Papers in the series **Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages** express the authors’ knowledge at the time of writing. They normally do not provide a comprehensive treatment of the topic and may contain analyses which will be modified at a later stage. However, given the large number of undescribed languages in Papua New Guinea, SIL-PNG feels that it is appropriate to make these research results available at this time.

René van den Berg, Series Editor

---

Copyright © 2005  
Summer Institute of Linguistics  
Papua New Guinea  
lr-acpub@sil.org.pg

Published 2005

Printed by SIL Printing Press  
Ukarumpa, EHP 444  
Papua New Guinea

ISBN 9980-3011-9
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations ........................................................................................................ v
Map 1: Manus Province in Papua New Guinea ...................................................... vi
Map 2: The Ninigo islands ...................................................................................... vi

## Introduction ........................................................................................................ 1

### 1 Phonology ...................................................................................................... 5
   1.1 Phonemes .................................................................................................... 5
   1.2 Phonotactics .............................................................................................. 6
   1.3 Stress ........................................................................................................ 7
   1.4 Thematic vowels ...................................................................................... 7
   1.5 Reduplication ......................................................................................... 8
   1.6 Orthography ............................................................................................ 9

### 2 Nouns and Noun Phrases ............................................................................. 10
   2.1 Pronouns .................................................................................................. 10
   2.2 Nouns ...................................................................................................... 12
      2.2.1 Classifiers ..................................................................................... 17
      2.2.2 Derived nouns ............................................................................... 17
   2.3 Demonstratives ....................................................................................... 19
   2.4 Numerals and Quantifiers ..................................................................... 20
      2.4.1 Cardinal numbers ......................................................................... 20
      2.4.2 Multiplicatives and ordinals ......................................................... 25
      2.4.3 Quantifiers .................................................................................... 26
   2.5 Adjectives and nominal modifiers ....................................................... 29
      2.5.1 Degrees of comparison .................................................................. 30
   2.6 Basic noun phrase structure .................................................................. 32
      2.6.1 Noun phrase coordination ............................................................. 32
   2.7 Possession ............................................................................................... 33
      2.7.1 Possessive suffixes ....................................................................... 33
      2.7.2 Possessive classifiers .................................................................... 37
      2.7.3 Nominal possession ....................................................................... 38
      2.7.4 Adjectival heads of a possessive construction ............................... 40
   2.8 Relative clauses ....................................................................................... 41
3 Verbs and Verb Phrases ................................................................. 42
  3.1 Transitivizing suffixes .............................................................. 42
  3.2 Causative affixes .................................................................... 44
  3.3 Imperfective aspect ................................................................. 45
  3.4 Perfective aspect .................................................................... 47
  3.5 Purpose suffix ......................................................................... 48
  3.6 Applicative suffix .................................................................... 49
  3.7 Venitive and allative suffixes ................................................. 50
  3.8 Other directional suffixes ....................................................... 52
  3.9 Sequential suffix ..................................................................... 53
  3.10 Basic verb phrase structure ................................................... 53
  3.11 Verb serialization ................................................................. 54

4 Clause Structure ........................................................................... 60
  4.1 Verbless clauses ...................................................................... 60
  4.2 Verbal clauses: Core arguments ............................................. 61
    4.2.1 Existential clauses ........................................................... 62
  4.3 Verbal clauses: Peripheral arguments ...................................... 63
    4.3.1 Temporal periphery .......................................................... 63
    4.3.2 Locative periphery ........................................................... 65
    4.3.3 Prepositional phrases ....................................................... 69
    4.3.4 Reflexive-emphatic noun puki ........................................ 71
    4.3.5 Emphatic particle se ......................................................... 71
  4.4 Negative clauses ...................................................................... 72

5 Imperative and Interrogative Clauses ........................................ 76
  5.1 Imperative clauses ................................................................. 76
  5.2 Interrogative clauses .............................................................. 77

6 Complex Sentences ..................................................................... 83
  6.1 Coordination ........................................................................... 83
  6.2 Subordination .......................................................................... 85
    6.2.1 Object complementation ................................................ 85
    6.2.2 Adverbial clauses ............................................................. 86

Bibliography .................................................................................. 91

Appendix: Interlinearised Text .................................................... 92
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPL</td>
<td>applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEG</td>
<td>degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMP</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EX</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>extended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP</td>
<td>general preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intr</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lit.</td>
<td>literally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RED</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEQ</td>
<td>sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVC</td>
<td>serial verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VEN</td>
<td>venitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MAP 1: MANUS PROVINCE IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

MAP 2: THE NINIGO ISLANDS
INTRODUCTION

Location and speakers

Seimat is spoken by approximately 1,200 people living in the Ninigo Islands, which is part of Manus province in Papua New Guinea. The Ninigo archipelago is located some 370 km northwest of Manus Island and 250 km north of the town of Wewak on the mainland (see map 1). The main villages are on the islands of Awin, Patexux, Mal, Lau, Pihon, Amix, and Liot (see map 2). In addition, there is a community of approximately ninety people living on Luf (one of the Hermit Islands, east of Ninigo), many of whom are also Seimat speakers. A small number of Seimat speakers are known to live and work in several other areas of Papua New Guinea, including the provincial capital Lorengau (on Manus Island), and in other cities such as Port Moresby, Lae, Wewak, Madang, and Goroka.

Linguistic affiliation and dialects

Seimat is an Austronesian language of the Admiralties family, a group of some thirty languages which form a primary subgroup of the Oceanic family. Within the Admiralties family, it subgroups with three other languages as the Western Admiralties family. The other two members of this subgroup are Wuvulu-Aua and Kaniet, the extinct language of the Anchorite Islands (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:99).

There is no dialect variation in Seimat, although some small lexical differences exist between the western islands within the group (Awin, Patexux, Mal, Lau) and the eastern islands (Pihon, Amix, Liot). Within the current corpus these have been calculated at less than 1%.

---

1 In Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:878) Wuvulu and Aua are listed as separate languages. As pointed out by Blust (1996:11), these have long been recognised to be dialects of a single language.
Seimat culture

Seimat men and women are sailors, fishermen and gardeners. Traditionally men build their own outrigger sailing canoes to go out fishing and to sail between the islands. Lewis (1994) contains a description of Pacific seafaring systems, including a number of observations on Ninigo (Seimat). Although from a western perspective the Seimat people are still formidable sailors, it is also clear that much knowledge relating to sailing is being lost. Some Seimat men say that their fathers used to be able to navigate by the stars, but now there are only a handful of older men who have some knowledge of this and it has not been passed on to the younger generation. Lewis states that one of the Seimat canoe captains attributed the loss of traditional lore on Ninigo to “the effect of the old German regulations” (1994:17). Lewis comments: “The banning by European administrations of inter-island canoe travel must have been a potent cause of navigational decline” (1994:17). The people now also use outboard motor boats to travel when they are able to purchase fuel.

Since the islands are all very small, people’s gardens are on islands other than where the main villages are situated. The people therefore travel frequently to work in their gardens, either for a single day or for up to several weeks at a time. Garden produce includes taro, cassava, pumpkin, sugar cane, sweet potato and cucumber. The main types of fruit grown are banana, papaya, citrus fruits and watermelon. Most food is cooked in coconut juice since coconuts grow in abundance on each of the islands. The people also eat a lot of rice, which they purchase from infrequent supply ships from Manus Island. The main source of protein is fish, seafood, chicken and pigs. However, pigs and seafood such as sea turtle, lobster, mussels and clamshells are not eaten by those who adhere strictly to the Seventh Day Adventist denomination.

The main means of earning cash is diving for sea cucumbers during the open season, which is normally between January and June. People also earn money by selling trochus shells, copra and coconut oil. They sell shells and woven pandanus baskets to tourists who occasionally visit the islands.

Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) missionaries first arrived in the islands in the 1950s and now SDA churches are found on Pihon, Liot and Luf (Hermit). Catholic missionaries arrived in the 1960s and Catholic
churches are now found on Awin, Patexux, Lau and Amix. Many of the people are not affiliated to either of these churches.

Seimat is a typically patrilineal society where the men own the land and the women go to live in their husbands’ home villages. Men and women marry within and outside the language group. Outsiders who marry Seimat speakers learn to understand the language but not many learn to speak it and most prefer to use Pidgin.

Language vitality and education

Seimat speakers are bilingual speakers of Melanesian Pidgin. We have observed that the younger generation of Seimat speakers, particularly on Pihon and Amix islands, are now using more Pidgin than Seimat. This is probably because some have spent time in Lorengau, attending grades 8-12 of High School, and have become used to communicating there in Pidgin. Having returned to the islands and having children of their own, they have started speaking to them more in Pidgin than Seimat. This means that many of these younger children now speak Pidgin to each other. This is not the case in the western islands.

The first Seimat elementary classes started on Mal in 2002 and on Pihon and Amix in 2004. In 2005 a Seimat elementary class will also be running on Patexux. It is hoped that the introduction of these classes and the fact that Seimat literacy classes have been running in each of these communities since 2003, will have a positive effect in strengthening the use of Seimat among this younger generation. The Luf community has chosen Pidgin as the language of instruction for the Luf elementary school. This reflects the fact that Pidgin is taking over as the main language of communication in this community.

Earlier studies

Previous studies of Seimat were made by Smythe (1958) and Blust (1996, 1998). Smythe’s 99-page unpublished Seimat grammar contains a wealth of data, but when we did some initial checking of his data, we found much of it to be either incorrect or obsolete. Blust (1996) is a comparative-historical survey of the languages of the Western Admiralties, including a survey of all the earlier literature and a brief discussion of some Seimat phonological features. Blust (1998)
investigates the nature and origin of nasal vowels in Seimat. Blust’s statement that Smythe’s data on Seimat can not be regarded as a reliable source of information on nasal vowels (1998:305), also confirms our own conclusion about Smythe’s work.

This paper is based on thirteen months of fieldwork done between February 2003 and November 2004. The analysis is based on language data which we have collected from a large number of people from the communities of Pihon, Liot, Amix, Lau, Mal and Patexux. This paper can therefore be considered the first reliable grammar sketch of the Seimat language. Although it is far from complete, and some of the analysis is still preliminary and possibly not entirely consistent, we believe that the lack of grammatical information on the Admiralty languages warrants this publication. A more extensive overview of Seimat phonology can be found in Wilson and Wozna (2005).

**Typological overview**

Seimat has a simple phonology, but the presence of nasalised vowels is unusual. The use of thematic vowels is widespread. The pronoun system is interesting in that it does not only distinguish between dual and plural forms, but in addition has the unusual distinction of limited and extended forms for the plural forms. Seimat has no articles and a simple demonstrative system, but it uses an extensive classifier system with numerals and also has a complex possessive system. There is a reasonable amount of verbal derivation (including transitivizers, causatives and applicatives), but both nominal and verbal derived forms show considerable morphological irregularity. Its basic word order is SVO.

**Acknowledgements**

We would like to thank each Seimat speaker who has worked with us for their help and contribution to this work. We would also like to express our gratitude to René van den Berg for his assistance and encouragement in the writing of this paper.
Chapter One

PHONOLOGY

1.1 Phonemes

Seimat has the following consonant phonemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>dental-alveolar</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 1: SEIMAT CONSONANT PHONEMES

The coronal phoneme /t/ is dental, but /n/, /s/ and /l/ are alveolar. A number of consonants show free variation in certain lexical items. The consonants /n/ and /l/ for instance, vary freely in the word lemaux ~ nemaux ‘bush’. Occasionally the consonants /n/ and /ŋ/ are also used interchangeably in intervocalic position, e.g. hinini ~ hínini ‘pour out’. The consonants /m/ and /w/ are also found to occur in free variation in the word maut ~ waut ‘to drown’.

The Seimat vowel phonemes are shown in table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i ů</td>
<td>u ů</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e ē</td>
<td>o ō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a ā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2: SEIMAT VOWEL PHONEMES
Nasality is unusual for an Austronesian language and a few remarks are in place here. On the whole we can confirm Blust’s (1998) findings, even though he only worked with a single speaker. All five vowels can be articulated nasally, but their distribution is limited: in the current corpus nasalised vowels only occur after the consonants /h/ and /w/. There is only one exception: the nasalised vowel sequence /ãĩ/ occurs after the bilabial nasal consonant /m/, as in mātā ‘clothes’. The vowels /ĩ/, /ẽ/, /ũ/ and /ũ/ occur only after /h/, while the vowel /ã/ occurs after both /h/ and /w/. This link between nasals and glottals is sometimes called “rhinoglottophilia” (Blust 1998:309; the term is from Matisoff). Although the nasalised vowels mainly follow /h/ and /w/, not all vowels following /h/ and /w/ are nasalised. Nasalised vowels do not occur in word initial position.

In collecting data from a large number of Seimat speakers we have made the following observations concerning these vowels. Firstly, nasal vowels are less distinguishable in Seimat speakers of the younger generation. Secondly, there appears to be much variation with regards to nasalisation. Many words spoken with nasalised vowels by some speakers were spoken with oral vowels by others. Finally, a number of words which Blust (1998:304) recorded as having nasalised vowels, we recorded as having oral vowels. These include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Original (Blust)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hei</td>
<td>‘to open’</td>
<td>hēi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hokai</td>
<td>‘to throw a spear at’</td>
<td>hōkai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walut</td>
<td>‘Nicobar pigeon’</td>
<td>wālut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohit</td>
<td>‘bait’</td>
<td>oḥi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further investigation into this interesting aspect of Seimat phonology is required. There is no contrastive lengthening of vowels in Seimat but vowels are lengthened in one-syllable words in isolated utterances or sentence-final position.

1.2 Phonotactics

Words can begin with any consonant or vowel except a nasal vowel. The following diphthongs occur: /iu, ei, eu, ai, au, oi, ou/. 
Seimat has the following syllable patterns: V, VV, CV, CVV. At a surface-level analysis all consonants also occur syllable-finally in word-final position (e.g. hat ‘stone’, hon ‘turtle’). In Wilson and Wozna (2005) such word-final consonants have been analysed as an extraprosodic feature of the word. There are no consonant clusters in the language.

Lexical morphemes consist of between one and four syllables. Less than one percent of lexical morphemes consist of five syllables, while six-syllable words exist only when a noun carries the plural possessive suffix.

1.3 Stress

There is no evidence of contrastive stress in Seimat. Stress normally occurs on the penultimate syllable of a word, except in a small group of trisyllabic words where reduplication occurs. In this case the primary stress occurs on the antepenult and secondary stress on the ultima. Examples:

\[
/\text{paŋa},\text{paŋ}/ \quad \text{‘moon’} \\
/\text{suŋ},\text{suh}/ \quad \text{‘Triton trumpet shell’}
\]

1.4 Thematic vowels

One of the more complex aspects of Seimat phonology is the presence of thematic vowels. These vowels, which are lexically specified, appear when a root is affixed or reduplicated and occur in the following three environments (thematic vowels shown in bold):

1. Before a possessive suffix in some nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ing</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>ing-ak</td>
<td>‘my house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin</td>
<td>‘garden’</td>
<td>kin-emulu</td>
<td>‘your garden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meng</td>
<td>‘story’</td>
<td>meng-oalulu</td>
<td>‘their story’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>‘canoe’</td>
<td>wa-ik</td>
<td>‘my canoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xux</td>
<td>‘island’</td>
<td>xux-umite</td>
<td>‘our island’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Before a verbal suffix:

- **halok** ‘play’  
  halok-oa! ‘play!’
- **kak** ‘speak’  
  kak-awa! ‘speak!’
- **mat** ‘die’  
  mat-ewen ‘died’
- **puas** ‘work’  
  puas-awen ‘worked’

3. In reduplicated forms:

- **eng** ‘lie down’  
  enge-eng ‘lying down’
- **hong** ‘listen, hear’  
  hongo-hong ‘listening, hearing’
- **lang** ‘sail’  
  langa-lang ‘sailing’
- **pak** ‘sing’  
  paku-pak ‘singing’
- **tang** ‘cry’  
  tangi-tang ‘crying’

Thematic vowels can be explained historically as root-final vowels which have been lost in free forms, but which appear when the root is suffixed or reduplicated (see Blust 1998:301-302 for examples). Synchronically we treat thematic vowels as part of the affix represented by (V), as in for instance -(V)k ‘my’.

### 1.5 Reduplication

Reduplication is found on nouns (deriving nominalizations from verbs), noun classifiers (where it signals definiteness) and verbs (where it indicates imperfective aspect). Formally, there are four types of reduplication:

1. The initial CV of a word is reduplicated word-initially:
   - **tel** ‘one’ (human being)  
     te-tel ‘this one’
   - **puas** ‘to work’  
     pu-puas ‘working’

2. The word-final syllable is reduplicated word-finally:
   - **aile** ‘to do’  
     aile-le ‘doing’

3. The word-medial syllable is reduplicated word medially:
   - **apeseni** ‘to prepare’  
     a-pe-pes-eni ‘preparing’
4. Full reduplication of monosyllables, in which case a thematic vowel surfaces:

\begin{align*}
\text{lang} & \quad \text{‘to sail’} \\
\text{tas} & \quad \text{‘to sneeze’} \\
\text{langa-lang} & \quad \text{‘sailing’} \\
\text{tasu-tas} & \quad \text{‘a cold’}
\end{align*}

For further examples see §2.2.1 on noun classifiers, §2.2.2 on derived nouns and §3.3 on imperfective aspect.

1.6 Orthography

The following orthographic conventions were decided for trial use at a meeting of Seimat-speaking representatives on Pihon Island on July 4, 2003. In the remainder of this paper these conventions will be followed.

1. The velar nasal /ŋ/ is represented orthographically as <ng>.
2. The voiceless velar fricative /x/ is represented orthographically as <x>.
3. The nasalised vowels /ĩ ã ũ/ are represented orthographically as <:i, :e, :a, :o, :u>, using a colon preceding the vowel, e.g. w:aw:an for /wãwãn/ ‘man, male’.
4. When a vowel sequence is nasalised, a colon is placed before a sequence of two vowels, rather than before each vowel: m:ai:a for /mãĩã/ ‘clothes’.
5. When the allative-imperative suffix -wa and the perfective suffix -wen occur after the back-vowels o and u, the initial w of this suffix is not written. The reason for this is to avoid the unnecessary writing of this glide in environments where it is fully predictable (as in puas ‘work’). The following examples illustrate this convention: mosua! ‘go down!’ (actually mosu-wa); tua! ‘stand up!’ (actually tu-wa) and hongoen ‘heard, listened’ (actually hong-owen with -wen following the thematic vowel o).
Chapter Two

NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

2.1 Pronouns

The pronominal system distinguishes between first, second and third person. There is no gender distinction, but all three persons are marked for singular, dual and plural. First person dual and plural pronouns distinguish between inclusive and exclusive forms, whereas the plural forms make an unusual distinction between limited and extended reference. The following chart shows the free pronouns and the possessive affixes (see §2.7.1 for the allomorphs of the possessor suffixes).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 INC</th>
<th>1 EXC</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free pronouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>kalu</td>
<td>amili</td>
<td>amulu</td>
<td>lalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL limited</td>
<td>kako</td>
<td>amite</td>
<td>amuto</td>
<td>lato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL extended</td>
<td>kaha</td>
<td>aiha</td>
<td>auha</td>
<td>laha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor suffixes</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>-(V)kalu</td>
<td>-(V)mili</td>
<td>-(V)mulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL limited</td>
<td>-(V)kako</td>
<td>-(V)mite</td>
<td>-(V)muto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL extended</td>
<td>-(V)kaha</td>
<td>-(V)iha</td>
<td>-(V)uha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3: PRONOUNS AND POSSESSOR SUFFIXES

The difference between the limited and the extended plural set is as follows. The extended plural pronouns refer to or include a group of people the speaker might not know personally, or from whom he distances himself in relationship in that specific situation. The following examples illustrate the difference for all persons.
(1)  
Kako pak ape kaha hatesol pak ulea.
1PL.IN sing then 1PL.IN.EXT all sing do.again
‘We will sing and then all of us will sing again.’

The word kao ‘we’ in the first clause indicates the group the speaker
knows and is a part of, whereas kaha ‘we’ in the second clause includes
people that the speaker does not know or who form a separate group.

(2)  
Amite lang pax-ai mat-e Pondros (...).
1PL.EX sail look-TR death-POSS Pondros

ti aiha tihini kewa ape, amite to Hus
GP 1PL.EX.EXT bury finish then 1PL.EX stay Hus
ngain hinalo.
day four
‘We sailed to see Pondros who had died. (...). When we had
buried him we stayed on Hus for four days.’

In the first clause of (2), amite indicates a group of four people who went
to the funeral together with the speaker, but the actual burying was done
by aiha ‘we exclusive extended’, since it included a larger group than the
original four, many of whom were unknown to the speaker.

(3)  
Delka ma natu-m amuto malai-wa peixux.
Delka and child-2SG.POSS 2PL clear-IMP beach
‘Delka, you and your children clear up the beach!’

(4)  
Amite kola hani auha xux-umite.
1PL.EX show to 2PL.EXT island-1PL.EX.POSS
‘We’ll show you our island(s).’

In (3) amuto indicates that the people addressed are known to the
speaker, but the use of auha in (4) indicates that the speaker wishes to
include other people as yet unknown to him, who might join the group or
visit the island later.
12

(5)  *Pihon Nahu lato xoini  laha.*
Pihon Nahu 3PL defeat 3PL.EXT
‘The Pihon soccer team, Nahu, they defeated them.’

In the first clause *lato* refers to the speaker’s home soccer team, whereas *laha* in the second clause refers to the team that played against the speaker’s team. The use of this form indicates distance in relationship.

2.2 Nouns

There is no gender distinction. To indicate gender the noun *w:aw:an* ‘man, male’ or *hehin* ‘woman, female’ are used as modifiers:

(6)   *tel  natu-k  w:aw:an*  
CL child-1SG.POSS man
‘my son’

(7)   *tok pusi hehin*  
CL cat  woman
‘female cat’

2.2.1 Classifiers

All nouns are countable. Nouns which appear to be mass nouns may occur with the classifier *teik* ‘a part of’ or ‘an amount of’. In this way they are actually countable, as in the following example:

*teik suka*  ‘one amount of sugar’
*huaik suka*  ‘two amounts of sugar’
*toluik suka*  ‘three amounts of sugar’
*hinaloi k suka*  ‘four amounts of sugar’
*tepanim suka*  ‘five amounts of sugar’

Seimat uses a large number of classifiers which categorize nouns into classes. The only noun which never takes a classifier is *kokoh* ‘infant child’. It does not take *tel*, the classifier for human beings, nor any other classifier.
Classifiers always precede nouns and they are obligatory with demonstratives, but nouns may also stand by themselves without classifiers. The exact usage of classifiers is still under investigation.

The following chart presents the sixteen classifiers found to date with some sample nouns. It can be seen that the element te- recurs in fifteen of these. This element is probably a frozen form of the numeral ‘one’ and could be analysed as a separate morpheme. However, forms such as tel and tok are synchronically single morphemes, and we have extended this fused monomorphemic analysis to all classifiers for ‘one’. They are all glossed as CL in this paper.

Notice that in combination with the numerals two, three and four the classifiers show unexpected forms (see §2.4 for details). The classifiers listed below all mean ‘one, a’, but only the meaning ‘one’ is given in the gloss.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>classifier</th>
<th>semantic range</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tel</td>
<td>human beings</td>
<td>tel seilon</td>
<td>‘one person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tel hehin</td>
<td>‘one woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tel akaik</td>
<td>‘one child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tok</td>
<td>animals</td>
<td>tok sinen</td>
<td>‘one dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tok xixi</td>
<td>‘one fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tok keihat</td>
<td>‘one eagle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tok man</td>
<td>‘one banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tea</td>
<td>long objects</td>
<td>tea pata</td>
<td>‘one tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tea wa</td>
<td>‘one canoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tea ngol</td>
<td>‘one knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. tehu</td>
<td>general</td>
<td>tehu ing</td>
<td>‘one house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tehu hat</td>
<td>‘one stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tehu samen</td>
<td>‘one spear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tehu ipong</td>
<td>‘one night’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. teik</td>
<td>pieces/amounts of larger objects</td>
<td>teik pata</td>
<td>'one piece of wood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>teik an</td>
<td>'one amount of food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>teik suka</td>
<td>'one amount of sugar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>teik lih</td>
<td>'one sail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. tepaun</td>
<td>body parts</td>
<td>tepaun pul</td>
<td>'one eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tepaun taxing</td>
<td>'one ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tepaun min</td>
<td>'one hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. tewasa</td>
<td>branches</td>
<td>tewasa man</td>
<td>'one branch of bananas'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tewasa tuep</td>
<td>'one branch of betel nut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. teka</td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td>teka kai pata</td>
<td>'one tree leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>teka kai man</td>
<td>'one banana leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>teka kai tapiok</td>
<td>'one cassava leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. tesol</td>
<td>1. places</td>
<td>tesol kin</td>
<td>'one garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tesol tone puasain</td>
<td>'one place of work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tesol tone haloko</td>
<td>'one place of playing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tesol akaik</td>
<td>'one group of children'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tesol kin</td>
<td>'one group of gardens'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tepap</td>
<td>palms, roofs and planks</td>
<td>tepap papahe up</td>
<td>'one coconut palm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tepap kapa</td>
<td>'one piece of copper roof'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tepap patiu</td>
<td>'one plank of wood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. tengax</td>
<td>fingers and branches</td>
<td>tengax ngoxi min</td>
<td>'one finger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tengax ngaxe pata</td>
<td>'one tree branch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tengax ngaxe las</td>
<td>'one branch of coral'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12. temot coconuts, eggs | temot kaniup | temot atolun | ‘one coconut’ | ‘one egg’

13. tehot fire | tehot ah | ‘one fire’

14. texux island | texux xux | ‘one island’

15. tenen undetermined | tenen meng | tenen pak | tenen saun | ‘one story’ | ‘one song’ | ‘one custom’

16. tewau undetermined | tewau lelehat | tewau toan | tewau wawan | ‘one window’ | ‘one village’ | ‘one hole’

**TABLE 4: CLASSIFIERS**

The classifiers teka and tesol also denote plurality (see §2.4 about quantifiers). There is also an unusual classifier telao that only occurs with the noun ngain ‘day’. It is unusual because ngain cannot be counted using this classifier, as it does not combine with a numeral.

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>telao ngain tehu</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>te-telao ngain tehu</td>
<td></td>
<td>RED-CL day one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CL day one ‘on Monday’ (unspecified)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘on that Monday’ (specified)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 9 | b | (ngain) telao | b | (ngain) te-telao |   | day RED-CL |
|   |   | CL day | | | | ‘this day, today’ |

These classifiers can be repeated to give the distributive meaning ‘each’. Then they either premodify or postmodify nouns:

| 10 | a | Nga hani hula hani seilon tel tel. |   |   |   |   |
|    | 1SG give taro to person CL CL | ‘I (will) give taro to each person.’ |

|    | b | Nga hani hula hani tel tel seilon. |   |   |   |   |
|    | 1SG give taro to CL CL person | ‘I (will) give taro to each person.’ |
The classifiers may also follow personal pronouns with the same meaning of ‘each’. When they precede the pronouns, the general preposition *ti* has to follow the repeated classifier:

(12) a. *Amuto tel tel kau-ma temot up.*
2PL CL CL carry-VEN CL coconut
‘Each of you will bring one coconut.’

b. *Tel tel ti amuto kau-ma temot up.*
CL CL GP 2PL carry-VEN CL coconut
‘Each of you will bring one coconut.’

Reduplication of the classifier adds a definite or specific meaning to the whole noun phrase. In combination with a demonstrative it signals contrastive emphasis:

(13) *te-tehu ing ie*
RED-CL house this
‘this house’ (not another)

(14) *te-tel hehin io*
RED-CL woman that
‘that woman’ (not another)

(15) *to-tok sinen tup-i seilon*
RED-CL dog POSS.CL-POSS person
‘the person’s dog’ (the one belonging to someone)

In relative clauses the head noun can be either premodified or postmodified by the reduplicated classifier:
1SG know man RED-CL 3SG sail to-PERF Mal RED-CL
‘I know the man who sailed to Mal today.’

1SG know RED-CL man 3SG sail to-PERF Mal RED-CL
‘I know the man who sailed to Mal today.’

The reduplicated classifier itself can function as a head noun:

(17) *I te-tel talesa-wen.*
3SG RED-CL have.accident-PERF
‘He is the one that had an accident.’

### 2.2.2 Derived nouns

Nouns can be derived from verb stems. There seem to be certain morphological patterns in derivation, though irregularities can be found. Generally, nouns derived from verbs that end with a consonant either take the suffix -*ain* or reduplicate the verb. Those derived from verbs that end with a vowel other than *i* take the suffix -*in*, while those that end with *i* undergo reduplication. The following five categories of noun derivation have been found so far:

1. Nouns with the suffix -*ain*, usually after consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ah</em></td>
<td>ah</td>
<td><em>ah-ain</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>apeas</em></td>
<td>apeas</td>
<td><em>apeas-ain</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kak</em></td>
<td>kak</td>
<td><em>kak-ain</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>puas</em></td>
<td>puas</td>
<td><em>puas-ain</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Nouns with the suffix -*in*, usually after vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>apuha</em></td>
<td>apuha</td>
<td><em>apuha-in</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hile</em></td>
<td>hile</td>
<td><em>hile-in</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kiliwau</em></td>
<td>kiliwau</td>
<td><em>kiliwa-in</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>puta</em></td>
<td>puta</td>
<td><em>puta-in</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>talaha</em></td>
<td>talaha</td>
<td><em>talaha-in</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Monosyllabic reduplication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>original</th>
<th>reduplication</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lang</td>
<td>‘to sail’</td>
<td>langa-lang</td>
<td>‘sailing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>‘to drift’</td>
<td>manu-man</td>
<td>‘drifting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tas</td>
<td>‘to sneeze’</td>
<td>tasu-tas</td>
<td>‘a cold’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Other types of reduplication with verbs ending in $i$ (which is lost in the derivation):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>original</th>
<th>reduplication</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>halini</td>
<td>‘to forbid’</td>
<td>ha-halin</td>
<td>‘something forbidden, a law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huali</td>
<td>‘to help’</td>
<td>hu-huial</td>
<td>‘help’ (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokoi</td>
<td>‘to race (tr)’</td>
<td>loko-loko</td>
<td>‘race’ (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malini</td>
<td>‘to laugh at’</td>
<td>mali-mali</td>
<td>‘laughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakui</td>
<td>‘to sing’ (tr)</td>
<td>paku-paku</td>
<td>‘singing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telei</td>
<td>‘to kill’</td>
<td>tele-tel</td>
<td>‘killing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waheni</td>
<td>‘to love’</td>
<td>wa-wahen</td>
<td>‘love’ (n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Irregular forms and nouns derived through zero derivation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>original</th>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahui</td>
<td>‘to paint’</td>
<td>ahui</td>
<td>‘paint’ (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ang</td>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>‘food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axai</td>
<td>‘to name’</td>
<td>ax</td>
<td>‘name’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halok</td>
<td>‘to play’</td>
<td>halok-o ~ halok-oin</td>
<td>‘play, game’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaka</td>
<td>‘to bleed’</td>
<td>kaka</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kikan</td>
<td>‘to wash’</td>
<td>kikan-o</td>
<td>‘wash’ (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngong</td>
<td>‘to fly’</td>
<td>ngong-oin</td>
<td>‘flight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>‘to dive’</td>
<td>munu-in</td>
<td>‘diving’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these nominalisations, Seimat also has a few compound nouns. Compound nouns share many properties with possessive constructions (see §2.7.3), but we analyse them as compounds because they are felt to be units and have specialized meanings. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>compound</th>
<th>original</th>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awe-ing</td>
<td>‘doorway’</td>
<td></td>
<td>(lit. ‘mouth house’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loki-min</td>
<td>‘elbow’</td>
<td></td>
<td>(lit. ‘joint hand’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kani-up  1. ‘coconut juice’ (lit. ‘water coconut’)  
2. ‘green coconut’

kani-tax  ‘the sea’ (lit. ‘water sea’)

2.3 Demonstratives

There are no articles in Seimat and the demonstrative system is simple. There are two demonstratives, *ie* ‘this’ and *io* ‘that’, which follow the head noun.

(18)  a. *tehu ing*  *ie*  
     b. *tel hehin*  *ie*  

     CL  house  this  
     ‘this house’  

     CL woman  this  
     ‘this woman’

(19)  a. *tehu ing*  *io*  
     b. *tel hehin*  *io*  

     CL  house  that  
     ‘that house’  

     CL woman  that  
     ‘that woman’

In equative clauses the demonstratives may follow the predicative possessive classifier *teta-* which is used to emphasise who the owner is:

(20)  *Teta-k*  
     POSS.CL-1SG.POSS  this  
     ‘This one is mine.’

(21)  *Teta-m*  
     POSS.CL-2SG.POSS  that  
     ‘That one is yours.’

*ie* and *io* are also used as locative adverbs, taking the final position in the clause (see §4.3.2)

A third demonstrative *ien* is not a spatial demonstrative, but is primarily used to refer back to entities which have been established in the discourse. It will also be glossed ‘that’.

(22)  *Tehu kompani ien  kahui ha-solia  nga.*  
     CL  company  that  pay  CAUS-do.well  1SG  
     ‘That company paid me well.’
On that day we dived in search for turtles.

When the flying fox saw that, he threw out all the bananas.

Ien is also used for joining clauses on a discourse level (see §6.1), where it will be glossed ‘so then’.

2.4 Numerals and Quantifiers

2.4.1 Cardinal numbers

The Seimat numeral system is a quinary system. Numbers from ‘one’ to ‘five’ and the word for ‘twenty’ are unique forms, all the other forms are combinations. Numbers from ‘six’ to ‘nine’ are compounds based on ‘five’ plus one of the first four numbers. The word seilon ‘twenty’ also means ‘person’. Presumably it refers to a full set of hands and feet.

The following Seimat numbers apply to general counting. The increased use of English numerals, felt to be easier, means that Seimat numerals are slowly disappearing. Only the numbers from one to twenty are still commonly used on a daily basis. The higher numbers are rarely used and for numbers over 200 there is much uncertainty and disagreement.

1 tehu
2 h:uohu
3 toluhu
4 hinalo
5 tepanim ‘one hand’
6 tepanim tehu ‘one hand (and) one’
7 tepanim h:uohu ‘one hand (and) two’
8 tepanim toluhu ‘one hand (and) three’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>tepanim</td>
<td>hinalo</td>
<td>‘one hand (and) four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>h:uopanim</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘two hands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>h:uopanim</td>
<td>tehu</td>
<td>‘two hands (and) one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>tolupa</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘three hands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>tolupa</td>
<td>tehu</td>
<td>‘three hands (and) one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>tolupa</td>
<td>h:uohu</td>
<td>‘three hands (and) two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>tolupa</td>
<td>toluhu</td>
<td>‘three hands (and) three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>tolupa</td>
<td>hinalo</td>
<td>‘three hands (and) four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>tel</td>
<td>‘one person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>tel tehu</td>
<td>‘one person (and) one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>h:uopanim</td>
<td>‘one person (and) two hands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>h:uopanim</td>
<td>‘one person (and) two hands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>h:uh:ua</td>
<td>‘two people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>h:uh:ua</td>
<td>tehu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>h:uh:ua</td>
<td>h:uopanim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>tolu</td>
<td>‘three people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>tolu</td>
<td>h:uopanim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>hinalo</td>
<td>‘four people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>hinalo</td>
<td>h:uopanim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>tepanim</td>
<td>‘five people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>tepanim</td>
<td>h:uopanim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>h:uopanim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>h:uopanim</td>
<td>tepanim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>h:uopanim</td>
<td>tepanim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>seilon</td>
<td>hinalo</td>
<td>h:uopanim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned above, the classifiers and numerals combine in unique ways, though this is only the case for the numbers two, three and four. As a result, there are many forms for the word ‘two’, depending on the class of the following noun: h:uh:ua, h:uok, h:ua and h:uohu among others. The same is true for the numbers ‘three’ and ‘four’, though nowadays people (especially the younger generation) more often use the invariant word hinalo ‘four’ with any noun. For the number ‘five’ the numeral is the invariant word tepanim. For each noun, the classifier for ‘one’ recurs in the words ‘six’, ‘eleven’, ‘sixteen’, ‘twenty one’ and so on.
The following list illustrates the sixteen classifiers listed in §2.2.1 when used in combination with the numerals ‘two’, ‘three’ and ‘four’. The classifier for ‘one’ is given as well. Notice the optional repetition of the classifier root with the number four.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tel</td>
<td>tel seilon</td>
<td>‘one person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h:uh:ua seilon</td>
<td>‘two people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tolu seilon</td>
<td>‘three people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo seilon</td>
<td>‘four people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tok</td>
<td>tok sinen</td>
<td>‘one dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h:uok sinen</td>
<td>‘two dogs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>toluok sinen</td>
<td>‘three dogs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo(k) sinen</td>
<td>‘four dogs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tea</td>
<td>tea pata</td>
<td>‘one tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h:ua pata</td>
<td>‘two trees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tolu pata</td>
<td>‘three trees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo(a) pata</td>
<td>‘four trees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tehu</td>
<td>tehu ing</td>
<td>‘one house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h:uohu ing</td>
<td>‘two houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>toluhu ing</td>
<td>‘three houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo(hu) ing</td>
<td>‘four houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teik</td>
<td>teik pata</td>
<td>‘one piece of wood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h:uaik pata</td>
<td>‘two pieces of wood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>toluik pata</td>
<td>‘three pieces of wood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo(ik) pata</td>
<td>‘four pieces of wood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepaun</td>
<td>tepaun pul</td>
<td>‘one eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h:upaun pul</td>
<td>‘two eyes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tolupaun pul</td>
<td>‘three eyes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo(paun) pul</td>
<td>‘four eyes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twasa</td>
<td>twasa man</td>
<td>‘one branch of banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h:uasa man</td>
<td>‘two branches of banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>toluasa man</td>
<td>‘three branches of banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo(wasa) man</td>
<td>‘four branches of banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Vocabulary</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>teka</td>
<td>teka kai pata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘one leaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h:uoka kai pata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘two leaves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>toluka kai pata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘three leaves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo(ka) kai pata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘four leaves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>tesol</td>
<td>tesol kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘one garden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h:uosol kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘two gardens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tolusol kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘three gardens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo(sol) kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘four gardens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tesol kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘one group of gardens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h:uosol kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘two groups of gardens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tolusol kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘three groups of gardens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo(sol) kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘four groups of gardens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>tepap</td>
<td>tepap papahe up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘one coconut palm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h:uopap papahe up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘two coconut palms’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tolupap papahe up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘three coconut palms’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo(pap) papahe up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘four coconut palms’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>tengax</td>
<td>tengax ngoxi min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘one finger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h:uongax ngoxi min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘two fingers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tolungax ngoxi min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘three fingers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo(ngax) ngoxi min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘four fingers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>temot</td>
<td>temot kaniup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘one coconut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h:umot kaniup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘two coconuts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>toلومot kaniup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘three coconuts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo(mot) kaniup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘four coconuts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>tehot</td>
<td>tehot ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘one fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h:uhot ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘two fires’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>toluhot ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘three fires’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hinalo ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘four fires’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>texux</td>
<td>texux xux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘one island’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h:uoxux xux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘two islands’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A classifier can occur without a noun in the NP, preserving the meaning of the whole noun phrase. Thus, depending on the context, *tok* can mean ‘an animal’, ‘a dog’, ‘a cat’. and *tel* can mean ‘a person’, ‘a woman’, ‘a man’, as in the following (b) examples:

    take-IMP CL chicken male and CL chicken female
    ‘Take a rooster and a hen.’

    take-IMP CL male and CL female
    ‘Take a male and a female (animal).’

    1DL.IN invite CL male old GP Lau
    ‘We’ll invite the old man from Lau.’

    b. *Kalu ilowi tel ti Lau.*
    1DL.IN invite CL GP Lau
    ‘We’ll invite the one (man) from Lau.’
2.4.2 Multiplicatives and ordinals

Multiplicatives are formed on the basis of numeral roots and the suffix -lak as follows:

- **te-lak** ‘once’
- **huo-lak** ‘twice’
- **tolu-lak** ‘three times’
- **hinalo-lak** ‘four times’

(27) *Nga tai teik kakain tolulak.*
1SG write CL message three times
‘I (will) write the message three times.’

There are no real ordinal numbers. Ordinal concepts are expressed by phrases and clauses, based on the adverbs **imat** ‘first, before’, **imuh** ‘after’ and **tapeinan** ‘last’.

(28) a. *I nahi-ma imuh ti tel nahi-ma imat.*
3SG walk-VEN after GP CL walk-VEN first
‘He came after the one that came first (= second)’

b. *I nahi-ma imat nga nahi-ma imuh.*
3SG walk-VEN first 1SG walk-VEN after
‘He came first and I came second.’ (lit: ‘I came after him’)

(29) *muhi tel imuh*
after CL after
‘after the later one (= third)’

(30) *Nga nahi usi-ma te-tel i nahi-ma imuh.*
1SG walk chase-VEN RED-CL 3SG walk-VEN after
‘He came second and I came third.’ (lit: ‘I chased the one that came after the one that came after [the first]’)


26

(31) I nahi-ma muhi te-tel i nahi-ma muhi tel imuh.
3SG walk-VEN after RED-CL 3SG walk-VEN after CL after
‘He came after the one that came after the one that came later (= fourth)’

(32) I nahi-ma imat ti tel tapeinan.
3SG walk-VEN before GP CL last
‘He came before the last one (= second last)’.

(33) I nahi-ma imat ti tel i nahi-ma imat
3SG walk-VEN before GP CL 3SG walk-VEN before

‘He came before the one that came before the last one (= third last)’

2.4.3 Quantifiers

The following quantifiers have been found:

- hatesol ‘all’
- hah:uok ‘all two, both (of animals)’
- hatolu ‘all three (of people)’
- hatoluok ‘all three (of animals)’
- hauh:ua ‘all two; both (of people)’
- kilan ‘many, a lot’
- kokol ‘a little’
- lalap ‘much’
- lawe ‘every’
- palai ‘few’
- pate kokol ‘a tiny bit’
- pate lalap ‘plenty’
- teka ‘some’
- temat ‘a group’
- tewatat ‘some from the group’
Illustrated in clauses and phrases:

(34) *Kilan akaik tinun.*
many child sick
‘Many children are sick’ or: ‘Many sick children.‘

(35) *Namilo-n kilan.*
think-3SG.POSS a.lot
‘He thinks (worries) a lot.’

(36) *Palai akaik tinun.*
few child sick
‘Few children are sick.’

(37) *An-ak man palai.*
food-1SG.POSS banana few
‘I have few bananas to eat.’

(38) a. *suka lalap*
sugar much
‘much sugar’

b. *suka pate lalap*
sugar very much
‘plenty of sugar’

(39) a. *suka kokol*
sugar little
‘a little sugar’

b. *suka pate kokol*
sugar very little
‘a tiny bit of sugar’

(40) *Lato hatesol nahi-wen lemaux.*
3PL all walk-PERF bush
‘They all went to the bush.’

(41) *Lato koti hatesol pata.*
3PL cut all tree
‘They cut all the trees.’

(42) *lawe seilon*
every person
‘every person; everybody’
(43)  *lawe ing*
    every house
    ‘every house’

(44)  *tewatat seilon*
    some.of.group person
    ‘some from the group of people’

(45)  *tewatat xixi*
    some.of.group fish
    ‘some from the group of fish’

(46)  *temat hehin*
    group woman
    ‘a group of women’

(47)  *temat sinen*
    group dog
    ‘a group of dogs’

(48)  *teka seilon*
    some people
    ‘some people’

(49)  *teka wa*
    some canoe
    ‘some canoes’

The quantifier *teka* can also occur without a following noun, maintaining
the meaning of the whole noun phrase:

(50)  a.  *Teka seilon kiliwau hani lemaux.*
    some people run to bush
    ‘Some people ran to the bush’.

     b.  *Teka kiliwau hani lemaux.*
    some run to bush
    ‘Some ran to the bush’
2.5 Adjectives and nominal modifiers

Adjectives are derived from verbs and morphologically come under two patterns: those that end in -n (very common) and those that do not. There is a lot of morphological irregularity among these verb-adjective pairs, as shown in the following list:

1. Ending in -n:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Modifier 1</th>
<th>Modifier 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahian</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
<td>ahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angaangon</td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
<td>angaangoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hau</td>
<td>‘clean’</td>
<td>hau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakawin</td>
<td>‘crooked’</td>
<td>kawiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawatan</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
<td>kawatali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuen</td>
<td>‘long time’</td>
<td>kue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuin</td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
<td>kui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukunun</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td>kunawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liaun</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
<td>lialu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paon</td>
<td>‘tasty’</td>
<td>papaoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawisawin</td>
<td>‘straight’</td>
<td>sawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solian</td>
<td>‘good, beautiful’</td>
<td>soli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanenan</td>
<td>‘smooth’</td>
<td>taneni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinun</td>
<td>‘sick’</td>
<td>tinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waxexan</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
<td>waxex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welwelun</td>
<td>‘long, tall’</td>
<td>welu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xewan</td>
<td>‘bright’</td>
<td>xeu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xohixohin</td>
<td>‘close’</td>
<td>xohi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Not ending in -n:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Modifier 1</th>
<th>Modifier 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hitol</td>
<td>‘hungry’</td>
<td>hitoloa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokol</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>kolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalap</td>
<td>‘large’</td>
<td>lap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make</td>
<td>‘tired’</td>
<td>makehua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peu</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
<td>pewawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salaimat</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
<td>salaimatali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lalap ‘large’ and kokol ‘small’ can also function as quantifiers meaning ‘much’ and ‘a little’ respectively (see §2.4.3). Adjectives are used both attributively and predicatively:

(51)  
\[
\text{tehu ing solian} \\
\text{CL house good}
\]
‘a good house’ or: ‘The house is good.’

(52)  
\[
\text{tel hehin kukunun} \\
\text{CL woman short}
\]
‘a short woman’ or: ‘The woman is short.’

2.5.1 Degrees of comparison

The following degree words occur in Seimat. They precede the adjective, with the exception of tapein and the intensifier wanen.

- pamu ‘more’
- pate ‘very’
- pala ‘fairly’
- tapein ~ tapein wanen ‘most’

(53)  
\[
I \text{ pala solian.} \\
3SG fairly good
\]
‘He is fairly good.’

(54)  
\[
Nga pala ewi. \\
1SG fairly well
\]
‘I’m fairly well.’

(55) a.  
\[
\text{hunan pate solian} \\
\text{weather very good}
\]
‘very good weather’

b.  
\[
\text{hunan pate solian wanen} \\
\text{weather very good very}
\]
‘very very good weather’
*Pate* can take the initial position in the clause for emphasis:

(56)  
\[ Pate \ lato \ huali \ ha-solia \ nga. \]
very 3PL help CAUS-do.well 1SG
‘They really helped improve (the situation for) me.’

There are no comparative or superlative forms of adjectives. In comparisons, the standard of comparison is introduced by the general preposition *ti* ‘from, of’ (see §4.3.3):

(57)  
\[ Tehu \ ing \ ie \ pamu \ solian \ ti \ tehu \ ing \ io. \]
CL house this more good GP CL house that
‘This house is better than that house.’

(58)  
\[ Tel \ hehin \ io \ weluwelun \ tapein \ ti \ lawe \ hehin. \]
CL woman that tall most GP every woman
‘That woman is the tallest of all the women.’

(59)  
\[ Tehu \ ing \ ie \ lalap \ tapein \ wanen. \]
CL house this big most very
‘This house is the biggest.’

The intensifier *wanen* ‘very’ can take the causative prefix *ha-*. Unlike causative verbs, *wanen* loses the final consonant *n* in such a combination (see §3.1).

(60)  
\[ Nga \ amuam \ ha-wane. \]
1SG rejoice CAUS-very
‘I’m really happy.’

(61)  
\[ Tea \ koap \ peti-pet \ ha-wane \ ti \ ton-e \ petiain. \]
CL boat RED-anchor CAUS-very GP place-POSS harbour
‘The boat is firmly anchored in the harbour.’
2.6 Basic noun phrase structure

The basic structure of the noun phrase is as follows:

(Num-CL) Noun (AdjP)* (DEM) (Quant)

The degree word is part of the Adjective Phrase. The following examples illustrate various combinations of modifiers:

(62)  
**tehu ing lalap**
CL house big
‘a big house’

(63)  
**tolu hehin xuxu**
three.CL woman fat
‘three fat women’

(64)  
**tel hehin solian**
CL woman good
‘a good (or: beautiful) woman’

(65)  
**kilan muli pate makan**
many orange very ripe
‘many very ripe oranges’

(66)  
**tepanim wa lalap papaxaxun pate talowian**
five canoe big white very fast
‘five very fast big white canoes’

(67)  
**tel seilon io**
CL person that
‘that person’

2.6.1 Noun phrase coordination

On the phrase level, unmarked coordination without a conjunction is common. When a coordinated subject noun phrase consists of two
people, the first of which is marked as a pronoun, it is the dual pronoun which is used, rather than the singular, as in the following two examples:

(68) Amili Anne puas leil-i ing-an.
    1DL.EX Anne work inside-POSS house-3SG.POSS
    ‘Anne and I work in her house.’

(69) Lalu ukal-an ko-koti salo.
    3DL brother-3SG.POSS RED-cut firewood
    ‘He and his brother are cutting firewood’

2.7 Possession
2.7.1 Possessive suffixes

In Seimat, all nouns can be directly possessed. The possessive suffixes are listed in §2.1. The thematic vowel in these suffixes, symbolised by (V), stands for any of the vowels i, e, a, o, u as well as for the vowel sequences au or aia. We estimate that 80-90 percent of noun roots take au as their thematic vowel, but there is a minority in which the vowel is unpredictable and therefore lexically specified. Table 5 shows the full paradigm for a number of such nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG 1</th>
<th>salek ‘pot’</th>
<th>ing ‘house’</th>
<th>kin ‘garden’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG 2</td>
<td>salek-aum</td>
<td>ing-am</td>
<td>kin-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG 3</td>
<td>salek-aun</td>
<td>ing-an</td>
<td>kin-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU 1 IN</td>
<td>salek-aukalu</td>
<td>ing-akalu</td>
<td>kin-ekal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU 1 EX</td>
<td>salek-aumili</td>
<td>ing-amili</td>
<td>kin-emili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU 2</td>
<td>salek-aumulu</td>
<td>ing-amulu</td>
<td>kin-emulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU 3</td>
<td>salek-aulalu</td>
<td>ing-alalu</td>
<td>kin-elalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 1 IN</td>
<td>salek-aukako</td>
<td>ing-akako</td>
<td>kin-ekako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 1 EX</td>
<td>salek-aumite</td>
<td>ing-amite</td>
<td>kin-emite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 2</td>
<td>salek-aumuto</td>
<td>ing-amuto</td>
<td>kin-emuto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 3</td>
<td>salek-aulato</td>
<td>ing-alato</td>
<td>kin-elato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 1 IN EXT</td>
<td>salek-aukaha</td>
<td>ing-akaha</td>
<td>kin-ekaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 1 EX EXT</td>
<td>salek-aiha</td>
<td>ing-aiha</td>
<td>kin-eiha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 2 EXT</td>
<td>salek-auha</td>
<td>ing-auha</td>
<td>kin-euha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 3 EXT</td>
<td>salek-aulaha</td>
<td>ing-alaha</td>
<td>kin-elaha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In these cases, the thematic vowels show irregularities.

**TABLE 5: THEMATIC VOWELS WITH POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES**

As mentioned above, the vowel sequence *au* occurs much more commonly than the other vowels. It is also usually used in borrowed words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG 1</th>
<th>wa-ik</th>
<th>meng-ok</th>
<th>xux-uk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG 2</td>
<td>wa-im</td>
<td>meng-om</td>
<td>xux-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG 3</td>
<td>wa-in</td>
<td>meng-on</td>
<td>xux-um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU 1 IN</td>
<td>wa-ikalu</td>
<td>meng-okalu</td>
<td>xux-ukalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU 1 EX</td>
<td>wa-imili</td>
<td>meng-omili</td>
<td>xux-umili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU 2</td>
<td>wa-imulu</td>
<td>meng-omulu</td>
<td>xux-umulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU 3</td>
<td>wa-ilalu</td>
<td>meng-olalu</td>
<td>xux-ulalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 1 IN</td>
<td>wa-ikako</td>
<td>meng-okako</td>
<td>xux-ukako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 1 EX</td>
<td>wa-imite</td>
<td>meng-omite</td>
<td>xux-umite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 2</td>
<td>wa-imuto</td>
<td>meng-omuto</td>
<td>xux-umuto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 3</td>
<td>wa-ilato</td>
<td>meng-olato</td>
<td>xux-ulato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 1 IN EXT</td>
<td>wa-ikaha</td>
<td>meng-okaha</td>
<td>xux-ukaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 1 EX EXT</td>
<td>wa-iha</td>
<td>meng-oiha</td>
<td>xux-aiha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 2 EXT</td>
<td>wa-uhah</td>
<td>meng-ouha</td>
<td>xux-auha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 3 EXT</td>
<td>wa-ilaha</td>
<td>meng-olaha</td>
<td>xux-ulaha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In these cases, the thematic vowels show irregularities.

Most body parts are bound roots which never occur on their own. They obligatorily take possessive suffixes, as illustrated below for the 1st person singular. (In such cases it is not always clear whether the vowel in the final syllable is a thematic vowel or part of the root. Unless there is contrary evidence, we assume the latter).
We have found a few exceptions to this rule where the body part can occur on its own:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Possessive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>min-an</td>
<td>‘his/her hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nis-um</td>
<td>‘your teeth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pul-ak</td>
<td>‘my eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taxing-am</td>
<td>‘your ear’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(71) Apeas-aiak kuen.
prepare-1SG.POSS long.time
‘My preparation takes a long time.’

(72) Huali-ak aita?
help-1SG.POSS who
‘Who will help me?’ (lit: ‘Who is my helper?’)

(73) Tel huali-ak muna-wen.
CL help-1SG.POSS hide-PERF
‘My helper has hidden.’

(74) Nahi-an talowian.
walk-3SG.POSS fast
‘His walk is fast.’

(75) O tioi namilo-mili?
2SG know think-1DL.EX.POSS
‘Do you know what we think?’
(lit: ‘Do you know our thinking?’)

(76) Pak-um pate solian.
song-2SG.POSS very good
‘Your song is very good.’

(77) Puas-ak pate kilan.
work-1SG.POSS very a.lot
‘I have lots of work.’ (lit: ‘my work is a lot’)

(78) I koi na-nahi-ma huali-ak.
3SG usually.not RED-come-VEN help-1SG.POSS
‘He usually doesn’t come as my helper.’

(79) a. Pah-ak.
want-1SG.POSS
‘I want’

b. Pah-amite.
want-1PL.EX
‘We want.’
2.7.2 Possessive classifiers

Seimat has a few possessive classifiers which further specify the type of relationship between the possessor and the possessed item. Morphologically they are nouns taking the possessive suffixes. The following five classifiers have been identified (illustrated for 1st person singular):

- **wel-uk** classifier for cultivated plants
- **tup-uk** classifier for animals looked after
- **an-ak** classifier for food intended to be eaten
- **unum-ak** classifier for items intended to be drunk
- **tet-ak** classifier for emphatic possession

The possessive classifiers can indicate how the nouns are possessed or used by the possessor. Examples:

- **pou** ‘pig’
  - **pou-k** ‘my pig’ (general)
  - **tup-uk pou** ‘my pig’ (that I am looking after)
  - **an-ak pou ~ pou an-ak** ‘my pig’ (that I intend to eat)
  - **pou tet-ak** ‘MY pig’ (and not anybody else’s)
- **hula** ‘taro’
  - **hula-uk** ‘my taro’ (general)
  - **wel-uk hula** ‘my taro’ (that I am growing or intend to plant)
  - **an-ak hula ~ hula an-ak** ‘my taro’ (that I intend to eat)
  - **hula tet-ak** ‘MY taro’ (for emphatic possession)
- **kan** ‘water’
  - **kan-uk** ‘my water’ (general)
  - **unum-ak kan** ‘my water’ (that I intend to drink)
  - **kan tet-ak** ‘MY water’ (for emphatic possession)
Tetak is also used in comparative constructions:

(80)  
\[ \text{Nga pamu weluwelun tet-an.} \]
\[ 1\text{SG more tall POSS.CL-3SG.POSS} \]
\[ \text{‘I’m taller than she is.’} \]

### 2.7.3 Nominal possession

When a full possessive noun phrase occurs, it follows the possessed noun which takes one of the general possessive markers -ai, -i or -e. The suffix -ai occurs with nouns which take -au as the thematic vowel with pronominal possessive suffixes. The markers -i and -e seem to be lexically determined as there is no obvious relationship between these vowels and the thematic vowel that surfaces with possessive suffixes. This can be seen in the examples below, where both nominal possession and pronominal possession are shown:

1. **Possessive linker -ai:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal possession</th>
<th>Pronominal possession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>potak-ai Selep</td>
<td>potak-aun ‘his fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Selep’s fishing gun’</td>
<td>gun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinen-ai tel akaik</td>
<td>sinen-aun ‘his dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the child’s dog’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salek-ai tel hehin</td>
<td>salek-aun ‘his pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the woman’s pot’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koap-ai tel masiwi</td>
<td>koap-aun ‘his boat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the leader’s boat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Possessive linker -i:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal possession</th>
<th>Pronominal possession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ing-i Selinda</td>
<td>ing-an ‘his house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Selinda’s house’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin-i Theresa</td>
<td>tin-an ‘her mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Theresa’s mother’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tum-i pata</td>
<td>tum-un ‘its end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘end of the stick’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haliang-i tea wa</td>
<td>haliang-aun ‘its mast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the canoe’s mast’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. **Possessive linker -e:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal possession</th>
<th>Pronominal possession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meng-e Lydia</td>
<td>meng-on ‘her story’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Lydia’s story’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ton-e balus</td>
<td>ton-an ‘its place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the plane’s place’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poh-e tel seilon</td>
<td>poh-en ‘his power’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the person’s power’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukal-e Temal</td>
<td>ukal-an ‘his brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Temal’s brother’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sometimes the general preposition \textit{ti} is also used in linking two NPs in a possessive relationship without any apparent difference in meaning:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{hahalin ti Theresa} & ‘Theresa’s in-law’ \\
\textit{hahalin-aun} & ‘her in-law’ \\
\textit{seilon ti amite} & ‘our people’ \\
\textit{seilon-aumite} & ‘our people’ \\
\textit{xux ti lato} & ‘their island’ \\
\textit{xux-ulato} & ‘their island’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

However, in some instances \textit{ti} can change the sense of possession. This is the case when the possessed noun is not owned by the possessor, but simply used on a particular occasion:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{enep-e Theresa} & ‘Theresa’s bed’ (her own bed) \\
\textit{enep ti Theresa} & ‘bed for Theresa’ (the one she sleeps on) \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Finally, there is a construction which we call ‘purposive possession’. The possessed noun is marked by one of the suffixes -\textit{ai}, -(\textit{V})\textit{ei} or -\textit{i} (again lexically determined), indicating that this item is specifically assigned for the possessor to use. Notice that the possessor precedes the possessed item in this type of equative clause.

(81) \textit{Lydia ing-ai tehu ing-i Temal.}  \\
Lydia house-PURP CL house-POSS Temal  \\
‘Temal’s house is the house for Lydia to use.’

(82) \textit{Amili wa-iei tea wa-i Silas.}  \\
1DL.EX canoe-PURP CL canoe-POSS Silas  \\
‘Silas’s canoe is the one we will use.’

(83) \textit{O salo-i salo-i Samuel.}  \\
2SG firewood-PURP firewood-POSS Samuel  \\
‘Samuel’s firewood is what you will use.’
2.7.4 Adjectival heads of possessive constructions

Adjectives and certain quantifiers (such as kilan ‘many’) can also carry the general possessive markers (-ai, -i or -e) when emphasis is put on a characteristic aspect of a noun. In such cases the adjective or quantifier is nominalized (without overt morphology), while the noun which is described occurs in the possessed noun slot. The result is syntactically one noun phrase. The following pairs illustrate this construction. Notice that with the adjective haun ‘new’ an irregular possessive marker -iai occurs.

(84) a. Tok xixi io lalap.  
    CL fish that big  
    ‘That fish is big.’

b. Lalap-e tok xixi io!  
    big-POSS CL fish that  
    ‘The huge size of that fish!’

(85) a. Tehu ing wasan.  
    CL house old  
    ‘The house is old.’

b. Wasa-i tehu ing!  
    old-POSS CL house  
    ‘The great age of the house!’

(86) a. Tea wa haun.  
    CL canoe new  
    ‘The canoe is new.’

b. Haun-iai tea wa!  
    new-POSS CL canoe  
    ‘The newness of the canoe!’

(87) a. Nga ningahi kilan manihuh.  
    1SG see many bird  
    ‘I saw many birds.’

b. Nga ningahi kila-i manihuh.  
    1SG see many-POSS bird  
    ‘I saw a huge number of birds’

(88) a. Hina suka lalap.  
    have sugar much  
    ‘There is a lot of sugar.’

b. Hina lalap-e suka.  
    have much-POSS sugar  
    ‘There is a huge amount of sugar!’
2.8 Relative clauses

The relative clause follows the head noun and is optionally introduced by the general preposition *ti* acting as a relative clause marker, glossed REL. Both subjects and objects can be relativized.

(90)  
*Kalu huali seilon (ti) kalu ilowi.*
1DL.IN help people REL 1DL.IN invite
‘We will help the people that we invited.’

(91)  
*Nga kak-ane te-tel seilon (ti) i mange-wen.*
1SG speak-TR RED-CL person REL 3SG get.injured-PERF
‘I spoke to the person who got injured.’

(92)  
*Nga tioi tel w:aw:an i lang hani-wen Mal te-telao.*
1SG know CL man 3SG sail to-PERF Mal RED-CL.
‘I know the man who sailed to Mal today.’

(93)  
*Tehu ing Temal tan-omi i put-awen*
CL house Temal make-TR 3SG collapse-PERF
*ti aupol lalap.*
GP wind big
‘The house that Temal had built collapsed during a big wind.’

(89)  
a.  
*Hina suka kokol.*  
have sugar little
‘There is a little sugar.’

b.  
*Hina kokol-e suka.*  
have little-POSS sugar
‘There is a tiny amount of sugar!’
Chapter Three

VERBS AND VERB PHRASES

Verbs in Seimat show a variety of affixes. Some of these are valency-changing (transitive, causative, applicative), others are aspectual (reduplication and perfective), while still others deal with purpose, direction and sequentiality. The following formula shows the internal structure of the verb with all possible affixes.

\[
\text{(Perfective)} \quad \text{(Caus)} \quad \text{(Red)} \quad \text{Verb Root} \quad \text{(Red)} \quad \text{(Tr)} \quad \text{(Seq)} \quad \text{(Appl)} \quad \text{(Venitive/Allative)} \quad \text{(Purpose)}
\]

Notice that the perfective, the venitive/allative and the purpose suffixes cannot co-occur. In the following sections we will discuss these various verbal affixes. An additional verbal affix \(-(V)wa\), used in temporal adverbial clauses, is discussed in §6.2.2.

3.1 Transitivizing suffixes

Intransitive verbs can be categorized according to the suffixes they take to become transitive. Some eight allomorphs can be distinguished. Just as with the possessive suffixes, the choice of the transitive suffix is lexically determined, though the majority of verbs take the suffix \(-eni\), \(-(V)ini\) or \(-(V)i\). The suffixes \(-i\), \(-eni\) and \(-ini\) often replace a final \(-a\) in intransitive roots. We have made four groupings, with the last one a residual category.

a. Verbs taking the suffix \(-eni\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Transitive Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>halok</td>
<td>‘play’</td>
<td>halok-eni</td>
<td>‘play’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hong</td>
<td>‘hear, listen’</td>
<td>hong-eni</td>
<td>‘listen to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leng</td>
<td>‘be angry’</td>
<td>leng-eni</td>
<td>‘be angry at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monga</td>
<td>‘stop’</td>
<td>mong-eni</td>
<td>‘stop’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muna</td>
<td>‘hide’</td>
<td>mun-eni</td>
<td>‘hide’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Verbs taking the suffix -(V)ini or -ni:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ah</td>
<td>‘keep watch’</td>
<td>ah-aini</td>
<td>‘watch over at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaluta</td>
<td>‘disappear’</td>
<td>kalut-ini</td>
<td>‘make disappear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalia</td>
<td>‘go around’</td>
<td>kali-ni</td>
<td>‘encircle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mal</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
<td>mal-ini</td>
<td>‘laugh at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puta</td>
<td>‘lie’</td>
<td>put-ini</td>
<td>‘lie about’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Verbs taking the suffix -(V)i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aile</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>aile-i</td>
<td>‘do’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han</td>
<td>‘climb’</td>
<td>han-ei</td>
<td>‘climb’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hok</td>
<td>‘spear; burst’</td>
<td>hok-ai</td>
<td>‘spear; burst’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapet</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td>kapet-i</td>
<td>‘fish’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lua</td>
<td>‘burn’</td>
<td>lu-i</td>
<td>‘burn’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pak</td>
<td>‘sing’</td>
<td>pak-ui</td>
<td>‘sing’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pax</td>
<td>‘look’</td>
<td>pax-ai</td>
<td>‘look at’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. Verbs taking the suffix -ane, -e, -o or -omi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hameng</td>
<td>‘make noise’</td>
<td>hameng-o</td>
<td>‘disturb by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hil</td>
<td>‘fight’</td>
<td>hil-e</td>
<td>‘fight’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kak</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
<td>kak-ane</td>
<td>‘speak to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kikan</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
<td>kikan-omi</td>
<td>‘wash’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan</td>
<td>‘appear’</td>
<td>tan-omi</td>
<td>‘make, create’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also a group of transitive verbs that do not have intransitive counterparts. They do not show specific morphology, though the majority of them end in i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atai</td>
<td>‘build’</td>
<td>ngah</td>
<td>‘look for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asahi</td>
<td>‘pick’</td>
<td>pohi</td>
<td>‘grab’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hana</td>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td>seini</td>
<td>‘plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hangaini</td>
<td>‘sell’</td>
<td>sulini</td>
<td>‘push’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahu/i</td>
<td>‘buy’</td>
<td>talo</td>
<td>‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>‘carry’</td>
<td>tike</td>
<td>‘catch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In transitive clauses the object is often not explicitly mentioned, unless it is a name or a personal pronoun. Compare (94a) and (94b), which are identical in meaning, and (95), where the pronominal referent is understood from the context.

(94)  a. Amite losi teik lih ape amite tua manu-man.
    1PL.EX put.down CL sail and 1PL.EX just RED-drift
    ‘We put down the sail and we were just drifting.’

    b. Amite losi ape amite tua manu-man.
    1PL.EX put.down and 1PL.EX just RED-drift
    ‘We put down (the sail) and we were just drifting.’

(95) Solomon waxi ape i kau hani ing-an.
    Solomon take and 3SG carry to house-3SG.POSS
    ‘Solomon took (it) and carried (it) to his house.’

3.2 Causative affixes

Causative formation is phonologically determined. When the verb ends in a vowel, the causative is formed by means of the prefix ha-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>ha-kau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lialu</td>
<td>ha-lialu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mange</td>
<td>ha-mange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinu</td>
<td>ha-tinu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the verb ends in a consonant, the causative is formed by a circumfix, a combination of the prefix ha- with a final vowel (-a, -e, -i, -o or -u). Again, these vowels are lexically determined. When the verb starts with a, the prefix ha- is reduced to h-.
ahi  ‘get hot’   h-ahi-a  ‘heat’
lang  ‘sail’   ha-lang-a  ‘drive’ (cause to sail)
leng  ‘get angry’   ha-leng-e  ‘make angry’
mal  ‘laugh’  ha-mal-i  ‘make laugh’
mos  ‘get down’  ha-mos-u  ‘bring down’
ngong  ‘fly’  ha-ngong-o  ‘make fly’

3.3 Imperfective aspect

Imperfective aspect is expressed by reduplication of part or all of the verb. It indicates the continuous aspect of the action either in the present or in the past. In polysyllabic words, only a part of the root is reduplicated, either the first syllable, the first two phonemes, the medial syllable or the last syllable. When the verb is a monosyllabic root ending in a consonant, the whole root is usually reduplicated and a thematic vowel is inserted (see also §1.5).

Some roots show different patterns depending on the transitivity of the formation. The root pak ‘sing’, for example, has the reduplicated forms paku-pak ‘sing’ (intr) and pa-pak-ui ‘sing’ (tr).

Examples of reduplicated verbs in clauses:

(96)  \textit{Lato langa-lang}.
3PL RED-sail
‘They are sailing.’
46

(97) *I pu-puas he kin.*
3SG RED-work LOC garden
‘I was working in the garden.’

(98) *Lalu ka-kak kapi-n.*
3DL RED-speak with-3SG
‘They are speaking with him.’

(99) *Kokoh tangi-tang ape i pangis.*
infant RED-cry and.then 3SG stop
‘The baby was crying and then it stopped.’

(100) *Lato ta-tang-ike Delka.*
3PL RED-cry-APPL Delka
‘They were crying over Delka.’

(101) *Tel tin-ak a-pe-pes-eni an.*
CL mother-1SG.POSS RED-prepare-TR food
‘My mother is preparing food.’

(102) *Tok ke ake-ak he ngax-e pata.*
CL flying.fox RED-hang LOC branch-POSS tree
‘The flying fox was hanging from the branch of the tree.’

(103) *Lato tu-tu melal.*
3PL RED-stand outside
‘They are standing outside.’

(104) *Amuto aile-le la?*
2PL do- RED what
‘What are you doing?’

(105) *Aita paku-pak?*
who RED-sing
‘Who is singing?’
3.4 Perfective aspect

Perfective aspect is expressed by the suffix -wen when the verb ends in -i or -a, and -en when it ends in -u or -o (see point 5 in §1.6; the form ku-oen is irregular). When the verb ends in a consonant, a thematic vowel is inserted before the suffix. The use of -wen indicates that the action is completed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hani</td>
<td>‘go to’</td>
<td>hani-wen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hato</td>
<td>‘lay eggs’</td>
<td>hato-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatu</td>
<td>‘weave’</td>
<td>hatu-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hong</td>
<td>‘hear, listen’</td>
<td>hong-oen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku</td>
<td>‘get on something, travel’</td>
<td>ku-oen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lang</td>
<td>‘sail’</td>
<td>lang-awen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puta</td>
<td>‘lie’</td>
<td>puta-wen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapo</td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
<td>tapo-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(107) I lang-awen tihah.
3SG sail-PERF yesterday
‘He sailed off yesterday.’

(108) I hatu-en po.
3SG weave-PERF basket
‘She completed weaving the baskets.’

(109) Nga hong-oen meng-on.
1SG hear-PERF story-3SG.POSS
‘I heard his story (or: his news’)

(110) Sukul tapo-en.
school finish-PERF
‘The school finished.’
When the verb is followed by the verbal preposition *hani*, the perfective suffix may occur on either the main verb or on the preposition:

(111)  

3PL get.on to-PERF Pihon  
‘They travelled to Pihon.’

b. *Lato ku-oen hani Pihon.*  
3PL get.on-PERF to Pihon  
‘They travelled to Pihon.’

### 3.5 Purpose suffix

The verbal suffix *-ai* indicates the specific purpose the subject intends to accomplish. Verbs with this suffix always occur in purpose clauses (see §6.2.2). Notice the following pair:

(112)  

a. *I nahi hani lemaux koti-ai salo.*  
3SG walk to bush cut-PURP firewood  
‘He goes to the bush to cut firewood.’  
(for that specific purpose)

b. *I nahi hani lemaux koti salo.*  
3SG walk to bush cut firewood  
‘He goes to the bush to cut firewood.’  
(he might do other things too)

When (112a) is uttered, a listener would not ask the subject to do them a favour, unless it was related to cutting wood, because they know that the only reason the subject is going to the bush is in order to cut wood. In (112b), however, the subject might also do other things or may also be asked to do something else apart from cutting firewood.

In such purpose clauses with *-ai*, the preposition *ti* is used optionally.

(113) *Lato uke pata (ti) tan-omi-ai telehat.*  
3PL use wood GP make-TR-PURP window  
‘They use wood for making windows.’
(114) *Nga hina pateup tapuhi-ai hon.*
1SG have harpoon spear-PURP turtle
‘I have a harpoon for spearing turtles.’

3.6 Applicative suffix

Another valency-changing affix is the applicative suffix -(V)ke which is used on intransitive verbs to create transitive verbs. However, the use of -(V)ke indicates that the following object is not a patient, but an instrument, a comitative or a cause, or performs some other kind of oblique semantic role. Notice that, as with other verbal suffixes, thematic vowels surface with consonant-final roots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>alia</th>
<th>‘return’</th>
<th>alia-ke</th>
<th>‘return with’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kak</td>
<td>‘surface’</td>
<td>kak-ike</td>
<td>‘emerge with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiliwau</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>kiliwa-ke</td>
<td>‘run with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lang</td>
<td>‘sail’</td>
<td>lang-ake</td>
<td>‘sail (a person)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>mat-eke</td>
<td>‘die because of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puas</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
<td>puas-ake</td>
<td>‘work on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tang</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
<td>tang-ike</td>
<td>‘cry over, lament’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of applicative verbs in clauses:

(115) *Lato lang-ake i hani Mal.*
3PL sail-APPL 3SG to Mal
‘They sailed him to Mal.’

(116) *Nga alia-ke hani o.*
1SG return-APPL to 2SG
‘I will return with it to you.’

(117) *I sameni alia-ke i.*
3SG boast return-APPL 3SG
‘He is proud of himself.’

(118) *I kiliwa-ke tea ngol.*
3SG run-APPL CL knife
‘He ran with a knife.’
(119) *I mat-eke hitolo-an.*
3SG die-APPL hunger-3SG.POSS
‘He starved to death.’

(120) *Nga kak-ike amili hani patul.*
1SG surface-APPL 1DL.EX to up
‘I brought us up to the surface.’

(121) *Lato ta-tang-ike Ailis.*
3PL RED-cry-APPL Ailis
‘They were crying over Ailis.’

(122) *Tihah lato puas-ake tea wa.*
yesterday 3PL work-APPL CL canoe
‘Yesterday they were working on the canoe.’

3.7 **Venitive and allative suffixes**

The venitive suffix -(V)ma on a verb indicates direction towards the speaker; the allative suffix -(V)wa indicates direction away from the speaker, as illustrated in the following pairs of clauses:

(123) a. *I nahi-ma.*
3SG walk-VEN
‘He comes (here)’

b. *I nahi-wa.*
3SG walk-ALL
‘He goes (there)’

(124) a. *I nahi sohot-uma leil-i ing.*
3SG walk go.out-VEN inside-POSS house
‘He came out of the house.’ (Speaker is outside the house)

b. *I nahi sohot-ua leil-i ing.*
3SG walk go.out-ALL inside-POSS house
‘He went out of the house.’ (Speaker is in the house)

These directional suffixes may also have a benefactive or recipient sense when they are suffixed on the prepositional verb *hani*. The venitive is used when the speaker is the benefactive or recipient of the action, while the allative is used when it is somebody else. Notice the following pairs:
A third use of the directional suffixes is in imperative constructions (see §5.1). Verbs in imperative clauses normally have a venitive or allative suffix. Again, the use of the -(V)ma indicates that the action which is commanded should be directed towards or done for the benefit of the speaker, while -(V)wa indicates the same for a non-speaker. Notice the following pairs (these suffixes are treated as portmanteau suffixes and glossed IMP.VEN and IMP.ALL respectively):

(127)  

(128)  

Kaxi hani-ma nga meng-e tea wa-im!
tell to-IMP.VEN 1SG story-POSS CL canoe-2SG.POSS
‘Tell me the story of your canoe!’

Kaxi hani-wa lato meng-e tea wa-im!
tell to-IMP.ALL 3PL story-POSS CL canoe-2SG.POSS
‘Tell them the story of your canoe!’

Kaxi-ma meng-e Temal!
tell-IMP.VEN story-POSS Temal
‘Tell (me, us) the story of Temal!’
3.8 Other directional suffixes

In addition to the venitive and allative suffixes, there are two other directional suffixes: -(V)le ‘up’ and -(V)li ‘down’. With some exceptions, they appear mostly on motion verbs.

- **han** ‘climb’  han-ele ‘climb up’
- **ke** ‘pass’  ke-le ‘pass (from below)’  ke-li ‘pass (from above)’
- **mos** ‘go down’  mos-uli ‘go down’
- **nahi** ‘walk’  nahi-le ‘come up’

These suffixes also appear in some other expressions:

(130) **Tel tin-ak** sa-salaimat-ali.
CL mother-1SG.POSS RED-old-DOWN
‘My mother is getting old’.

(131) **Letu-le** lato hunai tok hon.
morning-UP 3PL cook CL turtle
‘Early in the morning they cooked the turtle’
(lit: ‘when the morning was up…’)

---

b. *Kaxi-wa meng-e Temal!*
tell-IMP.ALL story-POSS Temal
‘Tell (everybody) the story of Temal!’

(129) a. *Kak usi-ma nga!*
speak chase-IMP.VEN 1SG
‘Repeat after me!’

b. *Kak usi-wa i!*
speak chase-IMP.ALL 3SG
‘Repeat after him!’
3.9 Sequential suffix

A sequence of events can be marked with the suffix -(V)mu which also indicates some kind of obligation. When the sequence of events or the obligation is not emphasized, the sequential suffix is absent. Notice the following examples:

(132) a. *Kako puas-amu ape kako halok-eni soka.*
   1PL.IN work-SEQ and.then 1PL.IN play-TR soccer
   ‘First we’ll work and then we’ll play soccer.’
   (We should/need to work first and then we can play soccer)

   b. *Kako puas ape kako halok-eni soka.*
   1PL.IN work and.then 1PL.IN play-TR soccer
   ‘We’ll work and then we’ll play soccer.’

(133) *Nga nahi hani-mu lemaux.*
   1SG walk to-SEQ bush
   ‘I’ll go to the bush first (before doing anything else)’

(134) *Nahi-mu-ma!*
   walk-SEQ-VEN
   ‘Come here (before you do anything else)!’

3.10 Basic verb phrase structure

Seimat is an SVO language with only a few elements which may occur between the subject and the verb. We consider these elements to be part of the verb phrase. These elements are the irrealis particle po, the reciprocal particle he and the negators kum and tai. The particles po and he are discussed below, the negators in §4.4.

The modal particle po always precedes the verb. It is used when referring to actions or events in the future for which it is uncertain whether or not they will be carried out. The following two pairs show the difference:
(135) a. *Nga po pax-ai o letu.*
   
   1SG IRR look-TR 2SG tomorrow
   
   ‘I’ll see you tomorrow.’ (I might see you)

   b. *Nga pax-ai o letu.*
   
   1SG look-TR 2SG tomorrow
   
   ‘I’ll see you tomorrow.’ (I definitely plan to see you)

(136) a. *I po koti tea pata letu.*
   
   3SG IRR cut CL tree tomorrow
   
   ‘He will cut the tree tomorrow.’ (Maybe he will do it)

   b. *I koti tea pata letu.*
   
   3SG cut CL tree tomorrow
   
   ‘He will cut the tree tomorrow.’ (He definitely intends doing it)

(137) *I po nahi.*
   
   3SG IRR walk
   
   ‘He will go.’ (Maybe some time later he will go)

The verbal particle *he* expresses reciprocal action. The following verb is always reduplicated in such a reciprocal construction:

(138) *Kako he hu-hual.*
   
   1PL.IN REC RED-help
   
   ‘We help each other.’

(139) *Lalu he lunge-lung.*
   
   3PL.DL REC RED-force
   
   ‘They are arguing with each other.’

3.11 Verb serialization

In Seimat, serial verb constructions (SVCs) share nominal arguments and, where relevant, negative markers. They sometimes have meanings that are not completely predictable from the meanings of their constituent verbs. We will first discuss some formal characteristics of SVCs, and
then describe the subtypes found so far, based on their semantic properties.

Within a SVC there can be sequences of two, three or four verbs. The final verb carries all the verb suffix markers such as the imperative or the purpose suffix:

(140) $O$ $tahi$ $kongini-wa$ $aweing-am$ $na$ $o$ $ku$.

2SG hammer lock-IMP doorway-2SG.POSS if 2SG get.on

‘If you go, lock your door by hammering it.’

(141) $I$ $puas$ $hutui$ $ahiwi-ai$ $ton-e$ $balus$.

3SG work start clear-PURP place-POSS plane

‘He started working on clearing the airstrip.’

The final verb can also be a reduplicative form:

(142) $Teka$ $kiliwau$ $pohi$ $ta-tang-ike$ $Ailis$.

some run grab RED-cry-APPL Ailis

‘They ran, grabbed Ailis, crying over him.’

(143) $Tel$ $tama-lalu$ $to$ $kiliwau$ $ti-tilo-i-wa$

CL father-3DL.POSS stay run RED-call-TR-ALL

tel $natu-n$ $pamu$.

CL son-3SG.POSS older

‘Their father kept running and calling his older son.’

When the first verb is separated from the prepositional verb $hani$ by an object, both verbs carry the directional suffix -(V)ma or -(V)wa:

(144) $Alohi$ $alia-ke-ma$ $lalu$ $hani-ma$ $he$ $hok$.

signal back-APPL-IMP.VEN 3DL to-VEN LOC reef

‘Signal to them to come back to the reef!’

(145) $Waxi-wa$ $man$ $hani-wa$ $Ester$.

take-IMP.ALL banana to-IMP.ALL Ester

‘Take the bananas and give them to Ester.’
The following five semantic categories of SVCs may be distinguished in Seimat:

a. In a directional-positional SVC the first verb expresses a movement and the second verb the direction of that movement, or the position reached as a result of that movement.

(146)  *Lalu tit mos  hani-wa itax.*
3DL jump go.down to-ALL  sea
‘They jumped and went down into the sea.’

(147)  *Nga hail takana alia  hani ixux.*
1SG paddle arrive back to  land
‘We paddled and arrived back on the land.’

b. In a sequential SVC the first verb expresses a movement and the second verb the action that follows the movement.

(148)  *Laha apuha kak  pax-ai waliko.*
3PL meet speak look-TR something
‘They met, they spoke and they looked at things.’

(149)  *Teka seilon tu-tu tum-i xau lol koti siponi*
   some people RED-stand end-POSS barrier wade cut close
   \*mat-e xau.*
   front-POSS barrier
   ‘The people standing at the end of the barrier, waded (through the water), cut (across the front of the barrier) and closed off the front of the barrier.’

(150)  *Lato nahi tahiwi waxi atol-i  tok hon.*
3PL walk dig  take egg-POSS CL turtle
‘They went, they dug, they took the turtle eggs.’

(151)  *Lalu k kokoh kikan apeas koti ha-kukuna uk*
3DL baby wash prepare cut CAUS-shorten hair
ape hosa ti lalu tapein.
and ritual.separation GP 3DL finished
'She and the baby wash, prepare, cut, shorten the hair and the ritual separation has ended.'

c. In a causative SVC the first verb is transitive and the second (causative) verb expresses the result of the action:

(152) Nga xai ha-tipolu tinu-n.
1SG hit CAUS-get.black body-3SG.POSS
'I bruised him by hitting him.'

(153) Laha hone ha-matau nga.
3PL.EXT tell CAUS-fear 1SG
'They frightened me by telling me.'

(154) Ti ipong nga tahuni ha-paxe.
GP night 1SG smoke CAUS-dry
'At night I dried (the pandanus) by smoking it.'

(155) I koti ha-mahusu tea pata.
3SG cut CAUS-knock.down CL tree
'He knocked down the tree by cutting it.'

d. In a manner SVC the second verb expresses the manner in which the action of the first verb is performed. This second verb, which carries the causative prefix ha-, performs the function of a manner adverb.

(156) I kaxi ha-xewa hani nga.
3SG explain CAUS-clear to 1SG
'He explains it clearly to me.'

(157) I kiliwau ha-kokol.
3SG run CAUS-small
'He ran slowly.'
e. Two adjacent verbs can form a lexicalised SVC which is not analysable semantically in terms of its component parts:

- ang tohongi  ‘taste’  (lit. ‘eat try’)
- ilameni tioi  ‘realize’  (lit. ‘feel know’)
- hong tioi  ‘understand’  (lit. ‘hear know’)
- hong usi  ‘obey’  (lit. ‘hear chase’)
- kak taneni  ‘work out’  (lit. ‘speak smooth’)

(158)  Tok hon xai ha-paka-paka  hani patanawa-n.
CL turtle hit CAUS-RED-slap to chest-3SG.POSS
‘The turtle hit its chest slapping it (with its flippers).’

(159)  Nga ilameni tioi  salan nga hina akaik.
1SG feel know true 1SG have child
‘I realised I really was pregnant.’

(160)  Lato kak taneni sal-e ha-haloko.
3PL speak smooth way-POSS RED-game
‘They worked out their game strategy.’

(161)  Amuto hong tioi ti nga ka-kak?
2PL hear know GP 1SG RED-speak
‘Do you understand what I’m saying?’

(162)  I hong usi kak-ai tel tama-n.
3SG hear chase speech-POSS CL father-3SG.POSS
‘He obeys his father.’

(163)  Nga tai ang tohongi xu.
1SG NEG eat try dugong
‘I haven’t tasted dugong.’
f. When ha-tapoa ‘cause to finish’ occurs as the second verb in a SVC, it marks completive aspect.

(164) *Amili apes-eni ha-tapoa m:ai:a-umili.*
1DL.EX prepare-TR CS-finish clothes-1DL.EX.POSS
‘We finished preparing our clothes.’

(165) *Amili hololi ha-tapoa tea wa.*
1DL.EX plane CAUS-finish CL canoe
‘We finished planing the canoe.’
Chapter Four

CLAUSE STRUCTURE

4.1 Verbless clauses

A verbless clause consists of a subject noun phrase followed by a predicate. Four subtypes of verbless clauses can be distinguished.

1. Equative clauses, in which the predicate is another noun phrase:

(166)  \textit{I tok \textit{ah}:i.}  \\
\hspace{1cm} 3SG CL emperor.fish \\
\hspace{1cm} ‘It is an emperor fish.’

(167)  \textit{Haeu tel huali-ak.}  \\
\hspace{1cm} God CL help-1SG \\
\hspace{1cm} ‘God is my helper’.

A subtype of the equative clause is the possessive clause, in which the predicate is a possessive classifier, or a complex NP with an embedded possessor phrase:

(168)  \textit{Tehu ing \textit{ie teta-k.}}  \\
\hspace{1cm} CL house this POSS.CL-1SG.POSS \\
\hspace{1cm} ‘This house is mine.’

(169)  \textit{Tesol kin \textit{io kin-i} Solomon.}  \\
\hspace{1cm} CL garden that garden-POSS Solomon \\
\hspace{1cm} ‘That garden is Solomon’s garden’.

2. Adjectival clauses, in which the predicate is an adjective phrase:

(170)  \textit{Tel hehin pate kokol.}  \\
\hspace{1cm} CL woman very small \\
\hspace{1cm} ‘The woman is very short’.

60
3. Locative clauses, in which the predicate is an adverb of place, a place name or a prepositional phrase:

(172) *Hahalin ti Temal ie.*  
in-law GP Temal here  
‘Temal’s in-law is here.’

(173) *Lalu Patexux.*  
3DL Patexux  
‘They are on (the island of) Patexux.’

(174) *I ti Patexux.*  
3SG GP Patexux  
‘She is from Patexux’.

(175) *Tok pou le hepekeun.*  
CL pig on ground  
‘The pig is on the ground’.

(176) *Mal xux ti amite.*  
Mal island GP 1PL.EX  
‘Mal is our island’.

Example (176) is semantically a possessive clause, but because of the preposition *ti* we categorize it with the locative clauses.

4.2 Verbal clauses: Core arguments

The basic constituent order is SV in an intransitive clause and SVO in a transitive clause (when a full object NP is present):

(177) *I nahi-ma.*  
3SG walk-VEN  
‘He came.’
(178) *Amite ningahi tok hawalam.*
1PL.EX see CL whale
‘We saw a whale.’

(179) *Nga kola hani o kuhukuh imuh.*
1SG show to 2SG taro later
‘I will show you the taro later.’

### 4.2.1 Existential clauses

In the verbal existential clause, the verb *hina* ‘have’ can either follow the subject or take the initial position in the clause.

3DL have child-3DL.POSS
‘They have children.’

b. *Hina natu-lalu.*
have child-3DL.POSS
‘They have children.’

(181) *Hina man he po.*
have banana LOC basket
‘There are bananas in the basket.’

Sometimes *hina* is dropped:

CL boat have catch-3SG.POSS five sea.cucumber
‘The boat has a catch of five sea cucumbers.’

b. *Tea koap ona-n tepanim kou.*
CL boat catch-3SG.POSS five sea.cucumber
‘The boat has a catch of five sea cucumbers.’

(183) *Nga teik namil-ok.*
1SG CL thought-1SG.POSS
‘I have an idea.’
4.3 Verbal clauses: peripheral arguments

Peripheral arguments in a clause include a number of temporal and locative phrases which are marked in a variety of ways.

4.3.1 Temporal periphery

The temporal location of a clause is expressed by time adverbs and prepositional phrases. Temporal adverbs and phrases include the following:

- **ahang tamusuen** ‘last year’
- **ahang tehu toma** ‘next year’
- **ahang tetehu** ‘this year’
- **aope ~ ape** ‘now’
- **aope wanen ~ pate aope** ‘just a moment ago’
- **hahiola** ‘the day before yesterday’
- **imat** ‘before, first’
- **imuh** ‘later, after’
- **letu** ‘in the morning, tomorrow’
- **letu letu uleale** ‘the day after tomorrow’
- **pala aope** ‘not long ago’
- **pangapang tamusuen** ‘last month’
- **pangapang tehu toma** ‘next month’
- **pangapang tetehu** ‘this month’
- **puasain tamusuen** ‘last week’
- **puasain tehu toma** ‘next week’
- **puasain tetehu** ‘this week’
- **tetelao** ‘today’
- **tihah** ‘yesterday’

Temporal phrases can take either initial or final position in the clause:

(184)  *Tihah amite lang hani Lau.*

yesterday 1PL.EX sail to Lau

‘Yesterday we sailed to Lau.’
Tea waian takana-wen Pihon te-telao.
CL ship come.asore-PERF Pihon RED-CL
‘The ship came to Pihon today.’

Imat o pax-ai-wen?
before 2SG look-TR-PERF
‘Did you see it before?’

Imat nga nuhi salek.
before 1SG wash pot
‘First I will wash the pots.’

Nga nuhi salek imat ti nga nahi hani kin-ek.
1SG wash pot before GP 1SG walk to garden-1SG.POSS
‘I’ll wash the pots before I go to my garden.’

Nga nuhi salek imuh.
1SG wash pot later
‘I’ll wash the pots later.’

Nga nuhi salek imuh ti nga nahi hani kin-ek.
1SG wash pot after GP 1SG walk to garden-1SG.POSS
‘I’ll wash the pots after I go to my garden.’

The general preposition ti ‘from, of, for, since’ is also used in the formation of temporal phrases:

I nahi-wen ti ipong.
3SG walk-PERF GP night
‘She went at night.’

Palawin tinun ti puasain tehu.
Palawin sick GP week CL
‘Palawin was sick for one week.’

I tinun ti Fonde.
3SG sick GP Thursday
‘She has been sick since Thursday.’
4.3.2 Locative periphery

The location of an event is coded by the locative adverbs *ie* ‘here’ and *io* ‘there’ or by locative nouns. The adverbs are illustrated in the following clauses:

(194)  
*Kau hani-ma ie!*

 carry to-IMP.VEN here

 ‘Bring it here!’

(195)  
*Lato tu-tu io.*

 3PL RED-stand there

 ‘They are standing there.’

The following locative nouns have been found so far:

- **hahitak**  ‘under, underneath’
- **melal**  ‘outside’
- **patalal**  ‘in the middle’
- **tehit**  ‘at the back’
- **wasol**  ‘between’

Locative nouns can be inflected with the possessive suffixes, or be modified by a possessed noun phrase. In the latter case they are linked by the marker *-e* or *-i*, suffixes used to link two noun phrases in a possessive relationship. The locative nouns can also occur on their own, in which case they function as adverbs.

(196)  
*I to-to hahitak.*

 3SG RED-sit under

 ‘It’s sitting underneath.’

(197)  
*Tok pusi to-to hahitak-ak.*

 CL cat RED-sit under-1SG.POSS

 ‘The cat is sitting under me.’
(198)  Tok mom hahitak-e tehu ing.
CL chicken under-POSS CL house
‘The chicken is under the house.’

(199)  Tel hehin tu-tu patalal.
CL woman RED-stand middle
‘The woman was standing in the middle.’

(200)  Tel hehin tu-tu patalal-e tehu ing ma tea pata.
CL woman RED-stand middle-POSS CL house and CL tree
‘The woman is standing between the house and the tree.’

(201)  Koti-wa patalal!
cut-ALL.IMP middle
‘Cut it in the middle!’

3PL RED-sail between-POSS Pihon and Longan
‘They were sailing between Pihon and Longan.’

(203)  Lato langa-lang wasol-alalu.
3PL RED-sail between-3DL.POSS
‘They were sailing between them.’

(204)  Tel hehin pu-puas melal.
CL woman RED-work outside
‘The woman is working outside.’

(205)  Tel hehin pu-puas melal-ai ing-ak.
CL woman RED-work outside-POSS house-1SG.POSS
‘The woman is working outside my house.’

(206)  I to-to sai tehit.
3SG RED-sit side back
‘He is sitting at the back.’
(207) *Tok sinen to-to tehit-i tea pata.*
CL dog RED-sit back-POSS CL tree
‘The dog is sitting behind the tree.’

The locative noun ‘*patul* ‘above, up’, which can also function as an adverb, can take a possessive suffix but not a full possessed noun phrase. To link with another noun phrase the preposition *he* or *le* is used, as in (210):

(208) *Tok koxa ake-ak patul.*
CL possum RED-hang above
‘The possum is hanging above.’

(209) *I ake-ak patul-auk.*
3SG RED-hang above-1SG.POSS
‘It’s hanging over me.’

(210) *Tok manihuh to-to patul he / le hongin.*
CL bird RED-sit above LOC roof
‘The bird is sitting up on the roof.’

There are also three locative nouns, *leil-* ‘inside’, *mat-* ‘in front of’ and *pap-* ‘by the side of’, which are bound roots. They take possessive suffixes but they cannot be used adverbially. Only *pap-* occurs in combination with the preposition *he*.

(211) *Tok sinen leil-i tehu bokis.*
CL dog inside-POSS CL box
‘The dog is inside the box.’

(212) *Tok sinen leil-on.*
CL dog inside-3SG.POSS
‘The dog is inside it.’

(213) *Lato tu-tu mat-an.*
3PL RED-stand front-3SG.POSS
‘They are standing in front of him.’
The general locative preposition he ‘in, on, from, at’ and the preposition le ‘on’ are also used to form locative phrases.

(217) *Nga hana tea ngol hani he sau.*
1SG put CL knife to LOC shelf
‘I put the knife on the shelf.’

(218) *Tok pou to-to le hepekeun.*
CL pig RED-sit LOC ground
‘The pig is sitting on the ground.’

Movements are often coded by means of the prepositional verb *hani* ‘go to’. The basic meaning of *hani* is ‘to give’, as in (219). It is frequently used in serial verb constructions with a directional meaning ‘to, into, towards, for’ (see also §3.7). When the perfective suffix -(V)wen occurs in such a clause, it can attach to either the first verb or to *hani*, as in (221).

(219) *Nga hani i teka man.*
1SG give 3SG some banana
‘I gave her some bananas.’

(220) *I hana man hani he tebol.*
3SG put banana to LOC table
‘She put the banana on the table.’
4.3.3 Prepositional phrases

Seimat does not have many prepositions. Apart from the general preposition *ti*, the locative prepositions *he* and *le* and the instrumental *ani*, there are also some prepositional verbs and nouns.

The preposition *ti* is used in comparisons (§2.5.1), in possessive constructions (§2.7.3), as a relativizer (§2.8), in temporal phrases (§4.3.1) as well as to indicate source, illustrated below:

```
(222) I ti Patexux.
3SG GP Patexux
'She is from Patexux.'
```

```
(223) Amite ku hani ti Pihon.
1PL.EX get.on to GP Pihon
'We travelled from Pihon.'
```

The preposition *ani* ‘with, by’ introduces instrument phrases:

```
(224) Lato telei xixi ani samen.
3PL kill fish with spear
'They kill fish with spears.'
```

```
(225) Lalu ku ani koap.
3DL get.on by boat
'They travel by boat.'
```

The prepositional nouns *kapi* and *ken-* ‘with’ are used in accompaniment phrases. Both *kapi* and *ken-* can be inflected with possessive suffixes, but
unlike *kapi*, *ken-* cannot take plural forms. Instead, it is followed by a noun phrase:

(226) a. *Anne puas kapi-k.*
    Anne work with-1SG.POSS
    ‘Anne works with me.’

b. *Anne puas kapi-mili.*
    Anne work with-1DL.EX.POSS
    ‘Anne works with us.’

(227) *I to-to ken-ak.*
    3SG RED-stay with-1SG.POSS
    ‘She is staying with me.’

(228) *I to-to ken-e tel ola-k ma tel axoa-n.*
    3SG RED-stay with-POSS CL uncle-1SG.POSS and CL
    spouse-3SG.POSS
    ‘She is staying with my uncle and his wife.’

The prepositional verb *hetekie* ‘do together’ also occurs in accompaniment clauses:

(229) *I ang hetekie Tonam.*
    3SG eat do.together Tonam
    ‘He ate together with Tonam.’

(230) *Ang hetekie-wa Tonam!*
    eat do.together-IMP.ALL Tonam
    ‘Eat together with Tonam!’

(231) *Nga kau hetekie kapi-n.*
    1SG carry do.together with-3SG.POSS
    ‘I carried it with him.’

The prepositional verb *hani* is discussed in §4.3.2.
4.3.4 Reflexive-emphatic noun *puki*

When the noun *puki* is used in an emphatic sense, it precedes the subject:

(232)  
\[ \text{Puki i tike tok xixi lalap.} \]  
\[ \text{self 3SG catch CL fish big} \]  
\[ '\text{He himself caught the big fish.'} \]

(233)  
\[ \text{Puki amili lang-awen Amot.} \]  
\[ \text{self 1DL.EX sail-PERF Amot} \]  
\[ '\text{We sailed to Amot ourselves.'} \]

When *puki* is used in a reflexive sense, it appears before the object pronoun, which is co-referential with the subject. In reflexive constructions, the word *aliake* ‘back’ often occurs:

(234)  
\[ \text{I kak-aned alia-ke puki i.} \]  
\[ \text{3SG tell-TR back-APPL self 3SG} \]  
\[ '\text{He said (it) to himself.'} \]

(235)  
\[ \text{Nga kiki bal nga halokeni alia-ke puki nga.} \]  
\[ \text{1SG kick ball 1SG play-TR back-APPL self 1SG} \]  
\[ '\text{I kicked the ball, I played with it myself.'} \]  
\[ (\text{lit: 'I played it back to myself'}) \]

4.3.5 Emphatic particle *se*

The particle *se* occurs in verbless and verbal clauses and is used to confirm something or to state the obvious emphatically. It often gets shortened to *e* in verbless clauses.

(236)  
\[ \text{Tel hehin io se potopoton.} \]  
\[ \text{CL woman that EMP fat} \]  
\[ '\text{That woman is really fat.'} \]

(237)  
\[ \text{Tea pata io e talil.} \]  
\[ \text{CL tree that EMP k.o.tree} \]  
\[ '\text{It’s the talil tree over there.'} \]
(238)  a.  I  kumahe ukal-am.
     3SG NEG  brother-2SG.POSS
     ‘He isn’t your brother.’

     b.  I  se  ukal-ak.
     3SG EMP brother-1SG.POSS
     ‘He really is my brother.’

(239)  Nga  se  ku  hani Amix.
     1SG EMP get.on  to  Amix
     ‘Yes, I’m going to Amix.’

(240)  a.  Aita  oi  up?
     who grate coconut
     ‘Who grates the coconut?’

     b.  Se  nga  oi  up.
     EMP 1SG grate coconut
     ‘It is I who grates the coconut.’

(241)  Se  Lydia  sohe  melal.
     EMP  Lydia  sweep outside
     ‘It’s Lydia who swept outside.’

4.4 Negative clauses

There are several negative adverbs in Seimat. The negators kum and tai are found in verbal clauses, where they occur between the subject and the verb. Kum negates present or future states or events, while tai negates past states or events, or indicates that the state or event has not happened yet. The negator for adjectival clauses is kumahe.

(242)  Nga  kum  nahi  hani lemaux.
     1SG NEG walk to bush
     ‘I’m not going to the bush.’ or: ‘I won’t go to the bush.’
(243) *Nga tai nahi hani lemaux.*  
1SG NEG walk to bush  
‘I didn’t go to the bush.’ or ‘I haven’t gone to the bush yet.’

(244) *Nga kum ningahi.*  
1SG NEG see  
‘I don’t see it.’

(245) *Nga tai ningahi.*  
1SG NEG see  
‘I didn’t see it.’ or ‘I haven’t seen it yet.’

(246) *Nga kum tioi.*  
1SG NEG know  
‘I don’t know.’

(247) *Nga tai tioi.*  
1SG NEG know  
‘I don’t know yet.’

However, when *kum* co-occurs with the verb *pon* ‘be able’, it can refer both to present or past action:

(248) *Nga tohongi nu-nu tuahe nga kum pon.*  
1SG try RED-dive but 1SG NEG able  
‘I try diving but I’m not able.’  
or: ‘I tried diving but I was not able’

The co-occurrence of the negators *kum* and *tai* with the verb *pon* can change the sense in which the verb is used. *Kum pon* means ‘unable, not enough, insufficient’, while *tai pon* means ‘not yet able, not yet ready, not enough yet’, as illustrated below:

(249) a. *Teka kaniup kum pon.*  
group coconut NEG able  
‘The coconuts are not sufficient (for a gift).’
(249)  b. *Teka kaniup tai pon.*
    group coconut NEG able
    ‘The coconuts are not ready yet (to pick).’

(250) *Wa kum pon nake mat tai pon.*
    canoe NEG able because tide NEG able
    ‘The canoes can’t (sail) because the tide is not right yet (it’s low).’

The negative response ‘no’ is expressed by *kumahe*. It is also used to mark contrastive negation and constituent negation.

(251) a. *Lalu sala-wen?*
    3DL marry-PERF
    ‘Are they married?’

   b. *Kumahe.*
    NEG
    ‘No.’

(252) *Kumahe nga.*
    NEG 1SG
    ‘It’s not me; it wasn’t me.’

(253) *Kumahe tok sinei i telei tuahe i telei tok pusi.*
    NEG CL dog 3SG kill but 3SG kill CL cat
    ‘It isn’t the dog that he killed but a cat.’

(254) *Kumahe o te-tel nga ningahi lemaux?*
    NEG 2SG RED-CL 1SG see bush
    ‘Wasn’t it you that I saw in the bush?’

The negative marker *tap* ‘no, none’ is used in verbless existential clauses. It can also mean ‘nothing’ or ‘nobody’ in one-word responses:

(255) *Amili tap xixi.*
    1PL.EX NEG fish
    ‘We don’t have fish.’

(256) *Tap seilon ie.*
    Neg people here
    ‘There are no people here.’
(257) a. *Pah-amuto la?*  
    want-2PL what  
    ‘What do you want?’

   b. *Tap.*  
    NEG  
    ‘Nothing.’

(258) b. *Aita io?*  
   who there  
   ‘Who is there?’

   b. *Tap.*  
    NEG  
    ‘Nobody.’
Chapter Five

IMPERATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

5.1 Imperative clauses

The positive imperative is marked on the verb with the venitive suffix -(V)ma (action directed towards the speaker) or the allative suffix -(V)wa (action away from the speaker). The verb is optionally preceded by the second person pronoun. When a pronoun is present, the imperative clause structure does not differ from that of a declarative; the speaker’s intonation will make the distinction.

(259)  a.  Ke-ma!
       pass-IMP.VEN
     ‘Pass it (to me)!’

     b.  Ke-wa!
       pass-IMP.ALL
     ‘Pass it (to him, her, them etc.)!’

(260)  (O) nahi-ma!
       2SG walk-IMP.VEN
     ‘(You) come!’

(261)  (Amuto) nahi-wa!
       2PL   walk-IMP.ALL
     ‘(You) go!’

In a serial verb construction, only the last verb carries the imperative-directional suffix:

(262)  (O) kau kola hani-wa  Lydia!
       2SG carry  show to-IMP.ALL  Lydia
     ‘Take it and show it to Lydia!’

76
In most cases where the directional suffixes are used in imperatives, there is a clear sense of movement, either towards or away from the speaker. There are some cases, however, where the directional suffixes appear without a clear implication of direction or motion towards or away from the speaker. Notice the following examples, which are the unmarked way of giving the commands to sit down or to eat:

(263) *To-a!*
sit-IMP
‘Sit down!’

(264) *Ang-iwa!*
eat-IMP
‘Eat!’

The prohibitive is formed by means of the negative marker *kum* preceding the reduplicated form of the verb. A second person pronoun is optionally present.

(265) *(Amuto) kum ka-kak kak-ai manihu.*
2PL NEG RED-speak speech-POSS bird
‘(You) don’t speak Pidgin!’

The imperative suffix is also used to indicate obligation:

(266) *Hong usi-wa hahalin ti national government hana-wen.*
listen chase-IMP law REL national government put-PERF
‘You have to obey the laws which the national government made.’

5.2 Interrogative clauses

Polar questions retain the word order of the corresponding declarative clauses; they are only marked by intonation, which rises at the end of the question. The reply can consist of the single-word clause *se* ‘yes’ or *kumahe* ‘no’, but these words can optionally be followed by a full clause. The affirmative answer to question (267a) is either (b) or (c), and (d), (e) or (f) when negative.
(267)  a.  I weluwelun?  
3SG tall  
‘Is she tall?’

b.  Se.  
yes  
‘Yes.’

c.  Se i weluwelun.  
yes 3SG tall  
‘Yes, she is tall.’

d.  Kumahe.  
NEG  
‘No.’

e.  Kumahe i weluwelun.  
NEG 3SG tall  
‘She is not tall.’

f.  I kumahe weluwelun.  
3SG NEG tall  
‘She is not tall.’

The following content question words occur in Seimat:

aita  ‘who’
ti aita  ‘whose’
la  ‘what’
lokon  ‘when’
ia  ‘where’
kelak  ‘where’
hil  ‘how many, how much’
lahe  ‘which’
nake lahan  ‘why’
alahan  ‘what’s the matter, why’
ukek ia  ‘how’

Illustrated in clauses:

(268)  Aita nahi kapi-k?  
who walk with-1SG.POSS  
‘Who is going with me?’
(269) *Ti aita tehu ing?*  
GP who  CL  house  
‘Whose house is it?’

(270) *O aile-le la?*  
2SG do-RED what  
‘What are you doing?’

(271) *Lokon amulu ku hani Amix?*  
when  2DL  get.on to  Amix  
‘When are you travelling to Amix?’

(272) *I nahi hani ia?*  
3SG walk to  where  
‘Where is she going?’

(273) *O nahi kelak?*  
2SG walk where  
‘Where are you going?’

(274) *Ing-am ia?*  
house-2SG.POSS  where  
‘Where is your house?’

(275) *Temal ia?*  
Temal where  
‘Where is Temal?’

(276) *Hil natu-m?*  
how.many child-2SG.POSS  
‘How many children do you have?’

(277) *Hil suka o uke?*  
how.many sugar 2SG take  
‘How much sugar do you take?’
(278) *Lahe akaik lang-awen hani Mal?*
which child sail-PERF to Mal
‘Which children sailed to Mal?’

(279) *Lahe pata lato koti-wen?*
which tree 3PL cut-PERF
‘Which trees did they cut?’

(280) *Nake lahan o tangi-tang?*
why 2SG RED-cry
‘Why are you crying?’

(281) *Alahan o tangi-tang?*
why 2SG RED-cry
‘Why are you crying?’

(282) *Alahan o?*
why 2SG
‘What’s the matter with you?’

(283) *Amulu hunai mom ukek ia?*
2DL cook chicken how
‘How do you cook chicken?’

The phrases *ewi na* ‘is it OK if’ and *i pon* ‘is it possible’ are used in questions that function as polite requests:

(284) *Ewi na o huali lalu?*
okay if 2SG help 3DL
‘Could you help them?’

(285) *I pon na o huali lalu?*
3SG possible if 2SG help 3DL
‘Is it possible for you to help them?’

(286) *Ewi na kako nahi sohot?*
okay if 1PL.IN walk go.out
‘Can we go outside?’
The adverb *nakon* ‘possibly’ is used in both content and polar questions. It always takes the initial position in the sentence. Its meaning is rather obscure, except when it co-occurs with *lokon* ‘when’. In that case, *nakon* indicates that the speaker does not know whether the event will happen at all.

(287)  
\[ \text{Lokon tel \ tin-am \ alia-ma?} \]  
when CL mother-2SG.POSS return-VEN  
‘When is your mother coming back?’  
(The speaker knows she is coming back.)

(288)  
\[ \text{Nakon \ lokon tel \ tin-am \ alia-ma?} \]  
possibly when CL mother-2SG.POSS return-VEN  
‘When might your mother come back?’  
(The speaker does not know whether she is coming back at all.)

(289)  
\[ \text{O \ hitol?} \]  
2SG hungry  
‘Are you hungry?’  
(The speaker is possibly looking for confirmation.)

(290)  
\[ \text{Nakon \ o \ hitol?} \]  
possibly 2SG hungry  
‘Are you hungry at all?’

(291)  
\[ \text{I \ lang hani \ ia?} \]  
3SG sail to where  
‘Where did he sail?’  
(The speaker might know the general direction.)

(292)  
\[ \text{Nakon \ i \ lang hani \ ia?} \]  
possibly 3SG sail to where  
‘Where could he possibly have sailed to?’  
(The speaker has no clue.)

When asking for an opinion, the interrogative marker *kaie* ‘in your opinion, according to you’ is used, taking the initial position in the sentence. It occurs both in content and polar questions:
A question tag is formed with a word *kewak* taking the final position in the sentence:

(295) *Tihah lalu lang hani Mal kewak?*

‘Yesterday they sailed to Mal, didn’t they?’
Chapter Six

COMPLEX SENTENCES

6.1 Coordination

Coordination appears to be simple. The following coordinating conjunctions have been found:

- *ma* ‘and’ (mostly linking noun phrases but also joining clauses)
- *ape* ‘and, and then’ (linking clauses with separate events and in a sequence of events)
- *a* ‘or’ (joining alternatives)
- *tuahe* ‘but’ (joining contrasting clauses)
- *ien* ‘so then’

These are illustrated below.

(296) *Temal ma tel tam-an lalu ku hani Amix.*
Temal and CL father-3SG.POSS 3DL get.on to Amix
‘Temal and his father travelled to Amix.’

(297) *Laha mamata ma sameni poh-e lalu.*
3PL fear and boast power-POSS 3DL
‘They fear and they boast about the power of the two (people).’

(298) *Amite lang hani Longan ape amite puas*
1PL.EX sail to Longan and 1PL.EX work

*he kin-emite.*
in garden-1PL.EX.POSS
‘We sailed to Longan and then we worked in our garden.’
(299) *Temal lang hani Amix ape Tesi nahi hani sukul.*
Temal sail to Amix and Tesi walk to school
‘Temal sailed to Amix and Tesi went to school.’

(300) *Pah-am man a pah-am maia?*
want-2SG banana or want-2SG papaya
‘Do you want banana or papaya?’

(301) *I aile lali tuahe i kum pon.*
3SG do try but 3SG NEG can
‘He tried to do it but he couldn’t.’

The conjunction *ien* ‘so then’ links the following clause in a story to the preceding material by introducing an expected course of events. In a conditional structure it may introduce the second part of the sentence that states the fulfillment of the condition.

(302) *Ien ape Kembol mos hani itax.*
so.then then Kembol go.down to sea
‘So, Kembol went down (from the canoe) into the water.’

(303) *Na tam-e hehin waheni ien tam-e w:aw:an*
if father-POSS woman like so.then father-POSS man

* i katei axo-i tel natu-n.
3SG ask spouse-POSS CL child-3SG.POSS

‘If the father of the woman liked it (to give his daughter in marriage), then the father of the man would ask for the spouse for his child.’

Very often Seimat speakers use the word *ien* in closing a conversation before leaving a meeting or an informal gathering:

(304) *Ien nga nahi salili amuto.*
so.then 1SG go leave 2PL
‘Okay, I’m going now.’
6.2 Subordination

In addition to the relative clauses described earlier (§2.8), there are a number of subordinate structures that are grammatically marked. We will first discuss object complement clauses, followed by various adverbial subordinate clauses.

6.2.1 Object complementation

Object complementation clauses follow verbs of perception (see, hear), cognition (think, want) and speech (say, tell). Most complement clauses are grammatically unmarked:

(305) Nga ningahi tok leleon tit onoteni-ma nga.
     1SG see CL lizard jump face-VEN 1SG
     ‘I saw the lizard jump directly towards me.’

(306) Nga ningahi i te-telei tok weiko.
     1SG see 3SG RED-kill CL snake
     ‘I saw him killing the snake.’

With some verbs an optional complementizer ka ‘that’ is found:

(307) Amite hong (ka) tea waian takana-wen.
     1PL.EX hear that CL ship come.ashore-PERF
     ‘We heard that the ship came ashore.’

(308) Nga hone i (ka) latu nahi-wen.
     1SG tell 3SG that 3PL walk-PERF
     ‘I told him that they went.’

This complementizer ka is also found when there is doubt or a choice between two alternatives in the complement clause. In such cases it is glossed as ‘whether’.
(309) Te-telao kako pax-ai-mu ka waian kum
RED-CL 1PL.IN look-TR-SEQ whether ship NEG takana.
come.ashore
‘Today we’ll have a look first whether a ship doesn’t arrive.’

(310) Amili kum tioi ka laha nahi-ma.
1DL.EX NEG know whether 3PL.EXT walk-VEN
‘We don’t know whether they’ll come.’

We conclude this section with examples of clauses juxtaposed to noun phrases, as these are semantically very similar to object complement clauses:

(311) I pah-an lioi axoa-n.
3SG want-3SG leave spouse-3SG.POSS
‘He wants to leave his wife.’
Or: ‘She wants to leave her husband.’

(312) I pah-an nga awiti atol-i mom.
3SG want-3SG 1SG collect egg-POSS chicken
‘He wants me to collect the chicken eggs.’

6.2.2 Adverbial clauses

Based on their semantics, five types of adverbial subordinate clauses can be distinguished.

1. Reason clauses are marked by the subordinate conjunction nake ‘because’:

(313) Nga tai nahi hani lemaux nake nga tinun.
1SG NEG walk to bush because 1SG sick
‘I didn’t go to the bush because I was sick.’

When nake takes the initial position in the sentence, the marker ape ‘therefore’ precedes the resulting clause:
(314) Nake nga tinun ape nga tai nahi hani lemaux.  
because 1SG sick therefore 1SG NEG walk to bush  
‘Because I was sick I didn’t go to the bush’

_Nake_ can also precede a noun phrase:

(315) I kiliwau nake tok weiko.  
3SG run because CL snake  
‘He ran because of the snake.’

2. Purpose clauses are marked by the suffix _-ai_ on the verb stem (see also §3.5)

(316) I uke pata atai-ai ing-an.  
3SG use wood build-PURP house-3SG.POSS  
‘He used wood to build his house.’

(317) Hana-wa te-tehu lam soliti-ai te-tehu nipi.  
put-IMP RED-CL lamp substitute-PURP RED-CL matches  
‘Put down the lamp to replace the matches.’

Purpose clauses can also be introduced by the conjunction _lehe_ ‘so that’:

(318) Nga hunai ha-tapo-mu tea wai-k lehe nga lang hani Mal letu.  
1SG build CAUS-finish-SEQ CL canoe-1SG.POSS so.that 1SG sail to Mal tomorrow  
‘I finished building my canoe so that I can sail to Mal tomorrow.’

(319) I puas lehe i kui.  
3SG work so.that 3SG get.strong  
‘He works to become strong.’

(320) I kiliwau kosea lehe i ku ani tea waian  
3SG run hurry so.that 3SG get.on by CL ship  
‘He ran quickly to (be able to) catch the ship (to town).’
3. Concessive clauses are introduced by the conjunction kalak ‘though, despite’, which may also precede a noun phrase:

(321)  _I       kum pon han-ei      pata kalak    i       tohongi lawe   ngain._  
3SG NEG can climb-TR trees though 3SG try every day  
‘She is not able to climb trees although she tries every day.’

(322)  _Kalak   akah  lalap nga nahi-ma._  
though rain big 1SG walk-VEN  
‘I will come despite the big rain.’

4. In temporal adverbial clauses, the preposition _ti_ optionally precedes the subject when the temporal suffix -(V)wa ‘when’ appears on the verb. This suffix is obligatory in the absence of _ti_.

(323)  _ (Ti) amite    lang-awa, ape ahon tunahi amite._  
GP 1PL.EX sail-when then storm find 1PL.EX  
‘When we sailed, a storm broke over us.’

(324)  _Ti   Selinda nahi hani  peixux, nga   to-to       kapi  Mata._  
GP Selinda walk to beach 1SG RED-sit with Mata  
‘When Selinda went to the beach, I was sitting with Mata.’

In such temporal sentences it is sometimes not clear whether a noun phrase is an object of the first clause or a subject of the second clause. Hearing the text read or using a comma in the appropriate place certainly helps to decide the correct interpretation.

(325)  _Ti    i       towi-wa       tehu hat    i        tuhuke._  
GP 3SG throw-when CL stone 3SG hit  

_kaw-e _ Goliath.  
forehead-POSS Goliath  
‘When he threw (it), the stone hit Goliath’s forehead.’  
Or: ‘When he threw the stone, it hit Goliath’s forehead.’  
Or: ‘When he threw the stone, he hit Goliath’s forehead.’
The conjunction *tengi* ‘until’ is used when an activity, situation or event stops at the time or point mentioned:

(326) *Tok pou an-i tengi i an-i ha-tapo teka seilon.*

CL pig eat-TR until 3SG eat-TR CAUS-finish some people

‘The pig ate until it had finished eating the people.’

(327) *Nga atengi i tengi letu.*

1SG wait 3SG until tomorrow

‘I’ll wait for him until tomorrow.’

5. Conditional clauses are introduced by the conjunction *na* ‘if’.

(328) *Na o to hanau o aneso halok-eni kita.*

if 2SG stay learn 2SG know play-TR guitar

‘If you keep practising, you’ll know how to play the guitar.’

(329) *Na nga ningahi pou nga hok-ai.*

if 1SG see pig 1SG spear-TR

‘If I see a pig, I’ll spear it.’

*Na* is also used in conditional clauses which introduce a negative imperative clause signalling an obligation:

(330) *Na o na-nahi leil-i taun kum ka-kau kilan pulitalial.*

if 2SG RED-walk inside-POSS town NEG RED-carry much money

‘When walking about in town you shouldn’t carry a lot of money.’

Prohibition and permission are often expressed by using the conditional phrases *hahalin na* and *ewi na*:

(331) *Hahalin na o telei hon.*

law if 2SG kill turtle

‘It is forbidden to kill turtles.’
(332) *Kumahe hahalin na o telei hon.*
NEG law if 2SG kill turtle
'It’s not forbidden to kill turtles.'

(333) *Ewi na o telei hon.*
okay if 2SG kill turtle
'It is allowed to kill turtles.'
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Appendix

Interlinearised text

MATEI TEL UKALAK PAMU  ‘The Death of My Older Brother’ as told and written by Chris Ailis of Lau Island, in January 2004.

1. Ngain tehu ien ti pate letu nga kahiti tel day CL that GP very morning 1SG follow CL

lohuk ax-an Dik Kolpi.
friend-1SG.POSS name-3SG.POSS Dik Kolpi
‘On that day (the death of my brother) before dawn, I accompanied my friend, Dik Kolpi.’

2. Amili lol hani touhun ape amili nu upia hon.
1DL.EX wade to reef and.then 1DL.EX dive search turtle
‘We waded to the reef and then we dived to search for turtles.

3. Tel lohu-k Dik pap-ake tehu pateup, ape nga .
CL friend-1SG.POSS Dik swim-APPL CL harpoon and 1SG

pap-ake tehu kakatop
swim-APPL CL floater
‘My friend, Dik, swam with a harpoon and I swam with a floater.’

4. Amili pap kue ha-wane tuahe amili tai ningahi
1DL.EX swim long.time CAUS-very but 1DL.EX NEG see

tunahi tok hon.
find CL turtle
‘We swam a very long time but we didn’t see and didn’t get a turtle.’
5. *Tel lohu-k hone nga i ukek,*  
   CL friend-1SG.POSS tell 1SG 3SG say  
   ‘My friend said to me:’

6. *“Kalu xahe-a hani ixux.”*  
   1DL.IN come.out-IMP to land  
   ‘Let’s go out (off the water) to the land.’

7. *Lehe i nahi puas hani nemaux ti sai alohah.*  
   so.that 3SG go work to bush GP side afternoon  
   ‘(He said this) so that he could go and work in the bush till the sun came down’

8. *Amili tahia hani-wa ixux ti ton-e Al patul.*  
   1DL.EX arrive to-ALL land GP place-POSS Al up  
   ‘We went to the land and arrived up at the Al’s place.’

9. *Ixux pate kekean wanen nake tap wanen aupol hun-i*  
   land very hot very because NEG very wind liquid-POSS  
   *alon ma tuxian wanen.*  
   sun.rays and calm very  
   ‘On the land it was really very hot because there was absolutely no wind, the sun was beating down and it was a very calm day.’

10. *Nga lamani ha-wane kekean ma tinu-k nuxan ape*  
    1SG feel CAUS-very hot and body-1SG.POSS tired and  
    *nga nahi matih hani lihu-i tea pata xohi-xohin kapi tel*  
    1SG go sleep to shade-POSS CL tree RED-close with CL  
    *tama-k ti i pu-puas.*  
    father-1SG.POSS REL 3SG RED-work  
    ‘I felt really hot and tired and I went to sleep in the shade of a tree, close to where my father was working.’
11. *Nga matih kue ha-wane.*
‘I slept a very long time.’

12. *Tel ukal-ak pamu ax-an Mentel i*

   *taha-ma nemaux ape i hangoni nga ape i kame-i nga*
   *arrive-VEN bush and 3SG wake 1SG and 3SG ask-TR 1SG*

   *na nga kahiti i pap-ake-i wewe-un.*
   *if 1SG follow 3SG swim-APPL-PURP fishing.rope-3SG.POSS*

   ‘My older brother, Mentel, came to the bush, woke me up and asked me if I would go with him to swim with his fishing rope.’

13. *Tinu-k pate nuxan wanen tuahe nga tua lung-ei nga body-1SG.POSS very tired very but 1SG just force-TR 1SG*

   *ape nga lol kahiti i hani touhun.*
   *and 1SG wade follow 3SG to reef*

   ‘I was really very tired but I forced myself and waded with him to the reef.’

14. *Tel ukal-ak i nu-nu-ke tehu potak*

   *hina aketan.*
   *have rope*

   ‘My brother was diving with a spear gun that has a rope (attached to it, to catch bigger fish).’

15. *I hapiki kilan wanen xixi ape teik wewe ti amili*

   *sikole i xuh.*
   *almost 3SG full*

   ‘He shot loads of fish and our fishing rope was almost full.’
16. **Ti al ape i lol ape lehe i tilok.**
   GP sun and 3SG go.down and so.that 3SG dark
   ‘When the sun went down it became dark.’

17. **Tel ukal-ak i hapiki tok langu lalap wanen**
   CL brother-1SG.POSS 3SG shoot CL trevally.fish big very
   welu-an i akulai tengax.
   length-3SG.POSS 3SG go.over arms.stretch
   ‘My brother shot a very big trevally fish whose length was over an arm’s stretch.’

18. **Tok langu i itini tel ukal-ak hani**
   CL trevally.fish 3SG pull CL brother-1SG.POSS to
   leil-i ilam ti itan xauxaun.
   inside-POSS deep.sea GP down far
   ‘The trevally fish pulled my brother into the depths of the sea.’

19. **Tel ukal-ak i pohi-wa tok langu**
   CL brother-1SG.POSS 3SG grab-ALL CL trevally.fish
   ape i kak alia hani patul tuahe kem pon
   and 3SG emerge back to up but 3SG NEG able
   nake nawa-n pate pusoan ape lehe i tua
   because breath-3SG.POSS very tired and so.that 3SG just
taxix alia hani itan.
   drown back to down
   ‘My brother grabbed the trevally fish and got back to the surface but because he was out of breath he went down again drowning.’
20. *Nga nu lok-oi ti i xohi-xohin tu-tuen patul ape*
1SG dive race-TR GP 3SG RED-close RED-still up and

*n ga kak-i ke amili kani patul.*
1SG emerge-APPL 1DL.EX to up

‘When he was still close to the surface I dived in racing (after him) and emerged with him out of the water.’

21. *Nga kum pon huali-ai tel ukal-ak ti aupol*
1SG NEG able help-PURP CL brother-1SG.POSS GP air

*n ake nga kokol ma kui-k i kum pon.*
because 1SG small and strength-1SG.POSS 3SG NEG able

‘I couldn’t help my brother with (giving him) air because I was small and had too little strength.’

22. *Tel ukal-ak i mat leil-i itax ti nga pap*
CL brother-1SG.POSS 3SG die inside-POSS sea GP 1SG swim

*it-itini i ti ilam hani peixux.*
RED-pull 3SG GP deep.sea to beach

‘My brother died in the water when I swam pulling him from the deep sea to the beach.’

23. *Lolohan tehu ien tatahan lalap ti amite hatesol.*
dusk CL that sorrow big GP 1PL.EX all

‘There was a big sorrow in the village that evening.’

24. *Teik meng ie puki alia nga Chris Ailis kaxi ma tai.*
CL story this EMP back 1SG Chris Ailis tell and write

‘I myself, Chris Ailis, told and wrote this story.’