010*

Interestingly, as with imperatives, we also find a syntactic-semantic ‘lesser negative imperative’ form in the sense that rather than expressing the prohibition of some event, this form expresses situations where the addressee is not allowed to, refuses to, or is unable to act. This ‘lesser negative imperative’ is structurally similar to the negative imperative clause, except that the referent is overtly expressed. If the addressee is a second-person referent, then the referent is overtly expressed by indexing on the verb, as in (4.60). If the addressee is a non-second person referent, then the referent is overtly expressed on the subject noun phrase, with the verb not indexed with a subject-tense prefix. This is shown in (4.61) and (4.62).

In (4.60), the speaker is stating to the addressee that he/she is not allowed to take his/her basket. Here, the addressee is a second-person referent and is thus indexed on the verb, with the subject noun phrase suppressed.

(4.60) Subj.-INDX

[*khe-pep-lev luwe-te*	*deng*	*s-om*]^{VP}
1PL.NFUT-NEG.IMP1-take away-NEG2	basket	GEN.CLS-2SG.POSS

‘We can’t take your basket.’ *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.05*

In the text where the next example is from, there is a lot of discussion about the movement of families to new locations In (4.61), the speaker is telling the addressee that she refuses to go to Molin. Here, the subject noun phrase is overtly expressed by the independent pronoun *khunu* '1SG'.

(4.61) Subject

[*khunu*]^{NP}	[*pep-ven-te*]^{VP}	[*Molin*]^{PP}
1SG	NEG.IMP1-go–NEG2	Molin

'I won't go to Molin.' *mll_eb06.ref.024*

In (4.62), the speaker is stating that the participants encoded on the subject noun phrase are not allowed to burn the house. Here, the addressee is expressed on the subject noun phrase as the independent pronoun *khar* '3PL'.

(4.62) [*khar*]^{NP} [*pep-sul -te* *naem*]^{VP}

3PL NEG.IMP1-burn–NEG2 house

'They mustn't burn the house.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.09*

4.13 Interrogatives

In Espiegle's Bay, we find that there are two types of interrogative constructions. These are constituent interrogatives and polar interrogatives (as defined by König and Siemund, 2007, p.276-324). Constituent interrogatives are characterised by a small set of interrogative lexemes, which function as 'question words'. By contrast, polar interrogatives have no distinguishing morphology, but are characterised as being distinct through intonation.

4.13.1 Constituent Interrogatives

In Espiegle's Bay, we find that constituent interrogatives are distinguished by the presence of an interrogative lexeme. This lexeme occurs *in situ*. A list of the interrogative lexemes identified in the Espiegle's Bay corpus is displayed below.

jet	'what'	common interrogative
isene	'who'	personal interrogative
ibe	'where'	local place interrogative
vis	'how many'	numeral interrogative

Table 4.4: Espiegle's Bay Interrogative Lexemes

In (4.63), the speaker uses to the common interrogative *jet* 'what' to express the question 'What do you think is good about New Zealand?' to the addressee.

(4.63) [*jet* *na*]^{NP} *nokh* *rom* *te*

what now 2SG think SUBORD

khaën *Ø -pe-nem-te* *iten* *ne* *New Zealand*

3SG NEG1-good-NEG2 here NHUM.GEN New Zealand

'What do you think is not good about New Zealand?'*mll_eb08.ref.013*

In (4.64), the speaker uses the personal interrogative *isene* 'who' to question who is up in the tree above her. This interrogative has a short form, *ise*. This is shown in (4.65).

(4.64) [*isene*] *akhe* *lemsakh* *khor*
who there above DEMS
'Who's that up there?' *mll_ebelicit2011*

(4.65) *re-pe-rongovson-te* [*ise*] *së-klesur* *mama*
3PL.NFUT-NEG1-know-NEG2 who 3SG.FUT-look after mother
'They don't know who will look after Mum' *mll_eb12.ref.011*

In (4.66), the local place interrogative *ibe* 'where' is used by the speaker to ask the addressee which place on Malakula is the place she doesn't want to go to.

(4.66) *khe-pe-rongo-te* *khe-s-ven* [*ibe*]
2SG.NFUT-NEG1-sense-NEG2 2SG-FUT-go where
'You don't want to go where?' *mll_eb06.ref.033*

In (4.67), the numeral interrogative *vis* 'how many' is used by the speaker to ask the addressee how many hours they have to sit and worship for.

(4.67) [*nemtenel* *vis,*]^{NP} *sëngavil* *sowo*
time, o'clock how many ten or
sëngavil *remene* *skhal*
ten NUM one
'How many hours? Ten or eleven? *mll_eb06.ref.046*

Interestingly, *jet* 'what' sometimes combines with the common subordinator *mëten* to form the question 'why', literally 'because of what'. This is exemplified in (4.68). In this example, the speaker is questioning the addressee about why she isn't going to Molin with them.

(4.68) *khe-pe-ven-te* *Molin* [*mëten* *jet*]
2SG.NFUT-NEG1-go-NEG2 Molin because what
'Why are you not going to Molin?' *mll_eb06.ref.028*

Attested in the data are two occurrences of a manner interrogative. The common interrogative *jet* 'what' combines with the similitive verb *plek* 'be like so' to form the question 'how' in the sense of 'in what manner'. This is exemplified in (4.69) and (4.70). In (4.69), the speaker is asking about how they are going to handle having to move to a new area. In (4.70), the speaker is asking about how the rubbish can be burned.

(4.69) *brës-rov* [*së-plek* *jet*]
1PL.EXCL.FUT-do 3SG.FUT-like what
'How do we handle this?' *mll_eb06.ref.009*

(4.70) *brës-sul* *toti* *s-enam* [*së-plek* *jet*]
1PL.EXCL.FUT-burn rubbish GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS 3SG.FUT-like.so what
‘How will we burn our rubbish?’ *mll_eb06.ref.011*

4.13.2 Polar Interrogatives

In Espiegle's Bay, polar interrogatives (or yes/no questions) are distinguished from declarative clauses by intonation. In declarative clauses, we find that intonation falls at the end of an utterance, while in polar interrogatives there is rising intonation on the last syllable of an utterance. This is exemplified in (4.71) and (4.72). In (4.71), the speaker's intonation rises on the final syllable, *nem,* to specify that the utterance is a question. In (4.72), the speaker's intonation rises on the final *kur* in *kurkur* 'cook'.

(4.71) *mama, nokh les te New Zealand khaën Ø-nem*↗
mama 2SG see SUBORD New Zealand 3SG 3SG.NFUT-good
'Mum, do you find New Zealand good?' *mll_eb08.ref.001*

(4.72) *ker-rumrum* *laswik* *te* *ker-kurkur*↗
2PL.NFUT-remember last week SUBORD 2PL.NFUT-cook
'Remember that you cooked last week?' *mll_ebelicit2011*

4.14 Reciprocals

Attested in the Espiegle's Bay corpus is a single example of a reciprocal construction with the verb *rech* 'talk'. This reciprocal construction appears to be syntactically transitive, with a suppressed post-verbal direct object, but semantically intransitive as the argument encoded in the object position is co-referential with the argument encoded in the subject position. This is exemplified below in (4.73). Interestingly, the verb is reduplicated when being used in this manner, thus the formation of reciprocals may be a de-transitivizing process. An example of a *rech* 'talk' being used as the non-reciprocal predicate of a declarative clause is shown in (4.74). Here, it is not reduplicated, and again the direct object argument is suppressed.

(4.73) *në-wer* *ngen* *nët-uk* [*brë-rech.rech*
1SG.NFUT-tell EXT.P child-1SG.POSS 1PL.EXCL.NFUT- talk.INT
ngen _____]^{VP}
EXT.P
'I told my kids and we talked.' *mll_eb03.ref.004*

(4.74) [*nëmelep* *khor*]^{NP} [*khaën*]^{NP} *Ø-rech* *ngen* _____]^{VP}
hawk DEMS 3SG 3SG.NFUT-talk EXT.P
'The hawk talked (to him).' *mll_eb01.ref.009*

4.15 Non-Verbal Clauses

In many discussions on non-verbal clause types in individual languages, reference is made to Dryer's (2007, p.224-275) discussion on non-verbal predicates. In his discussion, Dryer (2007) identifies three types of clauses with nonverbal predicates. These are adjectival predicates (i.e. My dog is *black*), nominal predicates (i.e. My dog is *a cocker spaniel*), and locative predicates (i.e. My dog is *in the house*) (Dryer, 2007, p.225). In English, all three of these predicate types are formed with the copula verb *be*. Using Dryer's non-verbal predicate distinctions as a typological frame, we find that in Espiegle's Bay clauses with adjectival predicates are expressed verbally, while clauses with locative predicates and nominal predicates can be expressed both verbally and non-verbally.

4.15.1 Adjectival Predicates

In the corpus we find that clauses with adjectival predicates are formed with stative verbs, namely the small subset that also function as adjectival modifiers of nouns. Adjectival verbs have been previously discussed in §3.5.1. Some examples of clauses with adjectival verb predicates are shown in (4.75), (4.76) and (4.77).

(4.75)

nëran te	[*në-kotkot*	*mar*]^{VP}	*brë-ven*
time SUBORD	1SG.NFUT-small	person	1PL.EXCL.NFUT-go
rëngen	*nëvenu*	*skhal*	*te*
LOC	place	one	SUBORD
re-wo	*Atchin*		
3PL.NFUT-say	Atchin		

'When I was little, I went to a place called Atchin.' *mll_ eb09.ref.005*

(4.76)

truck	*re-khos*	*sek*	*khor,*	[*khori*]^{NP}	[*re-lililep*]^{VP}
truck	3PL.NFUT-cross	HAB	DEMS	DEMS.PN	3PL.NFUT-big

'The trucks that cross (the bridge), they are big.' *mll_eb03.ref.014*

(4.77)

nëwowon	*s-ar*	[*khaën*]^{NP}	[*Ø-long*]^{VP}
sand	GEN.CLS-3PL.POSS	3SG	3SG.NFUT-black

'Their sand is black' *mll_eb09.ref.013*

Clauses with adjectival verb predicates are negated by the negative verbal simulfix, as in (4.78). Here, the adjectival predicate *leplep* 'be big' is being negated by the negative verbal simulfix *pe-V-te*.

(4.78)

[*T.*]^{NP}	[*pe-leplep-te*]^{VP}
T.	NEG1-big-NEG2

'T. isn't big.' *mll_ebelicit2011.ref.005*

4.15.2 Locative Predicates

In the corpus, clauses with locative predicates are verbal. They may be formed with the existential verb *tokh*, as in (4.79) , or the copula verb *ve*, as in (4.80).

In (4.79), the locative predicate is formed with the existential verb *tokh* 'exist'. Here, it is used to specify that half of a man's body was (lit. existed) inside the house.

(4.79)	*khaën*	*Ø-vlevech*	*bate*	*mar*	*khor;*
	3SG	3SG.NFUT-break	head	person	DEMS
	jëpon	*Ø-ven*	*chaling*	[*jëpon*	*nemb-en*]^{NP}
	half	3SG.NFUT-go	outside	half	body-3SG.POSS
	[*Ø-tokh*	*laem*]^{VP}			
	3SG.NFUT-exist	house			

'It broke the neck of that man; half of him went outside, half of him stayed inside the house.' *mll_eb01.ref.023*

In (4.80), the locative predicate is formed with the copula verb *ve*. In this example, the speaker is stating that her husband is not from the same area as she is.

(4.80)	[*khaën*]^{NP}	[*Ø -ve*]^{VP}	[*rëngen*	*nevenu*	*os*]^{PP}
	3SG	3SG.NFUT-COP	LOC	place	different

'He is from a different place.' *mll_eb07.ref.005*

In the corpus, locative clauses may be negated by the negative element *pete*, as in (4.81). In this example, *pete* negates the prepositional phrase *rëngen nevenu s-ok* 'from my area'. It occurs in the syntactic position of the copula.

(4.81)	[*khaën*]^{NP}	[*pete*	*rëngen*	*nevenu*	*s-ok*]^{VP}
	3SG	not	LOC	place	GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS

'He is not from my area.' *mll_eb07.ref.005*

4.15.3 Nominal Predicates

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus we find that clauses with nominal predicates can be expressed either verbally or non-verbally. There are four semantic sub-types of clauses with nominal predicates: existential clauses (4.15.3.1), classificatory clauses (4.15.3.2), identificational clauses (4.15.3.3), and ownership clauses (4.15.3.4).

4.15.3.1 Existential Clauses

Existential Clauses simply assert the existence of some entity. In the corpus, existential clauses are verbal, formed with existential verb *tokh* 'to exist' which sits in the position of the verbal predicate and is marked with a subject-tense prefix, as in (4.82) and (4.83). Though in (4.83) , the index is a zero morpheme.

In (4.82), the existential verb *tokh* is used to propose the existence of footprints inside Yalo cave. In this example, *tokh* is indexed with the third-person singular, future marker *së-*.

(4.82)	*rë-s-les*	*te*	[*brokh*	*nëmel-en*]^{NP}	[*së-tokh*]^{VP}
	3PL-FUT-see	SUBORD	footprint	leg-3SG.POSS	3SG.FUT-exist
	'They'll see that there are footprints.' *mll_eb02.ref.022*				

In (4.83), the existential verb *tokh* is used to specify the existence of money in the sense that people who have money can travel more freely around New Zealand. This example is from a text where the speaker talks about her and her family's trip to Kerikeri.

(4.83)	*khar*	*re-ve*	*nëmere*	*te*
	3PL	3PL.NFUT-COP	people	SUBORD
	[*nëvat*	*s-ar*	*Ø -tokh*]^{VP}	
	money	GEN.CLS-3PL.POSS	3SG.NFUT-exist	
	'They are people who have money.' *mll_eb03.ref.024*			

In the corpus, existential clauses are negated by the negative element *sëkhsëkhe*. This is exemplified in (4.84). In this example, the speaker is talking about the burial process of people, with specific reference as to how only the footprint of one foot will appear at Yalo cave, if someone you know was buried with only one shoe on. Here, the negative element *sëkhsëkhe* 'be not so' is used to make negative the existence of a shoe on one of a dead man's

feet. Note that the first two underlines in this example indicate a suppressed possessum, while the third underline indicates a suppressed oblique.

(4.84) *tëso* *re-to* *shoes* *rëngen* *nëmel-en*
if 3PL.NFUT-put shoes LOC leg-3SG.POSS
jojo *ne* _____ , [*jojo* *ne* _____,
side HUM.GEN side HUM.GEN
shoes *sëkhsëkhe*] *rëngen* _____
shoes not exist LOC
'If they put shoes on one leg of him and the other side of him doesn't have shoes on him.' *mll_eb02.ref.022*

4.15.3.2 Classificatory Clauses

Classificatory clauses identify the general class or category to which the subject noun phrase belongs. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find that classificatory clauses are verbal, formed with the copula verb *ve.* This is exemplified in (4.85) and (4.86).

(4.85) [*khe-ve* *duwat*]^{VP}
2SG.NFUT-COP female
'You are a woman.' *mll_eb06.ref.021*

(4.86) [*khaën*]^{NP} [*Ø -ve* *nëmermer* *chi* *khar*]^{VP}
3SG 3SG.NFUT-COP male LOC.PSN 3PL
'He is their only son.' *mll_eb07.ref.008*

There are no examples of negative classificatory clauses in the Espiegle's Bay corpus.

4.15.3.3 Identificational Clauses

Identificational clauses name the subject argument, which may be a person, place or thing. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, we find that clauses of this type may be verbal or non-verbal. Non-verbal identificational clauses are formed simply by the juxtaposition of two noun phrases, as in (4.87). Alternatively, the identity an entity can be established in a verbal predicate with the locution verb *tev* 'call'. This is exemplified in (4.88) and (4.89).

In (4.87), the noun phrase *khunu neng-sak* 'my name' and the noun phrase *M. T.* are juxtaposed to form an identificational clause.

(4.87) [*khunu* *neng-sak*]^{NP} [*M.T.*]^{NP}
1SG name-1SG.POSS M. T.
'My name is M. T.' *mll_eb_mh_thatch.ref.001*

In (4.88) and (4.89), the verb *tev* 'call' is used by the speaker in reference to how her children address some of their family members.

(4.88) [*pupu* *s-ar*]^{NP} [*khar* *Ø -tev* *pupu*
grandfather GEN.CLS-3PL.POSS 3PL 3SG.NFUT-call grandfather
ngen *nemermer,* *putwat* *ngen* *duwat*]^{VP}
EXT.P male grandmother EXT.P female
Grandparents are called 'pupu' for grandfather and 'putwat' for grandmother.'
mll_eb07.ref.013

(4.89) [*net-uk* *ngenar,*]^{NP} [*re-tev* *sokho* *s-en*
child-1SG.POSS PLURAL 3PL.NFUT-call sister GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS
tate *s-ar* *Ø -ve* *vave*]^{VP}
father GEN.CLS-3PL.POSS 3SG.NFUT-COP aunt
'My kids call their father's sister 'aunt'. *mll_eb07.ref.010*

4.15.3.4 Ownership Clauses

Ownership clauses assert that the subject argument owns an entity or object. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, ownership clauses are verba. Verbal ownership clauses are formed by the copula verb *ve,* as in (4.92). Though, in this example, the subject-tense index is a zero morpheme.

(4.92) [*nevenu* *s-ok*]^{NP} [*Ø -ve* *Molin*]^{VP}
place GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS 3SG.NFUT-COP Molin
'My place is Molin' *mll_eb06.ref.035*

Ownership clauses are negated by the negative element *pete*, as in (4.93).

(4.93) [*Davorlewele*]^{NP} [*pete* *nevenu* *s-enam*]^{VP}
Davorlewele not place GEN.CLS-1PL.POSS
'Davorlwele is not my place.' *mll_eb06.ref.035*

4.16 Subordination

There are three types of subordinate clauses which have been identified across languages: complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. According to Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007, p.238), syntactically speaking, complement clauses function as noun phrases, relative clauses function as modifiers of nouns, and adverbial clauses function as modifiers of verb phrases and/or entire clauses. All three of these subordinate clause types have been identified in the Espiegle's Bay corpus.

There are three devices which have been found among the languages of the world to mark subordinate clauses (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang, 2007, p.238). These are: subordinating morphemes, special verb forms, and word order. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, only one of these three devices is used, that is, subordinating morphemes.

4.16.1 Complement Clauses

A complement clause is a predication which is itself a core argument of a predicate, thus it can be described as an embedded structure (Noonan, 2007, p.52). In a broad general sense, the function of the complement clause is to the complete the meaning of an expression. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, complement clauses are typically post-posed to their main clause. They are headed by the general subordinator *te*, as in (4.94) and (4.95). Note in these examples that 'CC' stands for 'complement clause'.

(4.94) [*në-rëngovson*]^{VP} [*te* *nëmorven* *khaën* *Ø -pe-melkhas-te*]^{CC}
1sg.nfut-know SUBORD life 3SG 3SG.FUT-NEG1-easy-NEG2
'I know that life isn't easy.' *mll_eb09.ref.010*

(4.95) [*brë-rongo*]^{VP} [*te* *Ø –terter*]^{CC}
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-feel SUBORD 3SG.NFUT-hard
'We felt that it would be difficult.' *mll_eb06.ref.004*

4.16.2 Relative Clauses

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, relative clauses modify a head noun, either a subject or direct object, of the main clause by adding some additional information about the referent encoded on that head noun. Only common nouns are attested to being modified by relative clauses. In the corpus, we find only examples of restrictive relative clauses. Like the Vanuatu languages of Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p.228) and Lolovoli (Hyslop, 2001, p.406), relative clauses in Espiegle's Bay are external-headed, meaning the head noun is located outside the relative clause. Following other nominal modifiers in Espiegle's Bay (see §2.5), relative clauses are post-nominal in that the external head of the relative clause is always the first constituent of the noun phrase. In the corpus, relative clauses are introduced by the general subordinator *te*, as in (4.96) through to (4.99). Note in these examples that 'Head N' stands for 'head noun, 'Co-ref NP' stands for 'co-referential noun phrase, 'MC' stands for main clause, and 'RC' stands for 'relative clause'.

In (4.96), the head noun which is in the subject position, *nët-en nëmermer* 'his child', in the main clause is the subject of the relative clause. In this example, reference to the head noun *nët-en nëmermer* 'his child' in the main clause is provided by the independent pronoun *khaën* '3SG' in the relative clause. This relativization strategy is known as the 'pronoun-retention strategy' (Song, 2001, p.218).

(4.96) [*nët-en* *nëmermer*]$^{HEAD\ N}$ [*te* [*khaën*]$^{Co\text{-}ref\ NP}$
child-3SG.POSS male subord 3SG
Ø-kotkot]^{RC} *khaën* *Ø -lev* *nëmelep*]^{MC}
3SG.NFUT-small 3SG 3SG.NFUT-take hawk
'His child, who is small, took the hawk.' *mll_eb01.ref.007*

In (4.97), the head noun which is in the subject position, *mëroten* 'person', in the main clause is the subject of the relative clause. Like in (4.96), in (4.97) reference to the head noun in the main clause is provided by the independent pronoun *khaën* '3SG' in the relative clause.

(4.97)	[*tëso*	*mëroten*] HEAD N	[*te*	[*khaën*]Co-ref NP	*pe-lakh-te*
	if	person	SUBORD	3SG	NEG1-marry-NEG2
	wor,]RC	*Ø-ven*	*lalen*	*Ø-chëplen*	*nëvat*]MC
	CONT	3SG.NFUT-go	inside	3SG.NFUT-throw	stone

‘If a person, who is still not married, goes inside and throws a stone…’

mll_eb02.ref.018

In (4.98) and (4.99), the prepositional object in the main clause corresponds to the subject of the relative clause.

In (4.98), reference to the head noun *mëroten skhal* 'a person' in the main clause is provided by the independent pronoun *khaën* '3SG' in the relative clause. Thus here, the pronoun-retention strategy is used.

(4.98)	[*khunu*	*në-lakh*	*ven*	*chi*	[*mëroten*	*skhal*]HEAD N
	1SG	1SG.NFUT-marry	go	HUM.LOC	person	one
	[*te*	[*khaën*]Co-ref NP	*pete*	*rëngen*	*nevenu*	*s-ok*]RC]MC
	SUBORD	3SG	not	LOC	place	GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS

‘I got married to a person who was not from my area.’ *mll_eb07.ref.005*

In (4.99), there is no overt reference to head noun *nevenu* 'place' in the relative clause. This type of expression - more accurately non-expression- of the head noun in the relative clause is known as the 'obliteration strategy' (Song, 2001, p.217). Example (4.100) shows where the co-referential noun phrase would be located if the relative clause were a main clause, that is, in the syntactic position of an oblique.

(4.99)	[*brës-ven*	*rengen*	[*nevenu*]HEAD N]MC	[*te*
	1PL.EXCL.FUT-go	LOC	place	SUBORD
	mission	*khaën*	*Ø-kon*	*sek*
	mission	3SG	3SG.NFUT-send	HAB
	tate	*s-enam*]RC		
	father	GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS		

‘We only go to the places where the mission sends our dad. ’ *mll_eb09.ref.004*

(4.100)	*mission*	*khaën*	*Ø-kon*	*sek*
	mission	3SG	3SG.NFUT-send	HAB
	tate	*s-enam*	[*rëngen*	*nevenu*]^{PP}
	father	GEN.CLS-1PL.POSS	LOC	place

'The mission sends our father to places.' [*constructed example*]

4.17 Adverbial Clauses

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus we find three sub-types of adverbial clauses. These are temporal clauses, reason clauses, and conditional clauses.

4.17.1 Temporal Clauses

Temporal clauses, specifically temporal sequence clauses (as defined by Thompson, Longacre and Huang, 2007, p.244), are headed by the temporal noun *nëran* 'time', which co-occurs with the general subordinator *te*. Temporal clauses may occur pre-posed or post-posed to the main clause. This is exemplified in (4.101) and (4.102) below. Note that in these examples the temporal clause is made reference to with the shortening 'TMP.CL'. Interestingly, in both these examples, we also find relative clauses. These are made reference to with the abbreviation 'RC'.

(4.101)	*khaën*	*Ø -ve*	*dange*	*nenge*
	3SG	3SG.NFUT-COP	thing	some
	[*te*	*Ø-ve*	*nëmorven*	*s-ok*]^{RC}
	SUBORD	3SG.NFUT-make	life	GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS
	[*nëran*	*te*	*në-kotkot***]**$^{TMP.CL}$	
	time	SUBORD	1SG.NFUT-small	

'It was some of the things which made my life when I was young.'

mll_eb09.ref.010

(4.102) [*nëran* *te* *në-kotkot* *mar*]$^{TMP.CL}$
when SUBORD 1SG.NFUT-small person
brë-ven *rëngen* *nevenu* *skhal*
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-go LOC place one
[*te* *re-wo* *Atchin*]^{RC}
SUBORD 3PL.NFUT-say Atchin
'When I was little, we went to a place called Atchin (lit. that they call Atchin).' *mll_eb09.ref.005*

4.17.2 Reason Clauses

Reason clauses are headed by the conjunction *mëten* 'because', which co-occurs with the general subordinator *te*. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, reason clauses are typically post-posed to the main clause, such as in (4.103) and (4.104). In these examples, the reason clause is indicated in shown in the brackets.

In (4.103), the speaker is stating reason as to why A. has not come home yet.

(4.103) *A.* *pe-ma-te* *wor* [*mëten* *te*
A NEG1-come-NEG2 CONT because SUBORD
Ø -pas *sek* *rëngen* *pablik woks*]$^{REA.C}$
3SG.NFUT-work HAB LOC public works
'A. still hadn't come because he works in the Public Works.'
mll_eb06.ref.041

In (4.104), the speaker is stating why her Aunty looked after her for a while when she was a child.

(4.104) *khaën* *Ø-klesur* *khunu*
3SG 3SG.NFUT-look after 1SG
[*mëten* *te* *mama* *Ø-rotch* *leplep*]$^{REA.C}$
because SUBORD mother 3SG.NFUT-sick big
'She looked after me because mum was very sick' *mll_eb12.ref.011*

4.17.3 Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses are headed by the conjunction *tëso* 'if'. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, conditional clauses always occur pre-posed to their main clause, such as in (4.105) and (4.106).

In the corpus, conditional clauses are typically hypothetical statements, and thus their verbal predicate is marked with future tense, as in (4.105). In this example, the speaker is making a hypothetical statement that if she and her family went to Auckland, they would spend a lot of money.

(4.105) [*tëso* *brës-ven*]$^{\text{COND.C}}$ *brës-wol* *nëvat* *leplep*
if 1PL.EXCL.FUT-go 1PL.EXCL.FUT-spend money big
'If we go, we'll spend a lot of money' *mll_eb03.ref.006*

However, we also find conditional clauses that postulate general truths, such as in (4.106), in which the verbal predicate is marked for non-future tense. Earlier in text where example (4.106) is from, the speaker had been talking about her experience in paddling canoes growing up which brings her, at this point, to state that if she were to go back to the beach, she'd know what to do in that regard.

(4.106) [*tëso* *në-ven* *lëkhen* *leltas*]$^{\text{COND.C}}$
if 1SG.NFUT-go back on the shore
në-rëngovson *jet* *te* *jë-rov*
1SG.NFUT-know what SUBORD 1SG.FUT-do
'If I went back to the beach, I know what I will do' *mll_eb09.ref.016*

4.18 Coordination

In the corpus there are a closed set of morphemes which can coordinate two or more items (e.g. words, main clauses, sentences) of equal semantic and syntactic importance. These are *pe* ‘but’, *ngete* ‘then’, and *ron* 'and'. Some examples of their use are shown below. In (4.107) *pe* 'but' is used to co-ordinate two clauses. Here, the speaker is a making a statement about how women and children can now inside Yalo cave because people had prayed inside it.

(4.107) [*duwat* *pete* *melngar* *ron* *dëkhpis*]^{CL1}
female not place with children
[*pe* *nëmëre* *rë-warwar* *sek* *lalen*]^{CL2}
but people 3PL.NFUT-pray HAB inside
'It wasn’t (originally) a place for women with children, but people prayed inside (so now they can go into the cave).' *mll_eb02.ref003*

Example (4.108) shows *ngete* 'then' co-ordinating two sentences. Here, the speaker is sequentially listing her actions with regard to how she handled receiving a court order. *Ngete* 'and then' is also often used as a linking word to connect one paragraph to another in narrative monologues (see Appendix A).

(4.108) [*në-ven* *në-les* *A.*]^{CL1} [*ngete* *në-wer*
1SG.NFUT-go 1SG.NFUT-see A. then 1SG.NFUT-tell
ngen _____ *në-wo* *A.* *brë-lev* *order*]^{CL2}
EXT.P 1SG.NFUT-say A. 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-take order
‘I went and saw A., and/then told him about the court order.’
mll_eb06.ref.015

In (4.109), *ron* 'and' is used to co-ordinate two noun phrases. Here, the noun phase *G.* and the noun phrase *C.* are co-ordinated, forming the meaning 'G. and C.'.

(4.109) [*G.*]^{NP} *ron* [*C.*]^{NP} *re-ven* *pi* *re-skul* *Aore*
G. and C. 3PL.NFUT-go PERF 3PL.NFUT-school Aore
‘G. and C. had already gone to be schooled at Aore.’ *mll_eb06.ref.006*

Chapter 5

Valence

5.1. Introduction

This chapter describes syntactic and semantic valence change in the Espiegle's Bay language. Unlike many Oceanic languages (Hyslop, 2001, p.313-338; Hill, 2004, p.458-481; Thieberger, 2006, p.196-217) which have a number of valency changing devices, in the Espiegle's Bay language corpus only two morphosyntactic devices are readily employed to change the valency of a clause. There is a single valency increasing morpheme which takes the form *ngen*. It is attested with several inherently intransitive verbs and transitive verbs, and is discussed in detail (§5.3). There is also a single valency decreasing process, in which the transitive stem is reduplicated to form an intransitive verb. This process is referred to as 'detransitivization', and is attested with two morphologically transitive verbs. It is discussed in detail in (§5.4). This chapter is prefaced by a description of the valency frame that is employed to discuss valence change in the language.

5.2 Valence: An Integrated Approach

'Valence', as a linguistic phenomenon describing the syntax of verbs, is typically attributed to French grammarian Lucien Tesniere. In his book on dependency grammar *Elements de syntaxe structural* [Elements of structural syntax] (1969), he used the definition of valence in Chemistry as a scientific metaphor to propose the notion that a clause's arguments are controlled by the verbal predicate. Since Tesniere's initial proposal, a number of linguists and grammarians have explored the notion that the verb controls argument number, and over time this notion has opened up to incorporate semantic, cognitive and communicative aspects. In today's models of linguistic valency, we find an important distinction between 'syntactic valence' and 'semantic valence'.

Syntactic valence is concerned with the syntax of verbs, specifically the syntactic realization of the verb's arguments in relation to optionality or obligatoriness. Here, I follow Mosel's (1991, p.240-252) model, which assumes that a verb has a primary syntactic valence, which is the obligatory number of arguments it takes without any additional morphology. It may

also have secondary valence, which is the number of arguments it takes after additional morphology is added. In the Espiegle's Bay language, verbs are sub-classified on the basis of their primary valency, and we find two types of verbs: intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs have a primary syntactic valence of one, as they only take a single core pre-verbal argument. This single core argument takes the S function and maps onto the subject grammatical relation, as in (5.1).

(5.1) Subject INDX
[*khunu*]^{S} [*në-metur*]^{VP}
1SG 1SG.NFUT-sleep
'I slept.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.001*
Syntactic Valence = 1

Transitive verbs have a primary syntactic valence of two, as they take two core arguments: a pre-verbal argument and a post-verbal argument. The pre-verbal argument takes the A function and maps onto the subject grammatical relation, while the post-verbal argument takes the P function and maps onto the direct object grammatical relation. This is exemplified in (5.2).

(5.2) Subject INDX Verb
[*khunu*]^{A} [*në-min*] [*nuwa*]^{P}
1SG 1SG.NFUT-drink water
'I drank water.' *mll_eb_elicit2011.ref.002*
Syntactic Valence = 2

Starting from this position, the Espiegle's Bay language employs several morphosyntactic devices which alter the number of arguments in a clause by adding, or reducing the number of arguments. This is referred to as 'syntactic valence change' and produces a clause's 'secondary valency.'

By contrast, semantic valence is concerned with the functional and semantic properties of the verb and its participants. Here, I follow Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity model, where they propose that characteristics of the S and A function, such as agency and volition, characteristics of the verb, such as aspect, and characteristics of the P function, such as

affectedness and individuation, all affect the semantic transitivity of a clause. In their seminal article, Hopper and Thompson (1980, p.252) identify ten parameters of transitivity, which can be used to define the notion of semantic valence. These are displayed in Table 5.1.

	High	Low
A.Participants	*2 or more participants, A and P*	*1 participant, S*
B. Kinesis	*action*	*non-action*
C. Aspect	*telic*	*atelic*
D.Punctuality	*punctual*	*non-punctual*
E. Volitionality	*volitional*	*non-volitional*
F. Affirmation	*affirmative*	*negative*
G. Mood	*realis*	*irrealis*
H. Agency	*A high in potency*	*S or A low in potency*
I.Affectedness of P	*P totally affected*	*P not affected*
J. Individuation of P	*P highly individuated*	*P non-individuated*

Table 5.1: Parameters of Transitivity (adapted from Hopper and Thompsons, 1980, p.252.)

Taken together, these parameters allow clauses to be characterised as more or less transitive: the more features a clause has in the ‘high’ column, the more transitive it is – the closer it is to 'cardinal transitivity', which can be seen as another way to refer to the notion of 'prototypical transitivity' (discussed earlier in §4.3.2) (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p.253). Thus, Hopper and Thompson’s (1980) transitivity parameters can be applied to produce a continuum on which to place the semantic valence of a clause.

While ‘syntactic valence’ and ‘semantic valence’ can be defined as being clearly distinct from one another, in practice, they are intertwined. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000, p.19) note that in many discussions on the topic of valence change, a ‘syntax first’ approach is employed, in the sense that a valence altering mechanism is given an autonomous syntactic function, regardless of the underlying semantic characteristics of the verb and its participants. They go on to state that what is needed 'is an understanding of the underlying semantic and syntactic distinctions that a given language employs, and how these interrelate, and function in the discourse context' (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000, p.19). This combined approach has been attempted in this chapter on valence change in Espiegle's Bay.

5.3 Valence Increase

In the Espiegle's Bay language corpus, the morpheme *ngen* functions as a valence increasing device with some inherently intransitive and inherently transitive verbs. With these verbs, the morpheme *ngen* adds a post-verbal, extended patient function (EP) to the core.

I use the term 'extended patient' for two reasons. The first reason is in order to make a distinction, with regard to valence increase, between the introduced object of a derived transitive or ditransitive clause, and the object(s) of the inherently transitive clause . The second reason is to make a semantic distinction between introduced objects and inherent objects in the sense that the former typically exhibits fewer properties of cardinal transitivity or, as §5.3.3 will illustrate, fewer properties of prototypical ditransitivity. It is important to specify at this point that these functional and semantic distinctions via the morpheme *ngen* are not entirely absolute. There is a certain amount of bleed-over in the sense that *ngen* is sometimes used with both inherent objects and introduced ones. This is discussed in-situ.

5.3.1 Valence Increase of Inherently Intransitive Verbs

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, *ngen* is attested as a valence-increasing device with the inherently intransitive verbs *kul* 'sing' (5.3 and 5.4) and *pas* 'work' (5.5 and 5.6), and with the inherently intransitive compound verb *rongo nem* 'feel happy' (5.7 and 5.8). When these verbs are transitivized, we find that syntactic valence increases from the primary valence of one to the secondary valence of two. This is exemplified below.

(5.3) Subj.-INDX/S/Agent
[*brë-kul*]^{VP}
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-sing
'We sang.' *mll_eb06.ref.042*

(5.4) Subj.-INDX/A/Agent D.Obj/Ext.P/Theme

[*brë-kul*	*ngen*	*chorus*]^{VP}
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-sing	EXT.P	chorus

'We sang the chorus.' *mll_eb06.ref.044*

(5.5) Subj./S/Agent INDX

[*khaën*]^{NP} [*Ø-pas*]^{VP}

3SG 3SG.NFUT-work

‘He worked.’ *mll_eb09.ref.003*

(5.6) Subj.-INDX/A/Agent D.Obj/Ext.P/Patient

[*brë-pas* *ngen* *naem*]^{VP}

1PL.EXCL.NFUT-work EXT.P house

‘We worked on the house.’ *mll_eb06.ref.050*

(5.7) Subj./S/Experi. INDX

[*khunu*]^{NP} [*në-rongo* *nem*]^{VP}

1SG 1SG.NFUT-sense good

‘I’m happy.’ *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.06*

(5.8) Subj.-INDX/A/Experiencer D.Obj/Ext.P/Theme

[*rë-rongo* *nem* *ngen* *kënam*]^{VP}

3PL.NFUT-sense good EXT.P 1PL.EXCL

‘They were happy to see us (lit. They were happy towards us).’

mll_eb03.ref.016

While these three verbs syntactically transitivize in the same way, in that their primary syntactic valence of one increases to the secondary valence of two, their derived transitive clauses do not share the same semantic characteristics.

5.3.1.1 Semantic Valence Increase of *kul* 'sing'

In the derived transitive clause of the verb *kul* 'sing' we find that its pre-verbal argument, which maps onto the subject grammatical relation and encodes the A function, is a highly-agentive semantic agent, while its post-verbal argument, which maps onto the direct object grammatical relation and encodes the Extended Patient (EP) function, is a non-affected, but highly individuated, semantic theme; the A performs the action and the EP is the thing that is being performed. If we take a closer look at the inherent properties of the verb, we find that the process of transitivization results in the verb *kul* 'sing' transitioning from encoding a general action to a specific and identifiable one. As a result, non-future subject-tense

prefixation on the verb of the derived transitive marks the event of 'singing' as telic, unlike in (5.3) where the action is atelic despite non-future tense marking on the verb. If we compare the semantic properties of the derived transitive clause of *kul* 'sing' to the 'cardinal transitive' specified in Hopper and Thompson's (1980, p.253) seminal article, we find that this derived, syntactically transitive clause is also semantically transitive, but not to the level of 'cardinal transitivity'.

5.3.1.2 Semantic Valence Increase of *pas* 'work'

In the derived transitive clause of the verb *pas* 'work', we find that its pre-verbal argument, which maps onto the subject grammatical relation and encodes the A function, is a fully volitional and highly agentive semantic agent, while its post-verbal argument, which maps onto the direct object grammatical relation and encodes the EP function, is a highly affected and highly individuated semantic patient; the A performs the action of 'working' and the EP is the thing that is being worked on. If we take a closer look at the inherent properties of the verb *pas*, we find that it is inherently atelic and non-punctual. As (5.6) shows, even when transitivized and indexed with a non-future tense marker the verb's inherent telicity and punctuality does not change. In fact, in the corpus, the verb *pas* 'work' is attested to be made telic by post-verbal modification, specifically the telic aspect marker *pol* (refer to §3.9.2.2) which indicates that the action denoted by the verb is complete. This was exemplified in (3.71), and is shown again here in (5.9).

(5.9) Subj.-INDX/S/Agent

[*Ø-pas*	*pol*]^{VP}	[*rëngen*	*pablik*	*woks*]^{PP}
3SG.NFUT-work	TEL	LOC	Public	Works

'He finished work at the Public Works.' *mll_eb06.ref.044*

If we compare the semantic properties of the derived transitive clause of *pas* 'work' to the 'cardinal transitive' specified in Hopper and Thompson's (1980, p.253) seminal article, we find that this derived, syntactically transitive clause is also semantically transitive, but not to the level of 'cardinal transitivity'.

5.3.1.3 Semantic Valence Increase of *rongo nem* 'feel happy'

Unlike the verbs *kul* 'sing' and *pas* 'work', which are action verbs, the compound verb *rongo nem* 'feel happy' is a stative verb. Consequently, in the derived transitive clause of the compound verb *rongo nem* 'feel happy', we find that its pre-verbal argument, which maps onto the subject grammatical relation and encodes the A function, is a non-volitional and non-agentive semantic experiencer, while its post-verbal argument, which maps onto the direct object grammatical relation and encodes the EP function, is a non-individuated and non-affected semantic theme; the A experiences the feeling of happiness and the EP is the locus of that happiness. Because the compound verb *rongo nem* is stative, we find that it is inherently atelic and non-punctual and, as (5.7) shows, even when transitivized and indexed with a non-future tense marker its telicity and punctuality do not change. If we compare the the semantic properties of the derived transitive clause of *rongo nem* 'feel happy' to the 'cardinal transitive', we find that this derived, syntactically transitive clause is more like a semantically intransitive proposition. Unlike the verbs *kul* 'sing' and *pas* 'work', the derived transitive clause of *rongo nem* 'feel happy' encodes nearly all lowly transitive characteristics.

As evidenced in (5.4), (5.6) and (5.8), above there is a lack of alignment between syntactic and semantic valence increase with regard to inherently intransitive verbs. This lack of alignment is summarized below in Table 5.2. It is important that I clarify at this point that they are no cases found in the corpus of derived transitives with both a cardinal agent A and a patient P. The extended P is always filled by non-prototypical Ps.

Semantic Valence	1 - inherently, single participant actor; S function	1+ - extended intransitive with very low undergoer EP	2 - semantically transitive with less cardinally transitive undergoer EP	2- prototypical transitive: cardinal transitive with prototypical A and prototypical P
Syntactic Valence	1 - intransitive with single subject core argument		2 - transitive with subject core argument and direct object core argument	

Table 5.2: Syntactic-Semantic Valence Increase of Inherently Intransitive Verbs.

5.3.2 Valence Increase of Inherently Transitive Verbs

In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, *ngen* is attested as a valence-increasing device with the inherently transitive verbs *rov* 'make' (5.10 and 5.11) and *sul* 'burn' (5.12 and 5.13). When these verbs are ditransitivized, we find that syntactic valence increases from the primary valence of two to the secondary valence of three. This is exemplified below.

(5.10)

Subj-INDX/A/Agent	D.Obj/P/Patient	
[*re-rov*	*dange*	*lep*]^{VP}
3PL.NFUT-make	thing	many

'They made a lot of things.' *mll_eb04.ref.006*

Syntactic Valence = 2

(5.11)

Subj.-INDX/A/Agent	D.Obj/P/Patient	I.Obj/Ext.P/Ingredient		
[*kër-rov*	*nelok*	*ngen*	*nëmelep*	*khor*]^{VP}
2PL.NFUT-make	local pudding	EXT.P	hawk	DEMS

'You'll make the local pudding with that hawk.' *mll_eb01.ref.011*

Syntactic Valence = 3

(5.12)

Subj.-INDX/A/Agent	D.Obj/P/Pat.
[*brë-s-sul*	*naem*]
1PL.INCL-FUT-burn	house

'We'll burn the house.' *mll_eb06.ref.011*

Syntactic Valence = 2

(5.13)

Subject	INDX/A/Agent	D.Obj/P/Patient	I.Obj/Ext.P/Ingredient	
[*khunu*]	[*në-sul*	*not*	*ngen*	*rosor*]
1SG	1SG.NFUT-burn	garden	EXT.P	dry coconut leaf

'I burnt the garden with the dry coconut leaves.'

Syntactic Valence = 3

In the derived ditransitive clauses of the verbs *rov* 'make' and *sul* 'burn', we find that the pre-verbal argument, which maps onto the subject grammatical relation and encodes the A function, is a fully volitional and fully agentive semantic agent, the post-verbal argument immediately following the verb, which maps onto the direct object grammatical relation and encodes the P function, is a fully affected and fully individuated semantic patient, and the post-verbal introduced argument, which maps onto the indirect object grammatical relation and encodes the EP function, is a fully affected semantic instrument; the A performs the action on the P using, in some way, the EP. In (5.11), the *nëmelep* 'hawk' is the main ingredient of the thing that is being made, while in (5.13) the *rosor* 'dry coconut leaf' is the fuel necessary to burn the garden. As the verbs *rov* 'make' and *sul* 'burn' are prototypical transitive verbs, we find that, when indexed with a subject-tense marker, they inherently encode telic aspect and full punctuality.

5.3.3 Semantic Properties of Derived Ditranstives vs. the Ditransitive Proposition

Because Hopper and Thompson's (1980, p.252) transitivity parameters only account for the participants of intransitive and transitive verbs, it is not possible to compare the semantic properties of derived ditransitive clauses to the cardinal transitive clause. Thus, a new model must be employed. Perhaps the most well-known model of ditransitivity, and the one that will be employed here, is Dryer's (1986, p.808-845) and later Croft's (1990, p.102-111) notion of such as 'bring', 'give' and 'send' and which takes two core objects - a T function which is a theme-like participant and a R function which is a recipient-like participant. In the Espiegle's Bay corpus, there are no examples of 'pure' ditransitive verbs in the sense that no verb with ditransitive meaning inherently takes three core objects. Instead, what we find is that the direct object is inherent, while the indirect object is introduced by the morpheme *ngen*. This is exemplified in (5.14) and (5.15), with the verb *koron* 'give/bring'. This verb is the only ditransitive proposition found in the corpus.

(5.14)

Subj.-INDX/A/Agent	D.Obj/T/Theme	I.Obj/R/Recipient		
[*re-koron*	*besen*	*ngen*	*mëroten*	*sëkhalekh*]^{VP}
3PL.NFUT-give	job	EXT.P	person	individually

'They gave jobs to each man.' *mll_eb01.ref.003*

(5.15) Subj.-INDX/A/Agent D.Obj/T/Theme I.Obj/R/Recipient

[*rës-koron* *noren* *ngen* *khunu*]^{VP}

3PL-FUT-bring food EXT.P 1SG

'They'll bring the food to me.' *mll_eb_elicitold.ref.007*

As (5.14) and (5.15) illustrate, clauses with the ditransitive proposition *koron* 'give/bring' have the same syntactic realization as derived ditransitive clauses. However, unlike derived ditransitive clauses, clauses with ditransitive propositions fully encode the semantic characteristics of the 'prototypical ditransitive verb'. In (5.14) and (5.15), the verb *koron* 'give/bring' takes two objects, an immediately post-verbal T function which is a semantic Theme and, although it introduced by the morpheme *ngen*, a subsequent R function which is a semantic recipient. Thus, the A 'gives' the T to the R. By contrast, in the derived ditransitive clauses in §5.3.2, we find that the one of the objects is a semantic patient while the other is a semantic instrument. Thus, there is no physical transfer of possession or mental transfer of experience. At the clause level, we find that while derived ditransitive clauses feature a verb which inherently takes two core arguments before ditransitivization, the ditransitive proposition *koron* 'give/bring' only ever occurs in the corpus with three arguments. Further, in no clause with a ditransitive proposition is either of the two objects fully omitted. While the R function can be suppressed, it is never omitted, and the T function is always fully realized. This is exemplified in (5.16).

(5.16) Subj.-INDX/A/Agent D.Obj/T/Theme I.Obj/R/Recipient

[*re-koron* *scholarship* *ngen* _____]^{VP}

3PL.NFUT-give scholarship EXT.P

'They gave the scholarship to (me).' *mll_eb10.ref.003*

If we compare the semantic properties of the derived ditransitive clauses of *rov* 'make' and *sul* 'burn' to the prototypical ditransitive verb specified in Croft's (1990, p.102-111) typological study, we find that the derived, syntactically ditransitive clauses are semantically extended transitive clauses. These clauses are above the level of 'cardinal transitivity', but not at the level of 'prototypical ditransitivity'. In contrast, the ditransitive proposition expressed as *koron* 'give/bring' discussed in §5.3.3 constitutes Croft's (1990, p.102-111) notion of the prototypical ditransitive verb.

Interestingly, in the corpus, we find *ngen* is also attested as a valence increasing device with the inherently transitive speech verb *wer* 'tell'. Unlike the derived ditransitive clauses of *rov* 'make' and *sul* 'burn' however, the derived ditransitive clause of *wer* 'tell' encodes a semantic recipient on one object, and a semantic theme on the other. In this way, this derived ditransitive clause is similar to the ditransitive proposition *koron* 'give/bring'. However, unlike the ditransitive proposition *koron*, we find that the recipient-like argument introduced by *ngen* appears immediately after the verb, with the theme-like argument following. This is shown below in (5.17). Here, the introduced argument *ngen naker* 'us' is a direct object and a semantic recipient, who the argument *jëchelweren* 'story', which is a indirect object and a semantic theme.

(5.17)

	D.Obj/R/Recipient		I.Obj/T/Theme
[*jë-wer*	*ngen*	*naker*	*jëchelweren*]^{VP}
1SG.NFUT-tell	EXT.P	1PL.INCL	story

'I will tell us a story' *mll_eb03.ref.002*

Another way that the verb *wer* 'tell' functions is as a complement taking predicate, with an indirect quote introduced by the subordinator *te*. This is shown in (5.18).

(5.18)

në-wer	*te*	*khaën*	*Ø-nem*
1SG.NFUT-tell	SUBORD	3SG	3SG.NFUT-good

'I said that it is good.' *mll_eb08.ref.004*

Wer 'tell' also may take a direct quote. However, in these instances, the direct quote is not introduced by *te*. This is shown in (5.19). In this example, the direct quote is marked in quotation marks.

(5.19)

kha	*Ø-wer*	"*sori*	*te*
3SG.NFUT	3SG.NFUT-tell	sorry	SUBORD
në-werlen	*nele*	*s-om*"	
1SG.NFUT-disobey	word	GEN.CLS-2SG.POSS	

'She said "Sorry that I disobeyed you". *mll_eb09.ref.010*

The various clause structures attested for *wer* provide options for different types of semantic structure. This verb would be very interesting to explore further in a larger corpus as its properties are somewhat different from the other verbs discussed in this section.

Going back to the example shown in (5.11), and the examples shown in (5.13) through to (5.16), there is a lack of alignment in semantic valence between derived ditransitive clauses and inherently ditransitive propositions. This lack of alignment is summarized below in Table 5.3.

	Prototypical Transitive	**Derived Ditransitive**
Semantic Valence	2 - prototypical transitivity: A function is a semantic agent, P function is a semantic patient	2+ extended transitive: A function is a semantic agent, P function is a semantic patient, but EP function is a semantic instrument
Syntactic Valence	2 - transitive with pre-verbal subject and post-verbal direct object	3 - ditransitive with pre-verbal subject, post-verbal direct object, and indirect object introduced by *ngen*
		Ditransitive Propositions
Semantic Valence		3 prototypical ditransitive: A function is a semantic agent, T function is a semantic theme, R function is a semantic recipient
Syntactic Valence		3 - ditransitive with pre-verbal subject, post-verbal direct object, and indirect object introduced by *ngen*

Table 5.3: Syntactic-Semantic Valence of Derived Ditransitives vs. Ditransitive Propositions

It is important to note that there is an alternative analysis for *ngen* with regard to the treatment of the introduced argument. The standard treatment in languages is treat *ngen*-like phrases as obliques. This is the approach used by Crowley (2006a, p.149-171) in his grammar sketch of Naman (spoken on Central Malakula), as shown in (5.20). The example below from the Naman language is very similar to (5.11), with a specific food item a key component of the verb event. However, for this example, Crowley (2006a, p.150) refers to the marker *khën*, which introduces the instrumental argument, as an 'oblique preposition'.

(5.20) *kë-së-vangani-si* *raru* *khën* *niëkh* *net*
2SG:IRR-NEG-feed-NEG 2DL INST fish DEM
'Don't feed the two of them with that fish.' (taken from Crowley, 2006a, p.151)

Analyzing *ngen* as a preposition introducing an oblique(non-core) argument was considered for this analysis. However, I felt that such an analysis would not accurately reflect the semantic significance of the introduced argument. In the example from Crowley (2006a, p. 151) above, it is not some insignificant fish that the speaker wants the two **not** to be fed with, it is that specific fish. Yet the argument *niëkh net* 'that fish' is treated as an oblique component to the verb event. In order to emphasize the semantic significance of the introduced argument of the derived transitive and derived ditransitive constructions, I have therefore analyzed *ngen* as an 'extended patient marker'. Its function is to introduces a second or third argument to the core. A parallel issue is described by Barbour (2012, p.177-187) in her grammar sketch of Neverver (spoken on Central Malakula), in which she describes the suffix *-ikh* as an applicative suffix which adds a second or third argument to a clause. In the case of Neverver, the status of *–ikh* as a valence increasing morpheme is more obvious. This morpheme directly attaches to the verb to introduce a second or third core argument, while prepositions introduce oblique objects. By contrast, the valence increasing morpheme in Espiegle's Bay, *ngen*, appears in the structural position of prepositions, and thus its status as an valence increasing device is not immediately clear. However, a close analysis of the semantic properties of the derived transitive and ditransitive constructions reveal to me a clear distinction in valence between these derived constructions and intransitive or transitive clauses with oblique objects.

5.4 Valence Decrease

In the Espiegle's corpus, some verbs can decrease in valence through reduplication of the initial CV or CVC of their stem. Valence decrease through verbal reduplication results in the loss of the P function at both the semantic level and clause level. This is known as unspecified object deletion.

5.4.1 Unspecified Object Deletion

In unspecified object deletion, reduplication derives an intransitive stem from a transitive root. With regard to syntactic valence, we find that this de-transitivization process results in

the loss of the direct object argument which encodes the P function. Thus syntactic valence decreases from the primary valence of two to the secondary valence of one. This is exemplifed in (5.21) and (5.22), with the verb *khil* 'dig', and (5.24) and (5.25) with the verb *wol* 'buy/sell'.

With regard to the verb *khil* 'dig', on semantic valence we find that while the A function of the transitive verb becomes the S function of the reduplicated intransitive stem, there is no change in the semantic characteristics of this pre-verbal participant. In (5.21), the A function is a fully agentive and fully volitional semantic Agent. In (5.22), the S function is also a fully agentive and fully volitional semantic Agent. However, with regard to the P function of the transitive verb, it is lost entirely when the verb is de-transitivized in the sense that no P function may be expressed and none is implied. The derived intransitive clause simply focuses on the action, with reference to any P being non-grammatical. This is exemplified in (5.23).

(5.21) Subj.INDX/A/Agent D.Obj/P/Patient
në-khil *geka*
1SG.NFUT-dig.TRS yam
'I dug up the yam.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.08*
Syntactic Valence = 2

(5.22) Subj.-INDX/S/Agent
në-khil.khil.
1SG.NFUT-dig.INTRS
'I dug.' *mll_eb_elicit2013.ref.08*
Syntactic Valence = 1

(5.23) **në-khil.khil* *geka*
1SG.NFUT-dig.INTRS yam
*'I dug up the yam.'*mll_eb_2012elicit.ref.003*

With regard to the semantic characteristics of the verb, when de-transitivized, we find that the verb *khil* 'dig' (now *khil.khil*) goes from encoding a specific action to a general action. As such, even when indexed with a non-future subject-tense marker, the verb is non-punctual.

Thus, we find that the de-transitivized clause of *khil* 'dig' encodes only 'low' transitivity parameters.

With regard to the verb *wol* 'buy/sell', on semantic valence we find that while the A function of the transitive verb becomes the S function of the reduplicated intransitive stem, there is no change in the semantic characteristics of this pre-verbal participant. In (5.24), the A function is a fully agentive and fully volitional semantic Agent. In (5.25), the S function is also a fully agentive and fully volitional semantic Agent. However, with regard to the P function of the transitive verb, it is lost entirely when the verb is de-transitivized in the sense that no P function may be expressed and none is implied.

(5.24) Subj.-INDX/A/Agent D.Obj/P/Patient

[*brës-wol*	*nëvat*	*leplep*]^{VP}
1PL.NFUT.EXCL-sell.TRS	money	many

'We'll spend a lot of money' *mll_eb03.ref.006*

(5.25)

[*nekhen*	*ne*	*re-kikchi*	*Ø-ve*	*copra*]^{MC}
fruit	NHUM.GEN	3PL.NFUT-scoop	3SG.NFUT-make	copra

Subj.-INDX/S/Agent

[*te*	*re-wolwol*	*ngen*	___]$^{Sub.C}$
SUBORD	3PL.NFUT-sell.INTRS	EXT.P	

'They scoop out the fruit of (the coconut) to make copra that they sell'
mll_eb04.ref.005

With regard to the semantic characteristics of the verb, when de-transitivized, we find that the verb *wol* 'buy/sell' (now *wol.wol*) goes from encoding a specific action to a more general one. The selling of a specific item is no longer the focus of the verb event. Rather, it is the notion of selling in general that is the verb's focus. Like the example of *khil* 'dig' in (5.22), even though intransitive form of *wol* 'buy/sell' is indexed with a non-future subject-tense marker, the verb is non-punctual. It should be noted that in the case of *wol* 'buy/sell' in (5.25), an extended patient argument is implied, thus it may be an example inherent object suppression. However, more data is necessary to explore this notion further. As no specific P is stated or implied, it is glossed as an example of unspecified object deletion.

Like *khil* 'dig', the de-transitivized clause of *wol* 'buy/sell' encodes only 'low' transitivity parameters. Thus, it is possible to put forth that clauses which undergo unspecified object deletion become semantically intransitive. Verbs which can undergo this process constitute the morphological intransitive-transitive verb sub-class discussed in §3.5.4.

References

Aikhenvald, A.Y. (2010). *Imperatives and commands*. New York, USA: Oxford University Press.

Andrews, A.V. (1985). The major functions of the noun phrase. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Vol 1. Clause Structure* (1st ed.) (pp.62-154). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Andrews, A.V. (2007). The major functions of the noun phrase. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Vol 1. Clause Structure* (2nd ed.) (pp.132-223). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Barbour, J. (2010a). Neverver: A Study of Language Vitality and Community Initiatives. In M. Florey (Ed.), *Endangered Languages of Austronesia* (pp. 223-244). New York, USA: Oxford University Press.

Barbour, J. (2010b, January). *The prominence of mood in Neverver*. Paper presented by Ray Harlow on Julie Barbour's behalf at the 8th International Conference on Oceanic Linguistics, Auckland, NZ.

Barbour, J. (2011a, October). *Possession in Neverver.* Paper presented at the First International Workshop on the Languages of Vanuatu, Kioloa, Australia.

Barbour, J. (2011b). Exploring mood in Neverver. *Oceanic Linguistics, 50*(1), 198-220.

Barbour, J. (2012). *A grammar of Neverver*. Berlin, Germany: Walter De Gruyter.

Bhat, D.N.S. (1999). *The prominence of Tense, Aspect and Mood.* Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Bickel, B. (2011). Grammatical relations typology. In J. Jung Song (Ed.), *The oxford handbook of linguistic typology* (pp.399-444). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Bickel, B., & Nichols, J. (2009). Case marking and alignment. In A, Malchukov & A. Spencer (Eds.), *The oxford handbook of case* (pp.304-321). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Brotchie, A. (2009). *Tirax grammar and narrative: an Oceanic language spoken on Malakula, North Central Vanuatu* (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia). Retrieved from http://repository.unimelb.edu.au/10187/11560

Bybee, J., Perkins, R., & Pagliuca, W.(1994). *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world.* Chicago, USA: University of Chicago Press.

Charpentier, J.M. (1979). *La langue de Port-Sandwich (Nouvelles-Hébrides).* Paris, France: SELAF.

Charpentier, J.M. (1982). *Atlas linguistique du Sud-Malakula/Linguistic atlas of South Malakula (Vanuatu).* Paris, France: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, and L'Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique.

Clark, R. (1985). Languages of north and central Vanuatu: groups, chains, clusters and waves, in Pawley, Andrew & Lois Carrington (eds), Austronesian Linguistics at the 15th Pacific Science Congress. *Pacific Linguistics (88),* 199- 236.

Comrie, B. (1989). *Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology* (2nd ed.). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Croft, W. (1990). *Typology and universals.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Crowley, T. (1997). An Introduction to Historical Linguistics (3rd ed.). Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Crowley, T. (2006a). *Naman: A vanishing language of Malakula (Vanuatu).* Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Crowley, T. (2006b). *Tape: A declining language of Malakula (Vanuatu).* Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Crowley, T. (2006c). *The Avava language of Central Malakula (Vanuatu).* Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Crowley, T. (2006d). *Nese: A diminishing speech variety of Northwest Malakula (Vanuatu).* Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Daniel, M., & Moravcsik, E. (2013). The Associative Plural. In Matthew S.D & Martin H. (Eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig, Germany: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Retrieved from http://wals.info/chapter/36

Deacon, A.B. (1934). *Malekula: A vanishing people in the New Hebrides.* Wedgwood, C. (Ed.). London: Routledge.

Dixon, R.M.W. (1994). *Ergativity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Dixon, R.M.W. (2010). *Basic linguistic theory, Vol.1*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Dixon, R.M.W., & Aikhenvald, A.Y. (2000). *Changing Valency: Case studies in transitivity.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Dryer, M.S. (1986). Primary objects, secondary objects, and antidative. *Langyage, 62*, 808-845.

Dryer, M.S. (2007). Clause types. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Vol 1. Clause Structure* (2nd ed.) (pp.224-275). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Evans, B. (2003). *A study of valency changing devices in Proto-Oceanic.* Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Fox, G. (1979). *Big Nambas Grammar*. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Givón, T. (2001). *Syntax: An introduction, Volume 1*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Haspelmath, M. (2011). On S, A, P, T and R as comparative concepts for alignment typology. *Linguistic Typology, 15*(3), 535-569.

Hayes, B. (2009). *Introducing Phonology.* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hill, D. (2011). Transitivity in Longgu: The Interdependence of Verb Classes and Valency-Changing Derivations. *Oceanic Linguistics, 50*(2), 458-482.

Hopper, P.J., & Thompson, S.A. (1980). Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language, 56(2),* 251-299.

Hyslop, C. (2001). *The Lolovoli dialect of the North-East Ambae language, Vanuatu.* Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Katamba, F. (1989). *An Introduction to Phonology.* New York, USA: Longman.

König, E., & Siemund, P. (2007). Speech act distinctions in grammar. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Vol 1. Clause Structure* (2nd ed.) (pp.276-324). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lazard, G. (2002). Transitivity revisited as a more strict approach in typological research. *Folia Linguistica, 36*(3-4), 141-190.

Lynch, J. (2012). *Play it again, Sam: Multiple identical phonological innovations in Malakula*. Paper presented at COOL9, Newcastle, Australia.

Lynch, J., & Crowley, T. (2001). *Languages of Vanuatu: A new survey and bibliography.* Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Lynch, J., Ross, M., & Crowley, T. (2002). *The Oceanic Languages.* New York, USA: Routledge.

McKerras, R. (2005). *Uripiv phonology and grammar*. Texas, USA: SIL International.

Morton, A. (1891). Grammar of Pangkumu-Malekula. *South Sea languages: A series of studies on the languages of the New Hebrides and other South Sea islands, vol. 2: Tangoan-Santo, Malo, Malekula, Epi (Baki and Bierian), Tanna, and Futuna, 2,* 34-72.

Mosel, U. (1991). Towards a typology of valency. In H. Seiler & W. Premper (Eds.), *Partizipation: Das sprachliche Erfassen von Sachverhalten* (p.240-252). Tübingen, Germany: Narr.

Mosel, U. (2006). Fieldwork and community language. In J. Gippert, N. P. Himmelmann & U. Mosel (Eds.), *Essentials of Language Documentation* (p. 67-86). Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter.

Musgrave, J. (2007). *A grammar of Neve'ei, Vanuatu.* Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Noonan, N. (2007). Complementation. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Vol 2. Complex constructions* (2nd ed.) (pp.52-150). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Paviour-Smith, M. (2005a). Is it Aulua or education dressed up in Kastom?: A report of the ongoing negotiation of literacy and identity in a Ni Vanuatu community. *Current Issues in Language Planning. 6(2),* 224-238.

Paviour-Smith, M. (2005b). After the letters? The ecology of literacy in Aulua, Vanuatu. *New Zealand Studies in Applied Linguistics. 14(1),* 1-18.

Paviour-Smith, M., & Mackenzie, W. (2005). Exacting the hen's revenge: An initial enquiry into the nature of narrative in Aulua. *Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics,* 59-73.

Payne, T. E. (1997). *Describing Morphosyntax.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Payne, T. E. (2006). *Exploring Language Structure*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.

Pearce, E. (2007). The reflexes of Proto-Oceanic *na in Unua. In J. Siegel, J.Lynch & D. Eades (Eds.), *Language description, history and development: Linguistic indulgence in memory of Terry Crowley* (pp.327-339). Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Pearce, E. (2010a). Irrealis and indefinites in Unua. *Oceanic Linguistics, 49*, 21-43.

Pearce, E. (2010b). Possession syntax in Unua DPs. In R. Mercado, E. Postsdam & L. deMena Travis (Eds.), *Austronesian and Theoretical Linguistics* (pp.141-162). Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Ray, S. (1893). Sketch of Aulua grammar with vocabularies of Aulua and Lamangkau, Malekula, New Hebrides. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute, 22*, 386-397.

Ray, S. (1926). *A comparative study of the Melanesian island languages*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ross, M. (2004). The morphosyntactic typology of Oceanic Languages. *Language and Linguistics, 5*(2), 491-541. Retrieved from http://www.ling.sinica.edu.tw/files/publication/j2004_2_07_8612.pdf

Ross, M., Pawley, A., & Osmond, M.(2007). *The lexicon of Proto Oceanic 2: The physical Environment.* Canberra, Australia: ANU Press.

Shopen, T. (2007a). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume 1: Clause Structure.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Shopen, T. (2007b). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume 2: Complex Constructions.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Shopen, T. (2007c). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume 3: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

SIL International. (2011). Ethnologue: Languages of the world. Retrieved from http://www.ethnologue.com/.

Song, J.J. (2001). *Linguistic Typology: Morphology and Syntax.* Essex, England: Pearson Education Limited.

Tesnière, L. (1969). Éléments de syntaxe structurale (Elements of Structural Syntax). Paris, France: Klincksieck.

Thieberger, N. (2006). *A grammar of South Efate: an Oceanic language of Vanuatu* (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia). Retrieved from http://repository.unimelb.edu.au/10187/13539

Thompson, S.A., Longacre, R.E., & Hwang, S.J.J. (2007). Adverbial clauses. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Vol 2. Complex constructions* (2nd ed.) (pp.237-300). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Tryon, D.T. (1976). *New Hebrides languages: an internal classification.* Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Van Valin, R. (2001). *An introduction to syntax.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Vanuatu National Statistics Office. 2009. *National Population and Housing Census.* Port Vila, Vanuatu: Vanuatu Government.

Whaley, L.J. (1997). *Introduction to Typology: The Unity and Diversity of Language.* London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Appendix A

Recorded Data

File Name: mll_eb01

Title: Hawk Story

This text is a folk tale told by Gayleen Tarosa about what happened to a group of men who ate a hawk that was taken from a taboo area.

Ref.001

weskhal	*nëmere*	*nenge*	*rëngen*	*nëvenu*	*skhal*
one time	people	some	LOC	place	one

re-rov	*dange*	*skhal*	*te*	*nëmermer*	*po*
3PL.NFUT-make	thing	one	SUBORD	male	LIMIT

rëngen	*nëvenu*	*khor*	*rë-s-ven*	*rë-s-titin*
LOC	place	that	3PL-FUT-go	3PL-FUT-cook

ngete	*rë-s-lev-ven*	*rë-s-or*	*rëngen*	*nakhmal.*
then	3PL-FUT-take-go	3PL-FUT-eat	LOC	meeting house

Once upon a time, some men in some area did something that only men are allowed to do. In the area that the men would go to, they would cook, and then take the cooked food to eat in the meeting house.
mll_eb01.wav 0 25.937

Ref.002

re-koron	*besen*	*ngen*	*mërotën*	*sëskhalekh*	*te*
3PL.NFUT-give	job	EXT.P	person	individually	SUBORD

rë-s-lev	*noren*	*së-ma*
3PL-FUT-take	food	3SG.FUT-come

ngete	*re-wer*	*ngen*	*mërotën*	*skhal*	*te*	*khaën,*
then	3PL.NFUT-tell	EXT.P	person	one	SUBORD	3SG

khaen	*së-lev*	*nëmren*	*ne*	*noren*	*khor.*
3SG	3SG.FUT-take	meat	NHUM.GEN	food	DEMS

They gave a job to each individual man, in that they would each gather food and come (to the meeting house). Then they told one man that he is to get meat for the meal.
mll_eb01.wav 25.937 46.966

Ref.003
ngete mar khor Ø-ven pek nëmren pe pe-les-te
then person that 3SG.NFUT-go look for meat, but NEG1-see-NEG2

neto skhal sowo nëmren os
fowl one or meat different

ngete Ø-ven rëngen benaem s-en,
then 3 SG.NFUT-go LOC traditional grounds GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS

Ø-ven Ø-les nëmelep skhal.
3SG.NFUT-go 3SG.NFUT-see hawk one

That man went to look for meat, but he didn't see chickens or any other kind of animal. Then he went to his traditional grounds, where he happened upon a hawk.
mll_eb01.wav 46.966 73.436

Ref.004
nëmelep khor Ø-lol rëngen benaem
hawk DEMS 3SG.NFUT-stay LOC traditional grounds

s-en.
GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS

That hawk lived in his traditional grounds.
mll_eb01.wav 73.436 77.295

Ref.005
khaën Ø-rakhtakh Ø-chëro nëmelep khor
3SG 3SG.NFUT-get up 3SG.NFUT-shoot hawk DEMS

Ø-lev Ø-ven laem.
3SG.NFUT-take 3SGNFUT-go home

He got up and shot the hawk and took it to his house.
mll_eb01.wav 77.295 83.123

Ref.006
khaën Ø -lev nëmelep khor Ø -ma laem
3SG 3SG.NFUT-take hawk DEMS 3SG.NFUT-come home

ngete khaën Ø-wer ngen nët-en
then 3SG 3SG.NFUT-tell EXT.P child-3SG.POSS

ron duwat s-en te
and female GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS SUBORD

rë-s-rov nelok ngen noren te
3PL-FUT-do local pudding EXT.P food SUBORD

nëmre	*re-lema.*	*ngete*	*nimren*	*ne*	*na*
people	3PL.NFUT-bring	then	meat	NHUM.GEN	now

Ø -ve	*nëmelep*	*khor.*
3SG.NFUT-COP	hawk	DEMS

He took the hawk home and then told his wife and child to make local pudding with the food that the men bought, with the meat being the hawk.
mll_eb01.wav 83.123 98.175

Ref.007

ngete	*nët-en*	*nëmermer*	*te*	*khaen*	*Ø-kotkot*
then	child--3SG.POSS	male	SUBORD	3SG	3SG.NFUT-small

khaën	*Ø-lev*	*khaen*	*Ø-yat*
3SG	3SG.NFUT-take	3SG	3SG.NFUT-sit

khaën	*Ø-klesur*	*nëmelep*	*khor.*
3SG	3SG.NFUT-look after	hawk	DEMS

The boy, who was small, took the hawk, sat down and looked after it.
mll_eb01.wav 98.175 109.222

Ref.008

ngete	*khaën*	*Ø-lev*	*betechir*	*khaën*	*Ø-les*
then	3SG	3SG.NFUT-take	coconut broom	3SG	3SG.NFUT-see

te	*lang*	*Ø-ven*	*Ø-yat*	*sek*
SUBORD	fly	3SG.NFUT-GO	3SG.NFUT-sit	DURAT

rengen	*nëmt-en*	*nëmelep*	*khor*	*Ø-lev*
LOC	eye--3SG.POSS	hawk	DEMS	3SG.NFUT-take

betechir		*Ø-rup*	*sek*	*ngen*	*lang*
coconut	broom	3SG.NFUT-hit	HAB	EXT.P	fly

te	*Ø-rem*	*nëmt-en*	*nëmelep*	*khor.*
SUBORD	3SG.NFUT-touch	eye-3SG.POSS	hawk	DEMS

He (the small boy) took a piece of coconut spine from the broom. He saw that a fly was landing again and again on the eye of the hawk. He took the broom piece and struck at the fly so it would not touch the eye of the hawk
mll_eb01.wav 109.222 133.237

Ref.009
ngete *khaen* *Ø-rëakh* *po* *nëmelep* *khor*
then 3SG 3SG.NFUT-be shocked LIMIT hawk DEMS

khaën *Ø-rech* *ngen*
3SG 3SG.NFUT-talk EXT.P

And then he was shocked because the hawk talked to him!
mll_eb01.wav 133.237 138.674

Ref.010
khaën *Ø-rakhtakh* *Ø-wer* *ngen* *te*
3SG 3SG.NFUT-get up 3SG.NFUT-tell EXT.P SUBORD

Ø-wo *nokh* *khe-s-wer* *ngen* *tate*
3SG.NFUT-say 2SG 2SG-FUT-tell EXT.P father

s-om *ron* *mama* *s-om* *te*
GEN.CLS-2SG.POSS and mother GEN.CLS-2SG.POSS SUBORD

ker-pep-och-te *khunu.*
2PL-PROH1-eat-NEG2 1SG

The hawk got up and said to him ‘You must tell your father and your mother that you mustn’t eat me’,
mll_eb01.wav 138.674 152.346

Ref.011
khaën *Ø-wer* *ngen* *be* *nëran* *te* *tate*
3SG 3SG.NFUT-tell EXT.P but time SUBORD father

s-en *ron* *mama* *s-en*
GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS and mother GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS

re-ma *khaën* *Ø-wer* *khaën* *Ø-wer*
3PL.NFUT-come 3SG 3SG.NFUT-tell 3SG 3SG.NFUT-tell

nët-en *Ø -wer* *ngen* *khar,*
child-3SG.POSS 3SG.NFUT-tell EXT.P 3PL

tate *s-en* *khaën* *Ø -rakhtakh*
father GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS 3SG 3SG.NFUT-get up

khaën *Ø-wo* *'ah'* *nokh* *wer* *jet*
3SG 3SG.NFUT-say DISC 2SG tell what

khori *nokh* *pe-rëngovson-te* *ker-ve* *nelok*
DEMS.PN 2SG NEG1-know-NEG2 2PL.NFUT-do local pudding

ngen *nëmelep* *khor.*
EXT.P hawk DEMS

When his father and mother came, he told them. His father got up and said ‘Ah! What did you say? You don't know anything! Make the local pudding with the hawk.'
mll_eb01.wav 152.346 170.362

Ref.012
mama *s-en* *khaën* *Ø-ve* *nelok*
mother GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS 3SG 3SG.NFUT- make local pudding

ngen *khaën* *Ø-ve* *nelok* *ngen* *pol*
EXT.P 3SG 3SG.NFUT-make local pudding EXT.P TEL

khor *masëkh* *mama* *s-en*
DEMS cook mother GEN.CLS-3SGPOSS

ron *botko* *mar* *khor* *re-lol*
and small person DEMS 3PL.NFUT-stay

tate *s-en* *khaën* *Ø-këlo* *nelok*
father GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS 3SG 3SG.NFUT-carry local pudding

khor *Ø-ven* *rëngen* *nakhmal* *te* *nëmere* *ngovilvat*
DEMS 3SG.NFUT-go LOC meeting house SUBORD people forty

re-lol *rëngen* *nakhmal* *te*
3PL.NFUT-stay LOC meeting house SUBORD

rë-s-och *nelok* *khor.*
3PL-FUT-eat local pudding DEMS

His mother made the local pudding with the hawk. She finished making the local pudding with the hawk, that she cooked. His mother and the little boy stayed back, while his father carried the local pudding to the meeting house where the forty men were. The men stayed in the meeting house to eat the local pudding.
mll_eb01.wav 170.362 191.807

Ref.013
re-ven *re-wale* *nelok,*
3PL.NFUT-go 3PL.NFUT-open local pudding

re-ve *nelok* *khor,* *nelok* *sosor* *ia.*
3PL.NFUT-make local pudding DEMS local pudding Malakula that

re-wale *nelok* *re-pe-och*
3PL.NFUT-open local pudding 3PL.NFUT-INTENT-eat

Ø-plek *khori.*
3SG.NFUT-like DEMS.PN

They went and opened the local pudding, which was a Malakula-style local pudding. They opened the local pudding and were about to eat it like that.
mll_eb01.wav 191.807 201.387

Ref.014

re-och	*sek*	*nelok*	*khor*	*Ø-plek*	*khori,*
3PL.NFUT-eat	DURAT	local pudding	DEMS	3SG.NUT-like	DEMS.PN

tate	*sen*	*Ø-tev*	*botko*	*mar*	*khor*
father	GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS	3SG.NFUT-call	small	person	DEMS

Ø-wo	*te*	*ma*	*lo*	*bokon*	*nokh*
3SG.NFUT-say	SUBORD	come	pull	something	2SG

They ate and ate the local pudding like that. His father called to the little boy and said, ‘Come and get something for me.'
mll_eb01.wav 201.387 211.796

Ref.015

nëran	*te*	*khaën*	*Ø-wer*	*Ø-plek*	*khori*
time	SUBORD	3SG	3SG.NFUT-tell	3SG.NFUT-like	DEMS.PN

bokto	*mar*	*khor*	*Ø-ma*	*Ø-plek*	*khori*
small	person	DEMS	3SG.NFUT-come	3SG.NFUT-like	DEMS.PN

Ø-wo	*'tate,*	*pe*	*ibe*	*nakhnaem?'*
3SG.NFUT-say	father	but	where	door

When he spoke like that, the little boy came and said ‘Father, where’s the door?’
mll_eb01.wav 211.796 219.952

Ref.016

ngete	*tate*	*s-en*	*Ø-wo*	*'pe*	*nokh*
then	father	GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS	3SG.NFUT-say	but	2SG

ma	*rëngen*	*nakhnaem*	*ne*	*nakhmal*	*khor'*
come	LOC	door	NHUM.GEN	meeting house	DEMS

mll_eb01.wav 219.952 225.939

Ref.017

khaën	*Ø-wo*	*'no,*	*pe-les-te*	*nakhnaem'*
3SG	3SG.NFUT-say	no	NEG1-see-NEG2	door

His father replied ‘come to the door of the men’s house’. Then the little boy said ‘No, I can’t see the door.’
mll_eb01.wav 225.939 229.189

Ref.018
nëran *te* *tate* *s-en* *khaën* *Ø-wëlos*
time SUBORD father GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS 3SG 3SG.NFUT-turn

khaën *Ø*-plek khori *Ø-këlkle* *pe*
3SG 3SG.NFUT-like DEMS.PN 3SG.NFUT-look at but
nëvat *po* *Ø-ven* *raonem* *nakhmal*
stone LIMIT 3SG.NFUT-go around meeting house

nakhmaen *sëskhsëkhe* *temu* *botko* *mar* *khor*
door not exist more small person DEMS

pe-ma-mëne-te *laem.*
NEG1-come-INABIL-NEG2 house

When his father turned around and looked, only stone encircled the meeting house. The door was no longer there, and the little boy couldn't come into the house.
mll_eb01.wav 229.189 244.924

Ref.019
nëmere *khor* *ngovilvat* *khor* *re-lol* *lalen*
people DEMS fourty DEMS 3PL.NFUT-stay inside

naem *khor* *rëngen* *nakhmal* *khor* *re-lol*
house DEMS LOC meeting house DEMS 3PL.NFUT-stay

veve *re-masmas* *nenev.*
on-and-on 3PL.NFUT-die all

Those men - the forty, they stayed inside the meeting house. They stayed until they all died.
mll_eb01.wav 244.924 254.965

Ref.020
mar *khor* *po* *te* *khaen* *Ø-ven* *Ø-lev*
person DEMS LIMIT SUBORD 3SG 3SG.NFUT-go 3SG.NFUT-take

nëmelep *khor* *rëngen* *benaem* *s-en*
hawk DEMS LOC traditional grounds GEN.CLS-3SG.POSS

khor *khaën* *Ø -morov* *Ø-lol* *pe*
DEMS 3SG 3SG.NFUT-be alive 3SG.NFUT-stay but

khaën *pe-terter-te* *mu* *mëten* *te* *khaën*
3SG NEG1-strong-NEG2 more because SUBORD 3SG

pe-or-te
NEG-eat-NEG2

Only the man who went and took the hawk from his taboo place was alive, but he was not strong anymore because he hadn’t eaten. mll_eb01.wav 254.965 267.783

Ref.021
pe-wokhpërav-te *khaën* *Ø-riri* *po* *Ø-ve*
NEG1-journey far-NEG2 3SG 3SG.NFUT-squint LIMIT 3SG.NFUT-do

Ø-les *te* *nëvat* *khor* *khaën* *Ø-rëkhes*
3SG.NFUT-see SUBORD stone DEMS 3SG 3SG.NFUT-open

kotkot
small

It wasn't for long. He squinted and saw that the stone had opened a little.
mll_eb01.wav 267.783 276.139

Ref.022
nëran *te* *khaën* *Ø-les* *te* *nëvat* *khor*
time SUBORD 3SG 3SG.NFUT-see SUBORD stone DEMS

Ø -rëkhes *kotkot* *Ø-plek* *khori*
3SG.NFUT-open small 3SG.NFUT-like DEMS.PN

khaën *Ø-rakhtakh* *Ø-khërav* *Ø-ven*
3SG 3SG.NFUT-get up 3SG.NFUT-crawl 3SG.NFUT-go
Ø -seser *te* *së-ven* *chaling*
3SG.NFUT-be quick SUBORD 3SG.FUT-go outside

When he saw that the stone had opened, he got and crawled quickly to get outside.
mll_eb01.wav 276.139 285.919

Ref.023
nëran *te* *Ø-khërav* *Ø-ven* *Ø-plek*
time SUBORD 3SG.NFUT-crawl 3SG.NFUT-go 3SG.NFUT-like

khori *Ø-ve* *nëvat* *khor*
DEMS.PN 3SG.NFUT-COP stone DEMS

khaën *Ø-rërakh* *ngen* *khaën* *Ø-plek* *khori*
3SG 3SG.NFUT-be shocked EXT.P 3SG 3SG.NFUT-like DEMS.PN

khaën *Ø-pil* *pe* *khaën* *Ø-vlevech* *bate* *mar*
3SG 3SG.NFUT-close but 3SG 3SG.NFUT-break head person

khor *jëpon* *Ø- ven* *chaling* *jëpon* *nemb-en*
DEMS half 3SG.NFUT- go outside half body-3SG.POSS

Ø-tokh *laem*
3SG.NFUT- EXISTENT. house

When he crawled off like that, the stone was shocked by him, and closed. The stone broke the neck of the man - half of him went outside and half of him remained inside the house.
mll_eb01.wav 285.919 301.895

Ref.024

ngete	*khar*	*polpol*	*re-mas*	*Ø -plek*	*khori*
then	3PL	every	3PL.NFUT-die	3SG.NFUT-like	DEMS.PN

So everyone died like that.
mll_eb01.wav 301.895 305.792

Ref.025

stori	*s-er*	*pol*	*eri*	*khor*
story	GEN.CLS-1PL.INCL.POSS	TEL	EMPHZ	DEMS

Our story is finished there.
mll_eb01.wav 305.792 312.819

File Name: mll_eb04
Title: Coconut Story

This text is a description by Miriam Harrison about the kinds of things that can be made from the coconut plant.

Ref.002
nani *po* *nani* *Ø-ve* *dange* *skhal* *te* *mërotën*
coconut LIMIT coconut 3SG.NFUT-COP thing one SUBORD person

Ø- ve *ngen* *dange* *lep,*
3SG.NFUT-make EXT.P thing many

mërotën *Ø -sëpe* *dëron* *ne* *Ø-ve*
person 3SG.NFUT-cut trunk NHUM.GEN 3SG.NFUT-make

naber *ne* *naem* *mërotën* *Ø -sëpe*
post NHUM.GEN house person 3SG.NFUT-cut

dëron *ne* *Ø-ve* *nekhe* *mërotën*
trunk NHUM.GEN 3SG.NFUT-make face person

rëngen, *mërotën* *Ø-sëpe* *dëron* *ne* *Ø-ve*
LOC person 3SG.NFUT-cut trunk NHUM.GEN 3SG.NFUT-make

nëkhap *mërotën* *Ø-ve* *ngen* *dange* *lep* *dëron*
firewood person 3SG.NFUT-make EXT.P thing many trunk

ne.
NHUM.GEN

About the coconut - the coconut is something that people make many things with. People will cut the trunk to the make the post of a house, people will cut the trunk to carves faces out of, and people will cut the trunk to make firewood. People make many things out of the trunk of a coconut.
mll_eb04.wav 17.687 49.874

Ref.003
ngete *rëngen* *rokho* *ne* *pepe* *ngenar*
then LOC leaf NHUM.GEN mother PLURAL

re-vet *rosor* *ne.*
3PL.NFUT-weave coconut frond NHUM.GEN

Also, using the leaves of the coconut, the mothers weave the coconut's fronds.
mll_eb04.wav 49.874 59.524

Ref.004
re-vet *rosor* *ne* *Ø-ve* *bëkhach,*
3PL.NFUT-weave coconut frond NHUM.GEN 3SG.NFUT-make bed

re-vet *rosor* *ne* *Ø-ve* *nëvrevër*
3PL.NFUT-weave coconut frond NHUM.GEN 3SG.NFUT-make fan

re-vet *rosor* *ne* *Ø-ve* *dange*
3PL.NFUT-weave coconut frond NHUM.GEN 3SG.NFUT-make thing

te *re-veren* *re-to* *rengen* *batë,*
SUBORD 3PL.NFUT-plait 3PL.NFUT-put LOC head

re-vet *rosor* *ne* *Ø-ve*
3PL.NFUT-weave coconut frond NHUM.GEN 3SG.NFUT-make

nemanong *re-sisvi* *betechir*
hat 3PL.NFUT-take spines from coconut leaves coconut broom

ne, *chengewich* *ne* *Ø- ve*
NHUM.GEN spine from a coconut leaf NHUM.GEN 3SG.NFUT-make

betechir *te* *mërotën mama* *ngenar*
coconut broom SUBORD person mother PLURAL

re-usum *sek* *te* *re-chichir* *ngen*
3PL.NFUT-use HAB SUBORD 3PL.NFUT-sweep EXT.P

laem, *chaling* *betechir* *ne.*
house outside coconut broom NHUM.GEN

They weave the coconut fronds to make bed mats. They weave the fronds to make fans. They weave the fronds to make things that they plait and put on the head. They weave the fronds to make hats. They tear out the leaf spines for coconut brooms. They use the leaf spines to make coconut brooms that people, mothers, usually use to sweep the house, and outside too.
mll_eb04.wav 59.524 96.909

Ref.005
ngete *nekhven* *ne,* *nekhven* *ne* *re-min*
then fruit NHUM.GEN fruit NHUM.GEN 3PL.NFUT-drink

nekhven *ne* *re-khor,* *re-wiswis*
fruit NHUM.GEN 3PL.NFUT-grate 3PL.NFUT-squueze.to.make.coco.milk

ngen *nëran* *te* *Ø-mërang*
EXT.P time SUBORD 3SG.NFUT-dry

nekhven *ne* *re-kikchi* *Ø-ve* *copra*
fruit NHUM.GEN 3PL.NFUT-scoop out 3SG.NFUT-make copra

te *re-wolwol* *ngen,* *nekhven* *ne*
SUBORD 3PL.NFUT-sell EXT.P fruit NHUM.GEN

re-wiswis *ngen*
3PL.NFUT-squeeze.to.make.coco.milk EXT.P

re-wis *ngen* *noren,*
3PL.NFUT-squeeze.coco.milk EXT.P food

re-wis *ngete* *re-tin*
3PL.NFUT-squeeze.coco.milk then 3PL.NFUT-cook

Ø-ve *oil* *re-tëwes* *ngen* *nebar.*
3SG.NFUT-make oil 3PL.NFUT-rub EXT.P body

In addition, the fruit, the fruit of the coconut - they drink, the fruit of the coconut - they grate and they squeeze it to make coconut milk. When it's dry, the scoop out the fruit of the coconut to make copra, which they sell. The fruit of coconut that they squeezed to make coconut milk with, they squeeze over food. They squeeze the coconut milk and then they cook it to make oil that they rub on the body.
mll_eb04.wav 96.909 128.783

Ref.006
re-rov *dange* *lep* *rëngen* *nani*
3PL.NFUT-make thing many LOC coconut

They make many things from coconut.
mll_eb04.wav 128.783 131.695

Ref.007
dëron *ne* *Ø-plek* *wenini,* *Ø-përav*
trunk NHUM.GEN 3SG.NFUT-like palm tree 3SG.NFUT-journey far

Ø -ven *lemsakh,* *Ø-ve* *dange* *lep* *te*
3SG.NFUT-go above 3SG.NFUT-COP thing many SUBORD

Ø-ma *chaling* *rëngen* *nani,*
3SG.NFUT-come outside LOC coconut

re-ve *te* *Ø- tavës* *rëngen* *nani*
3PL.NFUT-make SUBORD 3SG.NFUT-come out LOC coconut

The trunk of the coconut, like a palm tree, goes a long way up. There are many things that come from outside the coconut. They make things then that come from the coconut.
mll_eb04.wav 131.695 144.493

Ref.008
nani *Ø-ve* *dange* *Ø -nemnem* *skhal* *te*
coconut 3SG.NFUT-COP thing 3SG.NFUT-very good one SUBORD

nakër *iten* *Vanuatu* *nëmere* *rë-ve* *dange* *lep*
1PL.INCL here Vanuatu people 1PL.INCL.NFUT-make thing many

Ø-ma	*chaling*	*rëngen,*	*rë-ve*	*te*
3SG.NFUT-come	outside	LOC	1PL.INCL.NFUT-make	SUBORD

Ø-tar	*se*	*nëmere.*
3SG.NFUT-help	HUM.GEN	people

The coconut is a thing that is very good, and that we here, the Vanuatu people, make many things out of . We make them to help our people.
mll_eb04.wav 144.493 160.299

File Name: mll_eb13
Title: Natural Disaster

This text is a recount by Miriam Harrison of a natural disaster which hit her home area. The disaster destroyed her father's house, so the family relocated to Molin Village.

Ref.002
1960, brë-lol Horoni, nëran ne
1960 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-stay Horoni time NHUM.GEN

khori kënam brë-werwerik po khunu
DEMS.PN 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-small LIMIT 1SG

pe-skul-te wor, ngete langruprup skhal
NEG1-be schooled-NEG2 CONT then cyclone one

nëran ne khori tate khaën Ø-lol
time NHUM.GEN DEMS.PN father 3SG 3SG.NFUT-stay

rëngen nok, khaën Ø-lol rëngen Ø-lol
LOC canoe 3SG 3SG.NFUT-stay LOC 3SG.NFUT-stay

rëngen captain rëngen nok skhal se 'trader boat' skhal.
LOC captain LOC canoe one HUM.GEN trader boat one

In 1960, we stayed at Horoni. At the time, we were only little. I did not attend school yet. A cyclone came at that time. Dad was staying in the boat. He was staying in a boat as the Captain. It was a 'trader boat'.
mll_eb13.wav 22.702 51.73

Ref.003
brë-lol ngete langruprup Ø-ma Ø-reke
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-stay then cyclone 3SG.NFUT 3SG.NFUT-crack

naem s-enam
home GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS

We (the children) had stayed back home, and then the cyclone came and damaged our house.
mll_eb13.wav 51.73 59.543

Ref.004
Ø-reke naem s-enam Horoni,
3SG.NFUT-crack house GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS Horoni

Ø-lev luwe naem, naem s-enam
3SG.NFUT-take away house house GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS

tate Ø-ve, Ø-ve naem cement skhal,
father 3SG.NFUT-make 3SG-COP house cement one

Ø-lev luwe *nokhopu* *ne,* *Ø-lev* *monei*
3SG.NFUT-take away bamboo NHUM.GEN 3SG.NFUT-take money

se *tate* *s-ok* *te* *Ø-to*
HUM.GEN father GEN.CLS-1SG.POSS SUBORD 3SG.NFUT-put

sek, *Ø-to* *lomton* *sek,* *monei* *se* *tate*
HAB 3SG.NFUT-put properly HAB money HUM.GEN father

khor *Ø-sungun* *rëngen* *canves bag* *se* *Merica*
DEMS 3SG.NFUT-load LOC canvas bag HUM.GEN America

te *nëran* *te* *khe-yev* *Ø-plek* *khori*
SUBORD time SUBORD 2SG.NFUT-pull 3SG.NFUT-like DEMS.PN

pi *Ø-pil,* *ale* *tate* *Ø-to* *sek,*
PERF 3SG.NFUT-close then father 3SG.NFUT-put HAB

das *Ø-ma* *Ø-reke* *naem,* *Ø-kolo luwe*
sea 3SG.NFUT-come 3SG.NFUT-crake house 3SG.NFUT-take away

monei, *Ø-kolo* *Ø-ven* *erwa* *leltas*
money 3SG.NFUT-carry 3SG.NFUT-go down on the shore

The cyclone damaged our house at Horoni. It took away the house. Our house, that dad had made, was a cement house. It removed the bamboo, it took my Dad's money which he had been saving. He had loaded his money into an American canvas bag that closed when pulled. The cyclone that came and damaged our house, it took away the money. It carried it down to the shore.
mll_eb13.wav 59.543 95.442

Ref.005
ale, *tate* *Ø- ma,* *re-ma* *chaling,*
then father 3SG.NFUT-come 3PL.NFUT-come outside

Ø -rakhtakh *re-lev luwe* *dangtar* *s-enam*
3SG.NFUT-get up 3PL.NFUT-take away belongings GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS

nëran *te* *das* *pol,* *nok* *Ø-ma,* *tate*
time SUBORD sea TEL canoe 3SG.NFUT-come father

Ø-ma, chaling *Ø-rongo* *te*
3SG.NFUT-come outside 3SG.NFUT-SENSE SUBORD

re-wo *te* *mëroten* *duwat* *skhal* *Ø-mas*
3PL.NFUT-say SUBORD person female one 3SG.NFUT-die

das *Ø-kolo,* *kha* *Ø-rom* *kha*
sea 3SG.NFUT-carry 3SG 3SG.NFUT-think 3SG

Ø-wo	*te*	*khunu,*
3SG.NFUT-say	SUBORD	1SG

pe-or-te	*ne*	*nok*	*kha*	*Ø-wo*	*khunu*
NEG-eat-NEG2	NHUM.GEN	canoe	3SG	3SG.NFUT-say	1SG

në-mas	*pe*	*khunu*	*pe-mas-te*
1SG.NFUT-die	but	1SG	NEG-die-NEG2

në-morov	*po.*
1SG.NFUT-be alive	LIMIT

Then dad came. The boaters came ashore. They got up and removed our things when the sea was calm. My dad came out and heard that someone, a girl, had been swept away by the rough sea. He thought it was me. He didn't eat on the boat, thinking I was dead. But I was not dead, I was just alive.
mll_eb13.wav 95.442 118.586

Ref.006

nok	*Ø-ma*	*Ø-këron*	*tate,*	*tate*	*Ø-ma*
canoe	3SG.NFUT-come	3SG.NFUT-leave	father	father	3SG.NFUT-come

chaling	*Ø-wo*	*ngenngeneri*	*rë-s-ven*	*Molin*
outside	3SG.NFUT-say	now	1PL.INCL-FUT-go	Molin

mëten	*te*	*nëran*	*ne*	*khori*
because	SUBORD	time	NHUM.GEN	DEMS.PN

re-wesen	*pi*	*nëvenu*	*Molin*	*te*	*tate*
3PL.NFUT-clean	PERF	place	Molin Village	SUBORD	father

Ø-wer	*te*	*Ø-wo*	*skul*
3SG.NFUT- tell	SUBORD	3SG.NFUT-say	school

së-tokh	*rëngen*
3SG.FUT-EXISTENT.	LOC

The boat came and dropped off Dad. Dad came ashore and said 'Now we will go to Molin'. He said we'd go because they had already cleared the area at Molin. Dad said a school is there.
mll_eb13.wav 118.586 130.114

Ref.007

re-wesen	*nëmere*	*re-pas*	*pi*	*Molin*	
3PL.NFUT-clen	people	3PL.NFUT-work	PERF	Molin Village	

re-to	*pi*	*naem*	*se*	*ticha,*	*naem*	*se*
3PL.NFUT-put	PERF	home	HUM.GEN	teacher	home	HUM.GEN

pasta,	*re-wo*	*re-ve*	*tëpen*	*naem*
pastor	3PL.NFUT-say	3PL.NFUT-make	first	home

se *pasta,* *te* *pasta* *së-lol* *tëpen* *po*
HUM.GEN pastor SUBORD pastor 3SG.FUT-stay first LIMIT

Ø-lol, *ngete* *ticha* *së-ven*
3SG.NFUT-stay then teacher 3SG.FUT-go

ngete *students* *ngenar* *rë-s-ven*
then students PLURAL 3PL-FUT-go

The cleaning people had already done work in Molin. They put up the school, and the pastor's house. They said they built the pastor's house first, so that he will stay first, and then the teachers, followed by the students.
mll_eb13.wav 130.114 143.607
Ref.008

naem *re-pas* *pi* *ngen* *rëngen* *1958, 1959,1960*
home 3PL.NFUT-work PERF EXT.P LOC 1958, 1959,1960

khori *Ø-ma,* *Ø-ve* *kënam*
DEMS.PN 3SG.NFUT-come 3SG.NFUT-make 1PL.EXCL

brë-ven *brë-vëla* *nëran* *te*
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-go 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-travel time SUBORD

nasup *lemsakh* *Ø-ve* *jorsal*
chief above 3SG.NFUT-make way/method

neran *naem* *s-enam*
time house GEN.CLS-1PL.EXCL.POSS

das *Ø-kolo luwe* *ngete* *brë-vëlvëla*
sea 3SG.NFUT-carry away then 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-travel

brë-ven *Molin*
1PL.EXCL.NFUT-go Molin Village

They started working on the house in 1958 to 1959 to 1960. Then that thing (the cyclone) came and made us go. We ran at that time, when the Lord made the way possible. When the sea took away our house, we ran away to Molin.
mll_eb13.wav 143.607 159.72

Ref.009
brë-ven *brë-lol* *Molin* *Ø -weres*
1PL.EXCL-go 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-stay Molin Village 3SG.NFUT-arrive

ngenngeneri *ngen* *te* *nëmere* *re-lol* *Molin.*
now EXT.P SUBORD people 3PL.NFUT-stay Molin Village

mll_eb13.wav 159.72 165.044

We went and stayed in Molin. When we arrived, people were already staying there.

Ref.010
brë-ven *eri* *khor* *ngete* *pasta* *tepën* *te*
1PL.EXCL-go EMPHZ DEMS then pastor first SUBORD

Ø-ma *eve* *Molin,* *Pasta J.,* *Pasta J* *Ø-ma*
3SG.NFUT-come there Molin Pastor J., Pastor J 3SG.NFUT-come

Ø-lol *Molin* *pol* *ngete* *Ø-mul*
3SG.NFUT-stay Molin TEL then 3SG.NFUT-return

ngete *Pasta T.* *Ø-ma*
then Pasta T. 3SG.NFUT-come

We went to that place, and then the first pastor came to Molin, Pastor J. Pastor J came and stayed at Molin. Then he went back to his home area, and then he came back again.
mll_eb13.wav 165.044 184.277

Appendix B

Ethical Approval For Project

Philosophy Programme
School of Social Sciences
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton 3240
New Zealand

Phone +64 7 838 4466 ext 6131
E-mail rmwalker@waikato.ac.nz
www.waikato.ac.nz

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Roxanna Holmes
Dr Julie Barbour

Applied Linguistics Programme
School of Arts

9 November 2012

Dear Roxanna

Re: **FS2012-25 Espiegle's Bay: Language Description.**

Thank you for submitting your revised application to the FASS Human Research Ethics Committee. The Committee has reviewed your application and is happy to provide you with formal ethical approval.

I wish you well with your research.

Kind regards,

Ruth Walker
Chair
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.