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A Grammar of Lavukaleve

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A Grammar of Lavukaleve

by

Angela Terrill

For small erections may be finished by their first architects; grand ones, true ones, ever leave the copestone to posterity. God keep me from ever completing anything. This whole book is but a draught – nay, but the draught of a draught. Oh, Time, Strength, Cash, and Patience!

Herman Melville *Moby Dick*

Acknowledgements

My primary debt is to the many Lavukaleve speakers who made the effort to talk to me and teach me their language. It was the people of the West Russells, and Mane Village in particular, who made this work possible, by letting me live with them, and talking with me.

Especially important were Chief Nicholas Sobo, Fane Navo, Marion Kuu, Nesta Kelavi, Emily Mavaua, Colin Pawa, Monica Felakoe Elufua, Christa Kanefa, Michael Boliko, Addeson and Niko. Also the people of Baesen deserve my thanks, in particular the former headmaster of Flahaba School, Stanley Sade, and also Chief Clement Savaka, Nancy, Emily Fofokolin, Dora Iho and Salome Vavara. I am also very grateful to the people of Marulaon, Losiolen, Hae, Louna, Alokan and particularly Karumulun, especially Chief Raymond Kolo, Julian Beglin, Janet Tokilo and Hilda Bungu. In addition, I would like to thank Ben Rabe and Hannah Kuatavea for their hospitality and generosity. But my biggest helper was Patteson Barua. Almost everything I know about Lavukaleve is due to Patteson's constant support, patience and hard work over the years.

I am also grateful to the people who told me the stories which provided the data for this work. Each one of them made the effort to tell a story to the foreigner, and this is gratefully acknowledged. Those who haven't already been mentioned are: Abel Moran, Ann Onutu, Christian Hill, Clement Oiva, Edward Getu, Ethel Mary Kanefa, Frank Koau, Georgina Makikifaria, Honiara Resman, James Nepolo, John Hubert, John Nate, Kilaev Gulum, Matthew Ngele, Donald Ofiva, Melchior Pitu, Mase Toto, Laurence Soitam, Sarah Kiko, Edwin Vefele, Wilson Ngara, William Fox, and especially Mostin Nekuiga.

I would like to thank Evelyn Todd for generously sharing her Lavukaleve data with me before I went to the Russells, and Sasha Aikhenvald, Bernard Comrie, Terry Crowley, Tim Curnow, Gerrit Dimmendaal, Matthew Dryer, Michael Dunn, Nikolaus Himmelmann, Eva Lindström, Bill McGregor, Andy Pawley, Tom Payne, Malcolm Ross, Darrell Tryon and David Wilkins for reading and commenting on earlier drafts. This book is a revised version of my PhD thesis. I would like to thank the Linguistics Department of the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University, who provided the initial support for the work on which this book is based; the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, and the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, who provided me with a working environment while I was completing the manuscript.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations and conventions

A subject of a transitive verb (S is used for both transitive and intransitive subject unless specified in the text)

ABIL	Abilitative (verb suffix)
ACT	Action (particle)
ADMON	Admonitive (verb suffix)
ANT	Anterior (verb suffix)
Art	Definite article
CAUS	Causative (verb suffix)
COMPL	Completive (verb suffix)
DEM	Demonstrative
DIST	Distal (demonstrative category)
du	Dual number
DUR	Durative (verb suffix)
DURIMP	Durative Imperative (verb suffix)
EFOC	Focus marker from *heo* paradigm
EMPH	Emphatic (particle)
ex	Exclusive
EXT	Extended (verb and deictic suffix)
f	Feminine gender
FEM	Feminine gender
FOC	Focus marker from *feo* paradigm
FOLK	People of a place (nominal suffix)
FUT	Future tense (verb suffix)
GROUP	Referent forms a group (nominal suffix)
HAB	Habitual (verb suffix)
HORT	Hortative (verb suffix)
IMPF	Imperfective (verb suffix)
in	Inclusive
INT	Intention (particle)
INTR	Intransitiviser (verb suffix)
k.o.	Kind of (used in glosses of some nouns)
LOC	Locative (nominal suffix)
LOCEMPH	Locative emphatic (particle)
LOCZR	Locativiser (verb suffix)
m	Masculine gender
MASC	Masculine gender
MOD	Demonstrative modifier (from *hoia* paradigm)
MORE	More (verb suffix)
n	Neuter gender

NEG	Negative (verb suffix)
NEUT	Neuter gender
NF	Non-Finite (verb suffix)
NOMZR	Nominaliser (verb suffix)
NP	Noun phrase
NTRL	Neutral distance (demonstrative category)
O	Object
PCTIMP	Punctual Imperative (verb suffix)
PERL	Perlative (nominal suffix)
pl	Plural number
PN	Demonstrative pronoun (from *foia* paradigm)
POSS	Possessive (nominal prefix)
POT	Potential (verb suffix)
PRED	Predicative (demonstrative identifier)
PRES	Present tense (verb suffix)
PROX	Proximal (demonstrative category)
PSNV	Presentative (verb suffix)
PSV	Possessor-subject verb (verb suffix)
PURP	Purposive (verb suffix)
QFOC	Focus marker from *meo* paradigm
RECIP	Reciprocal (verb suffix)
REDUP	Reduplicated
S	Subject (both transitive and intransitive unless otherwise stated)
SBD	Subordinate (verb prefix)
sg	Singular number
sp	Species (used in glosses of some nouns)
SPEC	Specifier (adjective)
sth	Something
SUCC	Successive (verb suffix)
SURP	Surprise (verb suffix)
TAM	Tense, aspect and mood (verbal categories)
UNSP	Unspecified distal (demonstrative category)
VOC	Vocative (particle)

All names of language-specific morphemes (e.g. Locative (noun suffix), Future (verb tense suffix) are capitalised when they are referred to in the discussion. Names of general categories (e.g. tense, subject) are not.

Conventions in example sentences

The following is an indication of the meaning of symbols used in example sentences:

name	symbol	meaning
comma	,	non-final rise in pitch
fullstop	.	sentence-final drop in pitch
exclamation mark	!	prosodically prominent element inserted into intonation contour
question mark	?	question intonation
quote marks	"..."	direct speech
slash	/	pause with even pitch (only used where it is relevant to the point under discussion)

In glosses, the gender of a noun is given in brackets after the noun e.g. fish(m).

In glosses, only those verb prefix forms which distinguish between Subject, Object and/or Possessive are glossed as such. All second person forms, and first person dual and plural, which do not distinguish these grammatical roles, are unmarked for these roles in glosses, even when their syntactic role is clear.

In translations, square brackets indicate explanatory material not actually present in the text.
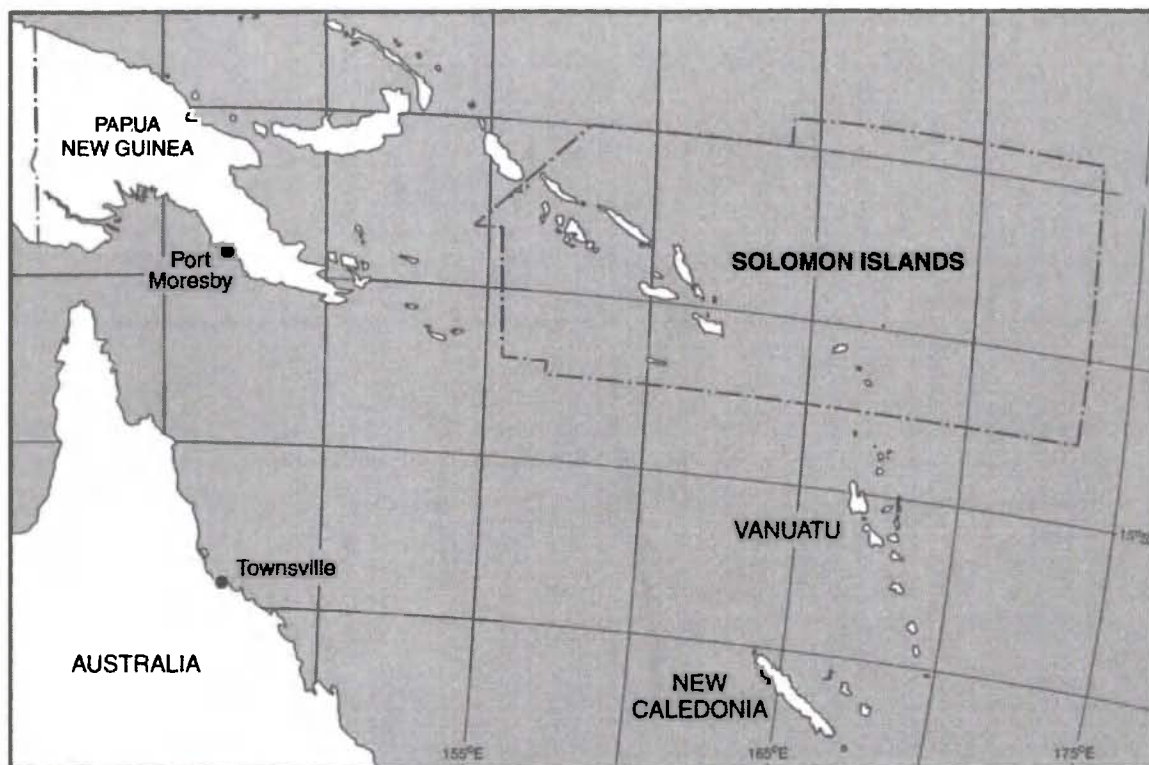
MAP 1: The Solomon Islands in the south-west Pacific
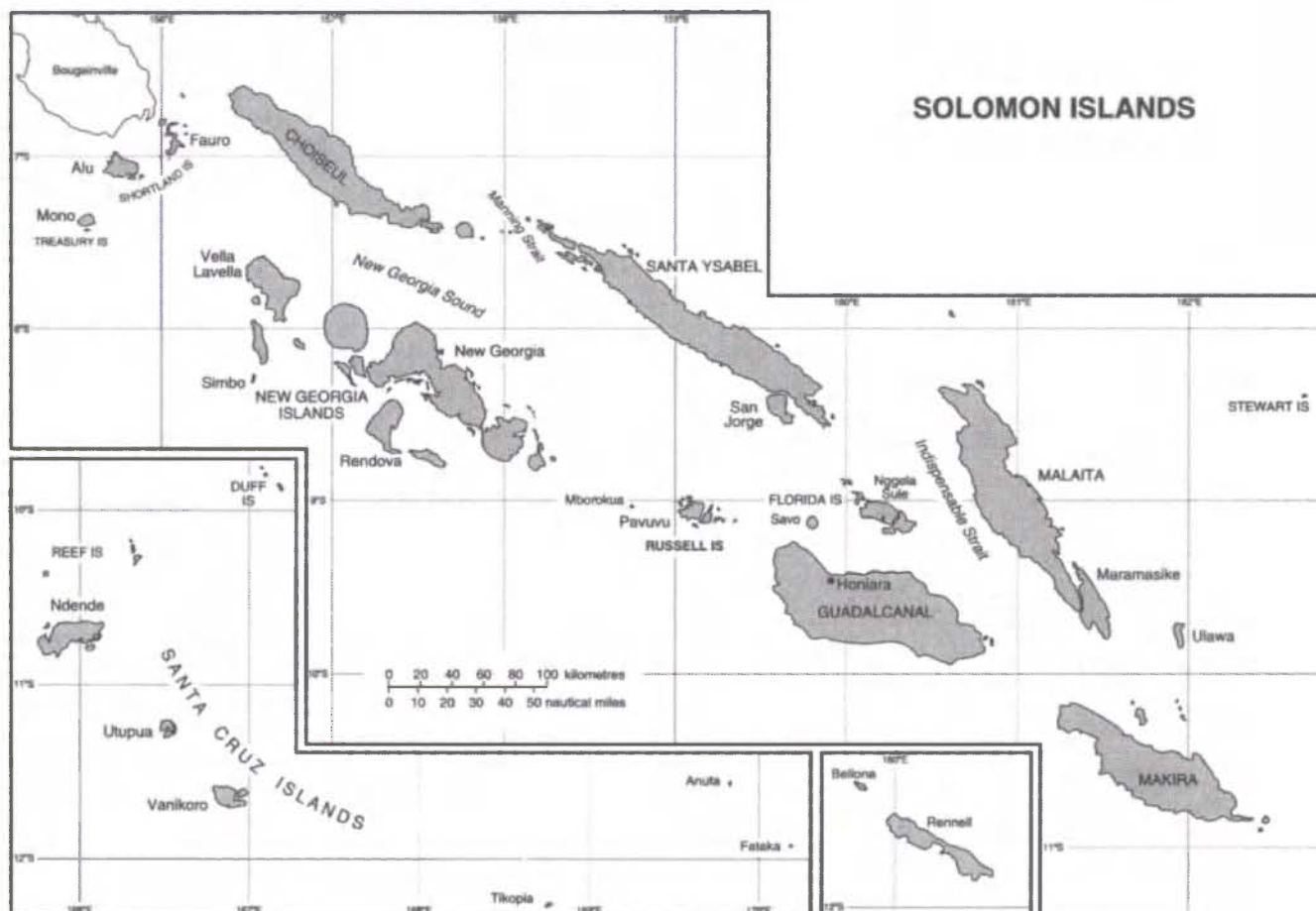
MAP 2: The Solomon Islands

I promise nothing complete;
because any human thing supposed
to be complete, must for that
very reason infallibly be faulty
Herman Melville *Moby Dick*

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1   Lavukalen and Lavukals

Lavukaleve, a Papuan language, is the language of the Russell Islands, which is a group of islands in the Central Province of the Solomon Islands. The Russells consist of one large island Pavuvu ('the mainland', in local terms), which is at most about 34 kilometres along its east-west axis and at most 26 kilometres on its north-south axis, and another largish island, Banika (at most about 14 kilometres along its east-west axis, and at most 22 kilometres on its north-south axis), with a hundred or so smaller islands clustered around them. Legend has it that there used to be 100 islands in the Russells, but during a cyclone one sank, leaving the 99 there supposedly are today.

There are approximately 1700 Lavukal people (Solomon Islands Census Office 1999) who live in these islands, in eleven or so main villages and a small number of hamlets.

There are many non-Lavukal people also living in the Russells. These include the Tikopians, a Polynesian group who were resettled by the British colonial government in the 1950s from their own island of Tikopia. They now live largely in two villages on Pavuvu: Nukufero and Samata. There are also many non-Lavukal people living in Yandina, the provincial capital. Mostly these people are from Malaita and Guadalcanal, and have come to Yandina for work. There are also non-Lavukal people living in the south of the Russells at Linggatu, working for a logging company which operates on Pavuvu. In addition there are a couple of villages of non-Lavukal people working for Russell Islands Plantation Estates Limited (RIPEL), a company that owns coconut and cocoa

plantations and a small amount of cattle, mostly on Pavuvu. Apart from these areas, the only other non-Lavukal people in the Russells are those few who have married Lavukals and live in Lavukal villages.

There are comparatively few Lavukals working for RIPEL and living in Yandina or the other company centres, and very few Lavukals living outside the Russells. I know of a handful of Lavukal families living in Honiara, the capital of the Solomon Islands. Almost all Lavukals live in the villages of the Russells.

These villages range in size from a handful of families to some hundreds of people. Most villages consist of a collection of houses, each with a separate kitchen, loosely organised around the central focal feature, the church. The people of the West Russells belong to the Church of Melanesia, an Anglican church; the East Russells are Catholic.

Most of the villages have been settled in recent times. Originally Lavukal people always lived on the largest island, Pavuvu, but when the British company Levers (now RIPEL) set up their plantations on Pavuvu in the early 1900s, they relocated the Russell people, largely against the people's will. They were resettled onto the smaller islands surrounding Pavuvu, and the struggle for rights over Pavuvu continues today, and has been intensified by the operations of the logging company at Linggatu, in the south of Banika. Nowadays most Lavukal villages are on the smaller islands.
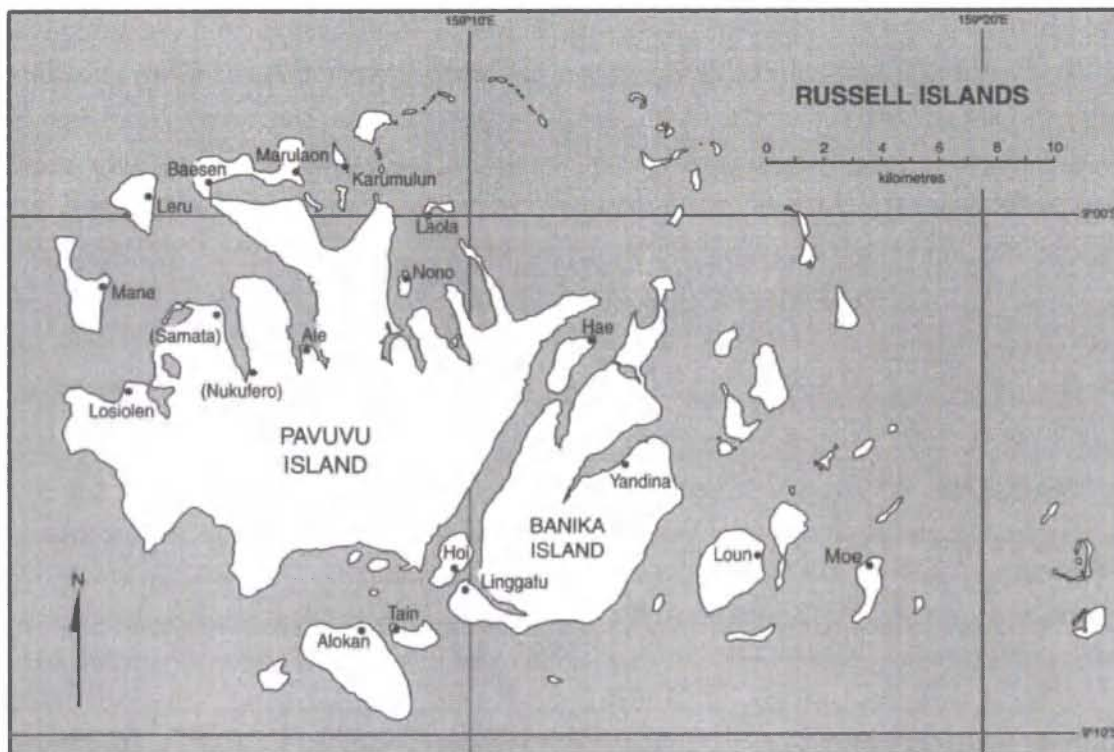
Map 3: The Russell Islands

Lavukals live a subsistence agricultural and fishing lifestyle, growing sweet potato as a staple food, and supplementing this with other vegetables and fish and seafood. Many people also earn a small amount of money by making copra (dried coconut flesh) from their coconut plantations, and selling it to RIPEL in Yandina. People spend their money mostly on tobacco, rice, tinned fish, clothes, kitchen utensils, petrol for motorised canoe transport, and school fees.

Lavukal group structure is organised along two main principles: the tribe and the clan. A tribe is a group of people related through women. Tribes are each traceable back to a single woman, although it is not clear whether this is an actual or a putative woman. In any case it seems that for every member of a tribe, his or her exact relationship(s) to all other members of the tribe can be calculated. Thus the tribe is a descent-based group, not a classificatory group. Each tribe has a chief, based on a system of heredity. There are currently four tribes in the Lavukal group, referred to in Lavukaleve as *kua* (Pijin *traeb*). All four tribes are named: Keruval, Kaiselen, Solovui and Sevev. Black (1963: 13) also mentions two other tribes: Lakwil and Kakau, which were only known in Loun, and which appear to originate in Guadalcanal, a non-Lavukal island outside the Russells. I did not encounter these tribe names. Further, Black says that Sevev is also a foreign tribe, from Guadalcanal; my informants agree that Sevev is a new tribe, but they say it comes from Santa Isabel. Tribes are land-owning groups; land is said to follow the blood of women.

Each tribe is made up of a number of clans. Clans, also named, consist of groups of sisters and their descendants. The word for clan in Lavukaleve is *vala* (this word also means belly); in Pijin the word is *klan* or *laen* 'line'. Thus clans are a more fluid entity than tribes, in that their numbers fluctuate over time. Clans are usually named after a prominent female ancestor of the sisters. Note that although of course sisters come from one mother, clans are not spoken of as consisting of descendents of one woman – rather, they are seen as the descendents of a group of women bonded by sisterhood.

People must marry outside their clan, and preferably outside their tribe. Previously it was taboo for commoners to know the name of the tribe and clan they belonged to; this was considered privileged knowledge controlled by chiefs, who thus also controlled land allocation and marriages. However today, people do know their full descent lines, although the names of tribes and clans are very seldom spoken.

As well as the tribal chief, there is also a village chief for each village. This is not a hereditary title; the village chief, always a man, is elected (although my personal observation is that village chiefdom does tend to run along father-son lines). The village chief has jurisdiction and responsibility over village matters. There is some evidence that the formalisation of this structure was encouraged in colonial times to assist with government administration. In any case, village chiefdom and tribal chiefdom, and their respective jurisdictions, are completely

separate systems.

Villages usually consist of a group of closely related families living together, usually with one nuclear family per house. Typically, a village is started up by a clan, that is, two or more sisters and their families. Women, as landowners, are the only ones who have a right to start a new village on previously unused land. There is a strong preference for matrilocal settlement, although occasionally a woman may move to her husband's village upon marriage.

The following kin terms exist in Lavukaleve:

kala/vava	M (mother)
kalem/mamam	F (father)
vovo	D (daughter)
vo'vou	S (son)
ngane mem (yB *vais*, eB *kakal*)	B (brother)
ngane mea (yZ *vaisa*, eZ *kakalea*)	Z (sister)
tua/tum	wife/husband
manio/man	female/male in-law
tutua/tutum	grandmother/grandfather
valiv	relatives

The terms listed in the first block have a primary use as given above, and they are also used as classificatory terms; thus *vava* refers not just to M, but also to MZ, MMZ, FZ, FFZ, etc. Similarly, *ngane mea* refers to FBdaughter, MZdaughter, MBdaughter, etc. (there are no distinct terms for cross-cousins). *Vovo* refers to DD, SD, ZD etc.

The primary senses of the terms are utilised in both address and reference, but in their classificatory sense, the terms can only be used for address, not for reference. To refer to someone in a relationship other than those primary relationships listed above, the exact relationship must be spelled out, i.e. he is my father's brother's wife, for instance. It is probably not ungrammatical to use a primary reference term as sole means of referring to a classificatory relative, but it is certainly misleading.

There are two further address terms: *mama* and *papa* (recent borrowings from Pijin) used for addressing M and F respectively; these terms do not have classificatory extensions.

One term, *manio* (f), *man* (m), covers all people related to a person by marriage, apart from the spouse, for which there is a separate term *tua/tum*. There is an older word for 'husband', *ngamae* (1sgO-take-NOMZR '[the one who] took me'), but this has been largely superseded by *tum*.

There are alternative systems for referring to siblings. *Vais(a)* and *kakalea/kakal* are both rarely used now, the phrasal term *ngane mea/ ngane mem*

(1sgO-with SPEC-sgf/sgm, 'the one with me') is far more commonly used.

There are also terms for pairs and groups of relatives, based on two stems: *kakal* 'older sibling' and *kane/kaone* (*kane* is more modern and is superseding the more old-fashioned variant *kaone*) 'family grouping'. The terms are as follows:

kakalemal (du.m)	two brothers
kakaleol (du.f)	two sisters
kakalel (du.m)	two siblings, probably brother and sister
kakalev (pl)	more than two siblings
ka(o)nel (du. m)	two relatives, at least one of whom is male, typically a parent and child, uncle/nephew or niece, or aunt/nephew, etc.
ka(o)neol (du. f)	two female relatives, typically mother and daughter or two sisters, aunt and niece, etc.
ka(o)nege (pl)	more than two relatives, at least one of whom is male; typically a parent and two or more children, a group of brothers, etc.
ka(o)nefa (pl)	more than two female relatives, typically a mother and two or more daughters, a group of sisters, aunt and nieces, etc.

Even though one might expect the dual masculine term *ka(o)nel* to be able to refer to a brother and sister pair, this is not the case; rather, *kakalel* must be used to refer to a mixed-sex pair of siblings.

The stem *kakal* is interesting; *kakalea/kakal* can only be used to refer to older siblings, but obviously non-singular forms of the stem must have some meaning other than this. Presumably words like *kakalel*, *kakalemal* and *kakaleol* mean 'a pair including an older sibling', thus, by implicature, an older sibling and a younger sibling. The existence of forms with the overtly masculine Agreement Suffix -*mal* and the overtly feminine -*aol* (see Chapter 10) mean that when neither of these is used (i.e. in *kakal*), by implication the gender of the pair is taken to be mixed.

14.2 Lavukaleve

Lavukaleve is the name of the language of the Lavukal people, who belong to Lavukalen, the Russell Islands. These words are analysable: the name of the people consists of the unanalysable stem *lavu* with a fused plural suffix -*kal*. The language name consists of *lavukal*, the name of the people, together with the word *ve* 'go' (these are two separate words which have fused in this collocation) meaning 'from the Lavukals'. Lavukalen is *lavukal*, again, with the Locative

suffix -*n*; thus, 'the place of the Lavukals'. Lavukalen is the indigenous term for what is known in English as the Russell Islands.

In earlier literature, Lavukals and Lavukaleve are occasionally referred to as Laumbe. Capell (1969) says that Laumbe is the term used by people from Santa Isabel (see map 2) to refer to the Lavukals.

Lavukals divide their language into three main areas. The western area (actually north-western) consists of the main villages of Losiolen, Mane, Leru, Baesen, Marulaon, Karumulun, Ale, Nono and Laola. The central area consists of the village of Hae. The eastern (actually south-eastern) area consists of six main villages: Loun, Moe, Linggatu, Tain, Hoi and Alokan.

These three linguistic areas are characterised by different intonation patterns, all defined with respect to the language of the western area, which is considered by Lavukals of all three areas to be the real language, in that it is the most conservative. The Hae language is characterised by a so-called sing-song intonation pattern. The speech of eastern Lavukals is said to be strong and harsh. The eastern areas have also had far more influence from Solomon Island Pijin and Guadalcanal languages through intermarriage, and there is substantial language mixing. There are no generally recognised lexical or grammatical differences between these language varieties, apart from those resulting from language mixing in the east.

1.3   Linguistic affiliation

Lavukaleve is a Papuan language. The term Papuan is a cover term, used to refer to languages in north-western Melanesia which are not Austronesian. Papuan languages as a group are a negatively-defined areal grouping, as opposed to Austronesian languages, which are a well-demonstrated genetic grouping. Most Papuan languages are spoken on mainland New Guinea; that is, in Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea. There are also Papuan languages in the islands off New Guinea, including New Britain, New Ireland, reaching as far west as Timor and Alor, and as far east as the Solomon Islands.

1.3.1 Linguistic picture of the Solomon Islands

Most of the languages of the Solomon Islands are Austronesian: there are around 63 Austronesian languages in the Solomon Islands (Tryon and Hackman 1983), and a handful of non-Austronesian, or Papuan languages. The classification of some of the languages of the Reef Islands and Santa Cruz has been the subject of some controversy, as to whether they are originally Austronesian, heavily influenced by Papuan languages, or whether they are in fact Papuan, heavily

influenced by Austronesian languages (see e.g. Lincoln [1978]; Wurm [1978]; and Wurm [1982] for an overview).

The Austronesian languages of the Solomon Islands can be divided into three major genetic subgroups (Tryon and Hackman 1983: 47-72; Ross 1988): firstly North-West Solomonic, which includes all the Austronesian languages of the Solomon Islands from the north-west, down to just above the southern tip of Santa Isabel. North-West Solomonic is part of the Meso-Melanesian cluster and it also includes languages from Bougainville, New Ireland and so on, and is part of Western Oceanic. Secondly, there is South-East Solomonic, which includes everything from the southern tip of Santa Isabel down to Makira. This group is part of Eastern Oceanic. Thirdly, there are the Eastern Outer Islands languages, which are the Austronesian Santa Cruz languages.

The Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands which are still spoken are Lavukaleve, Bilua (spoken on Vella Lavella), Touo (known in the literature as Baniata; see Terrill and Dunn [forthc.] for a discussion), spoken on Rendova, Savosavo (spoken on Savo Island), and some of the languages of the Reef Islands/Santa Cruz, in the Eastern Outer Islands of Temotu Province (the other languages of Reef Islands/Santa Cruz are Austronesian). It is not clear whether these Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands form a family or not.

1.3.2 Previous classifications of Lavukaleve

Codrington (1885) does not mention Lavukaleve in his vast compendium on the languages of Oceania. Ray (1928) is the first mention of Lavukaleve in print. Ray was the first to recognise Lavukaleve as a non-Austronesian language, and he classified it, together with Bilua, Baniata (Touo) and Savosavo, as a non-Austronesian language of the Solomon Islands. Lanyon-Orgill (1953) noted its existence as one of the Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands, together with Savosavo, Bilua, Baniata (Touo) and Kazukuru. He notes that there is little relationship between these languages; although he does make a claim for their genetic relatedness, and indeed makes a perhaps somewhat wild claim (considering the paucity of the data he was working with) for their relatedness to languages outside of the Solomon Islands:

A glance at the vocabulary shows little internal relationship between them, and in general it must be admitted that from this standpoint the only characteristic which they have in common is that their vocabulary is non-Melanesian. However, we are justified in believing them to be originally of one major stock for their syntax shows features not only common to the Papuan languages of the Melanesian islands, but also to the Papuan languages of New Guinea and the Louisiade Archipelago, and also, in a modified form, to the more archaic dialects of New

Caledonia and the New Hebrides, and again – perhaps somewhat surprisingly – to the languages formerly spoken in Tasmania. (1953: 126)

Shortly after this, Capell said of Lavukaleve:

The language, generally referred to as Laumbe, is entirely unstudied, although it is known to be non-Austronesian. Its structure appears to be decidedly complicated. Dr. Fox, who has paid some attention to it[1], mentions thirty-nine different ways of showing the plural of nouns. (Capell 1954: 85)

In a later work, Capell explicitly mentions Lavukaleve, Bilua, Baniata (Touo) and Savosavo as the languages of the Western Solomons that are non-Austronesian, and also mentions the possibility of some of the Reef Islands and Santa Cruz languages as being non-Austronesian (Capell 1962: 371).

Greenberg (1971) follows these earlier analyses in making a claim for the genetic unity of these four languages, classifying them together as non-Austronesian, in his Indo-Pacific Hypothesis. Bilua, Baniata (Touo), Savo (Savosavo) and Laumbe (Lavukaleve) "seem to constitute another subgroup" (p. 816): the central Solomon languages. Together with the languages of Reef Islands/Santa Cruz, they form his Central Melanesian group. Note, however, that his evidence rests solely on the basis of comparison of pronouns and 52 lexical items.

Wurm (1972) proposed an East Papuan Phylum, which was revised in Wurm (1975), and more recently stated in Wurm (1982). The proposal is made mostly on the basis of typological features, such as the existence in these languages of genders, a dual number category, an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person non-singular pronouns, four places for stops and nasals, and so on.

Wurm's East Papuan Phylum includes the islands in the area from the northeast and east of mainland Papua New Guinea onwards: New Britain, New Ireland, Bougainville, Rossel Island, and across the Solomon Islands as far as the Reef Islands-Santa Cruz Archipelago. The East Papuan Phylum has three main parts: Bougainville, Reef Islands/Santa Cruz, and Central Solomons-Yele – New Britain. Within Central Solomons-Yele, there are three parts: Central Solomons; the extinct Kazukuru family, the languages of which were formerly spoken on New Georgia in the Solomon Islands; and Yélî Dnye, spoken on Rossel Island. The following diagram shows Wurm's (1982) proposal:

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                    EAST PAPUAN PHYLUM

Bougainville Super-    Reefs-Santa Cruz Family    Yele-Solomons – New Britain
stock                                             Super-stock

                              Yele-Solomons        New Britain
                              Stock                Stock

                      Central       Kazukuru    Yele
                      Solomons      Family      Family
                      Family        Kazukuru    Yélî Dnye
                      Bilua         Guliguli
                      Baniata       Dororo
                      Savosavo      (all extinct)
                      Lavukaleve
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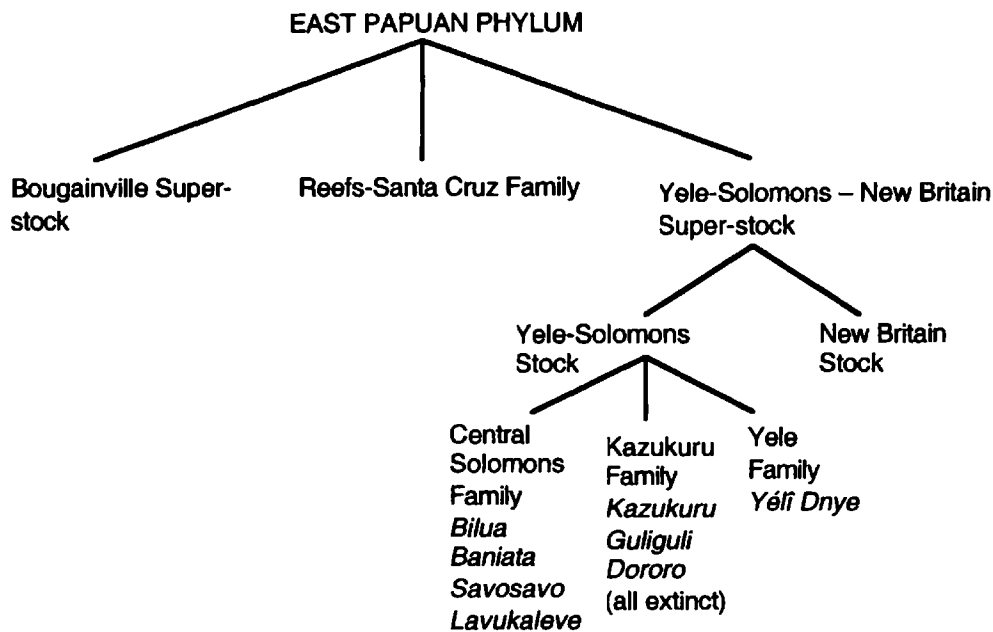
Figure 1: Wurm's (1982) East Papuan Phylum

Todd (1975) attempts to formalise the proposal of a genetic relationship between Lavukaleve, Bilua, Savosavo and Baniata (Touo), by means of comparison of morphological forms in the four languages. Todd used her own data for the classification, which was far more extensive than the data used by Greenberg and Wurm. She tentatively subgroups Savosavo and Bilua more closely together than Lavukaleve and Touo, and she also suggests that Yélî Dnye (Rossel Island) may be part of the same family, based on independent pronoun paradigms, possessive prefixes, noun number suffixes and vocabulary.

Ross (2001), on the basis of a comparison of the pronoun paradigms of these languages, suggests that the languages of Wurm's East Papuan Phylum actually belong to eight separate groups. Lavukaleve in Ross's analysis belongs to a Central Solomons family, together with Bilua, Savosavo and Baniata (Touo).

Dunn, Reesink and Terrill (2002) explore various typological features in the languages of Wurm's East Papuan Phylum as a preliminary step towards a more detailed understanding of the relationships between them. Terrill (2002a) examines the nominal classification systems which occur in these languages, in order to explore the same questions.

If Lavukaleve does have any relatives, these other three Solomon Islands Papuan languages, Savosavo, Bilua, and Touo are the strongest candidates. However they are structurally very different from Lavukaleve, and indeed to each other, and a genetic relationship may be difficult to demonstrate. As Capell notes, "These languages [Bilua, Touo, Kazukuru, Lavukaleve and Savosavo] share some common vocabulary, but it is small, and they are more outstanding for their differences not only from [Austronesian languages] but amongst themselves" (1969: 2).

1.3.3 More recent contact

Lavukaleve has long been surrounded by Austronesian languages, but Tryon and Hackman's (1983) counts of shared lexical items in languages of the Solomon Islands show that it shares comparatively little of their vocabulary; and indeed comparatively little with the Papuan languages in the area as well.

Shared lexical percentages between the Papuan and Austronesian languages in the Solomons are very low (Wurm 1982: 234). The highest shared lexical percentage between Lavukaleve and a Papuan language is 13.7% (from a comparison of 197 words), with Savosavo (all figures in this section are from Tryon and Hackman 1983). Lavukaleve shares 7.6% of its lexicon with Bilua (comparison of 197 words) and 8.2% with Touo (comparison of 195 words). Austronesian languages on Guadalcanal, the nearest land mass to the Russells, generally share around 8.5% with Lavukaleve. Poro, spoken on Santa Isabel, shares 8.9% (from a comparison of 190 words); Nggela, from Florida (and widespread as a missionary-encouraged lingua franca) shares 8.7% (comparison of 196 words); and Langalanga from Malaita shares 8.2% (comparison of 195 words). Most other languages of the Solomons share around 4% or 5% with Lavukaleve.

These shared lexical percentage figures are very low. As a comparison, Austronesian languages in the Solomon Islands tend to share around 30%-50% vocabulary with each other. Lavukaleve shares at most 10.8% with any other Austronesian language (Paripao, a Lengo language from north-east Guadalcanal).

Thorough comparison of Lavukaleve's grammar with the grammars of nearby Austronesian languages is necessary to determine whether, and what kind of, linguistic borrowing has taken place between them. This grammatical description is merely the first step in this process.

In various places throughout this work, some comparison is made to various Austronesian languages, usually where there is a strikingly similar grammatical pattern to something in Austronesian languages, or evidence of Austronesian loan words in a particular area of Lavukaleve grammar. The Russell Islands are surrounded on three sides by islands with Austronesian-speaking people. Lavukal stories tell of a long history of contact between the people of New Georgia, Santa Isabel and Guadalcanal and the Russells. For this reason, I generally make comparisons with Austronesian languages from those areas. Because of the scarcity of linguistic data from many of these areas, I make most reference to Tolo, a language from south-east Guadalcanal, which has a dictionary and grammatical sketch (Smith Crowley 1986); Cheke Holo, a Santa Isabel language with a dictionary and grammatical sketch (White 1988); and Roviana, a New Georgia language, again with a dictionary and grammatical sketch (Waterhouse 1949). I also have recourse to Proto Oceanic

reconstructions, especially from Ross, Pawley and Osmond (1998).

It is of course far easier to show that a word is Austronesian in origin, than to show exactly which language Lavukaleve borrowed the word from. When I refer to a word from a particular Austronesian language, I am not making a claim that that was the language from which the word was borrowed into Lavukaleve; I am just showing that the word is borrowed. Many words are also borrowed from Solomon Island Pijin; these words are usually immediately recognisable.

1.4   Previous work on Lavukaleve

Ray (1928) presents some data on Lavukaleve (he calls it Laumbe), including a partial pronoun paradigm, some information on numerals, possession and adjectives, a few sentences and a 30-word vocabulary. Capell did some field work on Lavukaleve in 1960, some of which is published in a brief comparative grammatical sketch of Lavukaleve, Bilua, Baniata (Touo) and Savosavo (Capell 1969). Todd did a week of field work on Lavukaleve in 1972-1973 and published a comparative sketch of it and Bilua, Baniata (Touo) and Savosavo in Todd (1975). Black (1963), an ethnographic study of Russell Islanders, is the only other work concerning Lavukal people.

1.5   The language situation today

In 1954, Capell said of Lavukaleve: "It is spoken only by some 250 people, but a record should be made of it before it is swamped by Bugotu. There is no doubt that this is what will ultimately happen" (Capell 1954: 85).

This prediction was based on the fact that Bugotu was for some time the lingua franca of the Melanesian Mission in Santa Isabel and the Russells (Capell 1954: 84), and, given the small number of speakers Capell found, his prediction was reasonable. However things have not developed as he expected. The influence of Bugotu has declined, to the extent that no Lavukal I know speaks it. At the same time, the Solomon Islands has experienced a population explosion; with a current annual growth rate of 2.8%, previously 3.5% (Solomon Islands Census Office 1999), the Solomon Islands has more people now than it ever has had. And until recently, this expanded population has been in the villages, living the traditional lifestyle and speaking vernacular languages. Lavukaleve has more speakers now than it has ever had.

However, even though the Lavukal population has grown, Lavukaleve itself is seriously threatened, but the threat comes not from Bugotu but from Pijin and English (Terrill 2002b). Solomon Island Pijin, the lingua franca for the whole country, has a strong influence in the Russells. All radio broadcasts are in Pijin

or English. The language of the church (both Anglican and Catholic) is mostly English, although there are some Anglican church services in Lavukaleve (Church of England in New Zealand 1951, c.1973; Church of England in Melanesia 1975), and translation of more liturgies is in progress. School is conducted in English and Pijin. Apart from the Church of Melanesia orders of service, the only reading material available to Lavukal people, in Lavukaleve, is a book of stories in Lavukaleve with English translations (Terrill 2000). The languages of the outside world are Pijin and English. Even though Lavukaleve is the first language for most Lavukals, most people, especially younger people, are also fluent in Pijin. In the West Russells, people live a relatively traditional lifestyle and have little access to town and outside influences, and all children grow up learning Lavukaleve as their first language. In the East Russells however, an area much closer to Yandina both geographically and socially, Pijin is slowly taking over, and many families do not speak Lavukaleve to their children. As a result, many of the families I talked to in the East Russells have children who cannot speak Lavukaleve.

This situation of people preferring to use the language of the outside world rather than their vernacular language is a story familiar from all over the world. For the Lavukals, the situation will probably get worse as more people move to town to access outside resources. Experience already shows that when this happens, Lavukaleve may quickly be lost.

1.6   The nature of the data used in this work

The data used in this work was collected by me, during five field trips taken between 1995 and 2001. A total of thirteen months was spent in the field. I lived in Mane Village, in the family of Patteson Barua, the chief of the Keruval tribe.

Most of my data consists of recorded stories, told by people from most of the villages of the West Russells. I have about 60 such stories, in total around eight hours of speech. The stories are traditional stories of the Lavukal people (for instance, origin myths, many stories about giants and magical old ladies, stories about magical animals and so on), life histories, stories about particular experiences (for instance getting married, an exciting fishing adventure), history stories (for instance earthquakes and cyclones and how various villages were started, how the Christian church came to the Russells), and procedural texts explaining to me how to do things (for instance how to weave mats, how to make traditional pudding, how to go kite-fishing).

The stories in my corpus are told by men and women. The speakers range in age from late teens to their seventies. The stories were narrated as monologues, into the tape recorder, with me and usually Patteson present, and, often, with a group of interested listeners also.

The corpus also consists of some thousands of sentences written down by me, either elicited, or heard in conversation, or explicitly taught to me. There is also Patteson's translation of parts of the prayer book of the Church of Melanesia (these translations are cited throughout this work as Barua nd.).

All the stories were transcribed by Patteson and me, and have been checked at least three times. Elicited sentences also were checked when they were written down. Patteson's prayer service translations have been checked extensively by him, and also by both of us together.

Most of my time was spent in Mane Village, but I also stayed in most of the other villages of the West Russells and collected data from nearly all of them. I have visited some of the Eastern villages; notably Loun and Alokan, but I have no data from there. For logistical reasons of transport difficulties, and also for political reasons to do with my affiliation with Patteson's faction, I was able to spend very little time in the East. For these reasons, my corpus consists entirely of the speech variety of the West Russells.

1.7 Typological overview of Lavukaleve

Lavukaleve has a medium-sized consonant phoneme inventory, with three places of articulation for stops (b, t, k in the orthography described in Section 2.12) and nasals (m, n, ng). There is a marginal voicing distinction, in the two bilabial stops (p, b) and the two alveolar stops (t, d), but this distinction pertains mostly to loan words. There are three fricative phonemes (f, s, h), two approximants: a voiced velar approximant (g) and an unrounded bilabial approximant (v), and one rhotic (r) and one lateral (l). There is a five-vowel system (i, e, a, o, u). Unusually for the region[2] there is no contrasting series of oral versus prenasalised stops (although prenasalised allophones of the voiced stops do exist). Syllables can be open or closed, and consonant clusters consisting of two consonants, as well as unlimited vowel sequences, occur frequently. Stress is unpredictable, although it most commonly falls on the initial syllable of a word.

There are two major word classes in Lavukaleve: nouns and verbs. There are also a large number of minor classes, including for instance adjectives, demonstratives, pronouns, focus markers, postpositions, conjunctions, the Habitual Auxiliary, locationals, demonstrative identifiers and verb adjuncts. There is a definite article, unlike in almost all Papuan languages. It is marked for gender and number, and is the final member of a noun phrase. Many of the Oceanic languages of the Solomon Islands have definite articles, but they precede, rather than follow, their noun.

Nouns are divided into three genders. Gender is a feature common in Papuan languages of the area, and rare in Oceanic languages. Gender in Lavukaleve is marked in agreement forms on all noun modifiers, and on verbs through

participant marking prefixes and suffixes. Gender distinctions are maintained in singular and dual forms throughout all areas of the language, but are collapsed in the plural. Nouns are overtly marked for number, and the methods of marking number are highly complex and irregular. There are at least 86 different ways of creating dual and plural forms of nouns. Plural formation depends largely on phonological and semantic criteria, and also bears some relationship to gender. Dual formation operates on different principles, largely depending on the phonological shape of the singular noun. There is case marking for three spatial/relational cases, but these have a low functional load. Possession is marked by a prefix on the possessed noun. Types of possession are undifferentiated, as in most Papuan languages, as opposed to Oceanic languages, in which possession is frequently a very complex area. In Oceanic languages, possessive affixes are frequently the same as object affixes; in Lavukaleve, all but one are identical to subject affixes. Like in most Papuan languages, but unlike in Oceanic languages, modifiers follow their head noun.

Deictics are a highly elaborated feature of Lavukaleve. There are personal pronouns for first and second persons, but not for third person. The functional domain of personal pronouns in the third person is filled instead by a demonstrative modifier, and two demonstrative pronouns, all three of which are marked for gender, number and two degrees of distance from the speaker, with a third, distance-neutral term, and a further distinction made in the distal category between specific and non-specific location. The two demonstrative pronouns differ solely in terms of their discourse pragmatics. One is used for a referent which is uppermost in the minds of speaker and addressee. The other is used for a referent who was referred to previously but who is not the last referent to have been mentioned. This demonstrative is used to switch attention between more than one referent in a discourse. The demonstrative modifier and this demonstrative pronoun, along with various other spatial deictics, have derived presentative forms, and also derived predicative forms. There is also a set of demonstrative identifiers which occur in a similar functional domain to the deictic predicates.

Verbs are the most morphologically complex of Lavukaleve words. Person, gender, number and syntactic role (subject and object) are marked by two prefix slots, and suffixes mark tense, aspect, mood and derivational categories such as causative, reciprocal, locativisation, nominalisation, intransitivisation, and other minor categories. There are also three categories of subordination, as well as other categories including negation and extendedness, which can be marked by verbal suffixes. Verbs can also take a suffix to mark the gender and number of one participant. This gender/number marking is used to mark the subject of stative/resultative intransitive verbs (as opposed to active intransitive verbs which use a verbal subject prefix to cross-reference their subject), and occurs also on the verbs of relative clauses and focus constructions.

Complex predicates are extremely common, and consist of verb-plus-Habitual Auxiliary structures, serial verb constructions, and, to a much lesser extent, verb-adjunct combinations. Serial verb constructions are common in both Papuan and Oceanic languages, and verb adjunct constructions are well known in Papuan languages. Lavukaleve however does not make extensive use of either, preferring separate clauses for combining predicates and other expressions in general for common collocations.

Like many Papuan languages, one of the methods Lavukaleve uses to combine predicates is clause chaining. There are three verbal suffixes used in clause chains, which indicate the temporal relationship of the chained clause to the following clause. However, unusually for a Papuan language which has clause chaining, there is no switch-reference marking, and indeed there are no restrictions on argument sharing between chained clauses. Subordination is also a very frequent method of clause combining, and there are a few different semantic types of subordinate clauses. While in almost all areas of its morpho-syntax Lavukaleve is a nominative/accusative language, adverbial subordinate clauses involve a split-ergative marking system in which first and second person subjects follow a nominative/accusative participant marking system whereas third person subjects follow an ergative/absolutive marking system. Relative clauses are internally-headed.

Constituent order in Lavukaleve is fixed: SV/AOV. Departures from this norm are rare; an argument which is an afterthought can be postposed. Preposing and postposing for emphasis do not occur in Lavukaleve; these pragmatic functions are carried out instead by focus constructions.

Focus is a central part of Lavukaleve morpho-syntax. It is heavily grammaticalised into clause structure, and extremely frequent in discourse. Just over one third of all clauses have some kind of grammatical focus construction. Any constituent can be focussed, including noun phrases, postpositional phrases and other nominal adjuncts, adverbs, predicates, or a predicate with its object, subordinate clauses, the lexical part of a complex predicate, or indeed whole sentences. There are two different kinds of syntactic focus construction, one with the verb in a special form, used to mark focus on a predicate plus its object or a whole sentence, and one without this special verb form, used for focussing on arguments, adjuncts and non-main verbal forms. In both construction types, focus is marked by special particles, which occur immediately after the focussed constituent and show agreement in person, gender and number. The scope of the focus is indicated by the agreement of the focus marker. There are three separate paradigms of focus markers, which differ in terms of the sentence type with which they occur. One is used only in polar questions; one in content questions and environments expressing particular kinds of emphasis; the third is used elsewhere.

There is a deep relationship between deictics and focus markers involving,

among other things, a system of alliterative discord, a type of agreement system in which the form of a deictic in a focus construction requires the form of the focus marker to disagree with it in its initial consonant.

Focus marking and deictics are the most highly elaborated areas of Lavukaleve morpho-syntax, and indeed the largest chapters of this description are devoted to these. In these areas Lavukaleve finds grammatical expression of discourse-pragmatic domains of focus, emphasis and activation. Indeed, as is clear from the description to follow, it is not possible to explicate the basic morpho-syntax of Lavukaleve without making constant reference to these pragmatic domains.

Chapter 2
Phonology and morpho-phonology

2.1 Introduction

A classical phonemic analysis works well for a description of Lavukaleve phonology. This chapter describes Lavukaleve sounds in terms of phonemes and their allophones. The chapter contains an inventory of the phonemes, followed by a description of their major allophones and their phonetic realisations. The phonological structure of words is described, followed by an analysis of stress rules. Intonation is dealt with briefly, in the final section of the phonological description. After this comes a discussion of the few morpho-phonemic processes in the language. A discussion of orthographic issues forms the final part of this chapter.

2.2 The phonemes

The phoneme inventory of Lavukaleve consists of fifteen consonants and five vowels. The consonants and vowels are set out in the following sections:

2.2.1 Consonants

Table 1: Inventory of consonants

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	(p)		t	k	
voiced stop	b		(d)		
nasal	m		n	ŋ	
liquid			r l		
fricative		f	s		h
approximant	β			ɰ	

Phonemes in brackets are marginal phonemes in Lavukaleve; their distribution is discussed in Section 2.3.1 below.

2.2.2 Vowels

Table 2: Inventory of vowels

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

2.3   Description of the phonemes

This section presents a list of the phonemes with their major allophones and phonetic realisations, with examples of each.

2.3.1 Stops

Stops include the voiceless series /p/, /t/, /k/ and voiced /b/ and /d/. Both /p/ and /d/ are rare phonemes, occurring in few words, a large proportion of which are, in each case, obviously recent loan words. They are considered to be phonemes of Lavukaleve because they are in contrastive distribution with other phonemes.

All stops can occur syllable-initially, but only /t/ and /k/ can occur syllable-finally (see Section 2.6 below).

- /p/ voiceless aspirated bilabial stop

    $\rightarrow$ [p^h]

This phoneme is rare; it occurs in only 14 words in the entire corpus, including six which are obvious recent loans from Pijin. There are no minimal pairs between this phoneme and the closest other phoneme /b/; but there are sub-minimal pairs (see Section 2.4 below). They are consistently pronounced differently from each other. In addition, speakers clearly see them as different; the two sounds are always written differently by native speakers. These reasons are enough to distinguish /p/ and /b/ as separate phonemes.

examples:
hapilo[3]	['hap^{h}ilo]	'wow!'
para	['p^{h}ara]	'larrikin'
sosopen	['soso.p^{h}en]	'pot' (loan from Pijin)
sepul	['sep^{h}ul]	'snatch'

- /t/ voiceless aspirated alveolar stop

    --> [t] ~ [tʰ] / #_
    --> [tʰ] elsewhere

This phoneme is sometimes unaspirated when word-initial. This is particularly the case with certain words. For example the exclamation *tumai* 'really!' is almost always pronounced with unaspirated [t].

examples:

tata	['tʰatʰa]	'spider'
keut	['kʰeutʰ]	'skin'

- /k/ voiceless aspirated velar stop

    --> [kʰ]

examples:

kariala	['kʰar·iala]	'easily'
telako	['tʰela·kʰo]	'one'
fa'luk	[fa'lukʰ]	'cabbage'

- /b/ voiced bilabial stop

    --> [ᵐb] ~ [b] / V-V
    --> [b] elsewhere

This phoneme is often prenasalised intervocalically.

examples:

ho'bea	[ho'bea] ~ [hoᵐbea]	'good'
baere	['baere]	'tell a story'

- /d/ voiced alveolar stop

    --> [ⁿd] ~ [d] / V-V
    --> [d] elsewhere

Like the other voiced stop /b/, /d/ is often prenasalised between vowels. The phoneme /d/ is very rare; it appears in only 13 words in the corpus, three of which are obvious recent loans from Pijin. The words are:

daeva	'goggles' (cf. Pijin daeva)
dis	'bowl' (cf. Pijin dis)
redio	'radio' (cf. Pijin redio)
dia~ria	'where?'
diahi~riahi	'where to?'
doi~roi	'which?'
daine~raine	'tomorrow'
dokulu	'iron bar'
dom	'one' (used for counting)
midua	'bee'
pi'pido	'common screw shell'
de	'here!' (Presentational particle)
hide	'thus'

It is considered a phoneme because there are minimal pairs contrasting /d/ and the closest phonemes to it, /t/ and /r/ (see below, Section 2.4). It does occur in function words, for example question words *doi* 'which'; *dia* 'where'; however in these words it freely alternates with /r/. This alternation between /r/ and /d/ is lexically constrained; it only occurs in a small group of question and time words, and never in any other words containing /r/ or /d/. The alternation between /r/ and /d/ is discussed in Section 2.10 below.

examples:

dokulu	['dokʰu.lu]	'iron'
hide	['hiⁿde]	'thus'
midua	['miⁿdua]	'bee'

2.3.2 Nasals

There are three nasal phonemes in Lavukaleve: /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/. Nasal phonemes in Lavukaleve do not have any obvious allophonic variation. Nasals, like stops, can all occur syllable-initially, but unlike some stops, they can also all occur syllable-finally.

• /m/ bilabial nasal

   –> [m]

examples:

marigen	['mari.ɰen]	'yesterday'
lamukas	['lamu.kʰas]	'thousand'

houm   ['houm]   'dolphin'

●   /n/ alveolar nasal

               -> [n]

examples:
nun   ['nun]   'four'
tina   ['tʰina]   'body'

●   /ŋ/ velar nasal

               -> [ŋ]

examples:
nganga   ['ŋaŋa]   'river'
kanongam   ['kʰano.ŋam]   'ten'
sing   [siŋ]   'womb'

2.3.3 Liquids

There are two liquid phonemes in Lavukaleve; a rhotic trill /r/ and a lateral /l/. Like nasals, liquids can occur syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

●   /r/ alveolar trill

               -> [r] ~ [ɾ] ~ [ɹ] in free variation

This phoneme is usually pronounced as a trill, but can also be pronounced a single tap or, more rarely, a continuant, in all environments.

examples:
ravu   ['raβu] ~ ['ɹaβu]   'blood'
iire   ['iire] ~ ['iiɹe]   'yes'
fo'for   [fo'for]   'fly'

●   /l/ alveolar lateral

               -> [l]

examples:

le'laol	[le'laol]	'two (f)'
vala	['βala]	'stomach'
feil	['feil]	'bow'

2.3.4 Fricatives

There are three fricative phonemes in Lavukaleve: /f/, /s/ and /h/. All three fricatives can occur syllable-initially, but only /f/ and /s/ can occur syllable-finally.

- /f/ labiodental fricative

  –> [f]

examples:

feman	['feman]	'shark'
lafi	['lafi]	'water'
lefalef	['lefaˌlef]	'basket'

- /s/ alveolar fricative

  –> [s]

examples:

sie	['sie]	'five'
vi'visa	[βi'βisa]	'flower'
toto'as	[tʰotʰo'as]	'cloud'

- /h/ glottal fricative

  –> [h]

examples:

hano	['hano]	'then'
lahavarae	['lahaˌβarae]	'troubled'

2.3.5 Approximants

There are two approximants in Lavukaleve: /β/ and /ɰ/. They can occur both syllable-finally and syllable-initially.

- /β/ voiced unrounded bilabial approximant

The symbol /β/ is used in this description to represent a voiced unrounded bilabial approximant. This phoneme is pronounced with the lips spread, not rounded. There is a fricative variant which can occur in any position, but it is relatively uncommon. In other languages the symbol /β/ normally refers to a bilabial fricative; the International Phonetics Association has no symbol for the bilabial approximant, probably because the bilabial approximant and bilabial fricative are not distinguished phonemically in known languages of the world. However it is customary to use the /β/ symbol to represent the bilabial approximant in the languages in which it occurs (International Phonetics Association 1999: 9), as has been done here.

examples:

vatu	[ˈβatʰu]	'head'
sava	[ˈsaβa]	'nine'
ma'ruiv	[maˈruiβ]	'wing'

- /ɰ/ velar approximant

$\rightarrow$ [g] ~ [ɰ] / -#
$\rightarrow$ [ɰ] ~ [ɣ] ~ [g] elsewhere

The fricative and stop variants /ɣ/ and /g/ of this phoneme are extremely rare. There is almost always no obstruction; the [ɰ] allophone of this phoneme has the widest distribution and is by far the most common of the three allophones.

examples:

gonu	[ˈɰonu]	'turtle'
vuguru	[ˈβuɰuˑru]	'back'
na'nug	[naˈnuɰ]	'thought'

2.3.6 Vowels

Lavukaleve has a basic five-vowel system, with phonemes /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/. There is no contrastive vowel length; long vowels are analysed as identical-vowel sequences (see below, Section 2.5).

- /i/ high front vowel

  –> [i] ~ [ɪ] / unstressed syllables
  –> [i] elsewhere

examples:
ila	['ila]	'fishing net'
bilibili	['bilɪ-bilɪ]	'hornbill'

- /e/ close-mid vowel

  –> [e]

examples:
enga	['eŋa]	'three'
sie	['sie]	'five'
legis	['leɥis]	'leaf'

- /a/ low central vowel

  –> [a]

examples:
ara	['ara]	'ground'
sava	['saβa]	'nine'

- /o/ mid back vowel

  –> [o] ~ [ɔ]

examples:
oa	['oa]	'six'
lomo	['lomo]	'beard'

- /u/ high back vowel

-> [ɔ] / m-
-> [u] elsewhere

This vowel drops in height considerably after /m/. It is often difficult to distinguish /o/ and /u/ after /m/, although native speakers always know which vowel phoneme it is (in terms of being able to spell the word consistently with either /o/ or /u/).

examples:

urio	['urio]	'crab'
vuguru	['βuɰʲu.ru]	'back'
lalamu	['lala.mɔ]	'morning'

For convenience, the rest of this chapter, and entire work, will use the orthographic conventions as set out in Section 2.12 below except where forms are quoted inside square brackets.

2.4 Minimal contrasts between the phonemes

Examples of minimal or near-minimal pairs of phonetically close phonemes:

2.4.1 Consonants

	INITIAL	MEDIAL
p : b	*para* 'larrikin' *baere* 'talk'	*tapalav* 'white people' *raba* 'rubber thong'
b : v	*baisa* 'let's go-GROUP' *vaisa* 'sister'	*-ba* 'Durative Imperative plural' *-va* 'Punctual Imperative singular'
b : f	*bei* 'shellfish sp.' *fei* 'scrape'	*natukoba* 'wall post' *kofa* 'naked'
b : m	*bunu* 'big house' *munu* 'k.o.leaf'	*sabo* 'clear garden' *tamu* 'no'
v : p	*vilu* 'exceed' *piru* 'bowline'	*sevo* 'tabu, don't' *sepul* 'snatch'

p : f	*piru* 'bowline'	*sepul* 'snatch'	
	finu 'belongings'	*tefutefur* 'splash'	
f : v	*fe* 'foot'	*tafe* 'shelf'	
	ve 'go'	*tave* 'be not'	
t : d	*toi* 'help'	*sita* 'fifth'	
	doi 'where?'	*hide* 'thus'	
d: r	*de* 'here!'	*hide* 'thus'	
	re 'say'	*iire* 'yes'	
r : l	*re* 'say'	*ere* 'front of canoe'	
	le 'day'	*ele* 'see it'	
d : l	*de* 'here!'	*midua* 'bee'	
	le 'day'	*llua* 'place name'	
g : k	*gu* 'wave'	*agu* 'crossbeam'	
	ku 'like, similar to'	*aku* 'like'	
k : h	*hae* 'point'	*buhual* 'thunder'	
	kae 'put sth up'	*buku* 'conch'	

2.4.2 Vowels

a: e: i   *la* 'feminine singular definite article'
            le 'day'
            li 'build'

o: u   *ro* 'one (feminine singular)'
            ru 'big (feminine singular)'

2.5   Vowel sequences

Rules of syllable structure are such that very often vowels occur in sequences of two, three, four or more. These vowels are analysed here as vowel sequences, not diphthongs, on phonetic grounds, and on theoretical grounds.

Vowels in non-identical sequences always involve two prosodic peaks, not one, and it is not the case that of the vowels in a sequence, one has more prosodic prominence than the other; all vowels of a vowel sequence are given equal weight (except if one of them is stressed).

In addition, stress is a syllabic phenomenon, and the fact that vowels of a non-identical vowel sequence are syllables, not diphthongs, is shown by the fact that in a vowel sequence it is common for one to receive stress, and not another. For example:

o.'as	'bush'
'o.a	'six'

All but one of the possible combinations of two-vowel sequences have been found:

Table 3: Two-vowel sequences

AA	AE	AI	AO	AU
taalea	*baere*	*lai*	*gao*	*tau*
'shellfish sp.'	'talk'	'rain'	'war canoe'	'limb'

EA	EE	EI	EO	EU
ho'bea	*see*	*nei*	*neo*	*feu*
'good'	'be full'	'coconut'	'tooth'	'go inland'

IA	IE	II	IO	IU
fia	*sie*	*iire*	*ku'kunio*	*kiu*
'lightning'	'five'	'yes'	'knee'	'die'

OA	OE	OI	OO	OU
soa	*toe*	*toi*	*sooso*	*houm*
'seven'	'branch'	'help'	'neck'	'dolphin'

UA	UE	UI	UO	UU
kua	-	*kui*	*mutuon*	*luulu*
'moon'		'sun'	'behind'	'straight'

The absence of the /ue/ sequence may be accidental. On the other hand, there is a morpho-phonemic rule which operates to change the Nominaliser suffix -*e* to -*i* after a stem-final -*u* (see Section 2.9 below). The fact that there are no vowel sequences involving /ue/ may indicate that this morpho-phonemic rule is in fact a more general phonological rule which operates to change all /ue/

sequences into /ui/ sequences, regardless of morpheme boundaries. This possibility cannot be tested as there are no other suffixes involving initial /e/ or prefixes with final /u/.

2.5.1 Identical vowel sequences or long vowels?

Note that the examples above indicate identical-vowel sequences involving all five vowels as well. These have been analysed as identical vowel sequences rather than long vowels for two reasons. Firstly, there is a full set of non-identical vowel sequences in Lavukaleve; analysing these too as vowel sequences enables the generalisation that VV combinations are possible with all vowels (with the possible exception, of course, of /ue/). Secondly, positing identical-vowel sequences rather than long vowels enables simpler more powerful phonotactic rules with respect to syllable structures involving vowel sequences.

The problem of distinguishing identical vowel sequences from stressed syllables is discussed in Section 2.7.3 below.

2.6   Syllable structure

Lavukaleve allows consonant clusters at syllable boundaries, and allows unrestricted vowel clusters (except for /ue/, discussed above). Syllables are of the following structure:

$$\sigma \quad \rightarrow \quad (C_1) \ V \ (C_2)$$

C_1 is any consonant.
C_2 is any of the following consonants: t, k, l, r, m, n, ng, s, f, v, g

That is, a syllable can begin with any vowel or any consonant; and a syllable can end with any vowel or any consonant except p, d, b, and h.

In practice, closed syllables are far more common word-finally than word-internally. In fact almost all word-internal closed syllables occur in words which are formally reduplicated, e.g. *tamtam* 'reef', *kelkel* 'dugong', *funfun* 'firefly' (note that there are no words of the form *tam, *kel or *fun in the language today). There are however also rare examples of word-internal closed syllables not in formally reduplicated words, e.g. *an'kav* 'pumice', so it is not possible to account for internal closed syllables by a historical reduplication rule. Word-final closed syllables are far more common. Evidence from noun plural formation strategies (Section 5.6) suggests that there has been a historical

process of word-final vowel loss, which would account for the development of these word-final closed syllables.

A word can in principle consist of any number of syllables:

$$W \quad \rightarrow \quad \sigma*$$

Monosyllabic roots are common. The longest root found is of six syllables: *manogirigiri* 'seagull sp.'. Most roots consist of two or three syllables. All verb roots are vowel-final.

2.7 Stress

Stress is realised as a slightly louder and lengthened syllable. Stress assignment is partly fixed and partly lexically assigned. Most words have stress on their initial syllable. A small proportion of words (something around 18% in the corpus) has stress on their second syllable. Of these, many are old reduplications of the form $C_\alpha V_\beta C_\alpha V_\beta X(X...)$; that is, the word looks as if its first CV syllable has been reduplicated. Others are obvious recent loan words which retain the stress pattern of the original word. For the rest, there is no obvious formal reason for the non-initial stress. It appears simply to be a property of these words. A very few words have stress on their third syllable. Those phenomena relating to mono-morphemic words will be exemplified first. Stress patterns in morphologically complex words will be described after this.

2.7.1 Stress in mono-morphemic words

- Most words have stress on the initial syllable. In particular almost all CVCV words (including all CVCV nouns) are stressed on the initial syllable. For example:

'tata	'spider'
'piru	'bowline'

but note also:

ka'so	'not know'

- Many two-syllable words of the form CVCVC have stress on the second syllable:

ni'kol	'first'

fa'luk	'cabbage'
fo'sal	'fish'

This is not the case with all CVCVC words however:

'legis	'leaf'
'mikat	'centipede'
'hamus	'night'

- Words of the shape $C_\alpha V_\beta C_\alpha V_\beta X(X...)$, in which the first CV is identical to the second CV, invariably receive stress on the second syllable:

tu'tuk	'torso'
va'var	'talk'
le'lenga	'pudding'

These words are considered old reduplications because of their initial syllable; the unreduplicated part is not synchronically analysable.

- Words of other syllable structures receive initial or second syllable stress. Some examples:

VCVV	*e'rau*	'fall/jump'
	'urio	'crab'

CVCVVV	*bu'taeo*	'eagle'
	'siriae	'fishing'

CVVCV	*le'usa*	'betel nut slats'
	'beata	'leatherback turtle'

Most of the words with stress on the second syllable are nouns. There are also a couple of particles and adjectives, and a handful of verbs.

- A few words have stress on their third syllable:

fela'koe	'village'
mala'gula	'bird'
lau'rario	'praise'
mita'keu	'dog'

- Recently borrowed words always receive stress in the place it would occur in the source language (even if extra syllables have been added in order to make the word conform with Lavukaleve phonotactics):

'kavis	'cabbage' (from Pijin 'kavis)
ta'rak	'truck' (from Pijin 'traki)
'daeva	'goggles' (from Pijin 'daeva)

- Secondary stress occurs every second syllable in either direction from the syllable with primary stress:

'mano.girigiri	'seagull sp'
'lovi.tan	'eel sp.'
mita'keu	'dog'

2.7.2 Stress in morphologically complex words

All lexical roots have stress. Generally, affixes do not have their own stress. In certain circumstances, however, the Possessive prefixes cause stress shifts on the words in which they occur.

A lexical root with affixes (not including the Possessive prefixes) will retain its stress even when prefixes occur on the verb:

'liki	'want'
o-'liki	'[someone] wants it'
o-ma-'liki	'they want it'

Monosyllabic roots receive stress when affixed:

'na	'in'
e-'na	'in it'

However when a noun or verb receives the Possessive prefix, stress shifts occur, under certain very constrained circumstances.

Stress shifts with Possessive prefix on nouns

Suffixes do not affect the position of stress on a noun, but the Possessive prefixes (which are, incidentally, the only prefixes available to nouns) do. If the noun is not monosyllabic, when it gets a Possessive prefix, stress remains in the

place it would be if the prefix were not there. But if the noun is monosyllabic and is prefixed, stress moves to the prefix. So for example:

- stress position of nouns of more than one syllable is unaffected by prefixing:

'uia	'knife'	*o-'uia*	'his knife'
vo'vou	'boy'	*o-vo'vou*	'his boy'

- stress position of monosyllabic nouns moves when noun is prefixed:

'ta	'time'	*'o-ta*	'its time'
'nu	'hair'	*'o-nu*	'his hair'
'kiv	'clothes (pl)'	*'o-kiv*	'his clothes (pl)'

Very occasionally this stress shift rule has been noted with nouns of more than one syllable:

'tua	'wife'	*'o-tua*	'his wife'

This is very rare, however.

With nouns that undergo the loss of a final vowel under Possessive prefixing (see below, Section 2.9), when this loss of the final vowel creates a monosyllabic noun, then this stress shift rule applies to some words but not others:

'fina	'belongings'
'e-fin	'our belongings'

but:

'langi	'name'
o-'lang	'his name'

If there were a fixed rule to cover these situations, it would be possible to say that the two rules, loss of final vowel for prefixed nouns, and stress shift for prefixed monosyllabic nouns, must be ordered with respect to each other. However the fact that both patterns appear shows that the rules do not have a fixed ordering with respect to each other. Rather, it seems each word has its own pattern.

Stress shifts with Possessive prefix on verbs

There is a construction type in which the subject of certain verbs can be cross-referenced on those verbs by a Possessive prefix instead of the usual subject prefix (or Agreement Suffix). This construction is discussed in Section 13.4 (see also Section 2.9.3 below for description of a morpho-phonemic rule involved in this construction). What is of concern here is the fact that when verbs receive a Possessive prefix, the stress of the verb moves from its place on the verb root to the Possessive prefix. For example 'I came', is usually *a-'vo*, but under the Possessor-subject construction it is:

(1)   *'ngavoe*
        nga-   vo   -e
        1sgPOSS-   come   -PSV

        'I came'

Similarly, 'he went inland' is usually *o'feu*, but under the Possessor-subject construction it is:

(2)   *'ofei*
        o-   feu   -i
        3sgPOSS-   go.inland   -PSV

        'he went inland'

The stress on such prefixes is very marked. Occasionally stress does occur on the subject prefix of regular verbs. Normally, 'he came' is pronounced with stress on the verb root, but occasionally one hears stress on the prefix instead:

(3)   *'ovo*
        o-   vo
        3sgS-   come

        'he came'

Possessor-subject constructions seem to be a relatively new construction coming into the language; they are used very commonly by younger people, especially children and teenagers, and almost never by older people. It is possible that the stress pattern of this new and popular construction is leaching into regularly-marked verbs. Formal factors aid the transfer. Possessive prefixes are formally identical to subject prefixes apart from the first person singular form. So for most forms, only the form of the verb (not including the subject prefix) and the stress pattern mark the fact that the construction is a Possessor-subject construction. The Possessor-subject construction is only available to a