

A Grammar of Savosavo

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A Grammar of Savosavo

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Abbreviations

1	first person	N	noun
2	second person	NMLZ	nominalizing morpheme
3	third person	NOM	nominative
ABL	ablative	NP	noun phrase
Adj	adjective	NSG	non-singular
ADV	adverb	NVC	nominalized verbal clause
AFF	affirmative	O	object
ANT	anticipatory	PA	particle
APPR	apprehensive	PL	plural
ATT	attributive marker	PersPr	personal pronoun
BG	background	Phr	phrase
C	consonant	POSS	possession
CERT	certainty marker	PossPr	possessive pronoun
COM	comitative marker	PRIV	privative
CONJ	conjunction	PROPR	proprietary
DEM	demonstrative pronoun	PROX	proximal
DET	determiner	PRS	present
DETR	detransitivizing suffix	PST	past
DS	different subject	Quan	quantifier
DU	dual	RECIP	reciprocal
EMPH	emphasis	REDUP	reduplication
EP	epenthetic vowel	RelCl	relative clause
EX	exclusive	S	subject
F	feminine	SG	singular
FIN	finiteness marker	SIM	simultaneous
FUT	future	SS	same subject
GEN	genitive	SVC	serial verb construction
IMP	imperative	TR	transitivizing suffix
IN	inclusive	V	in phonology: vowel elsewhere: verb
IPFV	imperfective	VBLZ	verbalizing morpheme
IRR	irrealis	VC	verb complex
LOC	locational	W	word
M	masculine		
-	separates morphemes		
=	separates clitics		
/	separates alternative glosses		

~	marks reduplication
σ	syllable
'	primary stress
,	secondary stress
//	phonemic representation
[]	in example glosses: non-overt elements; in the phonology chapter: phonetic representation (IPA)
.	separates items in multi-item glosses
—	marks borrowings from Solomon Islands Pijin and English

Chapter 1

The language and its speakers

1.1. Location and linguistic affiliation

Savosavo is one of four Papuan (i.e., non-Austronesian) languages spoken in the Solomon Islands, part of a region called Island Melanesia in the Southwest Pacific (see Fig. 1). The Solomon Islands became the British Solomon Islands Protectorate in 1893 and gained independence in 1978, within the Commonwealth of Nations.

Savosavo is spoken on Savo Island, a small volcanic island with a diameter of about 6 km, about 35 km from the capital Honiara, at 9°08' South, 159°49' East. In 1999 Savo Island was home to 2,549 people (Solomon Islands Census Office 1999), most of whom had Savosavo as their first language. Today, the number of speakers can be estimated at about 2,500.

The people on Savo are swidden agriculturalists. They mainly live off fruit and the root crops and vegetables they grow inland, supplemented by fish and, occasionally, chicken and pigs. Rice, which is not grown but has to be bought, is nowadays also an important part of the diet. Their social organization is based on clan lineages. There are six clans on Savo, each of which has a traditional clan leader ('chief'). The leaders of all clans are organized in the Savo Ghizi Kato House of Chiefs. The chiefs and the House of Chiefs are still important authorities on the local level, alongside government and church institutions.

Island Melanesia is the link between Polynesia, an area where only languages of the Austronesian family are spoken, and Papua New Guinea. All those languages on Papua New Guinea and in Island Melanesia that are not Austronesian have been subsumed under the label 'Papuan'. In contrast to the Austronesian languages, which are all members of one family and can be shown to be related, the group of Papuan languages comprises very diverse languages. Some of them can be shown to be related, but for a large number the genetic affiliation is still unclear. While speakers of Austronesian languages arrived only about 3,000 years ago, the time depth for the ancestors of the Papuan languages is much deeper, possibly up to 35,000 years in Papua New Guinea, and 25,000 years for the Solomon Islands. This means that it is often quite challenging to prove genetic relationships between Papuan languages. Island Melanesia is thus a very interesting area for historical linguistics and research on language contact.

The Solomon Islands are the easternmost country where Papuan languages are spoken, and Savosavo is the easternmost Papuan language of the Solomon Islands. For a small number of languages in the Temotu Province (the east-most

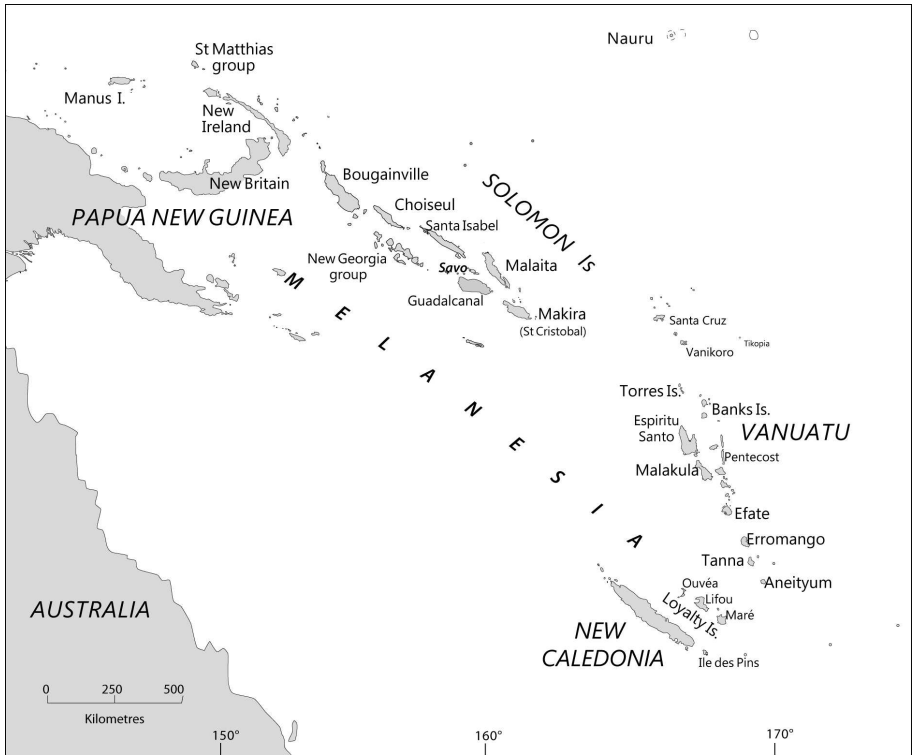


Figure 1. Map of the Solomon Islands and neighboring countries

province of the Solomon Islands, see Fig. 1), there was a long-standing discussion whether they should be classified as Austronesian or non-Austronesian languages (cf. Wurm 1978; Lincoln 1978; Ross 2001), but Ross and Næss have provided convincing evidence that they are indeed Austronesian (Ross and Næss 2007). Savosavo, spoken on Savo Island in the Central Province (Fig. 2), is one of the four languages in the central Solomon Islands that have been unequivocally classified as Papuan. The other three are Bilua (Obata 2003) and Touo in the Western Province, and Lavukaleve (Terrill 2003) in the Central Province (see Fig. 2). These four languages are not closely related and quite different from each other, both in structure and in the lexicon, but have been claimed to belong to one language family, the East Papuan family (Ross 2001; Dunn et al. 2002, 2005; Terrill 2002). A comparison of 324 lexical items across Austronesian and Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands conducted by Tryon and Hackman (1983) shows that while the Austronesian languages share a high percentage of their lexicon (sometimes up to 70 or 80%), the four Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands have few lexical items in common. For example, Savosavo and Lavukaleve show the highest percentage of shared vocabulary of all possible pairings between the Papuan languages, which is only about 13.7% (Tryon and

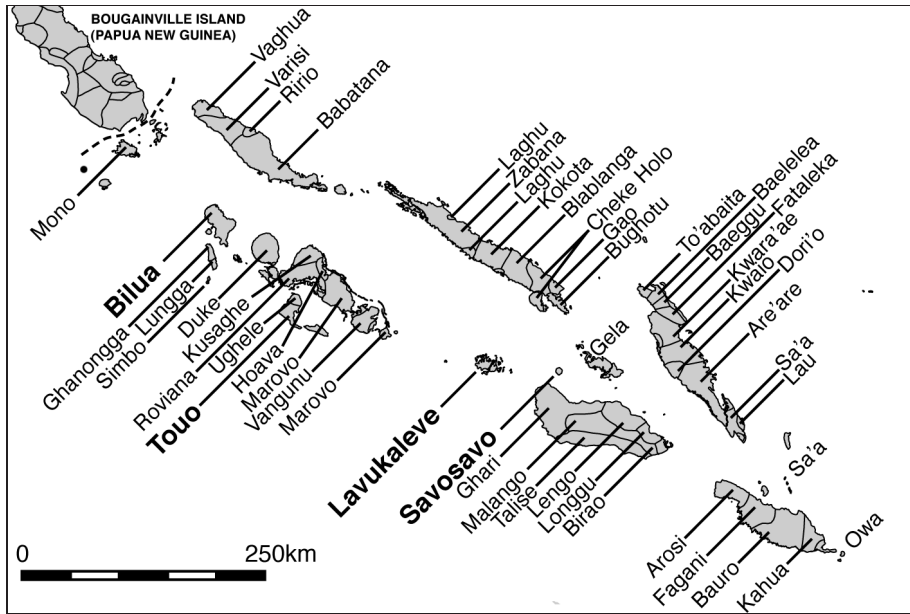


Figure 2. Language map of the Solomon Islands; the names of the Papuan languages are bold and in a larger font

Hackman 1983: 456, 460); in contrast, Savosavo has up to 20% shared vocabulary with neighboring Austronesian languages (Tryon and Hackman 1983: 464). But although there has been intensive contact between Savosavo and the neighboring Austronesian languages for a long time, as evidenced by borrowings and loans, it has retained very distinct grammatical features (e.g. SOV word order and a gender system) and kept its unique character. It is unintelligible for speakers of other languages, whether Austronesian or Papuan, and (like the other Papuan languages in the country) has a reputation of being difficult to learn.

Although the official language of the Solomon Islands is English, the most important contact language these days is Solomon Islands Pijin (SIP), the lingua franca of the whole country. It is the primary means of communication in Honiara, and almost everyone on Savo – and indeed in the Central Province and Guadalcanal, if not in all of the Solomon Islands – is fluent in SIP. SIP and English are also the languages used in school. Children usually acquire SIP only slightly later than Savosavo. Only one quarter of the Savosavo-speaking children under the age of 14 cannot speak SIP, and over the age of 14 it is only less than one percent (Solomon Islands Census Office 1999).

Other important contact languages are the neighboring Austronesian languages. Lavukaleve, the only neighboring Papuan language, is of lesser importance, as very few Savosavo speakers have knowledge of Lavukaleve and vice versa. The closest neighboring Austronesian languages are Ghari (north-

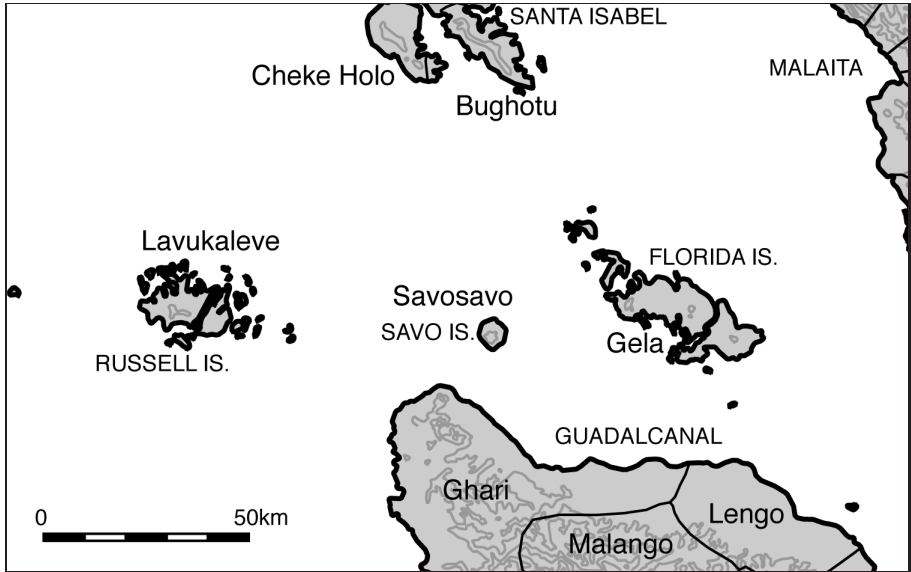


Figure 3. Map with the languages and islands around Savo Island

west Guadalcanal, comprising a number of dialects (Lewis 2009)), Lengo (north-east Guadalcanal), Gela (Florida Islands, Central Province, Crowley 2002a) and Bughotu (St. Ysabel). Figure 3 shows where these languages are located in relation to Savo Island. Of special importance to the Savosavo-speaking community is Gela, as there are some villages in the area of Pokilo in the northeast of Savo Island where Gela, and not Savosavo, is the primary language. In the south of Savo, Ghari is the most important contact language, but Savosavo still is the primary language in this area. Historically, the Savo people also had contacts and alliances with other, more distant, groups, e.g. with speakers of Marovo in the Western Province, marked in Fig. 2 (Edvard Hviding, pers. comm.).

For a long time, oral transmission was the only way of passing on knowledge of historical events, customs and beliefs from one generation to the other. Still, today, according to Cronin et al. (2004: 110), the “Central Province has the lowest literacy rate of the Solomon Islands (c. 52%, measured as those who have attended at least 4 years of school).” With the disruption in the educational services due to ethnic tension escalating between 1998 and 2001, illiteracy might be even higher in the current generation of children of school age, as many did not go back when the schools started again after two or more years. The number given above pertains to literacy in English, literacy in the local languages such as Savosavo is much lower, as people rarely learn to write their own language. Consequently, Savosavo is only occasionally used in writing, usually in short notes and notices to the public, or in private letters.

Within an ongoing Savosavo DoBeS (Documentation of Endangered Languages) project financed by the Volkswagen Foundation in Germany, an orthography was developed that combines the two main orthographies that have been in use for some time, introduced by the Catholic and the Anglican church respectively. These alternative spelling systems (cf. Sec. 1.5) added to the insecurity many speakers felt when they tried to write in their own language, so many people used to go and ask elders for help when they had to have something written. Until recently, the only printed material in Savosavo was a translation of about 20 pages from the prayer book used by the Anglican church. As part of the documentation project, materials like story books and dictionaries are currently developed and made available to the speech community, and are received with great enthusiasm.¹ Furthermore, two workshops on Savosavo literacy were organized in 2010, in collaboration between LASI (Literacy Association of Solomon Islands) and the DoBeS project. During the first one, a course book for Savosavo literacy courses was put together, based on a template from LASI. The DoBeS project then financed the printing of this course book, and during the second workshop, LASI personnel trained a number of interested Savosavo speakers in how to teach Savosavo literacy with these course books. It is hoped that the materials produced by the DoBeS project in combination with this newly starting literacy program will encourage Savosavo speakers to use their language more, and more confidently, in reading and writing, and ultimately support language maintenance.

1.2. Typological profile

Savosavo has a phoneme inventory of medium size, with seventeen consonants and five vowels. Four places (bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar) and six manners (stop, nasal, fricative, trill, lateral and approximant) of articulation are distinguished. The stop series consists of three voiceless (p, t, k) and four voiced stops (b, d, ʝ, g). The voiced stops are almost always prenasalized. A series of four nasals parallels the series of voiced stops (m, n, ɲ, ŋ). Two fricative phonemes (s, z), one trill (r), one lateral (l) and two approximants (β, w) complete the set of consonants. The five-vowel set is unremarkable (a, e, i, o, u). Syllables are open and consist of a vowel or an onset consonant plus a vowel. Root stress is mostly on the penultimate syllable, but in some trisyllabic words it is on the initial syllable. Bound morphemes often modify the stress pattern of the root they attach to. Reduplication of the first one or two syllables is mostly used for derivative purposes, but also to mark distributive plural in noun phrases.

1. Some of these materials are already accessible in the Savosavo part of the DoBeS online archive at http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser/?openpath=MPI553799\%23

Savosavo is rather agglutinating. Bound morphemes are mostly suffixes and enclitics. The only prefixing morphemes are object prefixes used on some verbs. There is very little nominal morphology. Enclitics marking dual and plural number attach to the head noun of a noun phrase, or to the right-most constituent in headless noun phrases. Case marking enclitics are phrasal and attach to a noun phrase as a whole.

The main word classes are nouns and verbs. Other word classes include adjectives, quantifiers, pronouns, determiners, locationals, derivative markers and postpositions. In addition to a set of free personal pronouns, there is a set of enclitic nominative personal pronouns that can only be used for syntactic subjects.

Savosavo has a gender system with two classes, masculine and feminine. For higher animate beings, the class assignment is semantic. All inanimate referents are by default masculine, but can be treated as feminine to form diminutives or express high relevance in discourse. A gender system is rather unusual for the area. The neighboring, but not (closely) related language Lavukaleve also has a gender system, but with three classes and much less flexibility. The neighboring Oceanic languages do not have gender systems.

The structure in the noun phrase is rather rigid. Only the modifier *pono* ‘only’ can follow the head noun, all other modifiers, including relative clauses and determiners, precede the head noun. Noun phrases can be very long and complex. There are two types of relative clause, both externally headed by the head noun. All syntactic positions in the relative clause can be relativized.

Verbs consist of a root with two layers of morphology: the inner layer contains transitivity-relevant morphology, i.e. object agreement prefixes and suffixes as well as transitivity-changing suffixes. Subjects are not cross-referenced on the verb. The object affixes mark person, number and, in the third person singular, gender of the object. The morphemes of the inner layer are not restricted to finite, main-clause verbs, but can be present on subordinated, non-finite verb forms as well as on nominalized verbs. The outer layer contains morphemes for tense, aspect, mood and finiteness. Many of these outer layer morphemes cannot be combined and only occur with finite, main-clause verbs. Some are unspecified in terms of finiteness and can occur in some subordinated clauses, in non-finite clauses of clause chains, or in nominalized constructions. The main distinction in tense is between future and non-future. There are markers for future, simultaneous and anticipatory events. Aspectual distinctions that are marked are past imperfective, present imperfective and background imperfective. Mood markers are imperative suffixes, an apprehensive marker and an irrealis suffix. Serial verb constructions are common in Savosavo, as they are in many Papuan and Oceanic languages. In Savosavo, some serial verb constructions consist of fully lexical verbs, some contain aspectual verbs and some serve to increase the transitivity of the verb complex.

The basic constituent order in a verbal clause is Subject–Object–Verb when the arguments are expressed by full noun phrases. This is, however, rather rare and pragmatically not neutral. Very often the subjects are expressed by second-position enclitic pronouns, which can be preceded by an object noun phrase, an adjunct or an adverb. Nonetheless, Savosavo is a fairly typical SOV-language: suffixing, with postpositions, modifiers usually preceding the modified and the possessor preceding the possessed. In non-verbal clauses, the basic constituent order is Subject–Predicate, but predicates are frequently fronted.

Savosavo has a ‘marked nominative’ case system, i.e. syntactic subject noun phrases are marked as nominative, while object noun phrases are unmarked. Other cases marked by bound morphology are the genitive, which is the subject case in nominalized clauses and some subordinate and cosubordinate clauses, the locative, which is a multi-functional case also used for other semantic roles, e.g. instruments, and the ablative.

There are two emphatic morphemes, the particle *te* and the enclitic *=e*, that are used very frequently. They emphasize the preceding full constituent (i.e., not enclitics) to mark focus or a change or shift in topic. The particle *te* can be used to emphasize phrasal modifiers in noun phrases, arguments and adjuncts in verbal clauses, and constituents of non-verbal clauses. The enclitic *=e* is used exclusively on the clausal level, mostly in non-verbal clauses. It attaches to a clause-initial constituent, either subject or object in non-verbal clauses or arguments and adjuncts in verbal clauses. If *=e* ‘EMPH’ is attached to a subject NP, no nominative case marking can be used. Neither emphatic morpheme can be used to emphasize verbal predicates, conjunctions and most adverbs. The enclitic *=e*, however, is often attached to nominalized verbal clauses, which are used to place special emphasis on a predicate or on an event as a whole.

Savosavo has a number of subordinate clauses, including two types of relative clause, conditional clauses, temporal clauses, simultaneous clauses and purpose clauses. Clause chaining is a common phenomenon. The non-finite verbs of initial and medial clauses in clause chains take a same-subject suffix if the subject of the following clause is the same, but remain unmarked if the subject changes. Tail-head linkage, i.e. the repetition of the last verbal predicate of the preceding clause as the initial predicate of a new clause chain, is also found in Savosavo. Clause chaining, tail-head linkage and switch-subject marking are common phenomena in Papuan languages. What is unusual about the Savosavo system is that it is the different-subject condition that does not require overt marking; usually it is the same-subject condition that is unmarked.

Nominalizations are a central part of Savosavo grammar. The nominalization suffix *-ghu* can be used to derive nominalized structures for varying contexts, with varying features. The resulting structures range from derived nouns to nominalized clause chains, which can contain object noun phrases, adjuncts, adverbs, the emphatic particle *te* and a small number of TAM morphemes.

1.3. Previous work on Savosavo

The first published materials on Savosavo are Codrington (1974), providing a brief sketch and a 70-item vocabulary list, Todd (1977), a brief comparative work on Savosavo, Lavukaleve, Bilua and Touo, the four Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands (cf. Sec. 1.1 above), and Tryon and Hackman (1983), giving a comparative list of 324 vocabulary items from Solomon Islands languages. Todd (1977) is based on about 7 months of fieldwork on Savo Island undertaken by the author in 1972–73.

The earliest recordings of Savosavo are two recordings (made in 1958 and in the 1960s) in a collection of tapes recorded by Arthur Capell, stored in the PARADISEC repository. Both recordings, comprising 21 minutes of elicited and narrative material, have been transcribed, glossed and translated as far as possible by myself, and the annotation has been archived in the PARADISEC repository as well.²

1.4. The nature of the data used in this grammar

The data used in this grammar was collected during 13 months of fieldwork. Most of this fieldwork (12 months between 2002 and 2005) was funded by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen as part of a PhD project and connected to the interdisciplinary research project “Pioneers of Island Melanesia”³, one more month of fieldwork in 2007 was financed by the Volkswagen Foundation as part of the project “Documentation of Savosavo” in the DoBeS (‘Documentation of Endangered Languages’) program⁴. All the data used in this grammar is stored in the archive of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. The access to the data itself is restricted, but the structure of the corpus and some basic metadata can be accessed under http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser?openpath=MPI50527%23. Some of this data was also included in the Savosavo part of the DoBeS archive (http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser?openpath=MPI553799%23).

During these 13 months I recorded about 42 hours of text, from 46 different speakers (30 male, 16 female), ranging in age from 14 to about 85. Basic meta-

2. The recordings as well as the annotations are stored as AC1-013-B and AC1-106-A and can be accessed online (with password) in the PARADISEC repository at <https://store.apac.edu.au/paradisec/repository/AC1/013> and <https://store.apac.edu.au/paradisec/repository/AC1/106>. For more information on the repository, and for the procedure of requesting access, see <http://www.paradisec.org.au/home.html>.

3. The Project was part of the European Science Foundation EUROCORES program “The Origin of Man, Language and Languages” (contract no. ERAS-CT-2003-980409); for more information see the homepage of the project: <http://www.eastpapuan.ling.su.se/index.html>.

4. For more information see <http://www.mpi.nl/dobes>.

Table 1. Summary of the data used in this grammar, sorted by text type

Text type	# Texts	Recording time	Records	# Speakers (m/f)
Narratives	54	13:51	9,264	31 (22/9)
Procedural	9	2:06	744	9 (7/2)
Stimulus-based Elicitation	25	8:10	3,863	16 (10/6)
TOTAL	88	24:07	13,873	46 ⁵ (30/16)

data in IMDI format exist for all recordings. The description presented in this grammar is based on about 24 hours of these recordings which are transcribed and glossed in Toolbox. The recorded material is supplemented by field notes of elicitation sessions. In total, the corpus contains about 13,000 records in Toolbox, with one record usually equivalent to one sentence. For some elicited material, a record contains a full turn of a speaker, e.g. a description of a picture. A lexical database in Toolbox format based on this corpus consists of about 2,000 entries at present.

The material used in this grammar comprises mostly narratives, procedural texts and material elicited by games and video stimuli developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. For each of these categories, Table 1 provides the number of individual texts, the recording time and records, and the number of speakers.

Table 2 provides the list of stimulus materials used to elicit data on specific topics. In addition, there are about 1,000 example sentences from grammatical elicitation sessions, including responses elicited with the Tense/Aspect questionnaire (Dahl 1985), and daily observations. The two recordings made by Arthur Capell (cf. Sec. 1.3 above) were also used; they comprise about 21 minutes (247 Toolbox records) of elicited and narrative material.

Throughout this grammar, examples from coherent discourse such as narratives or procedural texts, but also elicited material such as dialogues about pictures or scenes between speakers, were given preference. Only if there was no suitable example of this kind, other elicited examples were used.

1.5. Orthography and conventions used in examples

As mentioned above in Sec. 1.1, there are a number of orthographies found on Savo Islands, all differing in the spelling of the same few sounds (see Tab. 3; grey cells mark differences between orthographies). The most widespread orthogra-

5. Some speakers provided data from more than one category, therefore the total number of speakers is not the sum of the number of speakers for each type of text.

Table 2. Stimulus sets used to elicit data on specific topics, together with the number of sessions, the recording time and records, and the number of participants that contributed the data

Stimulus set	Sessions	Recording time	# Records	# Particip. (m/f)
Man & Tree (Pederson et al. 1998)	3	2:06	1182	6 (3/3)
Staged Events (Staden et al. 2001)	1	1:00	954	2 (2/0)
Cut & Break (Bohnenmeyer et al. 2001)	4	2:16	462	4 (3/1)
Put & Take (Bowerman et al. 2004)	3	1:10	198	3 (2/1)
Reciprocals (Evans et al. 2004)	6	1:38	238	6 (3/3)
Topological Relations Picture Series (Bowerman and Pederson 1993)	6	0:00	658	4 (4/0)
MoVerb (Levinson 2001)	2	0:00	171	2 (2/0)

phies are those introduced by the Anglican and the Catholic churches, which make use of digraphs for some sounds, but other variants (e.g. in the translation of some pages of the prayer book used by the Anglican church) use diacritics or slanted letters instead. In the context of the ongoing DoBeS documentation project on Savosavo (see pages 5 and 8), an orthography combining the Anglican and Catholic orthographies by choosing the unambiguous graphemes *q* for [g] and *gh* for [u] has been discussed with members of the speech community and was approved by chiefs and elders. This 'unified orthography' is also used in this grammar.

In the examples throughout this grammar, the following conventions apply, many based on the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2004):

- Each example consists of at least three lines: the first provides the Savosavo text, separated into morphemes, the second the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and the last provides a translation into English, enclosed in quotes (''); sometimes both a free and a literal (lit.) translation are given. For long examples, there can be more than one pair of text and gloss lines.
- In the Savosavo text, punctuation reflects intonation. A period (.) marks a sentence-final drop in pitch followed by a distinctive pause, while a question mark (?) stands for a sentence-final rise in pitch, again followed by a distinctive pause. A small, sentence-internal rise in pitch that is not followed by pause is marked by a comma (,), while a sentence-internal drop in pitch

Table 3. Representation of phonemes in different orthographies

Phoneme	Anglican	Catholic	Other variants	Unified orthography
/a/	A a	A a		A a
/b/	B b	B b		B b
/d/	D d	D d		D d
/e/	E e	E e		E e
/g/	G g	Q q	G, g	Q q
/ŋ/	Gh gh	G g		Gh gh
/i/	I i	I i		I i
/j/	J j	J j		J j
/k/	K k	K k		K k
/l/	L l	L l		L l
/m/	M m	M m		M m
/n/	N n	N n		N n
/ɲ/	Gn gn	Gn gn	$\tilde{N} \tilde{n}$	Gn gn
/ŋ/	Ng ng	Ng ng	$\bar{N} \bar{n}, N$	Ng ng
/o/	O o	O o		O o
/p/	P p	P p		P p
/r/	R r	R r		R r
/s/	S s	S s		S s
/t/	T t	T t		T t
/u/	U u	U u		U u
/β/	V v	V v		V v
/z/	Z z	Z z		Z z

that is not followed by a pause is marked by a semicolon (;). A solidus is used to indicate pauses (/). If material is omitted because of morphophonological processes, it is provided in parentheses.

- In both the Savosavo text line and the line containing the glosses, suffixation is indicated by a hyphen (-), cliticization by an equals sign (=), and reduplication by a tilde (~). If a gloss consists of multiple words or abbreviations, they are separated by a period (.). Savosavo words consisting of two morphemes that cannot be easily separated, e.g. when the suffixation leads to a stem-internal sound change, are not separated in the Savosavo text. The glosses of the morphemes involved will be provided separated by a period. Square brackets ([]) indicate that a gloss does not correspond to any overt element in the Savosavo word. In a translation, however, square brackets mark additional information that is necessary for the understanding of the example.
- Solomon Islands Pijin and English words used in Savosavo examples are underlined, e.g. olomane ‘old man’.
- The translation is followed by a code consisting of letters and numbers that specifies the speaker, the text and the exact location of the example in the cor-

pus. Furthermore, it provides information about whether the example is part of a longer, coherent stretch of free speech or not: When the letters precede the numbers, e.g. ap_polupolu_002, the example is one of natural free speech, from a narrative or connected discourse. This includes data elicited with the Man & Tree pictures (Pederson et al. 1998) and the Staged Events video clips (Staden et al. 2001), because the speakers interacted freely during these tasks. When the numbers precede the letters, e.g. 06-rr_bp, the example was taken from elicited material or noted during participant observation. The code used for examples taken from the recordings made by Arthur Capell, e.g. AC1-013-B_009, consists of the file name (AC1-106-A or AC1-013-B) and a three-digit number.

There are audio files available online for each of the examples for which a figure with the intonation contour is provided, as well as for the texts in the appendix. They can be found on the publisher's website at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9783110289657.fm>

Chapter 2

Phonology

The phonology of Savosavo does not differ substantially from its neighboring Austronesian languages (cf. Lynch et al. 2002). This chapter begins with an overview of phonemic variation (2.1) and the structure of syllables and roots (2.2). The following section on stress (2.3) describes the phonotactic rules for stress assignment, and the morphological properties governing stress shift. Other morpho-phonological processes are described in Section 2.4. The chapter closes with a brief instrumental description of sentential intonation and ‘vocal gestures’ (2.5).

2.1. Phoneme inventory

The phoneme inventory consists of twenty-two phonemes, seventeen consonants and five vowels.⁶ In addition to this there is also one marginal phoneme, a diphthong. The consonants will be presented first, followed by a discussion of the vowels.

2.1.1. Consonants

There are four places and six manners of articulation for consonants. Table 4 gives the IPA symbols for each phoneme.

If a word borrowed from Solomon Islands Pijin contains the labiodental fricative [f], it is often, but not always, changed into [p] or [β]. Whether [f] is used or not seems to depend whether the word is a recent loan or not, and on the level of proficiency of the speaker in English and/or Pijin. As [f] is currently restricted to more recent loanwords from Solomon Islands Pijin, and to the speech of speakers who are proficient in English and/or Pijin, it is not taken to be a phoneme of Savosavo.

6. According to Maddieson (1984:7) “the typical size of an inventory lies between 20 and 37 segments”; compared to this, the size of the inventory of Savosavo (22) is cross-linguistically typical. In particular, it is a typical inventory size for the geographic area (cf. Lynch et al. 2002). The vowel system consists of the five most common vowels (Maddieson 1984: 125). Comparing the number of vowels and consonants, one gets a ratio of 0.29 (no. of vowels / no. of consonants), which is slightly below the median value of 0.36 for Maddieson’s UPSID data (Maddieson 1984:9).

Table 4. Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
voiceless stop	p	t		k
voiced stop	^m b	ⁿ d	^ɲ ʃ	^ŋ g
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
voiceless fricative		s		
voiced fricative		z		
trill		r		
lateral		l		
approximant	β			ʋ

Correspondence of phonemes to graphemes

Savosavo examples are given in an orthography that combines the two most widely known orthographies (see discussion in Section 1.5). For most phonemes, the corresponding graphemes are identical to the respective IPA symbols, except for the following:

Phoneme	Grapheme
^ɲ ʃ	<i>j</i>
^ŋ g	<i>q</i>
ɲ	<i>gn</i>
ŋ	<i>ng</i>
β	<i>v</i>
ʋ	<i>gh</i>

The digraphs are never ambiguous, because there are no consonant clusters in Savosavo (cf. Sec. 2.2).

Stops

There are three voiceless stops (/p/, /t/, /k/) and four voiced stops (^mb/, ⁿd/, ^ɲʃ/, ^ŋg/). The voiceless stops are not or only slightly aspirated, aspiration is not phonemic. The voiced stops have prenasalized and non-prenasalized allophones. Both allophones can occur word-initially as well as word-medially. However, the prenasalized allophones are much more frequent, especially in non-initial position. Non-prenasalized allophones are mostly found in word-initial position and only rarely word-medially.

- /**p**/ voiceless bilabial stop Examples:
 → [p] *pade* ['paⁿde] ‘one’
 mapa ['mapa] ‘person’

- /**t**/ voiceless alveolar stop Examples:
 → [t] *tone* ['tone] ‘brother’
 ata ['ata] ‘here’

- /**k**/ voiceless velar stop Examples:
 → [k] *kurighidi* [kuriⁿʔiⁿdi] ‘fly’
 roko ['roko] ‘plank canoe’

- /^m**b**/ voiced bilabial stop Examples:
 → [^mb] (~ [b]) *batu* [^mbatu] ~ ['batu] ‘head’
 ghobu [ʔo^mbu] ‘middle’

- /ⁿ**d**/ voiced alveolar stop Examples:
 → [ⁿd] (~ [d]) *dala* [ⁿdala] ~ ['dala] ‘kite’
 pada ['paⁿda] ‘thunder’

- /^ɲ**j**/ voiced palatal stop Examples:
 → [^ɲj^z] ~ [^ɲʒ] ~ [^ɲc^ɛ] *jai* [^ɲj^zai] ~ [^ɲc^ɛai] ‘river’
 ~ [c^ɛ] ~ [^ɲc^ɛ] ~ [c^ɛ] ~ ['c^ɛai]
 majali [ma^ɲj^zali] ‘ghost’

This phoneme has a considerable number of allophones, varying in a number of features:

- All allophones have a fricative release, but the ratio of the stop portion to the fricative portion varies: Sometimes the stop is almost inaudible, sometimes it is dominant. With respect to this feature the allophones seem to be in free variation.
- It can be voiced or voiceless. The voiced allophone is always, the voiceless one often prenasalized. The voiceless allophones are found more often word-initially than word-medially. This also holds for the prenasalization: as with voiced stops, the non-prenasalized allophones occur mainly word-initial. The voiced allophones are more common than the voiceless ones.
- The place of articulation can be alveo-palatal or palatal, the alveo-palatal variety being more common in both positions.

Due to this variation, it is difficult to decide which of the possible realizations should be taken as the underlying form. Todd (1977: 808) analyzed this sound as a palatal voiced prenasalized stop. But since the fricative release is always present this phoneme could alternatively be analyzed as a palatal or alveo-palatal affricate. As Clark and Yallop (1995: 123) say, “there is a close relationship between palatal articulation and affrication”, occasionally resulting in different analyses of the same sound as an affricate or a stop. Also, Benjamin (1985: 8) notes for Aslian languages in southeast Asia that “the palatal stop consonants *c* and *j*, when immediately preceding a vowel, produce a degree of friction as the tongue pulls away from the palate; the intensity of friction varies from speaker to speaker”. I therefore decided to follow Todd’s analysis and regard it as a palatal stop with a fricative release. Both analyses can account for the phonetic realizations, but treating it as an affricate would mean adding a further manner of articulation to the phoneme inventory and be less economical. The fact that the phoneme discussed here is commonly prenasalized like all other voiced stops and that there is a corresponding palatal nasal supports our analysis, as it leads to a balanced phoneme inventory which for all nasals has stops at the same place of articulation (see Maddieson (1984: 13) “[n]asal consonants do not occur unless stops (including affricates) occur at (broadly speaking) the same place of articulation”).

With regard to voicing, given the fact that both voiced and voiceless allophones exist, the question arises if the underlying phoneme is indeed a voiced stop. Because prenasalization is commonly found with this phoneme, which was also noted by Todd (1977), and because it often occurs with voiceless realizations as well the voiced stop seems to be the appropriate choice.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|--|
| – / ^h g/ voiced velar stop | Examples: | |
| → [ʔg] (~ [g]) | <i>qazu</i> | [^h gazu] ~ [gazu] ‘ripe coconut’ |
| | <i>aqe</i> | [^h aʔge] ‘branch’ |

Nasals

- | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| – /m/ bilabial nasal | Examples: | |
| → [m] | <i>muzi</i> | [^h muzi] ‘night’ |
| | <i>kakami</i> | [ka ^h kami] ‘to play’ |
| – /n/ alveolar nasal | Examples: | |
| → [n] | <i>nale</i> | [^h nale] ‘tooth’ |
| | <i>zine</i> | [^h zine] ‘mat’ |

- /ɲ/ palatal nasal Examples:
 → [ɲ] *gnari* [ˈɲari] ‘small’
 vognu [ˈβoɲu] ‘turtle’
- /ŋ/ velar nasal Examples:
 → [ŋ] *ngitu* [ˈŋitu] ‘breadfruit seed’
 musanga [ˈmusɛŋa] ‘evening’

Fricatives

- /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative Examples:
 → [s] *suba* [ˈsu^mba] ‘garden’
 ghase [ˈuɣase] ‘to be happy’
- /z/ voiced alveolar fricative Examples:
 → [z] *ze* [ze] ‘they’
 muzi [ˈmuzi] ‘night’

Trill

- /r/ alveolar trill Examples:
 → [r] ~ [r̥] *reka* [ˈreka] ‘dust, ground’
 ara [ˈara] ‘five’

The alveolar trill is sometimes realized as a single tap, especially in fast speech. These two allophones are in free variation.

Lateral

- /l/ alveolar lateral Examples:
 → [l] *lapi* [ˈlapi] ‘tongue’
 kuvala [ˈkuβala] ‘afternoon’

Approximants

- /β̞/ voiced bilabial
 unrounded approximant Examples:
 → [β̞] ~ [v] *vila* [ˈβ̞ila] ‘lightning’
 kove [ˈkoβ̞e] ‘rainbow’

This phoneme is sometimes realized as a voiced labiodental approximant. Again, these allophones are in free variation. Todd (1977: 808) analyzed this phoneme as a voiced bilabial fricative (/β̞/).

– /ɥ/ voiced velar approximant	Examples:		
→ [ɥ]	<i>gharo</i>	[ˈɥaro]	‘gecko’
	<i>ivaghu</i>	[iˈβauɥu]	‘day’

This phoneme was analyzed by Todd (1977: 808) as a voiced velar fricative (/ɣ/).

2.1.2. Minimal contrast between consonants

The following minimal sets or near-minimal sets between phonetically close consonants are evidence for their phonemic status.

	Initial	Medial
p:b	<i>puzu</i> ‘waist’ <i>buzu</i> ‘breadfruit’	<i>kapu</i> ‘to be full’ <i>kabu</i> ‘to run away’
p:v	<i>pazu</i> ‘palm leaf’ <i>vazu</i> ‘to bud’	<i>sape</i> ‘to follow (2DU)’ <i>savea</i> ‘fin’
b:v	<i>boli</i> ‘intestines’ <i>voli-li</i> ‘to buy (3SG.M)’	<i>labu</i> ‘belly button’ <i>lavu</i> ‘place’
b:m	<i>barata</i> ‘hillside’ <i>marara</i> ‘to be bright’	<i>kaba</i> ‘shell’ <i>kama</i> ‘armpit’
t:d	<i>tada</i> ‘man’ <i>dada</i> ‘to be afraid’	<i>pata-li</i> ‘to separate rope (3SG.M)’ <i>pada-li</i> ‘to count (3SG.M)’
d:n	<i>data</i> ‘outside’ <i>nata</i> ‘flat area’	<i>vudu</i> ‘(boy)friend’ <i>vunu-li</i> ‘to smell (3SG.M)’
d:r	<i>doi</i> ‘earth’ <i>roi</i> ‘to sink’	<i>kudo</i> ‘hen’ <i>kuro</i> ‘pot’
d:l	<i>dole</i> ‘louse’ <i>lole</i> ‘enough’	<i>dada</i> ‘to be afraid’ <i>dala</i> ‘kite’
d:j	<i>dai</i> ‘good’ <i>jai</i> ‘river’	<i>kudia</i> ‘fin’ <i>kuji</i> ‘bamboo (for picking apples)’
j:gn	<i>gnari</i> ‘small’ <i>jari-li</i> ‘to learn sth.’	<i>pagne</i> ‘to make (1SG)’ <i>pajepaje</i> ‘bamboo wall’

	Initial	Medial
r:l	<i>raju</i> ‘level ground’ <i>l-aju</i> ‘to finish (3SG.M)’	<i>kuro</i> ‘pot’ <i>kulo</i> ‘seawards’
r:n	<i>rata</i> ‘to be slippery’ <i>nata</i> ‘flat area’	<i>ura</i> ‘crayfish’ <i>una</i> ‘earring’
l:n	<i>lo</i> ‘he’ <i>no</i> ‘you’	<i>male</i> ‘left’ <i>mane</i> ‘then’
s:z	<i>sala</i> ‘to follow (3SG.M)’ <i>zala-li</i> ‘to look for (3SG.M)’	<i>posovata</i> ‘yellow’ <i>pozogho</i> ‘bottom’
k:g:gh	<i>karu</i> ‘edge’ <i>qaruqaru</i> ‘to be hard’ <i>gharu</i> ‘to move’	<i>ake</i> ‘what’ <i>aqe</i> ‘branch’ <i>aghe</i> ‘we (excl.)’
g:ng	<i>qasi-li</i> ‘to close (3SG.M)’ <i>ngasi</i> ‘to be hard’	<i>koqa-li</i> ‘to erect posts (3SG.M)’ <i>konga-li</i> ‘to worship (3SG.M)’

2.1.3. Vowels

Savosavo has a vowel system consisting of five vowels. In addition to these vowels there is the vowel combination /ai/, which has the status of a diphthong in some contexts (see Sec. 2.1.6).

Table 5. Vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

There is free variation between allophones of /i/, /e/, /o/ and /u/.

- /i/ high front unrounded vowel → [i] ~ [ɪ] ~ [i̥]
- /e/ mid front unrounded vowel → [e] ~ [ɛ] ~ [ɐ]
- /a/ low central unrounded vowel → [a]
- /o/ mid back rounded vowel → [o] ~ [ɔ]
- /u/ high back rounded vowel → [u] ~ [ʊ]

Non-phonemic nasalization of vowels is found when they are preceded or followed by nasals. There is no contrast between long and short vowels. However,

in monosyllabic words the vowel is usually lengthened, e.g. *mi* [mi:] ‘fish’ and *tu* [tu:] ‘midrib of a palm leaf’, at least when uttered in isolation.

2.1.4. Minimal contrast between vowels

These minimal sets show the phonemic status of the five vowels.

	Initial	Final
a:e:i	<i>aghe</i> ‘we (dual incl.)’ <i>eghe</i> ‘Ngali nut tree’ <i>ighe</i> ‘recently’	<i>kata</i> ‘bushwards (dist.)’ <i>k-ate</i> ‘to hold (3SG.F)’ <i>kati</i> ‘bushwards (prox.)’
o:u	<i>ora</i> ‘to burn’ <i>ura</i> ‘crayfish’	<i>kao</i> ‘bushwards’ <i>k-au</i> ‘to take (3SG.F)’

2.1.5. Vowel combinations

Sequences of identical vowels are not allowed in Savosavo. When a suffix that starts with a vowel is attached to a stem ending in the same vowel, these two vowels are fused into a vowel of normal length. One consequence is that, for example, the attachment of the suffixes *-tu* ‘PRS.IPFV’ and *-atu* ‘BG.IPFV’ to a stem like *vuz* ‘to come into being’ leads to the same form /vuzatu/ (see Sec. 2.4.1.1)

Apart from identical vowel sequences all possible vowel combinations are attested, but /ie/ only occurs when the enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ is added to a word ending in /i/ (e.g. *mi* ‘fish’ + =*e* ‘EMPH’ → *mie*), and /uo/ is only attested in one word that is a frozen reduplicated form (*ovuovu* ‘gas, steam’). Table 6 lists all vowel combinations together with an example.

2.1.6. Diphthong

Arguments for distinguishing vowel sequences from diphthongs come from stress patterns of words uttered in isolation or in a very short sentence, in particular the influence of affixes and clitics on the stress pattern of a root. These patterns are discussed in detail below in Section 2.3. At the time of writing only one vowel sequence has been identified as having the status of a diphthong in some contexts, namely /ai/.

The example that suggests that /ai/ sometimes has the status of a diphthong is the noun *vaitula* ‘servant’, which has primary stress on the first syllable: *vai-tula*. If /ai/ is analyzed as a diphthong, *vaitula* ‘servant’ is a trisyllabic root, if it is analyzed as a vowel sequence, it would be a root with four syllables.

Table 6. Vowel combinations

	a	e	i	o	u
a	*	<i>ae</i> 'to be married'	<i>jai</i> 'river'	<i>kao</i> 'bushwards'	<i>kakau</i> 'arm/hand'
e	<i>onea</i> 'to listen'	*	<i>kolei</i> 'megapode egg'	<i>eo</i> 'yes'	<i>seu</i> 'container'
i	<i>liaza</i> 'to return'	<i>mi=e</i> 'fish=EMPH'	*	<i>pio</i> 'man (addr.)'	<i>siu</i> 'to be edible'
o	<i>moaba</i> 'day bef. yesterday'	<i>dodoe</i> '± 4 gen. relative'	<i>ghoi</i> 'also'	*	<i>bou</i> 'heel'
u	<i>buara</i> 'root'	<i>due</i> 'bamboo segment'	<i>kui</i> 'eight'	<i>ovuovu</i> 'steam, gas'	*

All four-syllable roots in Savosavo show the same stress pattern, with primary stress on the penultimate syllable, which is inconsistent with the stress pattern observed with *vaitula* 'servant'. Primary stress in trisyllabic roots is either on the penultimate or the antepenultimate, i.e. the first, syllable, and so the stress pattern observed with *vaitula* 'servant' identifies the root as trisyllabic. Furthermore, when a suffix or enclitic is added, the primary stress shifts to the penultimate syllable, thus showing the same behavior as any other trisyllabic root with stress on the first syllable (cf. Sec. 2.3.2):

'vaitula 'servant' + =*gha* 'PL' → ,*vaitu*'*lagha*

This is the only example that clearly suggests that the vowel combination /ai/ is at least sometimes a diphthong; on the other hand there is also only one example that points in the other direction:

vu'*rai* 'spring water' + =*gha* 'PL' → *vu*'*raigha*

If /ai/ is analyzed as a diphthong in this case, it would mean that this is a disyllabic root. There are, however, no disyllabic roots that have stress on the last syllable in Savosavo. If, on the other hand, /ai/ is viewed as a vowel sequence, this root is a trisyllabic root. And indeed, it does behave like a normal trisyllabic

root: primary stress is on the second syllable, and this does not change when a bound morpheme is added.

All other roots containing /ai/ would conform to the stress patterns described below, whether /ai/ is analyzed as a diphthong, belonging to one syllable, or a sequence of two vowels, consequently belonging to two syllables. For example, *ghai'oko* could either be analyzed as a trisyllabic root containing a diphthong in the first syllable, or as a four syllable root if the two vowels are counted separately. Both analyses are compatible with the stress pattern here, namely that primary stress is on the penultimate syllable, and the fact that the stress does not change if a bound morpheme is added.

The conclusion that follows is that in some cases this vowel combination is indeed a diphthong, but in others it is not.⁷ Cases that force one or the other analysis are rare. In cases that allow for both analyses I decided to treat /ai/ as a vowel combination, not as a diphthong, i.e. a root like *ghai'oko* 'dugout canoe' is analyzed as a four-syllable root in what follows.

2.2. Syllable and root structure

A syllable can either consist of only a vowel nucleus or a vowel nucleus and a consonant onset, i.e. the basic syllable structure is (C)V.

$$\sigma \rightarrow (C)V$$

Roots consist of one or more syllables.

$$W \rightarrow \sigma^*$$

Most roots consist of two (50 % of 1777 roots) or three syllables (28 %). Examples are *'uvi* 'house', *'elu* 'Ngali nut', *'ka'dora* 'possum' and *'avasa* 'when'. There are very few monosyllabic roots (about 2 %), and these invariably have the form CV, for example: *ba* 'come', *me* '2PL', *pi* 'green coconut', and *zu* 'and'. The vowel of a monosyllabic root is slightly lengthened.

Roots consisting of four syllables are more common, they make up about 18 % of the dictionary. Many of these roots are frozen forms, containing reduplicated material that might have been analyzable in an earlier stage. Some examples of roots with four syllables would be: *'molu'molu* 'island', *'lili'kia* 'small ant', *'abu'zaghi* 'to blink', *'buli'kaku* 'elbow', and *'vara'talu* 'cutnut tree'.

About 2 % are roots with more than four syllables; again most of these roots contain reduplicated material that might have been analyzable in an earlier stage. For example, the verbs *'sabesa'bera* 'to hang (naturally, e.g. a fruit on the tree)'

7. A similar situation is found in Samoan, where vowel combinations functioning as diphthongs in penultimate syllables have to be considered as constituting two syllables when occurring in word final position (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 29).

and *ˌkulaˌkulaˈpapa* ‘to put your arms around your neighbors’ are at present apparently only used in these reduplicated forms. However, reduplication on verbs is used to change the aktionsart of a verb to give it a durative or iterative reading (cf. Sec. 6.4), and the meaning of these verbs does have a durative or iterative component: a fruit hanging at a tree, and putting one’s arms around both neighbors or each other. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that non-reduplicated forms existed once, but fell out of use.

The few other roots with more than four syllables, some of which also look like reduplicated forms, are to my knowledge unanalyzable in present day Savosavo, but can to a large extent still be identified as complex forms that were analyzable earlier on, e.g. *ˌkoroˈdikolo* ‘small lizard’ can be traced back to *ˌkoropi-* ‘to claw at something or someone’ and *diko-* ‘to pinch’, describing the way the lizard moves, and *ˌmuziˈkavili* ‘darkness’ is composed of *ˈmuzi* ‘night’ and **kavili*, which is to my knowledge not a root in present-day Savosavo. It is striking that many of these words are names of plants and animals (e.g. *ˌdakidaˈkili* ‘big black ant’, *ˌkurakuˈrape* ‘frog’, *ˌkaupeˈbeta* ‘kind of pandanus’, *ˌkapisiˈvatu* ‘kind of shell’, and *ˌbilikoˈkio* ‘kind of bird’). At least the last example is onomatopoeic, imitating the bird’s cry.

Although there is no monosyllabic root that consists of one vowel only, some disyllabic roots consist only of vowels (e.g. *ai* ‘who’, *au* ‘move down’, and *-ou* ‘eat’). Very few roots have a sequence of three vowels (e.g. *ˌghaiˈoko* ‘dugout canoe’), and no root has sequences of more than three vowels. Words with more than three vowels in a sequence are rare, and are the result of reduplication and/or affixation, as for example in the case of *ˌeoˈeo* ‘hanger’, derived from *eo-* ‘to hang something’.

2.3. Stress

A stressed syllable is marked by longer, clearer pronunciation, higher intensity and sometimes higher pitch.⁸ Roots with three or more syllables can have more than one stressed syllable. Stress assignment proceeds from the end of the root. Therefore, if there is more than one stressed syllable in a root, the rightmost stressed syllable is analyzed as carrying primary stress. Stress on other syllables is analyzed as secondary, although there is usually no or only little difference in realization.

The next section describes the stress patterns found with roots in Savosavo (2.3.1); after this the influence of affixation on stress patterns is discussed (2.3.2). The influence of reduplication on root stress is discussed in the section on reduplication, Section 2.4.2 on page 33.

8. The description in this chapter is based on auditory impression, supplemented by qualitative analysis of pitch and intensity with the Praat software.

2.3.1. Root stress

The general rule for stress in roots in a one- or two-word sentence where the bare root is used is that the penultimate syllable of a root carries primary stress (marked by ' in the examples). Furthermore, whenever primary stress is on a non-initial syllable, the initial syllable receives secondary stress (indicated by , in the examples), i.e. it is (almost) as prominent as the primarily stressed syllable.

Disyllabic roots are without exception stressed on the first syllable, e.g. *'tuvi* 'house'. Trisyllabic roots are either stressed on the first or the second syllable, and therefore partly deviate from the general pattern described above. It is not predictable which trisyllabic roots are stressed on the first syllable and which on the second. From a sample of 292, about 75 % are stressed on the penultimate syllable (and also have secondary stress on the first). The remaining 25 % are stressed on the first syllable. There is no obvious feature distinguishing these 25 % from the other trisyllabic roots. Some examples are:

Primary stress on second syllable	Primary stress on first syllable
<i>,a'qutu</i> 'work'	<i>'adaki</i> 'woman'
<i>,ka'simu</i> 'kind of vine'	<i>'kasanga</i> 'to be angry'
<i>,si'noqo</i> 'cork'	<i>'sivugha</i> 'hair'
<i>,to'moko</i> 'canoe with two prows'	<i>'totolo</i> 'kind of vine'

Four-syllable roots are stressed on the penultimate syllable, the first syllable carries secondary stress (e.g. *,kena'ghuli* 'fishing hook'). Roots with more than four syllables are usually complex and historically analyzable and therefore show patterns that are combined of two, three and four syllable roots, depending on their internal structure. Both V and CV syllables can take primary or secondary stress. Examples for five syllable words are: *,agha'vazeza* 'forty', *,bolota'ngana* 'gun', from English/Solomon Islands Pijin *ball/bolo* and Gela *tangana* 'shout', and *,koro'dikolo* 'small lizard', from Savosavo *koropi-* 'to claw at something' and *diko-* 'to pinch'.

The stress patterns of roots with two to four syllables can be schematized as in Table 7. As the examples show, syllable structure does not have an influence on stress assignment.

2.3.2. Influence of affixes and clitics on stress

Savosavo is predominantly suffixing, but prefixes are found as object markers on one type of transitive verb (cf. Sec. 4.1.1.2) and on postpositions (cf. Sec. 4.9). Clitics are always placed after their host.

Table 7. Stress patterns of roots with two to four syllables

'σσ	' <i>tada</i> 'man' ' <i>aqe</i> 'branch' ' <i>tau</i> 'to fall'
,σ'σσ	, <i>a</i> ' <i>qutu</i> 'work' , <i>ma</i> ' <i>ghani</i> 'decoration' , <i>ku</i> ' <i>ava</i> 'nine'
'σσσ	' <i>adaki</i> 'woman' ' <i>sivugha</i> 'hair, fur, feather' ' <i>kaunga</i> 'elder'
,σσ'σσ	, <i>kuri</i> ' <i>ghidi</i> 'fly' , <i>aq</i> ' <i>soru-</i> 'to consume all of something' , <i>bebe</i> ' <i>ula</i> 'butterfly'

Prefixes consist of one consonant only and are exclusively attached to roots that start with a vowel. Consequently, prefixes do not change the number of syllables of a root, they only change the structure of the first syllable from V to CV. As shown above, syllable structure does not have any influence on stress, and indeed the roots that take prefixes are inconspicuous with regard to stress.

Suffixes on the other hand consist of one to three syllables (V, CV, CV.CV, CV.V or CV.CV.CV) and can even be combined. Therefore they increase the number of syllables of a word, and hence influence its stress pattern. These stress changes are in some cases predictable, but not in others. The attachment of suffixes to disyllabic roots, for instance, may result in different stress patterns without any phonological conditioning being apparent. It has to be learned along with the root whether the stress pattern changes when a suffix is added. In addition to this, suffixes differ in how they influence the stress pattern of the root or stem they attach to.

The syllable structure of enclitics is V, CV or CV.CV and thus also increases the number of syllables of a word. Although all clitics form a phonological word with their host, some have a stronger influence on its stress pattern than others. Further investigation is required to provide a full account of stress pattern changes triggered by different suffixes and enclitics combined. The remainder of this section will focus on two common bound morphemes, the suffix *-ghu* 'NMLZ' and the enclitic *=gha* 'PL'. Especially *-ghu* 'NMLZ' is often found in short utterances (see examples (1) and (2) below), so its influence on stress patterns can be observed in everyday speech very easily. This discussion is then followed by some remarks about the object marking suffixes that are added to verb stems.

When adding monosyllabic morphemes such as *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ (on verbs) or *=gha* ‘PL’ (on nouns) to **disyllabic roots**, the stress stays on the first syllable for 68 % of the 592 roots tested, but moves to the second syllable for the remaining 32 %.

Primary stress stays on first syllable:

'sota ‘to be calm’ + *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ → *'sotaghu*
'kake ‘taro’ + *=gha* ‘PL’ → *'kakegha*

Primary stress moves to second syllable:

'epi ‘to sit’ + *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ → *,e'pighu*
'ghuba ‘front of canoe’ + *=gha* ‘PL’ → *,ghu'bagha*

There is no obvious pattern determining how the stems behave; there is no systematic difference in the combinations of vowels or consonants between the two groups:

Stress does not change

'oru ‘to roll’
'bani ‘fence’
'ida ‘pana’
'kuma ‘rain’
'ravu ‘tribe’
'sara ‘to reach’

Stress changes

'lomu ‘to fill a container’
'basi ‘to vanish’
'iva ‘to become day’
'kula ‘to be short’
'samu ‘food’
'kabu ‘to move away’

Examples (1) and (2) show one verb of each kind in a commonly used nominalized verbal clause in which the stress is clearly detectable, aided by the pitch peak of the clausal intonation falling on the stressed syllable of the verb (see Sec. 7.2.1.3, p. 226):

- (1) *Ze ka ka'bu-ghu=e lo=na.*
 3PL already move.away-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘They already ran away.’, lit. ‘It (is) their running away already.’
 (ej_cs_botoli_017)
- (2) *Ok, lo-va 'sara-ghu=e lo=na.*
 ok 3SG.M-GEN.M reach-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘Ok, it (is) its end.’, lit. ‘Ok, it (is) its reaching.’
 (pk_mk_mt_356)

When the above-mentioned morphemes are added to **trisyllabic roots** having their primary stress on the second syllable the stress stays there; in contrast, if they are added to those having stress on the first syllable, the primary stress

moves to the third (penultimate) syllable, thereby assuming the regular stress pattern of four-syllable roots.

Primary stress stays on second syllable:

pa'qati 'palm frond' + =*gha* 'PL' → *pa'qatigha*
a'beni 'to ask for something' + -*ghu* 'NMLZ' → *a'benighu*

Primary stress moves from first to third syllable:

'adaki 'woman' + =*gha* 'PL' → *ada'kigha*
'koghili 'to be sick' + -*ghu* 'NMLZ' → *koghi'lighu*

The stress in **roots with four syllables** does not change in 91 % of the cases (out of 213) when these morphemes are added, but in 9 % of the cases (all nouns) primary stress shifts from the third to the fourth syllable:

Primary stress stays on third syllable:

,kuri'ghidi 'fly' + =*gha* 'PL' → *,kuri'ghidigha*
,abu'zaghi 'to blink' + -*ghu* 'NMLZ' → *,abu'zaghighu*

Primary stress moves to fourth syllable:

zara'vua 'relative +/- 7 generations' + =*gha* 'PL' → *zaravu'agha*

So, the influence of the morphemes =*gha* 'PL' and -*ghu* 'NMLZ' can be summarized as in Table 8:

Table 8. Influence of the affixes =*gha* 'PL' and -*ghu* 'NMLZ' on the stress pattern of a root

' $\sigma\sigma + \sigma$	→	' $\sigma\sigma\sigma$
	→	, $\sigma'\sigma\sigma$
, $\sigma'\sigma\sigma + \sigma$	→	, $\sigma'\sigma\sigma\sigma$
' $\sigma\sigma\sigma + \sigma$	→	, $\sigma\sigma'\sigma\sigma$
, $\sigma\sigma'\sigma\sigma + \sigma$	→	, $\sigma\sigma'\sigma\sigma\sigma$
	→	, $\sigma\sigma\sigma'\sigma\sigma$

As mentioned above, not all bound morphemes influence the stress patterns in the same way. The object marking suffixes are normally just added without any changes in the stress pattern of the root. Only with some disyllabic ambitransitive verb stems the stress pattern is changed. As was described above, the stress of some disyllabic verb stems moves to the second syllable, when -*ghu* 'NMLZ' is added. Other disyllabic verb stems remain unchanged. Ambitransitive verbs can be found in both of these groups. Those verb stems that do not change when -*ghu* 'NMLZ' is added also remain unchanged when an object marking suffix is

attached. An example would be the verb *'bani* ‘to fence someone or something in’:

'bani ‘to fence so. or sth. in’ + *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ → *'banighu*
'bani ‘to fence so. or sth. in’ + *-li* ‘3SG.M.O’ → *'banili*

In cases in which the stress of the verb stem would shift to the second syllable when *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ is added, the behavior is not consistent: half of the verbs do show a stress shift when the object marking suffixes are added, and half do not:

Primary stress stays on first syllable if *-li* ‘3SG.M.O’ is added:

'ene ‘to hear’ + *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ → *e'neghu*
'ene ‘to hear’ + *-li* ‘3SG.M.O’ → *'eneli*

Primary stress moves to second syllable if *-li* ‘3SG.M.O’ is added:

'qasi ‘to close’ + *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ → *qa'sighu*
'qasi ‘to close’ + *-li* ‘3SG.M.O’ → *qa'sili*

Again it is impossible to predict if the stress pattern of a verb stem changes or not. The following table gives a complete list of the ambitransitive, disyllabic verb stems that have been tested:

Stress does not change		Stress changes	
<i>'ari</i>	‘to fish pulling a line’	<i>'ale</i>	‘to enter’
<i>'egha</i>	‘to clear an area’	<i>'ghagha</i>	‘to pull off’
<i>'ena</i>	‘to chew betel nut’	<i>'koto</i>	‘to move’
<i>'ene</i>	‘to hear’	<i>'mama</i>	‘to be sour’
<i>'ghavi</i>	‘to paddle’	<i>'pia</i>	‘to move up’
<i>'gnagho</i>	‘to be first’	<i>'putu</i>	‘to pass’
<i>'gnori</i>	‘to take a bite’	<i>'qasi</i>	‘to close’
<i>'izi</i>	‘to sleep’	<i>'qozi</i>	‘to fart’
<i>'kuki</i>	‘to cook’	<i>'rara</i>	‘to crawl’
<i>'mimi</i>	‘to urinate’	<i>'siko</i>	‘to steer’

2.4. Morphophonology

In this section I will discuss morphophonemic processes that add, remove, or change material. The first part deals with processes connected to affixation and addition of enclitics, and the last part with those connected to reduplication.

2.4.1. Influence of affixes and enclitics

The addition of suffixes starting with a vowel or the enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’⁹ can lead to addition or loss of material. In most cases when material is added or removed, it is to avoid a sequence of two identical vowels. Stem modifications as a result of affixation or the addition of the enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ that are not motivated by the collision of two identical vowels are rare and will be discussed at the end of this section.

2.4.1.1. Avoidance of identical vowel sequences

When suffixes starting with a vowel are added to a stem ending in an identical vowel the two vowels merge into one. This can be observed in contexts where the suffixes are obligatory. When the irrealis suffix *-ale* (see Sec. 6.3.3.3) is suffixed to the verb stem and the verb stem ends in /e/, /i/, /o/ or /u/, *-ale* is just added, but if it ends in /a/, the two vowels merge:

<i>pata-li</i> ‘tear-3SG.M.O’	+ <i>ale</i>	→	<i>pataliale</i>
<i>suasua</i> ‘spit’	+ <i>ale</i>	→	<i>suasuale</i> ¹⁰

A similar process can be observed in the neighboring language Lavukaleve (Terrill 2003: 37f.).

The enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ can attach to a number of (non-verbal) words or phrases (see Sec. 7.2.1). Again, if the host ends in /e/, the two vowels merge. This is normally not the case with words ending in another vowel (but see p. 30 for exceptions):

<i>nale</i> ‘tooth’	+ <i>e</i>	→	<i>nale</i>
<i>tubitubi</i> ‘custom.sign’	+ <i>e</i>	→	<i>tubitubie</i>
<i>kukua</i> ‘relative +/- 2 gen.’	+ <i>e</i>	→	<i>kukuae</i>

Several finite verb forms are marked by *-i* ‘FIN’ (see Sec. 6.3.1). When it is attached to a verb stem ending in /i/, including all verb forms containing an object suffix (object suffixes all end in /i/, see Sec. 6.2.1), the final vowel and the suffix will merge:

<i>pala</i> ‘make.3SG.M’	+ <i>i</i>	→	<i>palai</i>
<i>izi</i> ‘sleep’	+ <i>i</i>	→	<i>izi</i>
<i>sodu-li</i> ‘cut-3SG.M.O’	+ <i>i</i>	→	<i>soduli</i>

9. This enclitic is used to emphasize a constituent and is found on both topical and focal constituents (see Sec. 7.2.1)

10. When material is omitted because of morphophonemic processes anywhere in examples given in this grammar it will be provided in parentheses. For example, in an example the verb form *suasuale* ‘spit.IRR’ would be given as *suasua-(a)le* ‘spit-IRR’.

So the general rule for identical vowel sequences resulting from the attachment of suffixes or enclitics is that they merge into one vowel. There is one exception to this rule: if the stem is monosyllabic, the vowels do not merge, but an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the stem and the suffix. There are no monosyllabic stems ending in /e/ or /i/ which could take the respective suffixes, but there are two monosyllabic verb stems ending in /a/, *ba* ‘come’ and *ka* ‘move bushwards / go ashore’. If *-a* ‘IMP.SG’, ‘SIM’, ‘SS’ is attached, an additional /i/ is inserted:

<i>ba</i>	+ <i>-a</i>	→	<i>baia</i>
<i>ka</i>	+ <i>-a</i>	→	<i>kaia</i>

Note that sequences of two identical vowels are not avoided when two syllables of the structure $V_1.CV_1$ are reduplicated, see Sec. 2.4.2.

2.4.1.2. Stem modifications

The addition of suffixes starting with a vowel or cliticization of =*e* ‘EMPH’ triggers an obligatory stem modification with a small number of words, whereas the addition of prefixes only causes stem modifications in two of the three postpositions.

– Stem modifications occurring when =*e* ‘EMPH’ is added:

<i>sua</i> ‘ATT’	+ <i>-e</i> ‘EMPH’	→	<i>sue</i>
<i>toa</i> ‘really’	+ <i>-e</i> ‘EMPH’	→	<i>toe</i>
<i>agnia</i> ‘1SG.POSS’	+ <i>-e</i> ‘EMPH’	→	<i>agnie</i>
<i>totoa</i> ‘3DU.POSS’	+ <i>-e</i> ‘EMPH’	→	<i>totoe</i>

...and all other possessive pronouns that do not end in /ea/

BUT:

<i>sua</i> ‘giant’	+ <i>-e</i> ‘EMPH’	→	<i>suae</i>
<i>totoa</i> ‘sibling’	+ <i>-e</i> ‘EMPH’	→	<i>totoae</i>

The last /a/ of these stems is omitted when =*e* is attached, although this does not normally happen to stems ending in /a/; if =*e* is added to the noun *kukua* ‘grandparent/child’ the resulting form is *kukuae*. Even more strikingly, as the last two examples show, the nouns *sua* ‘giant’ and *totoa* ‘sibling’ do not show stem modification, despite their formal similarity to *sua* ‘ATT’ and *totoa* ‘3DU.POSS.M’.

– **Stem modifications occurring when a suffix starting with /a/ is added:**

<i>ngei</i> ‘cry’	+ <i>-a</i> ‘IMP.SG’, ‘SIM’, ‘SS’	→	<i>ngia</i>
	+ <i>-ale</i> ‘IRR’	→	<i>ngiale</i>
	+ <i>-ata</i> ‘ANT’	→	<i>ngiata</i>
<i>tei</i> ‘say’	+ <i>-a</i> ‘IMP.SG’, ‘SIM’, ‘SS’	→	<i>tia</i>
	+ <i>-ale</i> ‘IRR’	→	<i>tiale</i>
	+ <i>-ata</i> ‘ANT’	→	<i>tiata</i>
<i>l-ou</i> ‘3SG.M.O- eat’	+ <i>-a</i> ‘IMP.SG’, ‘SIM’, ‘SS’	→	<i>lua</i>
	+ <i>-ale</i> ‘IRR’	→	<i>luale</i>
	+ <i>-ata</i> ‘ANT’	→	<i>luata</i>
<i>bo</i> ‘go’	+ <i>-a</i> ‘IMP.SG’, ‘SIM’, ‘SS’	→	<i>bua</i>
	+ <i>-ale</i> ‘IRR’	→	<i>buale</i>
	+ <i>-ata</i> ‘ANT’	→	<i>buata</i>

In the first three cases the vowel sequence at the end of the stem is reduced, the penultimate vowel is omitted. In the last case the vowel of the stem shifts from /o/ to /u/. In all three cases the change promotes the dissimilarity between the vowel(s) of the stem and the /a/ in the suffix. Again, these are the only stems that undergo such modifications when *-a* ‘IMP.SG’, ‘SIM’, ‘SS’, *-ale* ‘BG.IPFV’ or *-ata* ‘ANT’ are added.

– **Stem modifications occurring when *-i* ‘FIN’ is added:**

<i>l-ou</i> ‘3SG.M.O- eat’	+ <i>-i</i> ‘FIN’	→	<i>loi</i>
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The only stem that is modified when *-i* ‘FIN’ is added to it is *ou* ‘eat’. As shown immediately above this stem also undergoes modification when a suffix starting in /a/ is added to it. In both cases the vowel sequence /ou/ is reduced to one of the participating vowels, but it is /o/ (resulting in /oi/) in one case and /u/ (resulting in /ua/) in the other. The other possible combinations /oa/ and /ui/ are also attested in the language (see Sec. 2.1.5), but it seems to be a result of dissimilation to shift to the higher vowel in the case of the suffixation of /a/ and to the lower vowel when /i/ is suffixed.

– **Stem modifications occurring when agreement prefixes are added:**

<i>p-</i> ‘2DU-’, <i>m-</i> ‘2PL-’	+ <i>-omata</i> ‘at’	→	<i>pemata</i> , <i>memata</i>
<i>p-</i> ‘2DU-’, <i>m-</i> ‘2PL-’	+ <i>-omiti</i> ‘for’	→	<i>pemiti</i> , <i>memiti</i>
<i>z-</i> ‘3PL-’	+ <i>-omata</i> ‘at’	→	<i>zemata/zomata</i> ,
	+ <i>-omiti</i> ‘for’	→	<i>zemiti/zomiti</i>

The two postpositions *-omata* ‘at’ and *-omiti* ‘for’ show a shift from /o/ to /e/ as the first vowel of the stem when the prefixes for the second person dual or plural are added. With the third person plural prefix both /e/ and /o/ are found.

2.4.2. Reduplication

This section concentrates on the structural aspects of reduplication. Reduplication is found mostly with verbs, but sometimes also with nouns and adjectives and only occasionally with quantifiers, determiners and particles (e.g. *dulo~dulo* ‘all’, *lo~lo* ‘the/that’ and *sika~sika* ‘don’t’). Derivational and inflectional functions of reduplication are listed in Section 3.2.2.

Typically, only the first or the first two syllables of a word are reduplicated. The copied material is then prefixed. The following table exemplifies the structural possibilities of reduplication:¹¹

Pattern	Root form	→ Reduplicated form
CV	<i>boragha</i> ‘to be black’	→ <i>bo~boragha</i> ‘black (adj)’
V.V	<i>au</i> ‘to move down’	→ <i>au~au</i> ‘to move down (durative)’
V.CV	<i>apoi</i> ‘everything’	→ <i>apo~apoi</i> ‘all the different things’
CV.V	<i>tougha-</i> ‘to spear sth.’	→ <i>tou~tougha-</i> ‘to spear sth. (iterative)’
CV.CV	<i>karango</i> ‘reef’	→ <i>kara~karango</i> ‘to look for food on the reef’

Sometimes the same word can be found with different patterns of reduplication, e.g.

<i>boragha</i> ‘to be black’	→	<i>bora~boragha</i>	‘to become black’
	→	<i>bo~boragha</i>	‘black (adj)’
<i>mapa</i> ‘person’	→	<i>mapa~mapa</i>	‘RECIP’
	→	<i>ma~mapa</i>	”
<i>sodu-</i> ‘cut in two’	→	<i>sodu~sodu-</i>	‘to cut repeatedly’
	→	<i>so~sodu-</i>	”

Only a few examples are attested so far. In the first case there is a functional difference: *bo~boragha* is an adjective meaning ‘black’, whereas *bora~boragha* is still a verb, the reduplication expresses a difference in aktionsart and the resulting form means ‘to become black’. However, there does not seem to be a

11. Reduplication of CV.CV is by far the most common form in the text corpus (532 out of 723, 73.6%), followed by CV (96, 13.3%), CV.V (53, 7.3%), V.CV (38, 5.3%) and V.V (4, 0.6%).

functional difference in the other two examples; when asked about these variants, informants said they mean the same, but they preferred the reduplication of two syllables in both cases and suggested that the shorter versions might be a result of fast speech.

If reduplication is used with a verb that carries object marking prefixes, the reduplication includes the prefixes, e.g. *l-ovu* ‘3SG.M.O-put’ → *lovu~lovu* ‘to put repeatedly’ (see also Sec. 6.4).

Very rarely reduplication of a complete word consisting of more than two syllables occurs; at the time of writing there is only one example of this in the corpus:

- (3) *Te=ze* *l-au* *kuli-a* *te=ze*
 CONJ=3PL.NOM 3SG.M.O-take move.seawards-SS CONJ=3PL.NOM
molumolu~molumolu=gha=la tavatu-i.
REDUP~island=PL=LOC.M traverse-FIN

‘And they put them seawards and they transferred to different islands.’

(pc_biti_018)

Here the reduplication of the word *molumolu* ‘island’ expresses distributive plural. However, a noun with more than two syllables is not normally fully reduplicated to express distributive plural, e.g. *magnigha* ‘village, homestead’ → *magni~magnigha* ‘different villages, homesteads’. The reason why *molumolu* is completely reduplicated might be that the basis for the reduplication, the word *molumolu* ‘island’, already shows a reduplication pattern.

With regard to stress, reduplication is unproblematic; the stress pattern of the original word is not changed, the first syllable receives secondary stress:

	Root form	→ Reduplicated form
CV	<i>'luja-</i> ‘to load sth.’	→ <i>,lu~'luja</i> ‘to load’
V.V	<i>'eo-</i> ‘to hang sth.’	→ <i>,eo~'eo</i> ‘hanger’
V.CV	<i>'elu</i> ‘Ngali nut’	→ <i>,elu~'elu</i> ‘to gather Ngali nuts’
	<i>,i'toro</i> ‘walking stick’	→ <i>,ito~i'toro</i> ‘different walking sticks’
CV.V	<i>'tei</i> ‘to do’	→ <i>,tei~'tei</i> ‘do’
CV.CV	<i>'sodu-</i> ‘to cut sth. in two’	→ <i>,sodu~'sodu-</i> ‘to cut sth. in pieces’
	<i>'kapisi</i> ‘thing’	→ <i>,kapi~'kapisi</i> ‘different things’
	<i>,a'beni</i> ‘to ask so. for sth.’	→ <i>,abe~a'beni</i> ‘to ask repeatedly’
	<i>,ma'gnigha</i> ‘village’	→ <i>,magni~ma'gnigha</i> ‘different villages’

As we saw in Section 2.4.1, the conjunction of two identical vowels can lead to the addition or the removal of material. Just like affixation, reduplication can

result in two identical vowels coming together; this would have to be the reduplication of two word-initial syllables of the structure $V_1.CV_1$. Since $V.CV$ reduplication itself is rare (see footnote 11 on p. 32), there are not many examples of a $V_1.CV_1$ reduplication in my corpus. The only examples are: *Aba~aba* ‘Ghari language (language spoken on Guadalcanal)’, *aka~aka* ‘to gasp for air’, *ala~alalia* ‘where (distributive)’, and *olo~olomanegha* ‘different old men’. Here neither of the vowels is omitted; this is probably due to the fact that one of them bears stress and they are therefore clearly distinguishable (*Aba'aba*, *aka'aka*).

There are only two occasions on which the reduplication of a stem triggers a stem modification at the same time. When the adjective *gnari* ‘small’ is reduplicated, the second consonant of the stem is omitted, and when the aktionsart of the transitive verb stem *rajea-* ‘to stroke someone or something’ is changed by reduplication to a durative or iterative reading the end of the stem changes:

gnari ‘small’ + CV Redup → *gnagnai* ‘tiny’

*rajea-*¹² ‘to stroke someone or something’ + CV Redup → *raraji* ‘to stroke’

Both *gnari* and *gnagnai* are commonly used in the community; but these kinds of stem modification are not found with other words.

2.5. Intonation

This section briefly describes some basic pitch contours found in Savosavo, providing a background for some variations from basic intonation patterns that will be important in later sections. The focus will be on the intonation of basic verbal and non-verbal clauses, declarative as well as interrogative (2.5.1). Intonation patterns found in special constructions or complex clauses are then discussed together with the respective construction or clause type in later chapters. There are a small number of discourse particles that have very specific intonation contours. These will be discussed briefly at the end of this section (2.5.2).

12. It is not clear if the final /a/ is part of the verb stem or a kind of epenthetic vowel; several transitive verbs show an /a/ between the stem and the object marking suffix and/or the detransitivizing suffix, but in the reduplicated (intransitive) form of these stems it is omitted. An example would be *jotoa-* ‘to push firewood together’, with the forms *jotoali* and *jotojoto*. This is only found on disyllabic verb stems, so it might be the case that /a/ is inserted to get a more regular four syllable structure when the suffixes are added, instead of a three syllable structure. However, there are several disyllabic transitive verb stems that do not have this /a/, e.g. *duku-* ‘to cut a tree’, with the forms *dukuli* and *dukuduku*.

2.5.1. Basic clausal pitch contours

The intonation contour found with a short independent declarative clause, whether verbal or non-verbal, exhibits a clause-final fall over the last few syllables. There is (at least) one pitch peak before the intonation drops. This peak is usually located on the end of a constituent, including any enclitic morphemes following it. It can be more or less pronounced. It does not matter whether the subject is expressed by a full NP, by an enclitic pronoun, or whether indeed the clause only contains a verb complex with an enclitic pronoun. Figure 4 shows the pitch contours of three verbal clauses, one with a full subject NP (4), one with an enclitic subject NP preceding the verb complex (5), and one a minimal verbal clause with an enclitic pronoun following the verb complex (6).

- (4) 'Agni=na 'tuvi=la 'bo-tu.
 1SG=NOM house=LOC.M go-PRS.IPFV
 'I am going to the house.' (008a-jnwsbm_ques)
- (5) 'Tuvi=la=gne 'kama 'bo-tu.
 house=LOC.M=1SG.NOM already go-PRS.IPFV
 'I am already going to the house.' (008b-jnwsbm_ques)
- (6) 'L-au 'ze=gne.
 3SG.M.O-take PA=1SG.NOM
 'I took it.' (jp_ji_mt_095)

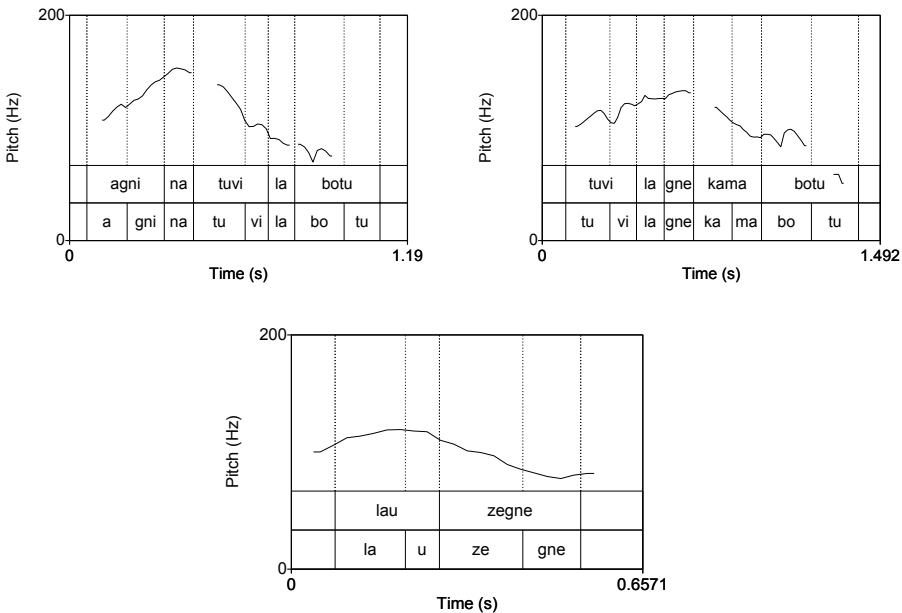


Figure 4. Pitch contours of the verbal clauses in examples (4), (5) and (6)

Note that the pitch peak is not identical with the sentence accent. The sentence accent will fall on a syllable carrying word stress; in examples (4) to (6), the sentence accent is on the first syllable of the first word, i.e. on the subject NP in example (4), on the adjunct NP in example (5), and on the verb in example (6). At least in declarative clauses, the pitch peak seems to be frequently located at the end of that constituent which contains the sentence accent. However, further studies are required for a better understanding of the interaction between word stress, sentence accent, intonation contour and clause type.

Figures 5 and 6 show that non-verbal clauses such as examples (7) to (9) exhibit a similar pitch contour to the verbal clauses given above.

- (7) *Pa jai=na ota.*
 one river=NOM there
 ‘A river (is) there.’ (bi_cs_kakula_128)
- (8) *Muzikavili sue lo pipisa.*
 be.dark ATT.EMPH DET.SG.M beach
 ‘Dark (was) the beach.’ (ej_cs_botoli_126)
- (9) *Gn-omata te=lo.*
 1-at CONJ=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘It (is here) with me.’ (jp_ji_mt_064)

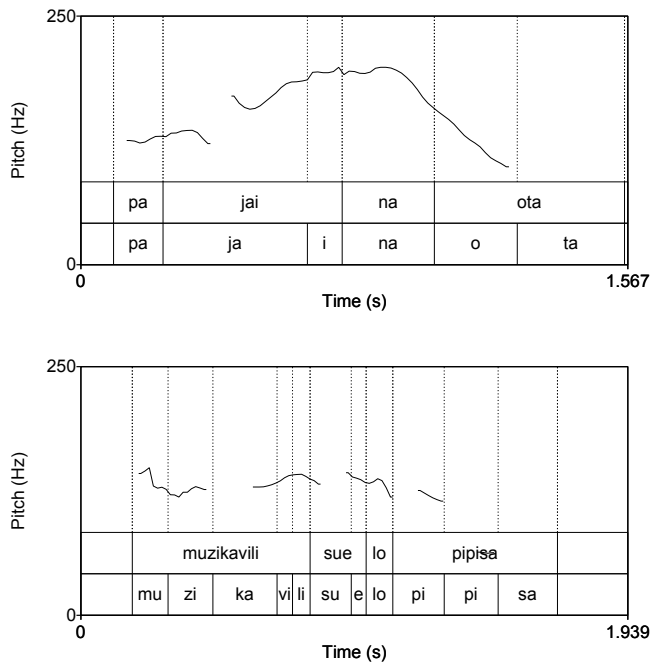


Figure 5. Pitch contours of two nominal clauses, examples (7) and (8)

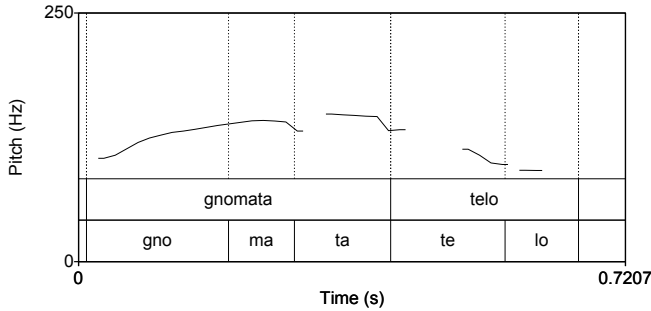


Figure 6. Pitch contours of another nominal clause, example (9)

The intonation of content questions and polar questions is not uniform, as could be observed both in natural and elicited data. Polar questions often differ from declarative clauses only in that the pitch peak is slightly higher in polar questions, and that it is located on the last word. It is nonetheless followed by a drop in pitch. Because the peak is shifted towards the end of the clause, the clause-final drop is compressed and steeper than in declarative clauses. Figures 7 and 8 show the pitch contours belonging to a polar question (10) and the answer (11). For better comparability, only the pitch contour of the material following *eo* ‘yes’ in the beginning of (11) is given in Figure 8.

- (10) *Kao ghoghoana=la=gho bo-i?*
 bushwards bush=LOC.M=3SG.F.NOM go-FIN
 ‘Did she go to the bush?’ (160_001_srb)
- (11) *Eo; kao ghoghoana=la=gho bo-i.*
 yes bushwards bush=LOC.M=3SG.F.NOM go-FIN
 ‘Yes; she went to the bush.’ (160_002_srb)

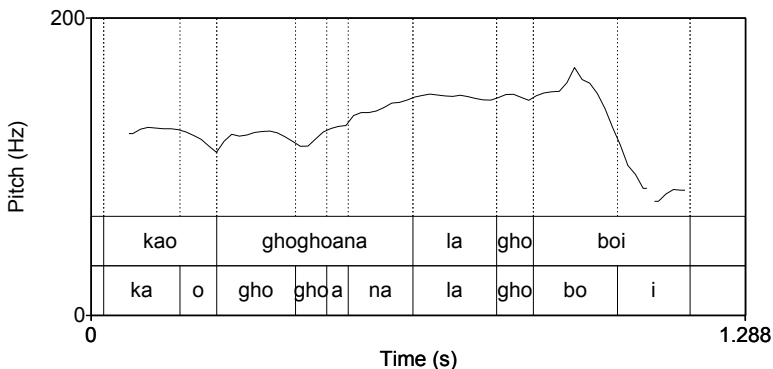


Figure 7. The pitch contour of a polar question (10)

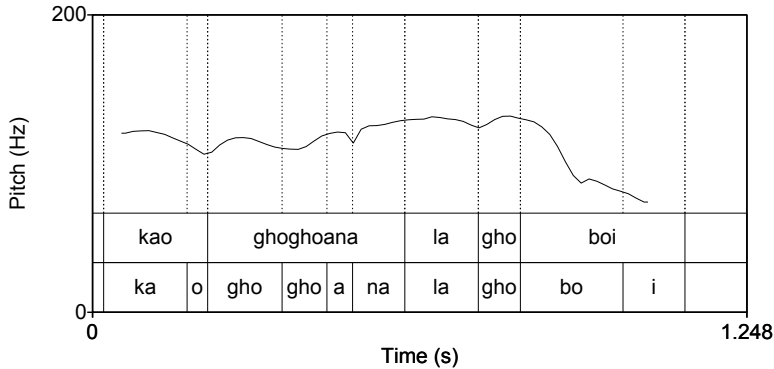


Figure 8. The pitch contour of the answer (11) to the polar question in (10)

If the question offers alternatives, as in example (12), there is a peak on at least the first of the alternatives, see Figure 9.

- (12) *Ighia=gha bo aghava misu=gha lame=gha=e me=na.*
 three=PL or four dog=PL PROPR.PL=PL=EMPH 2PL=NOM
 ‘Do you have three or four dogs?’, lit. ‘Three or four dogs having ones (are) you?’ (160_004_srb)

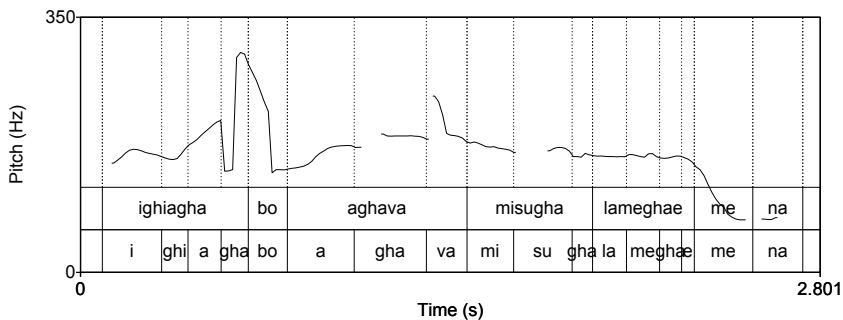


Figure 9. Pitch contour of a question offering two alternatives (12)

The intonation contour of content questions is also often almost identical to that of a declarative clause. The pitch peak can be a bit higher ((13), Fig. 10), or a secondary peak can occur on the interrogative proform itself, but there is nonetheless a fall in pitch over the last syllables, even if the interrogative proform is the last constituent of the clause, as in example (14) (see Fig. 10). In examples like (14), the distinguishing criterion could be the steepness of the rise and/or drop rather than the height of the pitch peak.

- (13) *Ai=na te lo zine l-ogha-i.*
 who=NOM EMPH DET.SG.M mat 3SG.M.O-weave-FIN
 ‘Who has woven the mat?’ (160_003_srb)
- (14) *Zu ko mama=kona ala.*
 but DET.SG.F mother=NOM where
 ‘But where (is) mother?’ (ws_cs_ghulia_128)

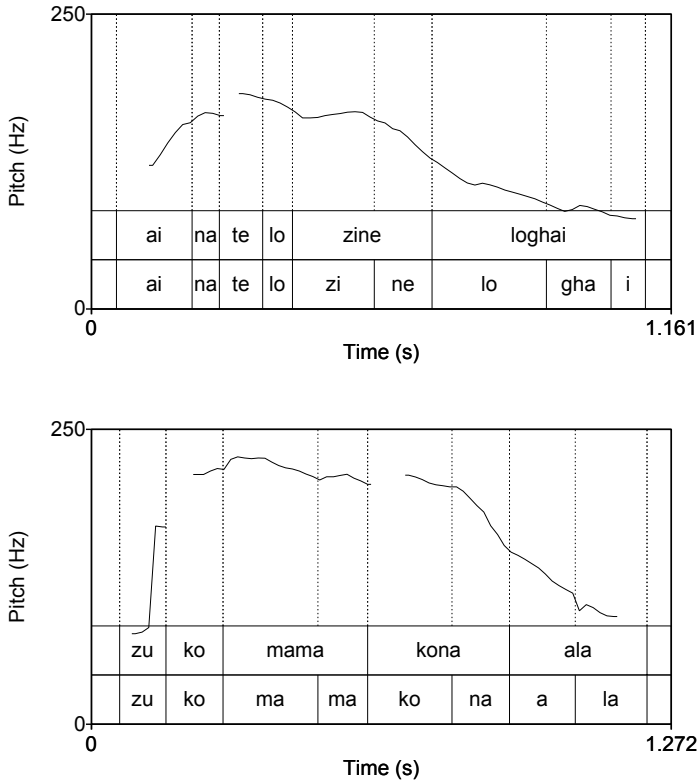


Figure 10. Pitch contours of two content questions ((13, 14); male speakers)

Sometimes, however, there is a rise in pitch at the end of a question, as in the content question in (15) and the polar question in (16) (see Fig. 11; both show non-verbal clauses, but the same is true for verbal clauses). The last pitch peak of the clause, preceding the final drop, is then often not higher than in declarative clauses, thus the clause final rise seems to make a steep rise or fall earlier in the clause unnecessary.

- (15) *Lo kola=na ala?*
 DET.SG.M stick=NOM where
 ‘Where (is) the stick?’ (cp_api_mt_273)

- (16) *Oma dada so=gha=e me=na?*
 not be.afraid ATT=PL=EMPH 2PL=NOM
 ‘Were you not afraid?’

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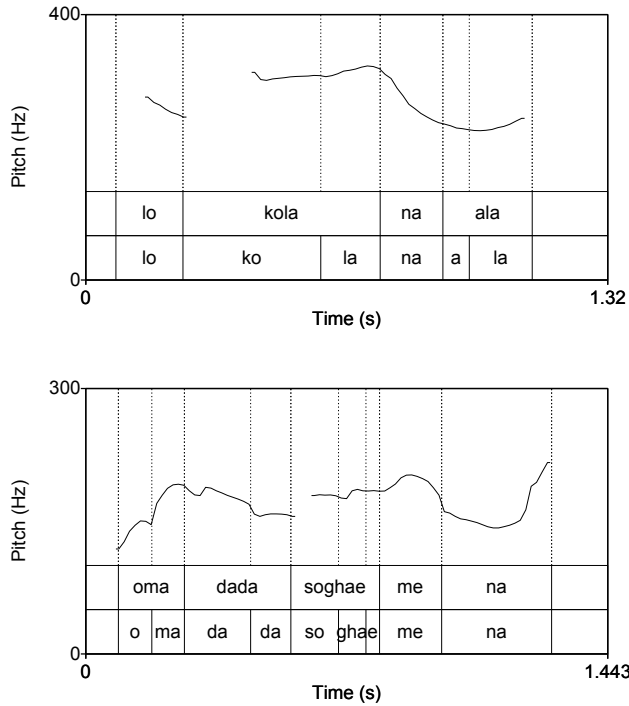


Figure 11. Pitch contour of a content question and a polar question with rising pitch at the end ((15, 16); one female speaker (left), one male speaker (right))

The rise at the end seems to emphasize that the clause is a question, but whether there is a principled semantic difference between the two intonation patterns, leading to consistent, predictable patterns of use, is not clear at present.

2.5.2. Intonation associated with some discourse particles

There are a few discourse particles that always occur with very specific intonation contours. One is *ni* ‘AFF’, a question tag following a statement, requesting affirmation, comparable to English tag questions or a *right?* or *ok?* following a statement. The preceding clause has a normal intonation contour, including the clause final fall, and is then followed by a steep rise on *ni* (17). When the speaker is reasonably sure that the statement is correct and uses this tag more for emphasis than as a request for affirmation, this rise may be followed by a fall (18). For the intonation contour of examples (17) and (18) see Figure 12.

- (17) *Torolala=e ata Sibō; ni?*
 Torolala=EMPH here S. AFF
 ‘Torolala (was) here at Sibō, right?’ (tt_bd_war_020)
- (18) *Pa sisi=na tovi=la; ni.*
 one orn.flower=NOM right=LOC.M AFF
 ‘A flower (is) to the right, isn’t it.’ (pk_mk_mt_181)

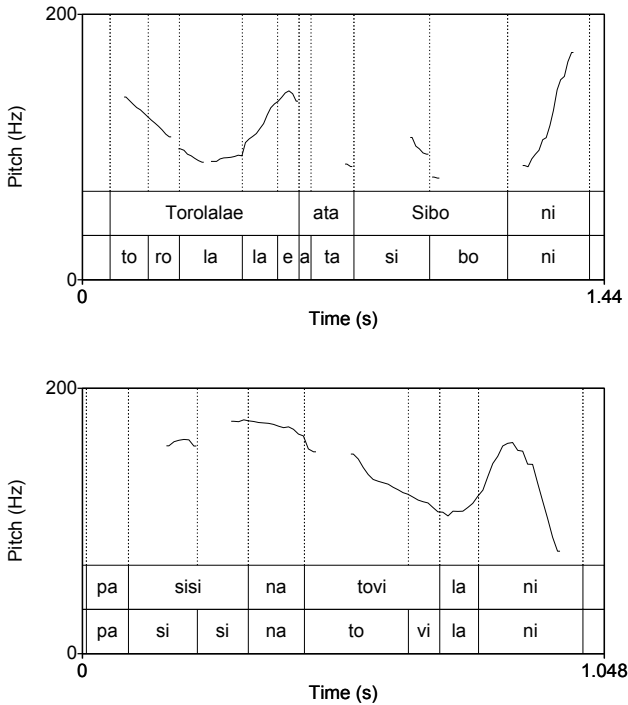


Figure 12. The pitch contours of two examples with the question tag *ni* (17, 18)

Two other elements I would like to discuss here briefly belong to a category that is rarely discussed in grammars and to my knowledge does not have an established term, although these elements have been referred to as ‘quasi-lexical vocalizations’ (Leech et al. 1998), or ‘vocal gestures’ (François 2006). It is often difficult to draw the line between back-channeling vocalizations that simply acknowledge that something was said and encourage the speaker to proceed, and vocalizations that have a status quite similar to lexical items meaning, for example, ‘yes’ or ‘no’, i.e. that do in fact carry semantic content.

In Savosavo, there is a ‘vocal gesture’ used to object to a statement made before, or answer a question in the negative, and one to signal agreement and

affirm what has been said. Both can be used on their own to fulfill this function, they do not have to be combined with *eo* ‘yes’ and *ghoma* ‘no’ respectively. They each exhibit a very specific intonation contour. The affirmative can be transcribed as *mm*, it is a long syllable with a low or mid-high level tone (see left part of Fig. 13). Occasionally a glottal stop is inserted: /mʔm/. The negative is either *mmm* or *aaa*, with an intonation contour that has been described by François (2006) as ‘high-low-rising’ (see right part of Figure 13) and is, according to the author, very commonly used for this purpose in north Vanuatu and the eastern Solomon Islands, albeit often with a different vowel.

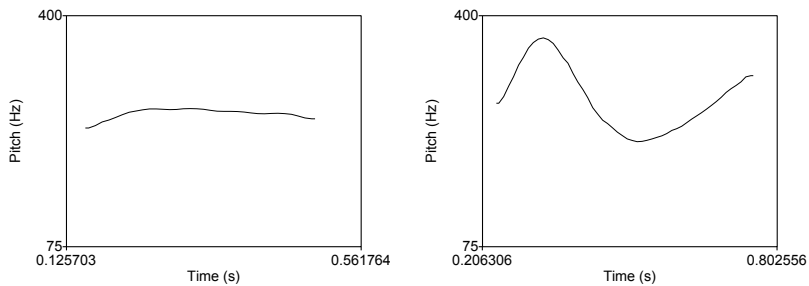


Figure 13. The pitch contours of the affirmative (left) and the negative (right) ‘vocal gesture’, performed by the same (female) speaker

Chapter 3

Word formation

This chapter provides definitions for some basic terms and summarizes which functions are fulfilled by affixation, cliticization, reduplication and stem modification in Savosavo. It gives an overview of the grammatical areas where these four morphological processes play a role, as well as references to those parts of the grammar where more information can be found on each function.

3.1. Terminology

The definitions given in the following sections summarize the features associated with a prototypical representative of the respective category in Savosavo, mostly based on Haspelmath (2002) and in some cases additional literature cited below. However, not all elements classified as belonging to one of the categories will necessarily exhibit all of these features. As in many parts of grammar there are ‘fuzzy edges’ between some of these categories, as, for example, the two categories of affix and clitic.

Roots and stems

Roots are, at least synchronically, unanalyzable forms. **Stems** on the other hand can consist of one or more roots, possibly combined with derivational morphology.

Word

The term **word** is used for any free form that can be used without further modification. It may be a particle or consist of only a root, a stem, or either plus derivational and/or inflectional affixes. One criterion for drawing word boundaries is that it is possible to pause between words, but normally not within. Furthermore when a speech error occurs, speakers will normally start the correction at a word boundary, not within a word. In addition words can easily be produced in isolation.

Particles

A **particle** is a free, unanalyzable and invariable morpheme that usually has a grammatical meaning. It may be restricted to certain positions within a domain (e.g. always first in a verb complex). If it consists of more than one syllable, it carries stress. The stress patterns of neighboring words are not influenced, and no

morphophonemic changes are triggered by particles. Some particles can function as host for affixes and clitics.

Affix vs. clitic

As in many languages (cf. Zwicky 1977, 1985; Zwicky and Pullum 1983; van Riemsdijk 1999), the distinction between **affixes** and **clitics** in Savosavo is not clear-cut. The distinguishing criterion applied in this grammar is how particular a morpheme is in the choice of its host. A morpheme that attaches only to members of one particular word class is analyzed as an affix, while a morpheme that can be attached to members of different word classes is analyzed as a clitic. This is inversely correlated with the grade of freedom they have with respect to their position in a clause: affixes are tied to one particular type of host, but not to a particular position in the clause, e.g. an object affix will only ever attach to verbs, but its position in the clause depends solely on the position of its host. In contrast, an enclitic personal pronoun has to be placed after the first constituent of the clause, and will attach to whatever constituent happens to precede it.

Despite these differences, both affixes and clitics form a phonological word with their host. They can have an influence on the stress pattern of the host and do not carry stress themselves. Morphophonemic changes can be found with members of both classes, although they occur more commonly with affixes.

As far as the relative order of affixes and clitics is concerned, the general observation that clitics can attach to affixes, while affixes will not attach to clitics (Zwicky 1985), is also valid for Savosavo.

Inflectional vs. derivational operations

Derivation and inflection are not binary categories, but rather form a continuum; morphemes can be more or less derivational or inflectional (cf., for example, Dressler 1989; Haspelmath 1996, 2002; Bauer 2004). For the purpose of this grammar, the terms ‘derivation’ and ‘inflection’ will be used with a strong focus on category change. Thus, a morpheme will be considered **derivational** if its primary function is to change the category or subcategory of the element it occurs with (e.g. from a verb to a noun, or from a transitive to an intransitive verb). Such morphemes can add to or change the semantic content of the base, and some can not only occur on individual lexemes, but also on phrases or even clauses. Morphology that does not induce a class change, on the other hand, will be considered as **inflectional**.

The next section shows which of the morphological processes found in Savosavo are used for derivation and inflection.

3.2. Morphological processes

3.2.1. Affixation and cliticization

Suffixes and enclitics

As mentioned above, suffixation is by far the most common form of affixation. Suffixes are used for derivational as well as inflectional purposes. All clitics in Savosavo follow their host. They are not used for derivational purposes. Tables 9 and 10 give an overview over the functions of enclitics (marked by =) and suffixes (marked by -). Bolded references refer to sections that are dedicated to the respective morphemes, references in normal print refer to important information embedded in other sections.

Table 9. Overview of the derivational suffixes

Suffix	Function	Chapter
-ghu 'NMLZ'	verb → noun	4.1, p. 48; 9, p. 298
-sa 'VBLZ'	noun, NP, adjective, AP, quantifier, QuanP → verb	4.2, p. 57; 4.3.1, p. 68; 4.4.1, p. 75
-za 'DETR'	transitive verb → intransitive verb	4.1, pp. 50, 53; 6.2.2.2, p. 171
-vi 'TR'	intransitive verb → transitive verb	4.1, pp. 50, 55; 6.2.2.1, p. 169

Table 10. Overview of the inflectional enclitics and suffixes.

Suffix/Enclitic	Function	Attached to	Chapter
=(za)lo 'DU', =gha 'PL'	mark number	some NP constituents	4.2.2, p. 66; 5.1.2, p. 127
=na 'NOM', =kona 'NOM.F', =tona 'NOM.DU'	nominative case	subject NPs	5.2.1, p. 134
=la 'LOC.M', =ka 'LOC.F'	locative case	NPs	5.2.4, p. 140
-va 'GEN.M/PL', -ma 'GEN.SG.F'	genitive case	pers. pronouns	5.2.3, p. 137
e.g. -gni '1SG', -pi '2DU'	object agreement	verb stems	6.2.1, p. 164 ; 4.1.1.1, p. 50
-i 'FIN'	marks finiteness	verb stems	6.3.1, p. 172
-ata 'ANT'	anticipatory	verb stems	6.3.2.2, p. 175
-a 'SIM'	simultaneous	verb stems	6.3.2.3, p. 176

Suffix/Enclitic	Function	Attached to	Chapter
<i>-tu</i> ‘PRS.IPFV’	present imperfective	verb stems	6.3.2.4, p. 177
<i>-zu</i> ‘PST.IPFV’	past imperfective	verb stems	6.3.2.4, p. 177
<i>-atu, -ale</i> ‘BG.IPFV’	background imperf.	verb stems	6.3.2.5, p. 177
<i>-a</i> ‘IMP.SG’, <i>-lu</i> ‘IMP.PL’	imperative marking	verb stems	6.3.3.1, p. 179
<i>-le</i> ‘APPR’	apprehensive	verb stems	6.3.3.2, p. 180
<i>-ale</i> ‘IRR’	irrealis	verb stems	6.3.3.3, p. 180
<i>-a</i> ‘SS’	same-subject	verb stems	6.3.4, p. 181

Prefixes

The only prefixes found in Savosavo are inflectional. Some verbs mark agreement with the object by means of prefixation, either exclusively or in combination with the object suffixes mentioned in Table 10. For the full paradigm of the prefixes and a discussion of the verbs they attach to see Sections 4.1.1.1 and 6.2.1.

3.2.2. Reduplication

Reduplication is used almost exclusively for derivational purposes. It is used to derive verbs from nouns and nouns from verbs and other nouns. In addition, it can change the aktionsart of some verbs; depending on the semantics of the base, this adds either a durative or an iterative reading.¹³ The only inflectional function reduplication has been found to fulfill so far is to mark distributive plural in NPs.¹⁴ The functions of reduplication are listed in Table 11.

3.2.3. Stem modification

Stem modification is only used for inflection and not very common. Four verbs show agreement with the object by means of stem modification; these are *pala* ‘to make something’, *sala* ‘to follow someone or something’, *solo* ‘to throw something or someone’ and *bola* ‘to shoot someone or something with a weapon’.

13. See Section 6.4 for a discussion of why this is analyzed as a change of aktionsart, and not as aspect marking.

14. Distributive plural marked by reduplication is not considered to be derivational because of two reasons: it does not change the word class or subclass of a lexeme, and it functions on the phrase level, not on the word level. To express distributive plural in an NP, it does not have to be the head that is reduplicated, it could also be a modifier or even the determiner (see Sec. 5.1.2).

Table 11. Overview over the derivational and inflectional functions of reduplication

Derivation	
Function	Chapter
verb → noun ('(the) action of Xing')	4.1, p. 50
noun → noun ('language of X place')	4.2, p. 59
noun → verb ('to be/become X')	4.2, p. 57
change aktionsart of verbs	6.4, p. 183ff.
Inflection	
Function	Chapter
distributive plural	5.1, p. 130

For the full paradigms and more information on these verbs see Section 4.1.1.1, p. 54.

Two postpositions, *l-omata*¹⁵ 'at' and *l-omiti* 'for', exhibit a change of the first vowel from /o/ to /e/ in the second person dual and plural, and allow both forms of the root, with /o/ or with /e/, for the third person plural. For more information see Section 4.9.2, p. 105, and Section 4.9.3, p. 107.

Finally, the proprietive derivative marker *lava* shows stem modification marking number and gender. It is discussed in more detail in Section 4.8.2, p. 98.

15. Postpositions agree with their complement by means of a prefix. The citation form is the third person singular masculine throughout this grammar.

Chapter 4

Word classes and phrase types

This chapter provides an overview of the following word classes and phrase types that can be distinguished in Savosavo on morphological and syntactic grounds:¹⁶

- Verbs – transitive, intransitive, ambitransitive (Sec. 4.1)
- Nouns (Sec. 4.2)
 - noun phrases
- Adjectives (Sec. 4.3)
 - adjective phrases
- Quantifiers (Sec. 4.4)
 - quantifier phrases
- Pronominals – free and enclitic personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, emphatic pronouns (Sec. 4.5)
- Determiners and the demonstrative *ai* ‘this’ (Sec. 4.6)
- Locationals (Sec. 4.7)
 - locational phrases
- Derivative markers – *sua* ‘attributive’, *lava* ‘proprietary’ and *zepo* ‘privative’ (Sec. 4.8)
 - *sua*-phrases, *lava*-phrases, *zepo*-phrases
- Postpositions (Sec. 4.9)
 - postpositional phrases
- The general modifier *toa* ‘really’ (Sec. 4.10)
- The modifiers *memere* ‘little bit’ and *pono* ‘only’ (Sec. 4.11)
- Adverbs (Sec. 4.12)
- Particles (Sec. 4.13)

4.1. Verbs and the verb complex

4.1.1. Verbs

Verbs are defined by their ability to occur with morphemes marking tense, aspect, mood and finiteness (see Sec. 6.3), and by the fact that they function as argument-taking predicates. Example (19) shows a verb with the future marking particle *ta* and the finiteness suffix *-i*, and example (20) contains both *-i* ‘FIN’ and an object marking prefix. Furthermore all verbs can be nominalized by the suffix *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’, see example (21).

16. An earlier version of parts of this chapter was published as Wegener (2005).

- (19) *Oma lo mapa=gha=na bo ta-i.*
 not DET.PL person=PL=NOM go FUT-FIN
 ‘The people will not go (there).’ (ap_uzi_059)
- (20) *Agni=na oma ata pa misu l-eghe-i.*
 1SG=NOM not here one dog 3SG.M.O-see-FIN
 ‘I didn’t see any dog here.’ (pk_mk_mt_154)
- (21) *Kise-ghu=na te pala-i.*¹⁷
 fight-NMLZ=NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘The fight made it (i.e. caused it).’ (jv_tarai_228)

Verbs are used as predicates of verbal clauses, either individually or as part of a serial verb construction. Serial verb constructions consist of at least two verbs sharing TAM and finiteness marking and together constitute the predicate of a verbal clause (see Sec. 6.5). A verb or SVC together with any TAM or finiteness marking will be referred to as the **verb complex** (cf. Sec. 4.1.2 and Ch. 6).

Verbs form an open word class to which borrowed items can be added. Some examples for borrowed verbs are *kuki(-li)*¹⁸ ‘to cook (something)’ and *daeva(-li)* ‘to dive (for something)’ from Solomon Islands Pijin, and *lela* ‘to stroll’ and *tate* ‘to show’ from neighboring Austronesian languages, Ghari and Gela respectively.

Three major subclasses of verbs can be distinguished on the basis of (morphologically defined) transitivity, i.e. on the obligatory or optional presence of object agreement affixes on the verb stem. TRANSITIVE verb stems always occur with object marking (unless detransitivized), INTRANSITIVE verb stems cannot take object marking (unless transitivized), and AMBITRANSITIVE verb stems can occur either with or without object marking. Of a total of 784 verbs in the current Toolbox working lexicon, 43.4 % (340) are transitive, 38.2 % (300) intransitive, and 18.4 % (144) are ambitransitive.

Verbs with object marking can take an unmarked object NP as well, but it is not required.¹⁹ In contrast, an intransitive verb cannot take such an unmarked object NP, but participants other than the subject can be encoded in case-marked NPs and postpositional phrases (cf. Ch. 7).

17. The verb *pala* ‘make (3SG.M.O)’ marks its object by stem modification, see Section 4.1.1.1.

18. The parentheses here indicate that the stem is ambitransitive, i.e. that it can occur with or without the object marking suffix.

19. The optionality of an overt object NP could be seen as evidence that the object marking affixes are themselves referential, and thus that an overt NP is only an extension. For a discussion of why the object marking affixes are nonetheless analyzed as agreement, not as pronominals, see Section 6.2.1.1.

There are a couple of morphemes that change the transitivity of a verb stem, namely the transitivizing suffix *-vi* and the detransitivizing suffix *-za*. The former can be used with some intransitive verbs only, the latter with some transitive and some ambitransitive verbs (see below and Sec. 6.2.2). In addition, reduplication changes the aktionsart of the verb to an iterative or durative reading, which can be accompanied by detransitivization (see Sec. 6.4).

Table 12 provides an overview of the hierarchical organization of the class of verbs in Savosavo, and indicates whether the subclasses are open or closed; the major subclasses are described and illustrated in the following sections.

Table 12. Hierarchical organization of the class of verbs

VERBS	transitive (Sec. 4.1.1.1) N = 340	suffixing (open) N = 294	can be detransitivized by <i>-za</i>
			reduplication can change aktionsart
		can occur with reduplication and <i>-za</i>	
		cannot occur with either	
	prefixing (closed) N = 35		
	prefixing & suffixing (closed) N = 6	both affixes mark the same object	
		mark two different objects	
stem modification (closed) N = 5			
intransitive (Sec. 4.1.1.2) N = 300	can be transitivized by <i>-vi</i> (closed)		
	cannot be transitivized by <i>-vi</i> (open)		
ambitransitive (open) (Sec. 4.1.1.3) N = 144	can be detransitivized by <i>-za</i>		
	cannot be detransitivized by <i>-za</i>		

The nominalizing suffix *-ghu* is the most frequently used means for deriving nouns from verbs (21). For some verbs, the reduplication of a verb root yields a noun, e.g. *qilu-li* ‘to bury someone’ → *qilu~qilu* ‘grave’ or *qele* ‘to look’ → *qele~qele* ‘appearance’. The derivative attributive marker *sua* is used to derive adjective-like adnominal modifiers from verbs, e.g. *seghe* ‘to be full’ → *seghe sua* ‘being full’ (cf. Sec. 4.8.1).

4.1.1.1. Transitive verbs

As mentioned above, 340 (43.4%) of 784 verbs in Savosavo are transitive. Transitive verbs always agree with their object in person, number and, in the third person singular, gender by means of:

1. suffixes
2. prefixes
3. both prefixes and suffixes at the same time
4. stem modification

The choice of cross-referencing morphology is determined by the verb stem. There is no choice and no variability for a given stem. Thus, with regard to their cross-referencing morphology, transitive verb stems can be subdivided into the four classes listed above. Of a total of 340 transitive verbs,

- 294 (86.5 %) are suffixing (V_s),
- 35 (10.3 %) are prefixing (V_p),
- 6 (1.8 %) take both prefixes and suffixes at the same time (V_{ps}), and
- 5 (1.5 %) agree with their object by stem modification (V_{mod}).

Loanwords are always added to the suffixing class, e.g. *uasi-li* 'to wash something'. The members of the three closed subclasses of transitive verbs are listed in Table 13²⁰. Examples of suffixing verbs can be found in Table 14.

Table 13. An exhaustive list of the transitive verbs of the three closed subclasses

Stems taking prefixes only: V_p			
<i>l-agma</i>	'to marry so.'	<i>l-agma</i>	'to erect sth.'
<i>l-aivo</i>	'to fuck so.'	<i>l-aju</i>	'to finish sth.'
<i>l-aka</i>	'to help so.'	<i>l-aka'ghaze</i>	'to chide so.'
<i>l-ali</i>	'to hit so./sth.'	<i>l-ane</i>	'to bite off betel nut skin'
<i>l-aqi</i>	'to order so.'	<i>l-aru</i>	'to drop sth./so.'
<i>l-ate</i>	'to hold sth./so.'	<i>l-au</i>	'to take sth.'
<i>l-aughi</i>	'to exceed so./sth. in sth.'	<i>l-avagha</i>	'to hang sth. up'
<i>l-eghe</i>	'to see sth./so.'	<i>l-e'gheta</i>	'to give birth to so.'
<i>l-evo</i>	'to burn sth./so.'	<i>l-obu</i>	'to crack sth. (nuts)'
<i>l-ogha</i>	'to weave sth.'	<i>l-oghoni</i>	'to be like so./sth.'
<i>l-ogno</i>	'to hide sth./so.'	<i>l-olomi</i>	'to know sth./so.'
<i>l-omaqa</i>	'to carry sth./so.'	<i>l-omu</i>	'to fill a container'
<i>l-one</i>	'to sharpen sth.'	<i>l-oqo</i>	'to collect sth.'
<i>l-ou</i>	'to eat sth./so.'	<i>l-ovata</i>	'to cut firewood'
<i>l-ovi</i>	'to scrape sth.'	<i>l-ovogho</i>	'to move over sth./so.'
<i>l-ovu</i>	'to put sth./so.'	<i>l-ozu</i>	'to occlude sth./so.'
<i>l-ozigha</i>	'to dry sth. in the sun'	<i>l-uma</i>	'to feed sth./so.'
<i>l-uvani</i>	'to wash so.'		
Stems taking prefixes and suffixes: V_{ps}			
<i>l-a've-li</i>	'to kill so. or sth.'	REDUP~ <i>l-e'sangi-li</i> ²¹	
<i>l-o'gho-li</i>	'to fill sth.'		'to spoil sth./so.'

20. Throughout this chapter, wherever lexemes are listed, primary stress will be indicated for lexemes with more than two syllables.

<i>l-ogho'a-li</i>	‘to own sth.’	<i>l-ova-li</i>	‘to bite sth./so.’
<i>l-a'me-li</i>	‘to give sth. to so./sth.’		
Stems showing stem modification: V_{mod}			
<i>bola</i>	‘to shoot so./sth. (weapon)?’	<i>pala</i>	‘to make sth.’
<i>sala</i>	‘to follow so./sth.’	<i>solo</i>	‘to throw sth./so.’
<i>ula</i>	‘to pull sth. up/out’		

Table 14. Examples for verb stems taking object marking suffixes

Some stems taking suffixes only: V_s			
<i>a'ghi-li</i>	‘to pull sth. or so.’	<i>jura'ke-li</i>	‘to shatter sth.’
<i>ku'vi-li</i>	‘to cover sth. or so.’	<i>qu'lo-li</i>	‘to spear so. or sth.’
<i>ra'mi-li</i>	‘to pelt so. or sth.’	<i>tau-li</i>	‘to wait for so. or sth.’

Apart from the hypothesis on the origin of the stem-modification class discussed below (p. 54), it is not clear at present what motivates these different classes within the class of transitive verbs. The fact that all but the suffixing class are very small and closed makes it even more difficult to find a rationale behind this differentiation. That all verb stems taking prefixes start with a vowel, and that most transitive verbs starting with a vowel take prefixes to mark their objects is conspicuous. But since there are also verb stems starting with vowels that take suffixes, and not prefixes, the phonological form does not offer a sufficient explanation. The semantics of the transitive verbs also does not provide an answer, as all classes contain verbs of different semantic domains.

Table 15 provides a paradigm of the prefixes and suffixes, as they would occur on a prefixing verb stem, a suffixing verb stem, and a verb stem that takes both prefixes and suffixes (see also Sec. 6.2.1).

As the first person prefixes themselves are invariant for number, a free personal pronoun (given in parentheses in Table 15) is obligatory for non-singular first person objects when a prefixing verb stem is used as the only verb or as the first verb of a serial verb construction (22).

- (22) *Te lo Prime Minister lo ave gn-ovu*
 CONJ DET.SG.M Prime Minister 3SG.M[GEN] 1PL.EX 1O-put
gn-au bo-ghu=e.
 1O-take go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And the Prime Minister sent us (out).’ (js_marine_201)

21. This verb is exceptional in that the prefix and the stem-initial vowel are always reduplicated. For example, the third person singular masculine form would then be *le~lesangili*, and the third person plural form *ze~zesangimi*.

Table 15. Object marking affixes with examples

		Prefixing <i>l-au</i> ²² ‘to take’	Suffixing <i>kuvi-li</i> ‘to cover’	Pre- and suffixing <i>l-ave-li</i> ‘to kill’
Sg	1	gn-<i>au</i>	<i>kuvi-gni</i>	gn-<i>ave-gni</i>
	2	n-<i>au</i>	<i>kuvi-ni</i>	n-<i>ave-ni</i>
	3 masc.	l-<i>au</i>	<i>kuvi-li</i>	l-<i>ave-li</i>
	3 fem.	k-<i>au</i>	<i>kuvi-ghi</i>	k-<i>ave-ghi</i>
Du	1 incl.	(<i>mai</i>) gn-<i>au</i>	<i>kuvi-migni</i>	(<i>mai</i>) gn-<i>ave-migni</i>
	1 excl.	(<i>aghe</i>) gn-<i>au</i>	<i>kuvi-ghigni</i>	(<i>aghe</i>) gn-<i>ave-ghigni</i>
	2	p-<i>au</i>	<i>kuvi-pi</i>	p-<i>ave-pi</i>
	3	t-<i>au</i>	<i>kuvi-ti</i>	t-<i>ave-ti</i>
PL	1 incl.	(<i>mai</i>) gn-<i>au</i>	<i>kuvi-migni</i>	(<i>mai</i>) gn-<i>ave-migni</i>
	1 excl.	(<i>ave</i>) gn-<i>au</i>	<i>kuvi-vigni</i>	(<i>ave</i>) gn-<i>ave-vigni</i>
	2	m-<i>au</i>	<i>kuvi-mi</i>	m-<i>ave-mi</i>
	3	z-<i>au</i>	<i>kuvi-mi</i>	z-<i>ave-mi</i>

If a verb stem takes both a prefix and a suffix, these must agree with the same object. The exception to this rule is the verb *l-ame-li* ‘to give something to someone’. For this verb the suffix always agrees with the recipient, while the prefix can show agreement with the theme. Usually, however, the default form, i.e. the third person singular masculine, is used irrespective of the number of the theme. The only other prefix form attested in the present corpus is the third person plural form which is sometimes used when the theme is plural. More details concerning this verb and its agreement are given in Section 6.2.1 (p. 166).

The transitive status of verbs taking prefixes (with or without suffixes) and those marking agreement by stem modification cannot be changed. They cannot be used intransitively, nor can they be detransitized. In contrast to this, about 55 % of the suffixing verbs can be detransitized by the suffix *-za*, often with a stative meaning (cf. Sec. 6.2.2.2), and/or allow a change of aktionsart to a durative or iterative reading by reduplication, which also often results in an intransitive stem (cf. Sec. 6.4). Examples are:

- ghuro-li* ‘to chase someone or something’ → *ghuroghuro* ‘to chase (it. or dur.)’
 → **ghuroza*
- jolangi-li* ‘to mix something’ → **jolajolangi*
 → *jolangiza* ‘to be mixed’
- kira-li* ‘to peel something’ → *kirakira* ‘to peel (it. or dur.)’
 → *kiraza* ‘to be peeled’

22. The citation form of verbs with object marking is the third person singular masculine, as this form is the default in Savosavo.

Five transitive verbs mark their object by stem modification: *sala* ‘to follow someone’, *pala* ‘to make something’, *solo* ‘to throw something’, *bola* ‘to shoot someone or something with a weapon’ and *ula* ‘to pull something up or out’ (Tab. 16).

Table 16. Paradigm of those verbs that mark their object by stem modification

	Sg	Du	Pl	
1.	incl.		<i>bomemigni</i> <i>pamemigni</i> <i>samemigni</i> <i>somemigni</i> <i>umemigni</i>	
	excl.	<i>bogne</i> <i>pagne</i> <i>sagne</i> <i>sogne</i> <i>ugne</i>	<i>bogheghigni</i> / <i>boghegni</i> <i>pagheghigni</i> <i>sagheghigni</i> / <i>saghegni</i> <i>sogheghigni</i> / <i>soghegni</i> <i>ugheghigni</i> / <i>ughegni</i>	<i>bomevigni</i> <i>pamevigni</i> / <i>pavevigni</i> <i>samevigni</i> / <i>savevigni</i> <i>somevigni</i> / <i>sovevigni</i> <i>umevigni</i>
2.		<i>bone</i> <i>pane</i> <i>sane</i> <i>sone</i> <i>une</i>	<i>bope</i> <i>pape</i> <i>sape</i> <i>sope</i> <i>upe</i>	
	m	<i>bola</i> <i>pala</i> <i>sala</i> <i>solo</i> <i>ula</i>	<i>bote</i> <i>pate</i> <i>sate</i> <i>sote</i> <i>ute</i>	<i>bome</i> <i>pame</i> <i>same</i> <i>some</i> <i>ume</i>
3.	f	<i>bogha</i> <i>paka</i> <i>saka</i> <i>soko</i> <i>ugha</i>		

The paradigms of these verbs are quite regular and similarities to the suffix paradigm are obvious, especially in the first person non-singular forms. In these forms it seems as if the normal object marking suffixes are added to a modified stem. The alternative forms suggest that these forms are currently in a process of change. This class of verbs may well be the result of grammaticalization processes involving both a monosyllabic verb stem and the object suffixes (which

originally may have had the form *-Ce(*gni*) instead of the present form -Ci(*gni*), but more research is needed before any claims in this direction can be made).

One possible answer to the question of why only these four verbs have followed this grammaticalization path may be that monosyllabic roots generally seem to be disfavored (2 % of a lexicon with 2,000 items). In particular, no transitive monosyllabic verb appears in the corpus so far. Here they are nonetheless analyzed as verbs marking their object by stem modification, mostly because of two reasons:

1. As was mentioned above, most first person non-singular forms seem to contain the corresponding present-day object marking suffix. If the first part of the forms is analyzed as a monosyllabic stem with an object marking suffix, the full form would contain two suffixes serving the same purpose.
2. Furthermore the third person singular forms differ from the suffix paradigm in important ways: the final vowel in the third person singular is not /e/ as in the other forms, and the internal consonant in the third person singular feminine forms corresponds to the initial consonant of the stem with regard to voicing. So far there is no evidence of a corresponding morphophonological rule in Savosavo.

4.1.1.2. Intransitive verbs

The second-largest verb class (300, or 38.3 %, of a total of 784) are intransitive verbs. They are defined by their inability to occur with object marking affixes. New members can be added to this subclass of verbs. Only four intransitive verbs can be transitivized by the suffix -*vi*, i.e. when this suffix is added, an object marking suffix must follow it:

<i>sogha</i> ‘to jump’	+ - <i>vi</i> ‘TR’	→	<i>sogha-vi-li</i> ‘to jump for sth. or so.’
<i>raghe</i> ‘to run’	+ - <i>vi</i> ‘TR’	→	<i>raghe-vi-li</i> ‘to run for sth. or so.’
<i>sara</i> ‘to reach’	+ - <i>vi</i> ‘TR’	→	<i>sara-vi-li</i> ‘to reach sth. or so.’
<i>tete</i> ‘to balance’	+ - <i>vi</i> ‘TR’	→	<i>tete-vi-li</i> ‘to balance on sth.’

The detransitivizing suffix -*za* cannot be added to the transitivized verb form. Typical examples of intransitive verbs that cannot be transitivized are: *ngori* ‘to snore’, *bo* ‘to go’, and *vige* ‘to be dry’. Many of them can, however, be used in a causative or benefactive serial verb construction to add another participant. Thus, ‘to dry sth.’ can be expressed by the causative serial verb construction *l-au vige*, literally ‘take sth. be dry’ (see also Sec. 6.5.3).

There seems to be a continuum between intransitive verbs on the one end and adjectives on the other end. This will be discussed in detail in Section 4.3.1 below.

4.1.1.3. *Ambitransitive verbs*

Like intransitive verbs, ambitransitive verbs are an open subclass of verbs. As mentioned above, 144 (18.4%) of 784 verbs are ambitransitive. When used transitively, these verbs mark their object exclusively by means of suffixes. Typical examples for ambitransitive verbs are:

<i>ghavi</i> ‘to paddle’	→	<i>'ghavi-li</i> ‘to paddle a canoe’
<i>ale</i> ‘to enter’	→	<i>a'le-li</i> ‘to enter something’
<i>sali</i> ‘to wash away’	→	<i>sa'li-li</i> ‘to wash something away’
<i>'kasanga</i> ‘to be angry’	→	<i>kasa'nga-li</i> ‘to be angry about so. or sth.’

Some ambitransitive verbs can take the detransitivizing suffix *-za*, e.g. *qa'qela* ‘to open’, *qaqe'la-li* ‘to open something’ → *qaqe'la-za* ‘to be open’.²³

There are two ambitransitive interrogative verbs, *ake(-li)* and *maitei(-li)*. Both can be used to express ‘to do what’ or ‘to do/be how’, i.e. to inquire about an event, an action or a state that would be expressed by a verb (see also Sec. 7.4.1).

4.1.2. *Verb complex – short overview*

A verb complex (VC) functions as the predicate of a verbal clause. It consists of a verb or serial verb construction (SVC) together with object agreement and TAM/finiteness morphology (23, 24).

- (23) *No mau=na te ela ata [l-ogno-i]_{VC}*
 2SG[GEN] father=NOM EMPH maybe here **3SG.M.O-hide-FIN**
 ‘Maybe your father hid it here.’ (wr_cs_poghorog_huliagha_142)

- (24) *Beki=kona kama [avu ba-i]_{VC}*
 Becky=NOM.F already **exit come-FIN**
 ‘Becky already came out.’ (ap_jeff_beki_180)

Each transitive verb in a VC has its own object agreement morphology, but only the final verb of a SVC is marked for tense, aspect, mood and/or finiteness (25).

23. Another possible analysis would be that the object suffixes derive a transitive verb stem from an intransitive verb stem. But that would make what is now the class of ambitransitive verbs into a new subclass of intransitive verbs, with an implication that they are actually underlyingly intransitive, and the transitive variant is the one that is derived. One argument against this view is that the detransitivizing suffix *-za* can be used with some ambitransitive verbs, but not with any intransitive verb. Therefore, the potential for transitivity seems to be indeed part of the stem, which cannot be seen as underlyingly intransitive.

- (25) *Kia=ze* [raghi-li l-au bo ta-i]_{VC}
 if=3PL.NOM pull-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take go FUT-FIN
 ‘If (so, then) they will snatch it away.’ (agh_png_354)

Chapter 6 provides a detailed description of the morphology found in a verb complex as well as serial verb constructions.

4.2. Nouns and noun phrases

4.2.1. Nouns

Nouns are the largest word class. They are an open class to which new items such as loanwords can be added. Examples for loanwords in the class of nouns are *buka* ‘book’ and *seleni* ‘money (from shilling)’ from Solomon Islands Pijin and *verauli* ‘place’ from Ghari.

As head of an NP, a noun is marked for number by means of the enclitics =*(za)lo* ‘DU’ and =*gha* ‘PL’, see the noun *tuvi* ‘house’ in example (26).

- (26) *ngai tuvi=gha*
 big house=PL
 ‘big houses’ (js_marine_149)

Most nouns must be verbalized by the suffix *-sa* in order to function as head of a verb phrase, see example (27). The derived verb then means ‘to be X’.

- (27) *Lo mavutu=na ka molumolu-sa-zu.*
 DET.SG.M place=NOM already island-VBLZ-PST.IPFV
 ‘The place was already an island.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_167)

Another strategy for deriving verbs from nouns is by reduplication. This strategy seems to be restricted to certain semantic domains:

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>elu</i> ‘Ngali nut’ | → | <i>elu~elu</i> ‘to gather Ngali nuts’ |
| <i>ku'mara</i> ‘sweet potato’ | → | <i>kuma~ku'mara</i> ‘to harvest sweet potatoes’ |
| <i>kosu</i> ‘bird’ | → | <i>kosu~kosu</i> ‘to hunt for birds’ |
| <i>ka'rango</i> ‘reef’ | → | <i>kara~ka'rango</i> ‘to look for food on the reef’ |
| <i>i'laghi</i> ‘basket’ | → | <i>ila~i'laghi</i> ‘to carry a basket’ |
| <i>i'toro</i> ‘walking stick’ | → | <i>ito~i'toro</i> ‘to walk with a walking stick’ |

In the first three cases, a noun referring to something that is harvested or hunted is reduplicated to derive a verb that refers to the action of harvesting or hunting

that particular item. In the next example, the result again refers to the gathering of food, but the noun it is derived from refers to the location where this gathering takes place, not one specific item that is being gathered. Finally, in the last two cases a noun referring to an instrument is reduplicated to refer to an event in which it is used.

Some lexemes can either be used as nouns referring to a product, or as intransitive verbs referring to the process of production, without any overt derivation. Examples for this are often lexemes referring to processed food, e.g. *ghura* ‘sweet potato soup’, *korikori* ‘pudding’, *pukupuku* ‘breadfruit pudding’, *gnakengo* ‘pudding made with taro and nuts’ etc. If these terms are used transitively the object is an ingredient (28).

- (28) *Dulo ae soa tui lo-va mapa=gha*
 all be.married ATT.SG.M house 3SG.M-GEN.PL person=PL
me=na poqala lakavi kao bo l-au
 2PL=NOM tomorrow wild.taro bushwards go 3SG.M.O-take
ze=me ba korikori-li.
 CONJ=2PL.NOM come **make.pudding-3SG.M.O**

‘All you people of married houses will go bushwards tomorrow (and) take wild taro so that you come and make pudding of it.’ (ap_cs_sekuna_011)

Other examples are lexemes like *sodu* or *tozo*, both used to mean ‘to cut’ or ‘piece’. Whether the nominal or verbal usage is basic is difficult to say, but it may be taken as indicative that the food terms are more often found in nominal contexts, while the two lexemes referring to a piece or to the action of cutting are found more often in verbal contexts.

Finally, kinship terms can be used as transitive verbs, as is the case in some other languages (cf. Evans 2000). If a kinship term is used as a verb, e.g. *mama* ‘mother/aunt’, it does not express that the subject is the mother or aunt of the object referent, but rather that the subject would call the object referent ‘mama’, i.e. has the object referent as his mother or aunt, as in example (29).

- (29) *Pozogho lo lo-va mama-ghi*
 basically 3SG.M 3SG.M-GEN.M **mother/aunt-3SG.F.O**
soma=e ko adaki=kona.
 ATT.SG.F=EMPH DET.SG.F woman=NOM.F

‘Basically, the woman (was) one he called ‘mama’.’ (as_WWII047)

Example (29) is a non-verbal clause. The predicate of the non-verbal clause is a relative clause formed with the feminine form of the derivative attributive marker *sua* (cf. Sec. 4.8.1). The predicate of this relative clause is the kinship term *mama*

‘mother/aunt’, with third person singular feminine object marking; thus the relative clause itself could be translated as ‘one he called ‘mama’’. The non-verbal clause as a whole then ascribes a property to the subject, the woman, namely that she is one who is called ‘mama’ by him.

Another derivative function of reduplication of nouns is that names for languages are often derived by reduplicating the name of the place where they are spoken. The language name *Savo*~*savo* itself was formed this way, and there are a number of other examples, e.g. *Aba*~*aba* ‘Ghari’, the name of a language spoken on northwest Guadalcanal, is derived by reduplicating the name of the island Guadalcanal, *Aba*. This function of reduplication appears to be productive; more recently formed terms such as the name for Solomon Islands Pijin, which is *sine*~*sinei* based on *Sydney*, were obtained in this manner.

Savosavo has a nominal classification system with two classes. Todd describes this system as “a gender system with masculine-feminine” (Todd 1977: 809). This system will be described below in Section 4.2.1.1.

When a noun is used as a locational adjunct it usually has to be marked by the locative case enclitic =*la* (30).

- (30) “*Babo-a te=me tagha ai*
 go.past-IMP.SG CONJ=1NSG.IN.NOM up 1SG.GEN
tuvi=la bo.”
house=LOC.M go
 ‘Go past, let’s go up to my house.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_097)

This is also true for a few indigenous place names, e.g. *Savo* ‘Savo Island’ and *Aba* ‘Guadalcanal’ (31, 32).

- (31) “*Sogheghigni bo ze=lo Savo=la.*”
 throw.1DU.EX go PA=3SG.M.NOM **Savo=LOC.M**
 ‘He left us two behind and went to Savo.’ (st_cs_vangazua_101)
- (32) *Aba=la sua mapa=gha=na te koata ba-i.*
Guadalcanal=LOC.M ATT person=PL=NOM EMPH before come-FIN
 ‘People from Guadalcanal came long time ago.’ (mp_mapagha_010)

Most place names, however, do not take the locative case enclitics, including borrowed names like *jiamani* ‘Germany’ and *Honiara* (33) as well as indigenous names like *Pavughi* ‘Pavuvu’ (main island of the Russell Islands) and *Qelaghi* ‘Gela’ (34).

- (33) *Honiara=gne bo-tu.*
Honiara=1SG.NOM go-PRS.IPFV
 ‘I am going to Honiara.’ (010b-jnwsbm-ques)

- (34) ...*Aba=la=tu* *Qelaghi* *kia* *Qelaghi*=*tu* *Savo=la*.
 Guadalcanal=LOC=ABL Gela when Gela=ABL Savo=LOC.M
 ‘...from Guadalcanal to Gela, then from Gela to Savo.’ (mp_mapagha_451)

There are two interrogative nouns, *ai* ‘who’ and *apoi* ‘what’ (see also Sec. 7.4.1). They can also be used as referring expressions meaning ‘everyone’ and ‘everything’ respectively, often preceded by *dulo* ‘all’. Furthermore they can refer to an unspecified referent, meaning ‘someone, anyone’ and ‘something, anything’ respectively. To ask about more than one person, the form *aipo* is occasionally used.

4.2.1.1. Gender

The system of nominal classification in Savosavo is in some ways a typical gender system, but shows a flexibility that is reminiscent of, for example, classifier systems, where the classification depends on which features of the referent a speaker wants to highlight rather than which noun is used. The typical gender features of the Savosavo system are that there are two classes, and that class assignment is marked by obligatory agreement, on targets other than the noun (cf. Corbett 1991; Grinevald 2000). For all referents that have a readily discernible sex, class assignment is semantically motivated and is very stable. The two classes will thus be labeled as ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ respectively. All other referents are by default masculine, but the feminine class is used for marking diminutivization and discourse prominence (see below). Speakers can move back and forth between these two classes for a given referent very easily, sometimes within the same sentence.

Agreement in gender is restricted to the third person singular on all targets, and often marked by a portmanteau-morpheme simultaneously indicating third person and singular number. Agreement morphology on the targets is usually obligatory. Targets are:

- object agreement marking on verbs ((35, 36); Sec. 4.1, 6.2.1)
- personal pronouns ((37); Sec. 4.5.1)
- possessive pronouns (Sec. 4.5.2)
- determiners ((35–37); Sec. 4.6)
- the attributive marker *sua* ((35, 37); Sec. 4.8.1)
- the proprietive marker *lava* (Sec. 4.8.2)
- postpositions ((36); Sec. 4.9)
- the general modifier *toa* (Sec. 4.10)
- the case marking enclitics =*na* ‘NOM.M’ and *kona* ‘NOM.F’ ((35); Sec. 5.2)
- the emphatic enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ ((37); Sec. 7.2.1)

The following examples demonstrate how gender marking works in Savosavo. Since there are quite a number of targets, plenty of examples involving gender marking in one way or another can be found throughout this grammar.

- (35) *O, tei sua taemu=la=gne elakati*
 o be.like.this ATT.SG.M time=LOC.M=1SG.NOM CERT
k-au ta-i, ai ko mapa.
 3SG.F.O-take FUT-FIN this DET.SG.F person
 ‘O, at such-and-such a time I will take her, this woman.’
 (cr_cs_savokiki_065)
- (36) *Muzi mali te=ze ota lo ngai mapa*
 night be.like CONJ=3PL.NOM there DET.SG.M big person
l-omata ka bua te=ze zua-li-zu.
 3SG.M-at already go.SS CONJ=3PL.NOM ask-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘It became night and they already went to the big man there and they asked him.’
 (cr_cs_savokiki_027)
- (37) *Apoi ko=ke ko boze soma=e*
 because 3SG.F=EMPH.F DET.SG.F be.heavy ATT.SG.F=EMPH
ko=na.
 3SG.F=NOM
 ‘Because she, she is a heavy one.’
 (cr_cs_savokiki_130)

Most nouns referring to humans and higher animate beings can denote referents of either sex: e.g. *mapa* ‘person’, *gnuba* ‘child’, *misu* ‘dog’, *polo* ‘pig’, etc. The agreement on the targets listed above is determined solely by the referent and can be the only source of information about the sex of the referent for the addressee. In approaches that see gender as an inherent feature of nouns these nouns can be called ‘nouns of double gender’ (Corbett 1991: 181). For these nouns, the classification is very stable and will remain unchanged as long as the referent is the same.

There are only a few terms that always refer to animates of one sex; these invariably occur with the respective agreement marking, as long as there is in fact a real-world referent (see below). An exhaustive list of terms of this kind found so far is given in Table 17.

Mama is listed twice because as an original Savosavo word it means ‘mother’, but a homophonous word was borrowed from the neighboring Austronesian language Gela refers to a priest. A Savosavo word that can be used to refer to priests is *kaunga* ‘elder, chief’. *Mama* is not analyzed as a double-gender noun like the

24. This term is only used in the singular. In the plural, the male form *vudu* has to be used, with the plural enclitic =*gha*, even if the group only consists of women.

Table 17. Nouns that always refer to animate beings of the same sex and therefore are invariably assigned to one of the two noun classes, as long as there is a real-world referent

Female referent → feminine	Male referent → masculine
' <i>adaki</i> 'woman'	<i>tada</i> 'man', 'husband'
<i>ka'kai</i> 'girl'	<i>koko</i> 'boy'
<i>mama</i> 'mother'	<i>mau</i> 'father'
' <i>madaki</i> 'wife'	<i>tone</i> 'brother' (only used by men)
<i>mudu</i> 'friend (f)' ²⁴	<i>vudu</i> 'friend (m)'
<i>kudo</i> 'hen'	(<i>mama</i> 'priest')
<i>ghu'baro</i> 'heron (f)'	
<i>baza</i> 'sow'	

ones discussed above because of two reasons: first there are two diachronically different, unrelated words *mama*; and second their meanings do not have a common 'semantic core' and are not distinguished solely by the difference between the genders.

Although the nouns listed in Table 17 can only refer to either male or female referents, there is one context where the noun *adaki* 'woman' has consistently been found with masculine agreement: when there was no real-world referent, as in example (38). The example is from a story about a chief who invites all men to come and dance, so that the chief's daughter can pick one to marry. She, however, does not like any of them, so she utters the sentence given as example (38).

(38) *Lo tada=gha=e ze=na; zu baigho=e*
 DET.PL man=PL=EMPH 3PL=NOM but not.exist=EMPH

lo=va adaki=na.
 3SG.M-GEN.M woman=NOM

'They are men; but there is no wife (lit. woman) of any (of them).'

(ap_cs_sivugha_029)

In this example, neither the genitive suffix on the pronoun, nor the nominative case marking show feminine agreement. Unfortunately, there are only very few examples of this kind in the corpus at present, and most of them uttered by one speaker. Still, this can be seen as evidence that it is the referent that is classified, rather than the noun.

As mentioned above, nouns referring to inanimate referents, including abstract concepts, and animate beings whose sex is not readily discernible are by

default masculine²⁵. They can, however, be temporarily assigned to the feminine class (39).

- (39) *Pade gnari molo pono=lo te k-au-i.*
 one small **knife** only=3SG.M.NOM EMPH **3SG.F.O**-take-FIN
 ‘He only took one small knife.’ (bd_cs_tonelo_184)

This is the marked case and very rare, it is only found in about 1.5% of 5360 utterances. There is also great variation among speakers. Some speakers do not seem to use this strategy at all, while other speakers use it relatively often. It is also not done consistently; no inanimate noun is always treated as feminine, not even by the same speaker (for possible exceptions see below), and referents referred to by a feminine inanimate noun once are not necessarily treated as feminine in earlier or later utterances.

Possible exceptions are *kughe* ‘moon’²⁶, *sisi* ‘ornamental flower’, names of months (loanwords from English), and the names of some coconut species which are for some speakers feminine. These speakers will then be relatively consistent in using feminine agreement. According to informants this is a matter of personal preference; both are grammatical and speakers do not regard it as a mistake if someone else treats them as masculine. When asked, especially more conservative speakers insist that the masculine is the ‘proper’, better form, although they concede that it is not grammatically wrong to treat these nouns as feminine.

The main function of a temporary assignment to the feminine class is to form diminutives, thereby emphasizing that the referent is small compared to a prototypical representative of its kind (as in example (39) above, as well as (40) and (41) below), or that it is a part of a whole (42). Correspondingly, noun phrases with an inanimate noun classified as feminine often contain the adjective *gnari* ‘small’, the nouns *tozo* and *sodu* ‘piece’, the adverb *memere* ‘little bit’, and the verb *kula* ‘to be short’ in modifier position. However, not every noun modified by one or more of these words is treated as feminine. Furthermore these words are often used to modify masculine nouns as well.

25. Note that although the terms ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ are still used, they do no longer have any implications with regard to the sexual identity of a referent. One could also call them class 1 and 2 for the discussion of inanimates and non-sexed animates. But since the same agreement morphology is used to distinguish these two classes I decided to keep these labels to make it easier to identify which nouns are grouped together.

26. But when *kughe* is used to refer to a month instead of the moon as such, it is masculine. This is particularly interesting in the light of the fact that the names of months borrowed into Savosavo are often feminine.

- (40) *Ai lo tuvi=na ko tuvi k-aughi*
 this DET.SG.M house=NOM **DET.SG.F** house **3SG.F.O**-exceed
ngai-sa patu.
 big-VBLZ BG.IPFV

‘This house (m) is bigger than that house (f)’, lit. ‘this house (m) is big exceeding that house (f).’ (012-other_sentences)

- (41) *Ela sua mai ka l-olomi tite, ai lo Savo*
 one ATT.SG.M INSG.IN already 3SG.M.O-know thus this 3SG.M Savo
lo molumolu lo kokoilo mali sua; ko gnari
 3SG.M island 3SG.M ball.nut.tree be.like ATT.SG.M **3SG.F** small
molumolu.

island

‘First we already know, this Savo (Island), the island (was) like the fruit of a ball nut tree; the small island.’ (cv_biti_002)

- (42) *Tei-ghu pono=e, ai-ma pa memere*
 be.like.this-NMLZ only=EMPH 1SG.GEN-**GEN.SG.F** one little.bit
sodu rongorongo, kati ai n-aka savu-li sua.
 piece **story** CERT 1SG.GEN 2SG-to tell-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M

‘That’s it (lit. only like this), my one little bit piece of story, the one I will tell you.’ (jd_house_028)

In example (40) two houses are compared. The NP referring to the bigger one contains a masculine determiner and nominative case marker, while a feminine determiner modifies the noun in the NP referring to the smaller one. Furthermore the object marking on the verb agrees with the object NP referring to the smaller house and shows a feminine object prefix. Example (41) shows the flexibility of this strategy. The speaker talks about Savo Island and refers to it first by name, then twice with the noun *molumolu* ‘island’. After using only masculine agreement in the beginning, he switches to feminine after he said that the island was very small, like the fruit of a ball nut tree. This time the noun *molumolu* ‘island’ is also modified by the adjective *gnari* ‘small’. Finally, in example (42) a noun modified by *memere* ‘little bit’ and *sodu* ‘piece’ occurs with the feminine genitive suffix within the NP, but masculine agreement on the verb in the following part.

Although it is not uncommon in languages having noun class systems that nouns change their class membership when they are transformed into diminutives (this is for example the case in German, Dutch, Greek, Bulgarian etc. (Dressler and Barbaresi 1994: 104)), this normally involves a morphological or phonological change in the word form. In Savosavo diminutives are formed solely by change of gender class.

That derived diminutives ‘end up’ in the feminine class is also not unheard of: the Omotic language Dizi (Maji), spoken in Ethiopia, and the Salish language Halkomelem, spoken in British Columbia, both have two genders (Corbett 1991: 11, and references therein). In both languages the class that contains all nouns referring to females (Dizi) or those referring to female persons (Halkomelem) also contains all diminutives. But in contrast to Savosavo, diminutives are clearly derived in both languages: they are marked by a different suffix on the noun in Dizi and show “a distinctive reduplication pattern” (Corbett 1991: 11) in Halkomelem. So in these two languages the change of class membership goes hand in hand with morphological derivation, whereas in Savosavo the change of gender itself derives diminutives.

Emphasizing the relative smallness of a referent is the basic function of diminutives (cf. Dressler and Barbaresi 1994). Very often this goes hand in hand with a negative connotation of inferiority; however, there is no evidence for this in Savosavo, neither in connection with a temporary class change to express a diminutive, nor with other functions fulfilled by a temporary class change. On the contrary, when informants were asked why something was treated as feminine in cases where there was no clue that this was size-related they said that the speaker wanted to emphasize that it was ‘a special one’. This is supported by the next example. In the utterances leading up to this sentence and also in those following it the boat is always masculine, but in this sentence the speaker talks about the speed of the boat, which is viewed as a positive feature, and here the boat is feminine:

- (43) *Bua te=ze, bua te=ze, bua*
 go.SS CONJ=3PL.NOM go.SS CONJ=3PL.NOM go.SS
te=ze, ma ai mau=na savu-li(-i) oma
 CONJ=3PL.NOM PA 1SG.GEN father=NOM tell-3SG.M.O(-FIN) not
gnuba bo-ghu lama ko boti.
 child go-NMLZ **PROPR.SG.F DET.SG.F boat**

‘They went and went and went, and my father said it was pretty fast, that boat (lit. didn’t have a child going, that boat).’ (pk_WWII_085)

Looking closer at the context of temporary class changes not connected to size, it appears that referents of nouns temporarily treated as feminine are quite relevant in the context, i.e. they are items central to the story, and that the class change occurs specifically at turning points of the story. However, a detailed discussion hereof is beyond the scope of this grammar; furthermore, given the rare occurrence of temporary class changes in general, and class changes not related to diminutive formation in particular, more data and a more careful analysis are needed before any conclusions can be drawn.

The possibility to change the class of a noun temporarily is also present in other languages of the world (see Aikhenvald (2000: 41ff.) on “[v]ariability in noun class assignment and variable agreement”), and also in some Papuan languages of Papua New Guinea (Foley 1986). In Alamblak, to take just one example, nouns referring to humans and higher animate beings are assigned by sex, but all other nouns are classified on a semantic basis depending on their typical shape: the “[m]asculine gender (-r) refers to tall or long, slender or narrow objects, while feminine gender (-t) is used for typically short, squat or wide objects.” (Foley 1986: 80). If a referent “is atypical as to size, or, if the referent is animate, when the sex is highlighted” (Foley 1986: 81), a noun can be treated as belonging to the opposite gender.

This system differs in (at least) two important respects from the Savosavo system. First, in contrast to Alamblak, the class assignment of nouns denoting humans and higher animate beings cannot be changed in Savosavo. And more importantly, while the unmarked choice for Savosavo nouns denoting inanimates and lower animate beings is masculine for all, the Alamblak nouns are split into masculine and feminine, with additional meaning attached to the default class of a noun. Thus, the function of a change of class assignment can only be related to this semantic base. In contrast, change of class assignment is a more versatile tool in Savosavo. As there is no specific meaning connected to the classes, a shift from the default masculine class to the marked feminine class is not tied to any semantic interpretation, but is available to mark a deviation in some way. Forming diminutives and marking a referent as ‘special’ or as particularly important for the discourse are functions that fit well under this description.

4.2.2. Noun phrase – short overview

Noun phrases function as arguments or locative adjuncts in verbal clauses, as subject or predicate of non-verbal clauses, complements of postpositions and derivative markers. The head of a noun phrase (NP hereafter) can be a noun or a pronoun. It can be categorized for number, either inherently, when headed by a pronoun (see Sec. 4.5.1.1) or by adding the enclitics =zalo/=lo ‘DU’ or =gha ‘PL’. There is no enclitic marking the singular. Only NPs can function as the host of the enclitics marking nominative or locative case.

If there is more than one noun in an NP the right-most one is head of the NP, modified by the preceding noun (e.g. *totolo kalugha* ‘string (of traditional) money’), or they are of equal status and coordinated by juxtaposition (e.g. *fuli²⁷ piva* ‘fuel (and) water’), or they form a right-headed compound (e.g. *gnoko puti*

27. Underlined words are borrowed from Solomon Islands Pijin or English.

‘nostril’) see Ch. 5; for a detailed treatment of compounds in one specific semantic domain, the body part domain, see Wegener (2006).

An NP can contain several modifiers or modifying phrases. The only modifier following the head is the limiting modifier *pono* ‘only’. Restrictions on order and combination of modifiers and modifying phrases preceding the head are rather complex and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. The following schematic representation of a noun phrase gives an idea of the general structure.

$$(\text{Det}) \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{other modifiers} \\ \text{mod. phrases} \end{array} \right) \text{Head} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\emptyset \text{ ‘S’} \\ =zalo/=lo \text{ ‘DU’} \\ =gha \text{ ‘PL’} \end{array} \right\} (\textit{pono} \text{ ‘only’})$$

Typical examples for NPs would be the following:

- (44) [*Lo so soa map_{Head=gha}*]=*na ka ba-i*.
 DET.PL saw ATT person=PL=NOM already come-FIN
 ‘The sawing people (people who came to do sawing) have already come’
 (es_agutu_015)
- (45) [[*Lo gnari lo-va nini_{Head}*]=*e [Saraputu_{Head}]*.
 DET.SG.M small 3SG.M-GEN.M name=EMPH Saraputu
 ‘The name of the small (brother was) Saraputu.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_008)

In example (44) the head noun is marked for plural number. It is preceded by a modifier phrase (*so soa*) and a determiner (*lo*), and the NP is followed by the case marking enclitic =*na*. Example (45) is more complex. It is a non-verbal clause. The first NP with the head noun *nini* ‘name’ is the syntactic subject of the clause. It is marked by =*e* ‘EMPH’, which is in complementary distribution with nominative case marking. This subject NP contains another NP, *lo gnari* ‘the small’, denoting the possessor of *nini* ‘name’. This possessor NP is headless and consists only of the adjective *gnari* ‘small’ plus determiner *lo*. Finally, the predicate NP is headed by and contains only the name *Saraputu*.

The verbalization suffix *-sa* ‘VBLZ’ can verbalize a whole NP (46).

- (46) ...*lo sua lo eghu=na ghoi [zugh_a*
 DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M[GEN] fireplace=NOM also faeces
pono]-sa-zu.
 only-VBLZ-PST.IPFV
 ‘...the fireplace of the giant was full of faeces (lit. being only faeces).’
 (bi_cs_kakula_162)

Having a derivative bound morpheme with scope over a phrasal or clausal structure is not uncommon in Savosavo: the verbalization suffix *-sa* ‘VBLZ’ can

also be used with adjective phrases and quantifier phrases (see Sec. 4.3.2 and Sec. 4.4.2 below), and the nominalization suffix *-ghu* can have scope over anything from single lexical items to complex clause structures (described in detail in Ch. 9).

4.3. Adjectives and adjective phrases

4.3.1. Adjectives

Adjectives form a very small closed class; 16 members have been identified as such at the time of writing (listed below). They function as modifiers in NPs, in a slot between quantifiers and nouns, and can constitute the sole constituent of a headless NP (in contrast to other NP constituents such as determiners and relative clauses with *-tu*, cf. Ch. 5).

There is a continuum between canonical adjectives and canonical intransitive verbs. Following the definitions given by Hengeveld (1992), a CANONICAL ADJECTIVE in Savosavo functions as a modifier in an NP “without further measures being taken” (Hengeveld 1992: 58), see example (47).

- (47) [*Pa **ngai** vaka*]_{NP}=na [*ba-i*]_{VC}
 one **big** ship=NOM come-FIN
 ‘A big ship has come.’ (bk_WWII_030)

A canonical adjective can only be used as nucleus of a verb complex (VC) when verbalized by *-sa* (48, 49).

- (48) ...[*lo-va dulo kola*]_{NP}=na ka [*ngai-sa-i*]_{VC}
 3SG.M-GEN.M all tree=NOM already **big-VBLZ**-FIN
 ‘...all its trees were already big.’ (jr_cs_soghe_077)

- (49) * lo-va dulo kola=na ka **ngai-i**

In contrast, a CANONICAL VERB is the nucleus of a VC (50). It cannot appear with the verbalizing suffix *-sa* (51).

- (50) ...[*lo kato*]_{NP}=na [*ora-i*]_{VC}
 DET.SG.M stone=NOM **burn**-FIN
 ‘The stone burned.’ (mp_biti_124)

- (51) * lo kato=na **ora-sa-i**

A canonical verb cannot directly be used as a modifier in an NP, it has to be accompanied by the attributive marker *sua* ‘ATT’ ((52, 53); cf. Sec. 4.8.1).

- (52) ...[*ora sua* *doi*]_{NP}=*na* *te* [*kuli(-i)*]_{VC}
burn ATT.SG.M earth=NOM EMPH move.seawards(-FIN)
 ‘...lava (lit. burning ground) moved seawards.’ (mp_biti_120)
- (53) * **ora** *doi*

A canonical adjective cannot appear together with *sua* (54).

- (54) * Pa **ngai sua** vaka

The features of canonical adjectives on the one hand and canonical verbs on the other hand can be schematized as follows:

Adj	Underived	Derived
modifier in NP	✓	—
head in VC	—	✓

V	Underived	Derived
modifier in NP	—	✓
head in VC	✓	—

In addition to some canonical adjectives, and a large number of canonical intransitive verbs, Savosavo has lexical items that are not canonical in that they diverge from the patterns outlined above in one way or another. To investigate this variation in more detail, I selected a set of 60 lexical items (including the 16 lexical items that were subsequently identified as adjectives), and determined their syntactic behavior by first looking at occurrences in the spontaneous data and then asking three speakers separately in elicitation sessions for grammaticality judgments. The latter was necessary because, although there may not be an example in the corpus, a specific item in a specific context could still be grammatical. The group of 60 lexical items included 16 items that were found as modifiers in NPs in almost all examples in the corpus (potential adjectives) as well as 42 items that were usually used in VCs (intransitive verbs) but whose semantics are commonly expressed by adjectives in other languages.

Although one must always be cautious about the results obtained by elicitation, the speakers consulted were in fact very consistent. Their judgments were identical in 91 % of the cases. Where they differed, it was either on the question whether an intransitive verb could also be used as a modifier without being derived or whether an adjective could appear with the attributive marker *sua*. One speaker was slightly more permissive than the other two in these cases.

Of the 60 lexical items, 16 were classified as adjectives (including 13 canonical adjectives) and 45 as verbs (including 29 canonical verbs), with one item

belonging to both classes. The non-canonical verbs and adjectives for the most part fell between the two classes, being more permissive than the canonical class members. Only one item, an adjective, was more restrictive than a canonical adjective. Table 18 summarizes the findings, which are explained in more detail below.

Table 18. Canonical and non-canonical adjectives and intransitive verbs

Category	#	Items
canonical verbs	29	e.g. <i>aje</i> ‘to be straight’, <i>bo'ragha</i> ‘to be black’, <i>evu</i> ‘to be cooked’, <i>kula</i> ‘to be short’, <i>laqa</i> ‘to be strong’, <i>seghe</i> ‘to be full’
verbs (more permissive)	15	e.g. <i>sisi</i> ‘to be red’, <i>supu</i> ‘to be many’, <i>'ghaule</i> ‘to be cold’, <i>koba'koba</i> ‘to be empty’
classified as both verb and adjective	1	<i>'kejegha</i> ‘to be brave’
adjective (more permissive)	1	<i>tu'nuva</i> ‘to be inherited’
canonical adjectives	13	<i>dai</i> ‘good’, <i>duzi</i> ‘elder’, <i>eko</i> ‘green/blue’, <i>gnari</i> ‘small’, <i>'kolobu</i> ‘unripe’, <i>lumu</i> ‘dirty, old’, <i>ngai</i> ‘big’, <i>poso'vata</i> ‘yellow’, <i>qola kiba</i> ‘green, lit. raw leaf’, <i>supu'rongo</i> ‘many’, <i>kaunga'rongo</i> ‘great’, <i>isa'rongo</i> ‘bad’, <i>tu'qana</i> ‘mighty’
adjective (more restrictive)	1	<i>bona</i> ‘plain’

Three of the canonical adjectives seem to be derived by a derivational suffix *-rongo* which is, at least synchronically, not productive. Diachronically it is probably related to the intensifying modifier *torongo* that can follow an adjective in an adjective phrase, see Section 4.3.2 below. *Kaungarongo* ‘great’ is derived from the noun *kaunga* ‘elder, chief’, *isarongo* ‘bad’ from the intransitive verb *isanga* ‘to be bad’, and *supurongo* ‘many’ from the intransitive verb *supu*²⁸ ‘to be many’. The last canonical adjective in the list, *tuqana* ‘mighty’, seems to be a loanword from an Austronesian language spoken on Guadalcanal (probably Ghari).

28. This verb can be used as a modifier in an NP without derivation, see discussion below. As an alternative to *supurongo*, speakers also use the adjective phrase *supu torongo* ‘very many’; in addition to the formal similarity between the suffix *-rongo* and the modifier *torongo*, this supports the analysis that these two items are diachronically related.

The only adjective that is more restrictive, *bona* ‘plain’, shows the typical behavior of adjectives in that it can be used as a modifier in an NP, but not as the nucleus of a VC. But unlike a canonical adjective, it cannot take the verbalizing suffix *-sa*.

<i>bona</i> ‘plain’	Underived	Derived
modifier in NP	✓	—
head in VC	—	—

The items falling into the three categories between canonical verbs and canonical adjectives are all more permissive than the canonical members of each class. The first group contains 15 verbs that do not behave canonically. They show the typical behavior of verbs, but in addition can also be used as modifiers in an NP without the marker *sua*. Their pattern is shown below.

	Underived	Derived
modifier in NP	✓	✓
head in VC	✓	—

The second group contains a word that falls exactly in between the two classes. It shows properties of both parts of speech in that it can be used both derived and underived in NPs as well as in VCs. It is therefore analyzed as belonging to both classes.

<i>kejegha</i> ‘brave’	Underived	Derived
modifier in NP	✓	✓
head in VC	✓	✓

The third group contains an adjective, *tunuva* ‘inherited’, that does not show a canonical pattern in that it can be used underived in a VC. The pattern for *tunuva* ‘inherited’ is given below.

<i>tunuva</i> ‘inherited’	Underived	Derived
modifier in NP	✓	—
head in VC	✓	✓

To summarize, adjectives and intransitive verbs form distinct classes which are defined by formal properties, but there are also a few items that show characteristics of both classes. Speakers seem to agree to a great extent on how lexical items of these two classes can be used. However, given the small number of speakers consulted and the limited size of the corpus available at present more research is needed before these tentative results can be confirmed.

4.3.2. Adjective phrases

An adjective phrase is headed by an adjective which can be followed by the modifiers *toa* ‘really’ (see Sec. 4.10) and *torongo* ‘very’, or preceded by *memere* ‘little bit’ (cf. Sec. 4.11). The following scheme shows the structure of an adjective phrase:

(*memere* ‘little bit’) **Adj_{Head}** (modifier)

Examples are given below; the adjective phrase is marked by square brackets.

- (55) [*Ngai_{Head} toa*] *gneqa-ghu=la=lo* *ka*
big really be.long-NMLZ=LOC.M=3SG.M.NOM already
basi(-i).
 be.lost(-FIN)
 ‘It is already lost for really long (lit. really big length).’ (cgh_bon_043)
- (56) [*Ngai_{Head} torongo*] *laqa lame* [*supu_{Head} torongo*]
big very be.strong PROPR.PL **many** very
mapa=gha=na koata.
 person=PL=NOM before
 ‘Great strength having ones (were) very many people in the old days.’
 (bd_cs_tonelo_005)
- (57) [*Memere ngai_{Head}*] *eghe(=e)*.
 little.bit **big** ngali.nut.tree(=EMPH)
 ‘(It was a) rather big Ngali nut tree.’ (es_cs_kakamora_027)

The verbalization suffix *-sa* can have scope over a whole adjective phrase (58).

- (58) *Kia lo ka* [*kaungarongo_{Head}*
 if 3SG.M[GEN] already **great**
toa]-*sa=ghu=e lo=na*.
really-VBLZ=NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘If (so, then) it will already be really great.’ (bi_cs_kakula_142)

4.4. Quantifiers and quantifier phrases

4.4.1. Quantifiers

Quantifiers are another small closed class. They are used as modifiers in NPs, where they precede adjectives, derivative marker phrases and nouns. Like adjectives, they can constitute the sole constituent of an NP (cf. 5). This class contains numerals (Sec. 4.4.1.1) as well as some other quantifiers like, e.g., *ela* ‘some’ and *daivata* ‘plenty’ (Sec. 4.4.1.2).

4.4.1.1. Numerals and the counting system

Savosavo has a decimal counting system. Table 19 lists the numerals from one to nine, the words for the tens from ten to ninety, the terms for one hundred, one thousand, and one million, as well as some complex examples. The terms given are the ones normally used in counting. Additional forms for other purposes are given in parentheses and explained below.

Table 19. Cardinal numerals used in counting

1	<i>ela (pade/pa)</i>	30	<i>ighi'valeza</i>
2	<i>edo</i>	40	<i>agha'valeza</i>
3	<i>i'ghiva ('ighia)</i>	50	<i>a'ratale</i>
4	<i>'aghava</i>	60	<i>pogho'atale</i>
5	<i>ara</i>	70	<i>pogoro'atale</i>
6	<i>'poghoa</i>	80	<i>kui'atale</i>
7	<i>'pogoro</i>	90	<i>kua'vatale</i>
8	<i>kui</i>	100	<i>pa kela</i>
9	<i>ku'ava</i>	200	<i>edo kela</i>
10	<i>'atale (pa kua/pa piqu)</i>	269	<i>edo ke'lagha pogho'atale ku'ava</i>
11	<i>'panipiti</i>	999	<i>ku'ava ke'lagha kua'vatale ku'ava</i>
12	<i>'edonipiti</i>	1,000	<i>pa togha</i>
13	<i>'ighivanipiti</i>	2,000	<i>edo togha</i>
20	<i>'nebolo</i>	7,777	<i>'pogoro 'toghagha 'pogoro ke'lagha pogoro'atale 'pogoro 'atale togha</i>
21	<i>'nebolo pa</i>	10,000	<i>'atale togha</i>
22	<i>'nebolo edo</i>	100,000	<i>pa kela togha</i>
23	<i>'nebolo 'ighiva</i>	300,000	<i>'ighia kela togha</i>
26	<i>'nebolo 'poghoa</i>	1,000,000	<i>pa mola</i>
29	<i>'nebolo ku'ava</i>	1,234,567	<i>pa mola edo ke'lagha ighi'valeza 'aghava 'toghagha ara ke'lagha pogho'atale 'pogoro</i>

There are two words for 'one', *ela* and *pade*. *Ela* 'one' is used in counting and to form the translation equivalent of the ordinal numeral 'first', *ela sua*.²⁹ When used as a modifier in an NP it means 'some', as in example (59):

29. The translation equivalent of English ordinals are phrases formed with the attributive marker *sua* (cf. Sec. 4.8.1), e.g. *edo sua* 'second', *atale sua* 'tenth', *ighivaleza pa sua* 'thirty-first' etc.

- (59) *Moka ela mapa=gha=na ata tetegha=la.*
 maybe **some** person=PL=NOM here mountain=LOC.M
 ‘Maybe some people (are) here at the mountain.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_075)

As a modifier and in complex numerals, *pade* is used, often shortened to *pa* (60).

- (60) *No pa kibo=e lo=na.*
 2SG[GEN] **one** sin=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘That is one of your sins.’ (ap_jeff_beki_630)

Pa also functions as an indefiniteness marker (61). In combination with *oma* ‘not’ it means ‘no one’ (62). The full form *pade* emphasizes that there is a single referent (63).

- (61) *Elakati=me pa totomate pala ta-i.*
 CERT=1NSG.IN.NOM **one** plan make.3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘We will make a plan.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_306)

- (62) *Ghaule sua lo kuli-tu lo*
 be.cold ATT.SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] move.seawards-REL DET.SG.M
taemu=la oma lo pa=na ave-i.
 time=LOC.M **not** DET.SG.M **one**=NOM die-FIN
 ‘At the time the cold one (volcano) erupted no one died.’ (cv_biti_008)

- (63) *Pade papale=la=to te alu kozi(-i).*
one side=LOC.M=3DU.NOM EMPH stand face(-FIN)
 ‘They (two) are facing the same side (lit. to one side).’ (jp_ji_mt_067)

The word for ‘three’ has two variants. Only *ighia* can function as a modifier in an NP (64). This form is also used in complex numerals when giving the number of hundreds or thousands, e.g. *ighia kela/togha* ‘three hundred/thousand’, where it can be analyzed as modifying the following numeral *kela* ‘hundred’ or *togha* ‘thousand’. In contrast, *ighiva* is used in counting for the number ‘three’ as well as for complex numerals like *ighivaleza ighiva* ‘thirty-three’. *Ighiva* is also used to express the translation equivalent of ordinal numerals with three (e.g. *ighiva sua* ‘third’, *nebolo ighiva sua* ‘twenty-third’), and as the base for verbalization (see (67) below).

- (64) *[[Ighia totoa_{Head}=gha]_{NP}=na papale=la]_C [[ighia=gha]_{NP}=na*
three sibling=PL=NOM side=LOC.M **three**=PL=NOM
papale=la]_C zu [ko ze-ma adaki totoa=kona
 side=LOC.M and DET.SG.F 3PL-GEN.SG.F woman sibling=NOM.F
te ghobu=la]_C
 EMPH middle=LOC.M

‘Three siblings (were) on (one) side, three (were) on (the other) side, and their sister (was) in the middle.’ (wr_cs_pogoro_ghuliagha_055)

Finally, there are specific terms for ten ripe coconuts and for ten Megapode eggs:

(65) *pa kua kolei*
one ten(eggs) megapode.egg
 ‘ten Megapode eggs’

(66) *pa piqu qazu*
one ten(coconuts) ripe.coconut
 ‘ten ripe coconuts’

Numerals can be verbalized by the suffix *-sa* (67).

(67) *Kati=gne no pa adaki vili-ghi ta-i,*
 CERT=1SG.NOM 2SG[GEN] one woman choose-3SG.F.O FUT-FIN
te=gho ba mai gn-au ighiva-sa-i.
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM come 1NSG.IN 1O-take **three-VBLZ**-FIN
 ‘I will choose one woman for you (lit. your one woman), that she comes
 and makes us three (lit. causes us to be three).’ (ap_jeff_beki_127)

4.4.1.2. Other quantifiers

Apart from numerals there are a few other quantifiers, including the interrogative quantifier *alea*:

- ‘*alea* ‘how many, however many; all; every’
- *ela* ‘some’: this quantifier was already mentioned above, see ex. (59)
- ‘*elave* ‘some more’
- ‘*padenge* ‘only one’
- ‘*pamevelpame* ‘one more’
- *dai’vata* ‘plenty’
- *du(lo)* ‘all’: some speakers use *du* with dual and *dulo* with plural, while for other speakers these two variants are in free variation
- ‘*palea/pa’leva* ‘few’: when modifying a personal pronoun only the second form can be used; the first form takes the plural enclitic =*gha* when it is head of an NP, the second does not

(68) is an example featuring the quantifier *daivata* ‘plenty’.

(68) *Daivata sere so=gha=gne z-oqo-i.*
 plenty be.white ATT=PL=1SG.NOM 3PL.O-collect-FIN
 ‘I collected plenty of white people (that swam ashore during the war).’
 (png_WWII_3_296)

There are no examples in the corpus at present that show any of these quantifiers verbalized by means of *-sa* ‘VBLZ’.

4.4.2. Quantifier phrases

A quantifier phrase is headed by a quantifier and can contain modifiers. One of these modifiers precedes the quantifier, the other one follows it. In addition the general modifier *toa* ‘really’ can appear in the final position (see Sec. 4.10). The schematic structure of a quantifier phrase is as follows:

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \textit{kode(nge)/kede} \\ \text{‘only (NSG)’} \end{array} \right) \text{Quant}_{\text{Head}} \left(\begin{array}{c} \textit{dopadopa/dodopa} \\ \text{‘only’} \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{c} \textit{toa} \\ \text{‘really’} \end{array} \right)$$

The modifiers can co-occur. *Kode(nge)/kede* can only be used with quantifiers referring to more than one object or person, while *dopadopa/dodopa* can also modify the quantifier *pa* ‘one’. None of the modifiers have so far been found with *daivata* ‘plenty’, *alea* ‘however many/every’ and *ela* ‘some’.

(69) is an example for a quantifier phrase containing all three modifiers (square brackets mark the quantifier phrase)

- (69) “*Pe=pe ai-va [kode edo dodopa toa]*
 2DU=EMPH.2DU 1SG.GEN-GEN.M only.NSG **two** only really
gnuba=lo=e pe=na.”
 child=DU=EMPH 2DU=NOM
 ‘You two, my really only two children (are) you.’ (dr_cs_taragau_057)

Example (70) is evidence that verbalization by *-sa* ‘VBLZ’ can have scope over a quantifier phrase headed by a numeral, and not just a single numeral.

- (70) *Apoi [kede edo]-sa ze=me mai=na.*
 because **only.NSG two-VBLZ** PA=1NSG.IN.NOM 1NSG.IN=NOM
 ‘Because we are only two, we.’ (ap_jeff_beki_128)

The modifier *kede* ‘only (NSG)’ cannot be used to modify a verb, thus it has to be analyzed as modifying the numeral inside of the scope of *-sa* ‘VBLZ’. It is the only example in the corpus that shows verbalization of a quantifier phrase, but verbalization of NPs and AdjPs is more common (see Sec. 4.2.2 and Sec. 4.3.2 respectively).

4.5. Pronominals

Pronominals in Savosavo are personal pronouns (Sec. 4.5.1) and possessive pronouns (Sec. 4.5.2). In addition, there are a few forms in the corpus that appear to be part of a paradigm of emphatic pronouns (Sec. 4.5.3), and the reciprocal marker *mapamapa*, sometimes shortened to *mamapa* (Sec. 4.5.4).

Personal pronouns are either free forms (Sec. 4.5.1.1) or enclitic nominative personal pronouns (Sec. 4.5.1.2). The latter are clause-level enclitics that can only be used for syntactic subjects. Object markers on transitive verbs, as well as prefixes on postpositions that mark gender, number and person of the complement, are not considered to be pronominal, but instances of agreement (see Sec. 6.2.1.1 for a discussion).

Free personal pronouns and possessive pronouns will always be the head of an NP, that is, they cannot be used as modifiers. They in turn can be modified by a subset of the modifiers generally available in an NP (Sec. 5.1.1.2). Enclitic personal pronouns do not have the status of a full NP and cannot be modified by anything. While both free and enclitic personal pronouns inherently mark the number as well as the gender and person of a referent, possessive pronouns take the enclitics *=(za)lo* ‘DU’ or *=gha* ‘PL’. The singular is not marked overtly.

4.5.1. Personal pronouns

Savosavo has a paradigm of free personal pronouns as well as enclitic personal pronouns. The free pronouns are head of an NP and can be used in any syntactic position (Sec. 4.5.1.1). In contrast, the enclitic personal pronouns are second-position sentence-level clitics that do not constitute an NP, and can only be used for syntactic subjects (Sec. 4.5.1.2).

4.5.1.1. Free personal pronouns

Free personal pronouns are categorized for person, number and in the third person singular the gender of the referent. In addition to this, they distinguish between the inclusion or exclusion of the addressee in the first person non-singular. Table 20 provides the full paradigm (cf. Todd 1977: 813; Codrington 1974: 561). The stress pattern for the first person singular is somewhat unusual, having primary stress on the last rather than the penultimate syllable.

Personal pronouns either function as heads of NPs (cf. Sec. 5.1) or adnominal possessive modifiers. As modifiers, they can take the genitive case suffix (cf. Sec. 5.2.3). The allomorph *ai*³⁰ of the first person singular pronoun is usually

30. This form is clearly different from the homophonous demonstrative *ai* (cf. Sec. 4.6). The latter has to be followed by a determiner or a personal pronoun, and can occur in the same NP with the genitive first person singular pronoun *ai*.

Table 20. Free personal pronouns with syntactically conditioned alternative forms

		Sg	Du	Pl
1.	incl.		<i>mai</i>	
	excl.	<i>a'gni / ai</i>	<i>aghe</i>	<i>ave</i>
2.		<i>no</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>me</i>
3.	m	<i>lo / la</i>	<i>to/ta</i>	<i>ze / zepo / za</i>
	f	<i>ko / ka</i>		

used in this context. Occasionally *agni* is found as well, but this is then quite emphatic. The other personal pronouns do not have specific genitive forms.

The additional *Ca* variants of the third person pronouns can only be used in some syntactic contexts (see Sec. 7.1.2.2, Sec. 7.2.1.1 and Sec. 7.2.1.3) and, in those contexts, have a connotation of proximity in opposition to the normal *Co* forms.

As for the third person plural, some contexts require the use of *ze*, some the use of *zepo*, and some allow both. *Ze* has to be used when it is head of a noun phrase that is marked by the nominative case marker *na* (71). *Zepo*, on the other hand, is the only choice when it is the head of an NP in a postpositional phrase headed by *-aka* ‘with’, in NPs functioning as objects in a verbal clause (72), and in NPs marked by the enclitic *=e* ‘EMPH’ (73).

- (71) *Lo tada=gha=e ze (*zepo)=na.*
 DET.PL man=PL=EMPH 3PL=NOM
 ‘Men (are) they.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_023)
- (72) *...dulo zepo (*ze) z-au...*
 all 3PL 3PL.O-take
 ‘...took them all...’ (bd_cs_tonelo_249)
- (73) *Zu zepo (*ze)=e mane oma savosavo-ghu*
 and/but 3PL=EMPH consecutively not speak.savosavo-NMLZ
l-olomi sua.
 3SG.M.O-know ATT
 ‘But they (in contrast to us who learn their language) then don’t know how to speak Savosavo.’ (mp_mapagha_467)

According to informants it is also the preferred choice for NPs used with the other two postpositions, *-omata* ‘at’ (74) and *-omiti* ‘for’, although *ze* is also possible. In NPs specifying a possessor, which then precedes a genitive pronoun

(cf. Sec. 5.2.3), both forms are possible, but *ze* is only used rarely (75). Finally, in NPs marked by the locative particle *la* both forms can be used.

- (74) *Apoi Saunana Lakamate ma zepo (?ze) z-emata te pale*
 because Saunana Lakamate COM **3PL** 3PL-at EMPH stay
sue agni mau=na.
 ATT.EMPH 1SG[GEN] father=NOM
 ‘Because my father stayed with Saunana, Lakamate and those.’
 (pk_WWII065)

- (75) *Ze ai lo manga=la zepo (ze) ze samu*
 3PL this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M **3PL** 3PL[GEN] food
l-au tuka, ze ba ave
 3SG.M.O-take whenever 3PL[GEN] come 1PL.EX
gn-uma-ghu=e lo=na.
 1O-feed-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘Whenever they got their food on this day, they came and fed us.’
 (ts_marovo_050)

4.5.1.2. Enclitic subject personal pronouns

Enclitic personal pronouns are very similar to the free forms, see the paradigm in Table 21 (cf. Todd 1977: 814f.). They are nominative pronouns which can only be used for syntactic subjects (cf. Sec. 5.2.1). They do not carry primary stress and are attached to the first constituent of a clause, i.e. they are Wackernagel-enclitics.

- (76) [*Ai-va kise sua ghora pono*]_{ObjNP}=*gne*_{Subj} *te*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M fight ATT.SG.M shield only=**1SG.NOM** EMPH
mata-li(-i).
 want-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘I want only my war shield.’
 (ap_aeghu_028)

Enclitic personal pronouns are never head of an NP and cannot be modified or modify anything. They are usually used in verbal clauses, but they are also found in a certain structural type of locational non-verbal clause (see Sec. 7.1.2.1, p. 207). They can co-occur with nominative-marked free pronouns or other NPs referring to the subject (77).

- (77) *Te=gho Airini=kona tei(-i)...*
 CONJ=**3SG.F.NOM** Irine=**NOM.F** say(-FIN)
 ‘And Irine said...’
 (ap_jeff_beki_071)

Table 21. Clitic nominative personal pronouns

		Sg	Du	Pl
1.	incl.		=me	
	excl.	=gne	=ghe	=ve
2.		=no	=pe	=me
3.	m	=lo	=to	=ze
	f	=gho		

Only the first person forms and the third person singular feminine form are different from the free personal pronouns, therefore it is sometimes challenging and requires detailed knowledge of the grammar of Savosavo as well as the context of an utterance to identify a form as either a free or a clitic personal pronoun.

4.5.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns (Tab. 22) are pronouns that correspond to English ‘mine’, ‘yours’ etc. They are always the head of an NP and cannot be used as adnominal modifiers.³¹ Possessive pronouns can only be modified by determiners (78) or an NP denoting the possessor.

- (78) *Oma=lo ai lo agnia l-au*
no=3SG.M.NOM this DET.SG.M **1SG.POSS.M** 3SG.M.O-take
epi-li-zu.
hit.target-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV
‘It didn’t fit mine (lit. this mine).’ (jp_ji_mt_328)

Table 22. Possessive pronouns

		Sg	Du	Pl
1.	incl.		'maia / 'maima	
	excl.	a'gnia / a'gnima	a'ghea / a'ghema	a'vea / a'vema
2.		no'noa / no'noma	pe'pea / pe'pema	me'mea / me'mema
3.	m	lo'loa / lo'loma	to'toa / to'toma	ze'zea / ze'zema
	f	ko'koa / ko'koma		

31. The translation equivalent of, for example, ‘your house’ is *nova tuvi*, formed with a genitive-marked second person personal pronoun *no-va* (cf. Sec. 5.2.3).

Possessive pronouns are clearly derived from the free personal pronouns by suffixation of either *-ma* in case of a feminine third person singular possessum³² or *-a* anywhere else, and, for monosyllabic pronouns, reduplication.³³

Possessive pronouns agree in person, number and gender with the possessor, but denote the possessum. As mentioned above, if the possessum is feminine third person singular, the form of the pronoun ends in *-ma* instead of *-a* (79).

- (79) *Torolala loloma=e* *koi* *Buebue=kona.*
 Torolala 3SG.M.POSS.F=EMPH DET.SG.F Buebue=NOM.F
 ‘Torolala’s (wife was) Buebue.’, lit. ‘Torolala his (was) the Buebue.’
 (tt_bd_war_014)

Because the possessive pronouns are head of an NP, number of the possessum can be indicated by the number enclitics *=(za)lo* ‘DU’ and *=gha* ‘PL’ (80).

- (80) *Agnia=gha=e* *ze_{Possessum}=na.*
 1SG.POSS.M=PL=EMPH 3PL=NOM
 ‘They (are) mine.’
 (137_001_srb)

4.5.3. Emphatic pronouns

A small number of pronominal forms occur in the corpus that appear to be part of a set of emphatic pronouns with a connotation of ‘as well’. The documented forms are: *maivana* ‘1NSG.IN.as.well’ (81), *novana* ‘2SG.as.well’ (82), *pemana*³⁴ ‘2DU.as.well’ (83), *mevana* ‘2PL.as.well’ (84), and *zevana* ‘3PL.as.well’ (84).

- (81) *Ene-li* *tulola ze-va* “*Apoi=na te ota*
 hear-3SG.M.O then 3PL-GEN.M what=NOM EMPH there
zaba-tu. *Bo-lu ke bo qele~qele*
 become.visible-PRS.IPFV go-IMP.PL CONJ go REDUP~ look

32. The feminine forms were not mentioned in Wegener (2005). As there are only very few instances of possessive pronouns in the corpus, and because feminine agreement is so rarely found and usually restricted to female animates, only one example of the feminine possessive pronoun exists in the corpus at present, example (79); it was only recently confirmed by elicitation that this form is not an error, but that there are corresponding forms for all person-number-gender combinations.

33. The genitive case suffixes (*-va* ‘GEN.M’, *-ma* ‘GEN.SG.F’) are similar to the endings of the possessive pronouns and must be of common origin, see Section 5.2.3.

34. According to a consultant, this should have been *pevana* instead, but it is not clear whether this is because *pemana* is not a valid word form or because it is not appropriate in the context.

maivana ghoi.”

1NSG.IN.as.well also

‘When (they) heard it (the dancing), they (said) “What is happening there? Go so that (we) go look, us as well.”’ (wr_cs_poghoroghuliagha_011-012)

- (82) [A boy and a giant are fighting. The giant throws everything he has, trying to kill the boy, but finally runs out of ammunition.]

Te=lo “O; agni-va sisi-ghu=e

CONJ=3SG.M.NOM O 1SG-GEN.M be.wrong-NMLZ=EMPH

lo=na” tei. “Bua; novana ghoi.”

3SG.M=NOM say go.IMP.SG **2SG.as.well** also

‘And he (the giant) said: “O; it’s impossible for me. You again (or It’s your turn, SIP iu moa).”’ (wr_cs_vulaole_183-184)

- (83) *Ota=lo bo pizo liaza bo-i. “Kukua=zalo; bo-lu*
there=3SG.M.NOM go drink return go-FIN gen.2=DU go-IMP.PL
pemana.”

2DU.as.well

‘There he went and drank and returned. “Grandchildren, go as well.”’

(st_cs_vangazua_055)

- (84) Someone has tried for the first time to cook Megapode eggs and they smell very good, so two boys are sent to find out what the source of this smell is. The person with the eggs tells them what it is and then offers two eggs to the boys:

“De; me-va edo=gha; ze=me bo

take.this 2PL-GEN.PL two=PL CONJ.SS=2PL.NOM go

me-va edo=gha k-au-lu; ze=me bo

2PL-GEN.PL two=PL 3SG.F.O-take-IMP.PL CONJ.SS=2PL.NOM go

mevana l-evo.” Zevana edo=gha k-au-a

2PL.as.well 3SG.M.O-burn **3PL.as.well** two=PL 3SG.F.O-take-SS

ke=ze bo...

CONJ=3PL.NOM go

‘“Take this; your two (eggs); and you go take your two; and you go burn yours as well.” They as well took two and they went...’

(ej_cs_gnero_031-032)

It is not clear whether these forms are synchronically analyzable. They look like personal pronouns plus genitive suffix (-*va* or -*ma*, cf. Sec. 5.2.3) and an additional nominative enclitic =*na* on the end. This would be unusual for Savosavo, as genitive and nominative cannot co-occur anywhere else. In most examples found so far, the pronoun appears to function as the syntactic subject (81–83),

which would be consistent with an analysis of /na/ as the nominative enclitic, but in example (84) the pronoun *mevana* ‘3PL.as.well’ is found in an object slot. A nominative marking in this position is not possible. Another difference between this example and the preceding ones is that the pronoun here has to be interpreted as meaning ‘theirs’, denoting the two eggs. This could mean that these pronouns are in fact emphatic versions of the possessive pronouns, not of the personal pronouns, and that the other examples should be translated as e.g. ‘ours’, as in ‘our turn’ in (81).

4.5.4. *Mapamapa* ‘RECIP’

The reciprocal marker *mapamapa*,³⁵ sometimes shortened to *mamapa*, is probably derived from the noun *mapa* ‘person’. It is used to express reciprocity and can occur in three syntactic positions: as object (85), complement of a postposition (86) or possessor (87).

- (85) *Mapamapa*_o=ze te ghajia bola-tu.
 RECIP=3PL.NOM EMPH self shoot.3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV
 ‘They were themselves shooting each other.’ (as_WWII_107)
- (86) [*Mapamapa l-omata*]_{postp}=to te alu kozi(-i).
 RECIP 3SG.M-at=3DU.NOM EMPH stand face(-FIN)
 ‘They (two) stand facing towards each other.’ (jp_ji_mt.184)
- (87) *Mapamapa*_{poss} lo mane=la=ze te
 RECIP 3SG.M[GEN] side=LOC.M=3PL.NOM EMPH
e-pi-atu.
 sit-BG.IPFV
 ‘They are sitting at each other’s side.’ (008_sl_rec)

Mapamapa ‘RECIP’ cannot be modified by anything. Agreement with *mapamapa* always has to be third person singular masculine, regardless of the number and gender of the referents. Elicitation showed that *mapamapa* ‘RECIP’ is used to describe a broad range of situations that can be characterized as follows:

- If two people are involved: *mapamapa* can be used when they are in a symmetric relation, by acting on each other, or on each other’s property or body part, in a similar way, i.e. when they switch roles in an action, either simultaneously or sequentially.
- If more than two people are involved: *mapamapa* can be used in all situations, including situations that do not involve a switch of roles, provided that more than one person is acted upon, and that they are involved in a joint activity.

35. Parts of this section are excerpts of Wegener (2011).

For a detailed analysis of the video clip stimulus materials used in elicitation (Evans et al. 2004) see Wegener (2011).

4.6. Determiners and the demonstrative *ai* ‘this’

Savosavo has one set of determiners and a single proximal demonstrative (see discussion below). Determiners are used to express definiteness.³⁶ They act as modifiers rather than heads in NPs, preceding everything but relative clauses and the demonstrative *ai* ‘this’. They mark number and, in the singular, gender of the head of the NP. Table 23 gives the paradigm of forms used as determiners in Savosavo (see also Todd (1977: 809), who labels these morphemes “pre-nominal particles”). The form of the demonstrative is invariant.

Table 23. The paradigm of the determiners

	Sg	Du	Pl
masculine	<i>lo</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>lo</i>
feminine	<i>ko/koi</i>		

The second form given for the third person singular feminine is usually used to modify names of female referents (88) or combines with the interrogative proform *ai* ‘who’ when asking for a woman’s name (89); it can also be used together with numerals (90).

- (88) *Ko gnuba ko-va nini=e koi Poluku.*
 DET.SG.F child 3SG.F-GEN.M name=EMPH **DET.SG.F** P.
 ‘The daughter’s name (was) Poluku.’ (rra_cs_likuliku_043)
- (89) “*Koi ai=e no=na?*”
DET.SG.F who=EMPH 2SG=NOM
 ‘“Who (are) you?” (asking a woman)’ (rra_cs_likuliku_015)
- (90) *Koi ighivaleza aghavaleza polo=e ze*
DET.SG.F thirty forty pig=EMPH 3PL[GEN]
l-ate sua.
 3SG.M.O-hold ATT
 ‘Thirty, forty pigs they held (i.e. slaughtered them for the feast)’
 (jd_house_026)

The forms used as determiners are identical to the third person singular masculine and the third person dual personal pronouns (cf. Tab. 20). Only the third

36. A genitive pronoun encoding a possessor also entails definiteness; genitive pronouns and determiners can co-occur (cf. Sec. 5.2.3, p. 139).

person plural form and, potentially, the third person singular feminine form differ, which raises the question about how a distinction between determiners and personal pronouns can be drawn. Below it will be shown that there are contexts in which either the third person plural determiner or the respective personal pronoun can be used, but not both. Furthermore the alternative singular feminine form *koi* can only be used in some contexts. An additional question is whether determiners could be further divided into demonstratives and articles. In an early description, Codrington refers to these determiners as “demonstratives”, and states that “[t]he Demonstrative *lo* is used as an Article; [...] but it is a Demonstrative Particle, not really an Article” (Codrington 1974: 560). It will become clear in the following discussion that although determiners can be used in opposition to the demonstrative *ai* ‘this’, the forms provided above are not demonstratives.

4.6.1. Determiners vs. personal pronouns

The paradigm for determiners given above in Table 23 and the third person personal pronouns are identical except for the plural form and the additional alternative form for the third person singular feminine, *koi*, which is restricted to the determiner paradigm. For purposes of comparison Table 24 repeats the personal pronouns for the third person.

Table 24. The paradigm of the personal pronouns for third person

	Sg	Du	Pl
masculine	<i>lo</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ze</i>
feminine	<i>ko</i>		

Although according to Himmelmann (1996: 210) it is “sometimes difficult to decide whether a given element is to be considered a demonstrative, an article or a pronoun” there are reasons to distinguish between one class of determiners and another class of personal pronouns in Savosavo. In addition to this, whether one could also argue for a distinction between articles and demonstrative pronouns will be discussed below.

Only the plural form clearly distinguishes the paradigm for determiners from the paradigm for third person personal pronouns. Therefore syntactic environments requiring determiners or personal pronouns can be used to demonstrate that these two sets are different by testing which form can be used for the third person plural. The possibility of using the alternative third person singular feminine form of the determiner, *koi*, provides additional evidence.

- **Demonstrative plus determiner:** The demonstrative *ai* requires an NP to be definite and occurs in NPs that contain either a determiner or a personal pronoun. Personal pronouns cannot be modified by determiners. The following examples of plural noun phrases show the demonstrative *ai* ‘this’ as modifying a noun in combination with the required determiner and modifying a personal pronoun respectively:

- (91) *Ai lo mapa=gha=na ba-i.*
 this **DET.PL** person=PL=NOM come-FIN
 ‘These people came.’
- (92) * *Ai ze mapagha=na ba-i.*
- (93) BUT:
Ai ze=na ba-i.
 this **3PL=NOM** come-FIN
 ‘These came.’
- (94) * *Ai lo=na ba-i.* (for referring to more than one person)
- (95) *Ai lo=na ba-i.*
 this **3SG.M=NOM** come-FIN
 ‘This one (m) came.’
- (96) *Ai koi Anna=kona ba-i.*
 this **DET.SG.F** Anna=NOM.F come-FIN
 ‘This Anna came.’
- (97) * *Ai koi=(ko)na ba-i.*
- (98) *Ai ko=na ba-i.*
 this **3SG.F=NOM** come-FIN
 ‘This one (f) came.’

These examples show that if the demonstrative *ai* is used, it occurs together with one of the forms of the determiner paradigm (91, 96). If it modifies a personal pronoun this form is omitted and *ai* stands alone (93, 98). This is because, as was mentioned above, determiners, that is the forms of the paradigm in Table 23, cannot be head of an NP and cannot modify a personal pronoun. A third person plural NP cannot have *lo* or *ai lo* as its head, it must have the appropriate personal pronoun *ze/zepe*. Similarly, *koi* cannot be used as head of a third person singular feminine NP, only *ko* is possible here.

- **Third person genitive personal pronoun:** A genitive-marked personal pronoun in the third person singular feminine and plural is used to express possession (see Sec. 5.2.3):

- (99) *lo due=gha ze-va napu*
 DET.PL bamboo.segment=PL **3PL**-GEN.M mouth
 ‘the orifice of the bamboo segments’ (ap_kukui_013)
- (100) * *lo due=gha lo-va napu*
- (101) *lo due lo-va napu*
 DET.SG.M bamboo.segment **3SG.M**-GEN.M mouth
 ‘the orifice of the bamboo segment’
- (102) *ko adaki ko-va napu*
 DET.SG.F woman **3SG.F**-GEN.M mouth
 ‘the mouth of the woman’
- (103) * *ko adaki koi-va napu*

As these examples show, the genitive-marked lexeme referring to a third person plural possessor indeed has to be the personal pronoun *ze*, the plural determiner *lo* cannot be used (99–101). Similarly, the alternative third person singular feminine determiner *koi* cannot be found with genitive marking to refer to a third person singular feminine possessor (102, 103).

Both environments demonstrate that there are cases in which only a form of one of the paradigms, and not the other, can be used. Therefore there are good reasons to postulate two separate classes, a class of determiners on the one hand, and one of personal pronouns on the other.

4.6.2. Demonstratives vs. definite articles

One criterion for identifying demonstratives is that “the element must be in a paradigmatic relation to elements which – when used exophorically – locate the entity referred to on a distance scale” (Himmelmann 1996: 210). This suggests that there have to be at least two demonstratives in a language, differing in the distance specified. While this is surely true of many languages, it will be argued below that Savosavo only employs one purely distance-related demonstrative, the proximal *ai*.

In a typical situation where demonstratives are used, e.g. choosing from a set of objects laid out, maybe accompanied by pointing gestures, the demonstrative *ai* can precede the determiners to express proximity. It would, for example, be used when the speaker refers to something she is holding or that is very close to her. If she wants to refer to something further away she would use the determiner forms without *ai*, therefore the determiner forms can have a distance-related demonstrative interpretation in some cases, when they are used in direct

opposition to *ai*. To provide additional information about the location of the object, the determiner can be used together with locationals such as *koti* ‘seawards (prox.)’ and *kulo* ‘seawards’, e.g. *koti lo* ‘that one seawards a bit away’, which encode not only distance, but also direction. These locationals are not in complementary distribution with *ai* ‘this’; both the proximal and the non-proximal forms can be combined with it. Thus the only candidates for a counterpart for *ai* ‘this’ would be the determiners, with a hypothesis that a determiner on its own always has a distance-related, non-proximal, reading.

Typically, however, the Savosavo determiners are used without any distance-related interpretation, as in examples (104) to (107). The first examples, (104a) and (104b), are translations of a sentence provided by Himmelmann as a diagnostic context for definite articles, i.e. for lexemes that do not have a distance-related reading. According to him, definite articles, but not demonstratives, can be used in “a first mention in the subject position of generic statements such as *The mango season is in February and March*” Himmelmann (1996: 211). Examples (105) to (107) are comparable examples from the corpus.

- (104) a. *Mago lo manga=e noveba=la.*
mango 3SG.M[GEN] time=EMPH november=LOC.M
 ‘(The) mango season (lit. time of mango) (is in) November.’
- b. *Lo mago lo manga=e noveba=la.*
DET.SG.M mango 3SG.M[GEN] time=EMPH
 november=LOC.M
 ‘The mango season (lit. time of the/that mango) (is in) November.’
- (105) *Lo ae-ghu lo-va vuni-ghu.*
DET.SG.M be.married-NMLZ 3SG.M-GEN.M start-NMLZ
 ‘the beginning of marriage’, lit. ‘the marriage its beginning’
 (ap_aeghu_002)
- (106) *Lo dala-ghu=gne te rongorongo-li*
DET.SG.M fish.with.kite-NMLZ=1SG.NOM EMPH tell-3SG.M.O
tei-zu.
 want.to.do-PST.IPFV
 ‘I want to talk about kite fishing.’ (se_kite_001)
- (107) *Lo magnigha=e ghoi lo pali lava.*
DET.SG.M village=EMPH also DET.SG.M law PROPR.SG.M
 ‘The village has laws as well.’ (ap_custom_018)

The elicited translations given above differ in that example (104a) only allows for a generic reading, whereas example (104b) allows for both a generic and a

specific reading: ‘the mango’ in general or ‘that mango’ over there. Example (105) is the first mention of the story topic, namely marriage in the old days. This utterance consists of just one NP, but it is comparable to the subject NP in Himmelmann’s example sentence. Example (106) again introduces the topic the speaker is about to discuss. Although the NP in question is not the subject of this clause, it is nevertheless the first mention of this topic. However, it could be the case that the speaker had already talked to some of the audience about the story he will tell. Finally, example (107) is from a story about the customary laws that were followed in the old days; the speaker first talked about the laws of the house and here introduces the village (in general) as a place that has its own laws. Here the NP in question is the subject of the clause.

In all of these examples the determiner can be analyzed as functioning as an article, not as a demonstrative. If the demonstrative *ai* ‘this’ was added in these examples, they would lose their generic reading, or it would be severely restricted: example (105) would then mean ‘the beginning of this marriage’, either a marriage that was talked about before, or maybe ‘this marriage of us Savo islanders’. The meaning of example (106) would similarly change to ‘I want to talk about this kite fishing’, meaning either ‘this kite fishing we talked about’ or ‘this kite fishing we Savo islanders used to do’. The change in examples (104b) and (107) would be more fundamental, a general meaning would not be possible anymore. Example (104b) would only talk about the season of a particular mango tree, and example (107) would then mean ‘This village (we are in or talking about) has laws as well’. So while the examples given above allow for a generic reading, this would be hard or impossible when the demonstrative *ai* is added. My conclusion is that the determiners cannot be classified as demonstratives, and that in those examples where there is a non-proximal reading, this is implied by the absence of the proximal demonstrative *ai*, and not due to the determiners.

4.7. Locationals

Members of this word class are inherently locative, i.e. when used as adjuncts expressing a location they are not marked by the locative case enclitics. They function as heads and modifiers in NPs, as adverbial modifiers, and as predicates in non-verbal clauses. They do not occur with the locative case marker *la*, but can be used with the ablative case markers =*tu* and =*le*, similar to ablative-marked NPs. Locationals can be modified by one specific form of the general modifier *toa* ‘really’, namely *toala* (see Sec. 4.10). This class comprises twenty-seven forms based on a twelve-way semantic distinction, listed in Table 25, and includes the interrogative locational *ala* ‘where’.

Table 25. Adverbial and attributive forms of the locationals

Adverbial form	Attributive form	Proximal form
<i>kulo</i> ‘seawards’	<i>ku'ata</i>	<i>koti</i>
<i>kao</i> ‘bushwards’	<i>kata</i>	<i>kati</i>
<i>tagha</i> ‘up, clockwise’	<i>ta'ghata</i> ‘on top, clockwise’	<i>ta'ghati</i>
<i>neu</i> ‘down, counterclockwise’	<i>'neuta</i> ‘under, counterclockwise’	<i>neti</i>
<i>mala</i> ‘along the coast’	<i>mata</i>	<i>mati</i>
<i>pale</i> ‘inside’	<i>'paeta</i> ‘in’	—
	<i>ala</i> ‘where’	<i>'alati</i>
	<i>ata</i> ‘here’	<i>'atati</i>
	<i>ota</i> ‘there’	<i>'otati</i>
	<i>'ghoita</i> ‘near’	<i>'ghoitati</i>
	<i>negha</i> ‘somewhere else’	—
	<i>data</i> ‘outside’	—

The labels “adverbial”, “attributive” and “proximal” are preliminary and based on the observed patterns of use: the adverbial forms and the proximal forms are typically used to modify a verbal predicate (108, 109) or as predicates in non-verbal clauses (110), while the attributive forms are typically used as modifiers in NPs (111).

- (108) *Kulo=me sobo pale-ata...*
seawards=2PL.NOM float stay-ANT
 ‘You (Pl.) will keep floating seawards first...’ (wr_cs_vulaole_245)
- (109) *Magnigha mane=la, koti pazale lo*
 village side=LOC.M **seawards.PROX** beach 3SG.M[GEN]
kuata=lo te voda-i.
seawards=3SG.M.NOM EMPH explode-FIN
 ‘At the side of the homestead, a little bit seawards, seawards of the beach it exploded.’ (as_WWII_012)
- (110) *Te=gne “Ei oma; ai ilaghi=na te ka*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM ei no 1SG.GEN basket=NOM EMPH already
kulo.”
seawards
 ‘And I (said) “Ei, no, my basket (is) already seawards.’ (jv_tarai_073)
- (111) *Lo-va sokasoka=na [lo-va kata*
 3SG.M-GEN.M brush=NOM 3SG.M-GEN.M **bushwards**
papale]_{NP}=la.
 side=LOC.M
 ‘His brush (is) at his bushwards side.’ (jp_ji_mt_336)

Whereas most forms occur relatively frequently in the corpus, there are only a handful of examples featuring the four proximal adverbial forms *alati* ‘where (proximal)’, *atati* ‘here (proximal)’, *otati* ‘there (proximal)’ and *ghoitati* ‘near (proximal)’. The forms given in the table all occurred in non-elicited data. Material collected during elicitation sessions suggests that the proximal forms *datati* ‘outside (proximal)’ and *neghati* ‘somewhere else (proximal)’ can also be formed.

Formally, the attributive forms are derived from the adverbial forms by adding a bound morpheme =*ta*, which has merged with the stem in some cases. The enclitic =*ti* is used to derive proximal adverbial forms, indicating that the location referred to is close to a deictic center (112). This enclitic is also found on locative-marked NPs (cf. Sec. 5.2.4).

- (112) *Ota te pale soma=e; ata neti Kuika.*
 there EMPH stay ATT.SG.F=EMPH here **down.PROX** Kuika
 ‘There she was staying; here a little bit downwards at Kuika.’
 (rra_cs_likuliku_006)

Example (112) also shows that proximal forms can be used together with non-proximal forms; cf. example (109) above.

The enclitic =*lia* ‘about’ has been found to occur with the following locationals: *ala* ‘where’, *ata* ‘here’, *ota* ‘there’ and *pale* ‘inside’. The resulting expressions refer to approximate locations, e.g. *alalia* ‘about where’, *atalia* ‘about here, somewhere here’, and so on.

There are two morphemes marking ablative case, =*tu* and =*le*. All adverbial forms except *mala* ‘along the coast’ can occur with =*tu* ‘ABL’. In addition to this, there are examples in which =*tu* ‘ABL’ is suffixed to *taghata* ‘on top, clockwise’, *paeta* ‘inside’, *mata* ‘along the coast’, and *kuata* ‘seawards’. The other ablative enclitic, =*le*, is not very common in the corpus; it has so far only been found with a number of adverbial forms, namely *kulo* ‘seawards’, *kao* ‘bushwards’, *tagha* ‘on top, clockwise’, *ota* ‘there’, *ata* ‘here’ and *ala* ‘where’.

4.7.1. A note on frames of reference

Speakers of Savosavo do not use the relative frame of reference³⁷, i.e. to describe the location of a referent in relation to a ground, they do not use the terms *tovi* ‘right’, *male* ‘left’, *gnaghoa* ‘front’ and *buringa* ‘back’ from a perspective external to the ground, as in *the cup_{Figure} is left of the plate_{Ground} (from my point of view)*. Intrinsic use of these terms, based on intrinsic properties of the ground itself, is

37. For information on frames of reference see Levinson (1996, 2003) and references therein

more common. However, even in these contexts the terms do not refer to directions, but function attributively to identify certain body parts or areas adjacent to the ground referent (113).

- (113) *Lo-va*_{Ground} *tovi papale=la=lo*_{Figure} *te alu-i*;
3SG.M-GEN.M right side=LOC.M=3SG.M.NOM EMPH stand-FIN
lo sokasoka=na.
 DET.SG.M brush=NOM
 ‘It is standing at his (the man’s) right side, the brush.’ (jp_ji_mt_322)

The most common way to describe the location of a referent is to employ an absolute coordinate system based on the border between land and sea. This system consists of two orthogonal axes, a bushwards–seawards axis and an axis that follows an idealized coastline, see Figure 14. For movement around the island, the direction of movement can be left unspecified by using *mala* ‘along the coast’, or the terms for vertical ‘up’ and ‘down’, *tagha* ‘up’ and *neu* ‘down’, can be used, with *tagha* ‘up’ designating the direction clockwise around the island, and *neu* ‘down’ the direction counterclockwise around the island.

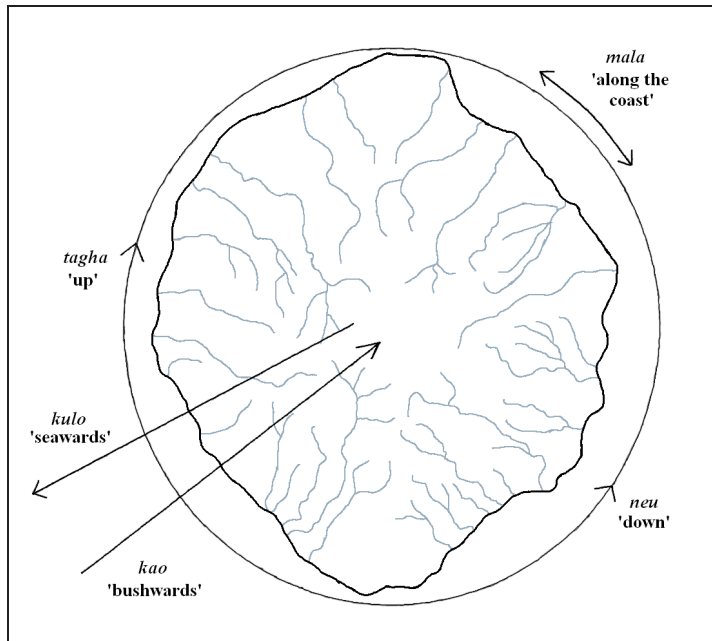


Figure 14. A schematic representation of the up–down and bushwards–seawards axes employed for spatial reference in Savosavo

As Savo is a small, roundish island, one can keep going ‘around’, i.e. ‘up’ or ‘down’, eternally. The fact that the direction of movement along the coast can

be left unspecified is evidence that the two axes are not equal in status, but that the bushwards–seawards axis is primary. The opposition between up–down and seawards–bushwards is exemplified by (114), in which one speaker (facing inland) describes a picture with two identical balls lying side by side to another speaker during an elicitation game (the Man & Tree task, cf. Pederson et al. (1998)).

- (114) *Ai lo taemu=la edo bolo=zalo. Pa=na taghata,*
 this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M two ball=DU one=NOM **on.top**
pa=na neuta. Oma kao zu kulo. Neu zu tagha.
 one=NOM **below** not **bushwards** and **seawards down** and **up**
 ‘This time (there are) two balls. One (is) on top (i.e. in clockwise direction), one (is) below (i.e. in counterclockwise direction). Not bushwards and seawards. Down and up.’ (cp_api_mt_101)

This absolute system is used both in small-scale space, e.g. to identify one of two bowls standing side by side (115), as well as in large-scale space (116).

- (115) a. *L-au ba-i-a lo popo.*
 3SG.M.O-take come-EP-IMP.SG DET.SG.M bowl
 ‘Bring the bowl (here).’ (007_003_sgb)
- b. *Ala lo.*
 where 3SG.M
 ‘Which one?’, lit. ‘it (which is) where’ (007_004_sgb)
- c. *Kulo lo.*
 seawards 3SG.M
 ‘The one seawards.’, lit. ‘it (which is) seawards’ (007_005_sgb)
- (116) *Ai ghavi~ghavi neu bua ke=gne neu*
 1SG.GEN REDUP~ paddle **down** go.SS CONJ=1SG.NOM **down**
toa=la Lakevala sara tulola ai-va ghoi
 really=LOC.M Lakevala reach then 1SG.GEN-GEN.M also
ghavi~ghavi liaza ba-ghu=e.
 REDUP~ paddle return come-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘I paddled (and) went down (i.e. counterclockwise along the coast) and I reached Lakevala really (far) down and then I also paddled back.’ (es_agutu_058)

The priority of these absolute terms over terms such as *tovi* ‘right’ and *male* ‘left’ can be glimpsed from the frequency of their occurrence: there are 588 instances of forms for ‘bushwards’, and 560 instances of forms for ‘seawards’, but only 95

instances of *tovi* ‘right’ and 55 instances of *male* ‘left’. Examples like (115) and (116) above are quite typical in everyday speech. Example (117), again taken from a Man & Tree game, again shows that ‘left’ and ‘right’ are restricted to sides of the body.

- (117) a. Speaker 1:
Nova neu alu kozi tuka, nova
 2SG-GEN.M **down** stand face whenever 2SG-GEN.M
tovi=e ala=lia te pale sua.
right=EMPH where=about EMPH stay ATT
 ‘When you stand facing down (i.e. counterclockwise), where is your
 right (side)?’ (jp_ji_mt_323)
- b. Speaker 2:
Kuata -
seawards
 ‘Seawards -’ (jp_ji_mt_324)
- c. S1:
- papale=la?
 side=LOC.M
 ‘- side?’ (jp_ji_mt_325)
- d. S2:
Gnagnui lo papale=la.
 sea 3SG.M[GEN] side=LOC.M
 ‘The side of the sea.’ (jp_ji_mt_326)
- e. S1:
O zu kia, lo-va tovi=la te=lo.
 o but if 3SG.M-GEN.M **right**=LOC.M PA=3SG.M.NOM
Apoi=lo neu te alu kozi(-i); lo
 because=3SG.M.NOM **down** EMPH stand face(-FIN) DET.SG.M
mapa=na.
 person=NOM
 ‘O but if (so), it is at his right (side). Because he is facing down, the
 man.’ (jp_ji_mt_327)

The Savosavo absolute system is very similar to those found in Manam, an Austronesian language in Papua New Guinea (Lichtenberk 1983: 571ff.), and the Papuan language Touo spoken in the Western Province of the Solomon Islands (Terrill and Dunn 2006: 77ff.). However, in contrast to Savosavo, the terms used for clockwise and counterclockwise along the coast in these two systems are not polysemous with ‘up’ and ‘down’.

4.8. Derivative markers

There are three markers in Savosavo that derive adnominal modifiers from a range of word classes and phrase types: an attributive marker (*sua*), a propriative marker (*lava*) and a privative marker (*zepo*). *Sua* and *lava* have earlier been analyzed as verbal auxiliaries meaning ‘be’ and ‘have’, respectively (Todd 1977: 820). All three markers are free morphemes. *Lava* is occasionally found on its own, but *sua* and *zepo* always follow a word or a phrase. The resulting complex constructions will be called, for want of a better label, *sua-*, *lava-* and *zepo-*phrase respectively.

Syntactically, all three phrase types can function as an NP constituent. All three can be used as the sole constituent of a headless NP (in contrast to other NP constituents such as determiners and relative clauses formed with *-tu*, cf. 5). *Zepo*-phrases have only been found in headless NPs so far, whereas *sua-* and *lava-*phrases are often used as modifiers in NPs that contain a head noun. *Sua-* and *lava-*phrases are also used as the predicate of a non-verbal clause (Sec. 7.1.2).

The markers differ not only with respect to their semantics and their syntactic distribution, but also in which word classes and/or phrase types they can take as complements. They will be described in detail in the following sections.

4.8.1. The attributive marker *sua* and *sua*-phrases

The attributive marker *sua* is used to express attributes of a referent. *Sua*-phrases can be used as modifiers in an NP (118) or as predicates in non-verbal clauses (119).

- (118) $[[\text{pevu } \mathbf{sua}] \quad \text{vaka}]_{NP}$
 fly **ATT.SG.M** ship
 ‘(a) plane’, lit. ‘flying ship’ (agh_png_159)

- (119) Zu $[\text{zepo}]_{Subj} \text{ghoi} [\text{tei} \quad \mathbf{sua}]_{Pred}$
 and 3PL also be.like.this **ATT**
 ‘And they did the same.’, lit. ‘And they (were) also like this.’
 (png_WWII_3_015)

As modifiers, they are usually placed in the same slot as adjectives are, that is, between quantifiers and nouns (120), but they can also precede the quantifier (121).

- (120) $[Pa [\text{sukulu} \quad \mathbf{soma}] \quad \text{adaki}]_{NP=ze} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{k-ali}$
 one go.to.school **ATT.SG.F** woman=3PL.NOM EMPH 3SG.F.O-hit
sakapi-ghi(-i).
 take.off.at.joint-3SG.F.O(-FIN)
 ‘They killed a woman going to school (there).’ (agh_png_374)

- (121) $[[kao \quad ghoghoana=la \quad sua] \quad pa \quad tada \quad zuba]_{NP}$
 bushwards bush=LOC.M ATT.SG.M one man child
 ‘a boy from inland in the bush’ (ap_cs_sivugha_061)

The more material a *sua*-phrase contains, the more likely it is that it will be fronted in this way.

A *sua*-phrase does not take any verbal morphology, and it cannot be used as the complement of any of the other derivative markers.

The attributive marker *sua* is inflected for gender in the third person singular, with *sua* for the masculine (118, 121) and *soma* or, rarely, *suama* for the feminine (120). The *-ma* found in the third person singular feminine form may be of common origin with the feminine genitive suffix (see Tab. 41, p. 137). In the dual and plural, *sua* is used, but when a *sua*-phrase is the sole constituent of an NP and happens to be host to the number marking enclitics, the marker *sua* in the forms *sua=lo* and *sua=gha* is often shortened to *so*, yielding *so=lo* and *so=gha* respectively (122). The paradigm of the attributive marker *sua* is given in Table 26.

- (122) $[Lo \quad [vaka=la \quad so=gha]]_{NP}=na \quad gnango-i.$
 DET.PL ship=LOC.M ATT=PL=NOM be.first-FIN
 ‘Those from the ship were first.’ (bd_cs_tonelo_354)

Table 26. The paradigm of the attributive marker *sua*

		Sg	Du	Pl
1. & 2.		<i>sua</i>	<i>sua/so=lo</i>	<i>su'a=gha / so=gha</i>
3.	m			
	f	<i>soma / su'ama</i>		

With respect to the types of complement it can take, the attributive marker *sua* is the most versatile of the three derivative markers. It combines with a wide range of complements: verbs (118–120), adverbial particles, locative-marked NPs (121, 122), locationals, numerals (123) and postpositional phrases with *l-omiti* ‘for’ or *l-omata* ‘at’ (124).

- (123) *Ai lo=le, ka aghava sua manga=e*
 this 3SG.M=EMPH.M already four ATT.SG.M day=EMPH
lo=na.
 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘This, it is already the fourth day.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_073)

- (124) *Neu jai=la* [[*lo* *qana l-omata sua*]
 down river=LOC.M DET.SG.M gun 3SG.M-at ATT.SG.M
pa]_{NP=e} *ghoi naba uan.*
 one=EMPH also number one
 ‘Down at the river the one (there) at the gun (was) also (called) Number
 One.’ (bk_WWII_119)

Furthermore, it is one way of forming relative clauses (125), and in this case takes a specific clausal structure as its complement (see Sec. 8.2.1).

- (125) ...[[*ko* *mau lo* *suba-li* *sua*]
 3SG.F[GEN] father 3SG.M[GEN] plant-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M
 [*ghede sua* *salu*]_{NP...}
 turn.yellow ATT.SG.M betel.leaf
 ‘...betel leaves that her father had planted that had become yellow...’, lit.
 ‘her father his planting one turning yellow one betel leaf’
 (ws_cs_ghulia_065)

Finally, a *zepo*-phrase can also be complement of the attributive marker (126).

- (126) [[*Kuvikivi zepo*] *sua*] *pera=e.*
 lid PRIV ATT.SG.M basket=EMPH
 ‘(It is) a lidless basket.’ (pk_mk_mt_159)

Direct recursion³⁸, which would mean that a *sua*-phrase would directly function as the complement of another *sua*-phrase, is not possible. The recursion can only be indirect, i.e. with at least one intermediate syntactic level. In example (127), there are two intermediate syntactic levels: The embedded *sua*-phrase is part of an NP, which is part of a clause that is complement of the superordinate *sua*-phrase.

- (127) ...[[[*oma*³⁹ [[*tei sua*] *kapisi*]_{NP} *l-eghe*]_C
 not be.like.this ATT.SG.M thing 3SG.M.O-see
so=lo]]_{NP Pred=e} *aghe=na.*
 ATT=DU=EMPH 1DU.EX=NOM
 ‘[Whenever father and I went out to go fishing,] we haven’t seen such a
 thing.’, lit. ‘Not such a thing seeing ones (were) we.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_244)

38. Following the terminology used by Parker (2006, Sec. 5.2.1).

39. *Oma* ‘not’ could be analyzed as being within the relative clause (‘We (were) ones not seeing such a thing’) or outside of the NPs on the clausal level (‘We (were) not ones seeing such a thing.’)

4.8.2. The proprietive marker *lava* and *lava*-phrases

The proprietive marker *lava* is used to express possession, either of a concrete entity or of a trait, habit or attribute. Like the attributive marker *sua*, *lava*-phrases can be used as modifiers in NPs (128) or as predicates in non-verbal clauses (129).

- (128) [*lo ai-va [edo pise=gha lava]*
 DET.SG.M 1SG-GEN.M two bamboo.separation=PL **PROPR.SG.M**
kakado]_{NP}
 bamboo.bottle
 ‘that my bamboo bottle with two segments’ (st_cs_vangazua_017)
- (129) [*Kuvikivi lava*]=*e lo pa pera=na.*
 lid **PROPR.SG.M**=EMPH DET.SG.M one basket=NOM
 ‘The one basket has a lid.’, lit. ‘Lid-having (is) the one basket.’
 (pk_mk_mt_125)

Lava does not take any verbal morphology and cannot be used as the complement of any of the other derivative markers.

The proprietive marker formally distinguishes between singular masculine, singular feminine, dual and plural. *Lava* is the third person singular masculine form, while the corresponding feminine form is *lama*. Gender is only marked in the singular. In the dual, *laghe* is used, and the plural form is *lame*. The paradigm is provided in Table 27.

Table 27. The paradigm of the proprietive marker *lava*

		Sg	Du	Pl
1. & 2.		<i>lava</i>	<i>laghe</i>	<i>lame</i>
3.	m			
	f	<i>lama</i>		

In contrast to *sua*, the similarity of the third person singular forms to the genitive suffixes (Tab. 41, p. 137) is not only found in the feminine (-*ma*), but also in the masculine (-*va*). The origin of the *ghe* and *me* in the non-singular forms remains unclear, although there are interesting formal similarities to the personal pronouns (Tables 20 and 21) in the first person dual exclusive (*aghe*, =*ghe*) and second person plural (*me*, =*me*) as well as the first person non-singular inclusive enclitic pronoun (=me).

The proprietive marker *lava* is the only derivative marker that can occur on its own (130), although this is only rarely found. Complements of *lava* can be nouns (131) or NPs, which can be quite complex (132).

- (130) *Lava=e* *no=na.*
PROPR.SG.M=EMPH 2SG=NOM
 ‘(Do) you have (it)?’, lit. ‘Having (are) you?’ (cp_api_mt_038)
- (131) *Apoi lo boko=e [lo [piva*
 because DET.SG.M river.bed=EMPH DET.SG.M water
*lava]*_{NP} *ghoi.*
PROPR.SG.M also
 ‘Because the river bed was also carrying water.’, lit. ‘Because the river
 bed (was) also the one having water.’ (ap_cs_sua_048)
- (132) *To edo koko=lo=e, [lo [ko-va suba*
 DET.DU two boy=DU=EMPH DET.SG.M 3SG.F-GEN.M garden
lo kulo te pale sua] magnigha
 3SG.M[GEN] seawards EMPH stay ATT.SG.M homestead
laghe].
PROPR.DU
 ‘The two boys owned the homestead that was seawards of her garden.’
 (bi_cs_kakula_098)

In all examples so far, *lava* was used to express the possession of a concrete entity. To ascribe traits or properties, which are typically encoded by verbs, the respective verb is usually nominalized. In addition to the suffix *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ (133), which derives nouns from verbs, the complement of a *lava*-phrase can also be a verb plus the morpheme *-gha* (134, 135), which may be historically related to the plural enclitic *=gha*.

- (133) [*Dai toa l-ou-ghu lava*]_{Pred} *=e.*
 good really 3SG.M.O-eat-NMLZ **PROPR.SG.M=EMPH**
 ‘(It) has a very nice taste.’, lit. ‘Very nice eating having (is it).’
 (ss_cl_pudding_122)
- (134) [[*Savanga-gha lava* *kukuro*]_{NP}
 be.long-NMLZ **PROPR.SG.M** gun
 ‘(A) long gun.’, lit. ‘(a) gun having length’ (png_WWII_3_097)
- (135) *Ei, lo vata rongorongongo=e, agni [mata-li-gha*
 ei DET.SG.M kind story=EMPH 1SG want-3SG.M.O-NMLZ
lava]_{Pred}
PROPR.SG.M
 ‘Ei, this kind of story, I have a liking for it.’ (jv_tarai_021)

The combination of this morpheme with a verb is restricted to *lava*-constructions. Whether there is a functional difference between *-ghu* and *-gha* in this construction is unclear at present.

Both *sua*- and *lava*-phrases can be used to express properties of a referent, by taking as complements non-finite and nominalized verbs, respectively. This raises the question of what the semantic difference between these two ways of encoding properties is. In some cases, the reason for choosing one type of phrase over another could be the availability of modifiers with a certain meaning for nouns, and therefore for nominalized verbs, but not normal verbs. Compare, for example, (136) and (137):

- (136) *ighia laqa sua mapa=gha*
 three be.strong ATT person=PL
 ‘three strong people’ (jn_lotu_060)
- (137) *lo dai laqa-gha lava vata mapa=gha*
 DET.PL good be.strong-NMLZ PROPR.SG.M kind person=PL
 ‘a very strong kind of people’, lit. ‘the good strength having kind (of) people’ (es_cs_kakamora_081)

The adjective *dai* ‘good’ can only modify a noun, not a verb. This strategy is also used elsewhere in Savosavo: there is a support verb construction with *pala* ‘make’, where a verb is nominalized to be able to modify it in ways that cannot be achieved by using adverbials. To express, for example, ‘she cried strongly’, one would nominalize the verb for ‘cry’ and use the adjective ‘big’, thus saying literally ‘she made a big crying’ (for a discussion and examples see Sec. 9.3).

But this explanation does not account for all choices between *sua*- and *lava*-phrases. For example, (138) and (139) do not contain any modifiers:

- (138) *Boto sue.*
 stink ATT=EMPH
 ‘(About a decaying body:) It stank.’ (no_WWII_077)
- (139) *Boto-gha lava=e.*
 stink-NMLZ PROPR.SG.M=EMPH
 ‘(About sulfur:) It stinks.’ (mp_biti_075)

The difference here seems to be the degree of time-stability: sulfur always stinks, it did at the time the speaker is talking about and it still does, and the stench is an inherent property of sulfur, while the body only stank at the time the speaker is referring to. Thus, although this is a tendency rather than a rule, *lava*-phrases are typically used for more time-stable and inherent properties, including personality traits (cf. (135) above), while *sua*-phrases tend to be used for less time-stable properties.

4.8.3. The privative marker *zepo* and *zepo*-phrases

The meaning of the privative marker *zepo* is opposite to that of the proprietive marker, it is used to express lack of what is denoted by the complement. This marker does not show agreement in gender or number. There are only 18 occurrences of the privative marker in the corpus at present.

Complements of *zepo* are nouns (140, 141) and, rarely, NPs (142).

- (140) *Ave mane* [[*tuvi zepo*]=*gha*]_{NP}
 1PL.EX consecutively house **PRIV**=PL
 ‘We didn’t have a house then.’, lit. ‘We (were) then house-less ones.’
(as_WWII_034)
- (141) *Zu ita=na te* [*lo* [*kuvikuvu zepo*]]_{NP}
 and rubbish=NOM EMPH DET.SG.M lid **PRIV**
lo-va paeta.
 3SG.M-GEN.M inside
 ‘And rubbish (is) inside of the lidless one’, lit. ‘And rubbish (is at) the
 lidless its inside.’ (pk_mk_mt_165)
- (142) *agni* [*lo* [*kakau nato zepo*] *sue*]_{NP} *agni=na.*
 1SG DET.SG.M arm leg **PRIV** ATT.EMPH 1SG=NOM
 ‘[The snake woman said:] I, I don’t have arms or legs.’, lit. ‘I, the arm-
 (and) leg-less one (am) I.’ (rra_cs_likuliku_028)

All examples of *zepo*-phrases show them part of headless NPs (140, 141). In contrast to *sua*- and *lava*-phrases, there is no example in the corpus so far where a *zepo*-phrase modifies an overt head noun, or is used directly as a predicate in a non-verbal clause. Another difference in relation to *sua*- and *lava*-phrases is that *zepo*-phrases can be direct complements of the attributive marker *sua*, see example (142) above. It is unclear at present what the semantic difference is between a *zepo*-phrase used on its own and a *sua*-phrase with a *zepo*-phrase as its complement.

Although *zepo*-phrases usually have nouns or NPs as complements, there are two examples in the corpus where it is used in a complex serial verb construction (143, 144), interestingly both examples showing the exact same serial verb construction used by two different speakers in different contexts.

- (143) *Sika=no kamati sala l-au*
 don’t=2SG.NOM very.much follow.3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take
vane~ vane zepo-ale lo-va alea vaitula=gha=la.
REDUP~ pick PRIV-IRR 3SG.M-GEN.M all order=PL=LOC.M

‘Don’t you follow him too uncritically in his orders.’, lit. ‘Don’t you very much follow him without selection in his whole orders.’

(ws_cs_ghulia_108)

- (144) ...*apoi soghe=na ghoi melo mata-li;*
 because shark=NOM also bonito want-3SG.M.O
tei-ghu=la=lo tequlu sala
 do-NMLZ=LOC.M=3SG.NOM shell.hook **follow.3SG.M.O**
l-au vane~ vane zepo[-i].
3SG.M.O-take REDUP~ pick PRIV[-FIN]

‘...because sharks also like tuna; therefore it follows the shell hook persistently.’
 (cgh_bon_014)

In these contexts there is apparently verbal morphology attached to *zepo*, in (143) the irrealis suffix *-ale*, and (according to consultants, as the pronunciation of the last word was not clear) in (144) probably the finiteness suffix *-i*. The latter is put in square brackets because it is not perceivable in the recording, and, although it is according to consultants the most likely suffix to occur in this case, other TAM-suffixes may be possible as well.

As these are the only examples, and they involve structurally identical serial verb constructions, it is likely that this construction is an exceptional, possibly lexicalized, form. It would be premature to conclude on the basis of this one case that *zepo*-phrases can generally be used as a predicate in a verbal clause, with verbal morphology, especially as the total number of examples with *zepo* available at present is so small.

4.9. Postpositions and postpositional phrases

Postpositions are head of a postpositional phrase (PP hereafter). There are three postpositions in Savosavo: *l-aka* ‘with’, *l-omata* ‘at’, and *l-omiti* ‘for’ (145–147).

- (145) *Oma=no* [[*no toka-mi-tu lo*
 no=2SG.NOM 2SG[GEN] be.sibling-3PL.O-REL DET.PL
mapa=gha]_{NP} ***z-aka***]_{PP} *mare kakami ta-i.*
 person=PL **3PL.O-with** joke play FUT-FIN
 ‘You will not play or joke with the people that are your (cross-sex) siblings.’
 (ap_custom_020)

- (146) *Bo sara-vi-ghi tulola lo tada mapa=na bo*
 go reach-TR-3SG.F.O then DET.SG.M old.M person=NOM go
 [[*lo misu=gha*]_{NP} ***z-emata***]_{PP} *sara-i.*
 3SG.M[GEN] dog=PL **3PL-at** reach-FIN

‘When (the dogs) had gone and reached her [the pig], the old man went and reached his dogs.’ (ap_cs_sua_040)

- (147) “*Zu maitei-ghu=la=no te [gn-omiti]_{PP} ai*
 but be.how-NMLZ=LOC.M=2SG.NOM EMPH **1-for** this
lo ngai toa mategna lava dudurongo
 DET.SG.M big really value PROPR.SG.M thing
l-au-i?” *tei(-i)*.
 3SG.M.O-take-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘“But why did you take this very valuable thing for me?” (she) said.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_214)

All three have prefixes identical to the object marking prefixes used on verbs (see Table 15, p. 53, and the tables provided below).

Postpositional phrases are used as adjuncts of a verbal clause (145–149). A PP with *l-omata* ‘at’ can in addition function as the predicate in a locational non-verbal clause ((148); cf. Sec. 7.1.2.1).

- (148) [**Gn-omata**]_{PP} *te=lo*.
1-at PA=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘It is (here) with me.’ (jp_ji_mt_240)

PPs with *l-aka* ‘with’ have not been found as a non-verbal predicate yet, and PPs with *l-omiti* ‘for’ apparently need to be inserted in a construction with the attributive marker *sua* in order to function as a non-verbal predicate (see example (162) below).

If the reference is clear the NP can be omitted (147). The only exception is if the referent is first person non-singular; then the postposition has to be preceded by the respective personal pronoun, because the prefix does not contain any number or clusivity⁴⁰ information (149).

- (149) *Oma=no ghoi [[ave]_{NP} gn-aka]_{PP} rughu ta-i*.
 no=2SG.NOM also **1PL.EX 1-with** go.to.bush FUT-FIN
 ‘You again won’t go to the bush with us.’ (bi_cs_kakula_033)

Both the systematic and exhaustive agreement and the fact that a postposition can occur on its own distinguish the members of this class from the case marking enclitics. For a more detailed discussion of case marking see Section 5.2.

There are two more lexical items that look like postpositions, at least in some contexts, *l-oghoni* ‘like’ and *l-aughi* ‘exceed, out of’. *L-oghoni* is analyzed as a

40. This recently coined term refers to the inclusive-exclusive distinction (cf. Filimonova 2005)

transitive verb, marking its object by a prefix, because it occurs as the verbal predicate in a relative clause formed with the suffix *-tu* (Sec. 8.2.1) and has been found with the nominalizing suffix *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’, both not possible for any of the postpositions. However, it has never been found as the only verb in a verbal clause containing TAM morphology, and the corpus also contains one example where *l-oghoni* is followed directly by *=gne*, the enclitic personal pronoun for the first person singular, which is usually not possible for verbs (see Sec. 7.1.1, p. 200). Further investigations will show whether the current analysis is appropriate.

L-aughi ‘exceed, out of’ is used in two contexts, one being to express the base of comparison in comparative statements (150), the other one being to refer to a group out of which a certain number of participants is talked about (151).

- (150) *Apoi lo-va majali=na ... lo=la kama*
 because 3SG.M-GEN.M spirit=NOM 3SG.M=LOC.M already
k-aughi laqa pale-i.
3SG.F.O-exceed be.strong BG.IPFV-FIN
 ‘Because his spiritual advisor ... was stronger than her because of that.’,
 lit. ‘... was strong exceeding her.’ (tt_bd_war_045-46)
- (151) *P-aughi pa=na Laghalua, p-aughi pa=na lo*
2DU-out.of one=NOM Laghalua **2DU-out.of** one=NOM DET.SG.M
Lovolaka.
 Lovolaka
 ‘One of you two (will make the) Laghalua (pattern), one of you (will make) the Lovolaka (pattern).’ (jk_mat_052)

In the first context, *l-aughi* seems to always directly precede the verb complex and could be analyzed as the first verb of a serial verb construction. In the second context, however, *l-aughi* behaves much more like an adjunct, as in example (151). The two examples are the only non-elicited, natural examples available at present. Elicitation proved that in the second context, the prefixes can only be non-singular, which follows from the meaning the item expresses here. In the first context, all person-number-gender combinations provided by the object prefix paradigm are possible. For the moment and until more data is available, the best strategy for analyzing this seems to be to assume that there are two homophonous lexical items, a prefixing transitive verb with the meaning ‘exceed so. or sth.’ and a postposition with the meaning ‘out of’.

4.9.1. *l-aka* ‘with’

This postposition is used to express a comitative or an addressee. Specifically, it is employed to talk about doing something together with someone (152, 153) or telling someone something (154). The paradigm is completely regular, it is provided in Table 28.

Table 28. The postposition *l-aka* ‘with’

		Sg	Du	Pl
1.	incl.		<i>mai gn-aka</i>	
	excl.	<i>gn-aka</i>	<i>aghe gn-aka</i>	<i>ave gn-aka</i>
2.		<i>n-aka</i>	<i>paka</i>	<i>m-aka</i>
3.	m	<i>l-aka</i>	<i>t-aka</i>	<i>z-aka</i>
	f	<i>k-aka</i>		

(152) $[[Sista=gha]_{NP} z-aka]_{PP}=gne$ *te* *bo pale-i.*
 sister=PL **3PL-with**=1SG.NOM EMPH go stay-FIN
 ‘I went to stay with (the) sisters (i.e. nuns).’ (agh_png_028)

(153) *Te lo manga=na sara tulola ave*
 CONJ DET.SG.M day=NOM reach then 1PL.EX[GEN]
mane bo [z-aka]_{PP} vuni aqutu-ghu=e.
 consecutively go **3PL-with** start work-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And when the day came we then went to start working with them.’
 (ji_ramsi_019)

(154) *Te=gho [l-aka]_{PP} tei(-i): “Ba-i-a.”*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM **3SG.M-to** say(-FIN) come-EP-IMP.SG
 ‘And she said to him: “Come.”’ (ap_cs_polupolu_012)

4.9.2. *l-omata* ‘at, to(wards), from’

A postpositional phrase with *l-omata* refers to the area close to the complement referent, which is usually animate. It is only occasionally used with inanimates. It contrasts with the locative case marking, which is not used with animates when expressing a location⁴¹, see Section 5.2.4. For the paradigm of this postposition see Table 29. It is very regular, but note the change in the root of /o/ to /e/ in the second person non-singular forms. In the third person plural form, *z-emata* and *z-omata* are in free variation.

41. The locative case is multi-functional and for example also used to express instruments (cf. Sec. 5.2.4).

Table 29. The postposition *l-omata* ‘at’

		Sg	Du	Pl
1.	incl.		<i>mai gn-omata</i>	
	excl.	<i>gn-omata</i>	<i>aghe gn-omata</i>	<i>ave gn-omata</i>
2.		<i>n-omata</i>	<i>p-emata</i>	<i>m-emata</i>
3.	m	<i>l-omata</i>	<i>t-omata</i>	<i>z-emata / z-omata</i>
	f	<i>k-omata</i>		

When *l-omata* is used with NPs referring to inanimates, the complement appears to provide a reference point, and the postpositional phrase then refers to an area where this object, often a tree, is located. In contrast, locative NPs marked by *la* refer to a precise location, e.g. *tuvi=la* ‘at the house’, or the name of a place. Example (155) has both a place name marked as locative and a locational postposition.

- (155) *Zu lo edo-nipiti=na [Sotu]_{NP}=la taghati [lo*
 and DET.SG.M two-teen=NOM **Sotu=LOC.M** up.PROX DET.SG.M
veji l-omata]_{PP} te bo pale-i.
 bamboo **3SG.M-at** EMPH go stay-FIN
 ‘And the twelve went and stayed at Sotu a bit up where the bamboo is
 (lit. at the bamboo).’ (png_WWII_1_033)

The fact that a locative NP refers to a precise location is probably also the reason why locative case marking cannot be used on animates to specify a location; what is usually expressed is that something is located near a person. If something is really located right on the person, it is more likely – and probably more informative – that a locative-marked bodypart term is used to express this, i.e. rather ‘on your head’ instead of ‘on you’.

The postposition *l-omata* ‘at’ itself is not directional. It can be used without any directional implications, providing a static location, as in example (156).

- (156) *Pa kakami=kona te ata [gn-omata]_{PP}*
 one play=NOM.F EMPH here **1-at**
 ‘One game is here with me, lit. at my location.’ (jp_ji_mt_061)

When *l-omata* ‘at’ is used with a verb that implicates a direction such as *bo* ‘to go’, *kozi* ‘to face’ or *sua-li* ‘to take something off’, it is used to mark the argument that is the source or the goal, meaning either ‘to(wards)’ or ‘from’, see examples (157), (158) and (159).

- (157) *Ekati=me [dokta l-omata]_{pp} bo ta-i.*
 CERT=2PL.NOM doctor 3SG.M-at go FUT-FIN
 ‘“You (pl.) will go to the doctor”’ (ji_ramsi_010)
- (158) *Lo mapa=na [agni gn-omata]_{pp} te alu kozi(-i).*
 DET.SG.M person=NOM 1SG 1-at EMPH stand face(-FIN)
 ‘The man stands facing towards me’ (jp_ji_mt_340)
- (159) *Duadua-ghi tulola ko-va lo ko dulo*
 drown.tr-3SG.F.O then 3SG.F-GEN.M DET.SG.M 3SG.F[GEN] all
maghani [ko k-omata]_{pp} sua-li-a...
 decoration 3SG.F 3SG.F-at take.off-3SG.M.O-SS
 ‘When (she) had drowned her, she took off all her decoration...’, lit.
 ‘...her that her all decoration off from her taking...’ (cr_cs_savokiki_108)

Savosavo also has two clitics marking ablative case (see Sec. 5.2.5); they can be used to mark a PP headed by *l-omata*, but this is only rarely done (see example (160)).

- (160) *No-va [agni gn-omata]_{pp}=tu qele bo kia=no ekati*
 2SG-GEN.M 1SG 1-at=ABL look go when=2SG CERT
l-eghe ta-i.
 3SG.M.O-see FUT-FIN
 ‘When you look from my position you will see it.’ (jp_ji_mt_319)

As is shown in example (159) there are also examples where a PP headed by *l-omata* specifies a source without being marked by the ablative case marking clitic as well. Nonetheless, its most common function seems to be to specify the goal of an action.

4.9.3. *l-omiti* ‘for’

Postpositional phrases with *l-omiti* express the beneficiary of an action, as in examples (161) and (162). For the paradigm of this postposition see Table 30. As with *l-omata* ‘at’, the paradigm is regular except the change of /o/ to /e/ on the root in the second person non-singular, and the free variation between *z-emiti* and *z-omiti* in the third person plural.

- (161) *Pogala=gne mane bo [n-omiti]_{pp} aqoza ta-i.*
 tomorrow=1SG.NOM consecutively go 2SG-for take.prey FUT-FIN
 ‘Tomorrow I will go and hunt for you.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_127)

- (162) *Oghai* [*ko mau l-omiti*]_{PP} *sue lo=na.*
 as.if 3SG.F[GEN] father **3SG.M-for** ATT.EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘[Talking about a disabled child used as a bait for father, the giant:] As if
 it was for her father.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_141)

Table 30. The postposition *l-omiti* ‘for’

		Sg	Du	Pl
1.	incl.		<i>mai gn-omiti</i>	
	excl.	<i>gn-omiti</i>	<i>aghe gn-omiti</i>	<i>ave gn-omiti</i>
2.		<i>n-omiti</i>	<i>p-emiti</i>	<i>m-emiti</i>
3.	m	<i>l-omiti</i>	<i>t-omiti</i>	<i>z-emiti / z-omiti</i>
	f	<i>k-omiti</i>		

Another way to express beneficiaries is a serial verb construction with *l-ame-li* ‘give’ (see Sec. 6.5.3.1).

4.10. The emphatic modifier *toa* ‘really’

The modifier meaning ‘really’ is placed after an element to emphasize it. It can modify verbs, nouns, adjectives, quantifiers, locationals, temporal adverbs and some particles. It is not classified as a particle because it shows allomorphic variation depending on which element it modifies (see below). If *toa* ‘really’ is used to modify the right-most nominal in a headless NP, any number marking enclitics used in that NP will attach to the complex consisting of the nominal and the modifier as a whole, and thus form one phonological word with *toa* (163). This results in a stress shift from the first to the second syllable, *toa* → *to'agha*. The same stress shift in *toa* is found when a complex consisting of a nominal modified by *toa* is verbalized by means of *-sa* (164).

- (163) *Mai=me* [[*gnagnai toa*]=*gha*]=*e*
 1NSG.IN=EMPH.1NSG.IN small **really=PL=EMPH**
mai=na.
 1NSG.IN=NOM
 ‘We, really small ones (are) we.’ (es_cs_kakamora_070)
- (164) *Kemo=gha=na* [*dai toa*]-*sa-zu.*
 sugarcane=PL=NOM good **really-VBLZ-PST.IPFV**
 ‘(The) sugarcane was really good.’ (es_cs_kakamora_146)

The modifier has four different allomorphs. An overview of the allomorphs and their syntactic distribution is provided in Table 31.

Table 31. Allomorphs of *toa* ‘really’ and their syntactic distribution

Allomorph	Syntactic distribution
<i>to'ali</i>	modifies verbs
<i>to'ala</i>	modifies locationals, temporal adverbs, some particles
<i>toma</i>	modifies nouns, adjectives and quantifiers, used for third person singular feminine
<i>toa</i>	modifies nouns, adjectives and quantifiers, used for all other cases

The form *toali* is used to modify verbs (165).

- (165) “*Elakati=gne [k-au toali] ta-i” tei(-i).*
 CERT=1SG.NOM 3SG.F.O-take really FUT-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘“Later I will really take her.” (he) said.’ (es_cs_kakamora_178)

Although this form seems to contain a third person singular masculine suffix, it is questionable whether it could indeed show agreement of any kind, as no other object suffix has been found to occur on *toa* so far. In a normal serial verb construction, consistent agreement would be expected (see Sec. 6.5), i.e. example (165) would read **kau toaghi*, with the third person singular feminine suffix *-ghi*. However, when asked, speakers rejected forms with any other ending, or at least judged them as very unusual and strange.

The form *toala*⁴² is used with locationals (166), temporal adverbs, and other particles such as *elakati* ‘CERT’, *ghoma* ‘not’, *monei* ‘nearly’, *ighe* ‘recently’, *tomai* ‘just’ and *sika* ‘don’t’.

- (166) ...*pa sua=na [ota toala] kama ghoi ba sara-zu.*
 one giant=NOM there really already also come reach-PST.IPFV
 ‘[When they arrived at the river] a giant had already arrived right there as well.’ (ap_cs_kakula_018)

Finally, the forms *toa* and *toma* are used with nouns, adjectives and quantifiers and show agreement in gender in the third person singular: *toma* is used for the third person feminine singular (167), and *toa* in all other cases (168).

42. It is unclear at present whether the *la* at the end of this form is identical to the locative marking enclitic =*la*; an argument against this is that =*la* ‘LOC’ is normally not found with lexemes such as *elakati* ‘CERT’, *ghoma* ‘not’, etc. Therefore, *toala* is analyzed and written as one word, also to distinguish between those situations in which *toala* is used and those in which =*la* ‘LOC’ is added to an NP headed by a non-locational nominal modified by *toa*, e.g. *ota toala* ‘exactly there’, lit. ‘there really.LOC’, in contrast to [*lo ivaghu toa*]=*la* ‘on this very day’, lit. ‘DET.SG.M day really=LOC.M’.

- (167) *Ko [dai toma] kakami sua ririkou mola=e.*
 3SG.F **good really.F** play ATT.SG.M semicircle canoe=EMPH
 ‘(It is) a really good toy car⁴³.’ (ap_dr_se_570)
- (168) *Ei, [ai toa] tada=e no=na.*
 ei **who really** man=EMPH 2SG=NOM
 ‘Ei, who the heck are you?’ (dr_cs_taragau_084)

An interesting formal characteristic is the correspondence between the third person singular feminine form *toma* on the one hand, and the respective forms of the attributive and proprietive markers (*soma/suama* and *lama*, see Sec. 4.8 above) on the other: in all three cases, the feminine singular is marked by *-ma*, parallel to the suffixes marking genitive case (Sec. 5.2.3).

4.11. The modifiers *memere* ‘little bit’ and *pono* ‘only’

Both *memere* ‘little bit’ and *pono* ‘only’ have features of more than one word class and are thus treated separately. In contrast to *toa* ‘really’, these two modifiers are invariable. They are similar in that they function as modifiers of several different word classes. *Memere* ‘little bit’ can be used to modify verbal predicates (169) as well as adjectives and nouns in an NP (170). It always precedes what it modifies.

- (169) *Lo popo=ze memere geto~geto-li*
 DET.SG.M bowl=3PL.NOM **little.bit** REDUP~ capsized-3SG.M.O
l-au keva-i.
 3SG.M.O-take do.all.about-FIN
 ‘They capsized the bowl a little bit here and there (thereby spilling some of the content).’ (jp_ji_mt_042)
- (170) *Tei-ghu=e ko memere rongorongona=kona.*
 be.like.this-NMLZ=EMPH DET.SG.F **little.bit** story=NOM.F
 ‘Like that (is) the small story.’ (jn_lotu_144)

Pono ‘only’ follows what it modifies. It is the only adnominal modifier with scope over an NP as a whole that follows the head noun (171), and it is the only modifier that can be used with a possessive pronoun (see Sec. 5.1). Furthermore, it can modify locationals (172).

43. The class assignment is changed to feminine because the referent is smaller than a usual referent, because it is a toy and not a real car (cf. Sec. 4.2.1.1).

- (171) *Ze sabmarini pono=na te ba kise-i.*
 3PL[GEN] submarine **only**=NOM EMPH come fight-FIN
 ‘Only their submarine came (and) fought.’ (png_WWII_3_299)
- (172) *Kama ota pono=gne toko ta-i.*
 already there **only**=1SG.NOM arrive FUT-FIN
 ‘Only there I will arrive (i.e., I will only tell the story up to that point).’
 (png_WWII_1_084)

In nominative-marked NPs it always precedes case marking (171), but in locative-marked NPs it has been found to follow it occasionally (173).⁴⁴

- (173) *Pale tuvi=la pono=gne pale te=lo*
 inside house=LOC.M **only**=1SG.NOM stay CONJ=3SG.M.NOM
ai mijila=na oma dai-sa-zu.
 1SG[GEN] body=NOM not good-VBLZ-PST.IPFV
 ‘I was staying only in the house and my body was not (feeling) good.’
 (es_cs_kakamora_105)

When it is used in a headless NP directly following *sua*-phrases and adjectives, it will be host of the number marking enclitics. This is unusual, because it is not observed with any other NP constituent, usually the constituent preceding *pono* will be host of these enclitics (cf. Sec. 5.1.2).

4.12. Adverbs

Adverbs have scope over a verb or the whole clause. They are relatively free with respect to their position in a clause, although they tend to precede the verb complex and temporal adverbs tend to precede other adverbs.

4.12.1. Temporal adverbs

There are eight temporal adverbs, providing information about the temporal setting: *ko'ata* and *ighoka* ‘before, long time ago’⁴⁵, *ighe* ‘recently’, *mo'aba* ‘day

44. This could be evidence that it started out as an adverb on the clause level, located between subject or object NP and verb complex (in the sense of *I only saw two people*), but was reanalyzed as being part of the NP (in the sense of *I saw [only two people]*). Even though it follows the case marking in examples like (173), the fact that an enclitic personal pronoun has to attach to *pono* ‘only’ and cannot be hosted by the locative enclitic is evidence that *pono* ‘only’ is nonetheless part of the locative NP.

45. *Koata* is much more frequently used. Maybe one of them is a loanword, or there is a difference in meaning that could not be detected so far.

before yesterday', *mo'ibia* 'yesterday', *'azigha* 'earlier today', *po'qala* 'tomorrow', and *e'ghata* 'day after tomorrow'.

There are also two complex terms for two days after tomorrow and two days before yesterday: *i'ghiva 'loghala* 'two days after tomorrow', containing the numeral *ighiva* 'three' and possibly the locative case enclitic =*la*, and *mo'aba qo'lota* 'two days before yesterday', consisting of *mo'aba* 'day before yesterday' and *qolota*, a word unknown to the speakers asked and not occurring on its own in the corpus.

The interrogative *a'vasa* 'when' also belongs in this class. It can occur with the enclitic =*lia* 'about', which is also found on some locationals (Sec. 4.7) as well as locative-marked NPs (Sec. 5.2), forming *avasa'lia* 'about what time, about when'. This enclitic can also attach to other time particles to express that the time reference given is approximate; so far it has been found with *mo'ibia* 'yesterday', *poqala* 'tomorrow' and *eghata* 'day after tomorrow'.

All temporal adverbs can be modified by *toala*, an allomorph of the general modifier *toa* 'really' (see Sec. 4.10).

4.12.2. Other adverbs

So far, sixteen additional adverbs have been found: *ela ka'lele* 'little by little', *ela'kati* 'CERT', *ela'moka* 'maybe', *ghoi* 'also', *ghoma* 'not', *kama* 'already', *'kamati* 'very much', *'kagnika* 'too much', *'kelatu* 'luckily', *mane* 'consecutively', *mo'nei* 'nearly', *oghai* 'as if', *omadai* 'lest', *oma natu* 'not yet', *'pozogho* 'basically', and *'tomai* 'just, plainly'.

They do not all show the same distribution. *Omadaï* 'lest' is found in apprehensive clauses. All other adverbs occur in verbal clauses, but some, e.g. *elamoka* 'maybe', *ghoi* 'also' and *kama* 'already', are also often found in non-verbal clauses. *Elamoka* 'maybe' is sometimes shortened to either *moka* or (rarely) *ela*. Some can be modified by *toala*, an allomorph of the general modifier *toa* 'really' (see Sec. 4.10).

The complex adverb *ela kalele* 'little by little' is unanalyzable at present. The other complex adverb, *oma natu* 'not yet', consists of an allomorph of the negative particle *ghoma* and *natu*, which has not been found to occur on its own and could not be translated by speakers. Historically, it may have been analyzable into an unknown morpheme plus the background imperfective suffix *-atu*, which is used in combination with *oma* 'not' to express that something has not happened yet (see Sec. 7.3.1).

The semantics of two of these adverbs needs to be commented on in more detail: *elakati*, glossed as 'CERT' and often shortened to *'ekati* or even *kati*, and *kama* 'already', often shortened to *ka*. *Kama* 'already' is usually used in past and present tense contexts, but also rarely in a future tense context, and indicates

that something happened already, was already done, or is already happening at the reference time which may be the time of speaking. This can be expressed in English by using *already*. *Elakati* ‘CERT’, on the other hand, is used in utterances concerning the future, and indicates that there is a certainty and confidence that whatever is said will indeed happen. It also sometimes serves to assure and appease the addressee. Unfortunately there is no corresponding lexical item in English to express this; the German particle *schon* can be used in a similar way, e.g. in *Ich werde das schon machen*. ‘(Don’t worry,) I WILL do it’. *Elakati* and *kama* can co-occur.

4.13. Particles

The following sections provide an overview of the most important and most common particles. While coordinators, subordinators and cosubordinators clearly are a closed class, it is difficult to say whether other types of particle could be added to what is at present the group of miscellaneous particles.

4.13.1. Coordinators, subordinators and cosubordinators

There are three coordinating particles in Savosavo: *bo* ‘or’, *zu* ‘and, but’ and *apoi* ‘because’. They are used to coordinate clauses, NPs and postpositional phrases and are placed in between the coordinands. Coordination is discussed in detail in Section 8.1.

Four particles are used to mark subordinate clauses (see Sec. 8.2), standing at the end of the subordinate clause. They are: *kia* ‘if, when’, *mo'nei* ‘if only’, *tuka* ‘whenever’ and *tu'lola* ‘then’.

The three cosubordinators *ke*, *te* and *ze*, all glossed as ‘CONJ’, are used to link clauses in a clause chaining construction (see Sec. 8.3). They are the first element of the following clause, i.e. they can be the first element of a dependent clause (a medial clause in a clause chain) or of an independent clause (the final clause of a clause chain). *Ke* and *te* are also used to introduce subordinated purpose clauses (see Sec. 8.2.2.5).

4.13.2. Miscellaneous particles

Other important and very commonly used particles in Savosavo are: *vata(ita)* ‘wait’, *ghoma* ‘no, not’, *eo* ‘yes’, *de* ‘take this’, *te* ‘EMPH’, *ni* ‘would you’, *ma* ‘COM’ *kode(nge)/ kede* ‘only (NSG)’, *dopa'dopa/do'dopa* ‘only’, *sika* ‘don’t’, and *baigho* ‘not existent’.

Te is a particle used for emphasis, see Section 7.2.2. The particle *ni* is used in friendly and polite requests, following a verb without imperative suffixes. *Ma* is a comitative particle used in the inclusory construction to link two NPs (see Sec. 5.3.3). *Kode(nge)* and *kede*, both apparently meaning ‘only’ with a non-singular connotation, are both used as modifiers in quantifier phrases (see Sec. 4.4.2), where they precede the head. *Dopadopa* or *dodopa* ‘only’ is also used in quantifier phrases, but it follows the head. *Sika* ‘don’t’ can be used on its own to admonish someone. It is used as the first element in verbal clauses with the irrealis marking suffix *-ale* on the predicate (see Sec. 6.3.3.3).

Finally, *baigho* ‘not existent’ is always used as a non-verbal predicate, followed by the emphatic enclitic *=e*. In a verbal clause, the intransitive verb *baighoza* is used (cf. Sec. 7.3.2).

4.14. Interjections

4.14.1. Hesitation markers

When speakers are unsure how to continue they commonly use one of the following fillers: *a*, *e*, *ei*, *m*, *ma* and *poi*. The last item means ‘thing’ and can be used as a filler as well as instead of a word the speaker cannot think of.

4.14.2. Exclamations

The most common exclamation particles are the following (primary stress in exclamations often departs from the basic patterns described in Section 2.3 and is therefore indicated):

- *e* ‘Hey there!’
- *ni* ‘Is it? Really?’ (reaction to information, often signalling disbelief, or requesting confirmation)
- *o’vi* ‘Oops! Dear me!’ (exclamation of surprise)
- *a’ri* ‘Ouch!’ (exclamation of pain)
- *se* ‘Hey!’ (signals disapproval, often used for small children)
- *sivi* ‘Hey!’ (signals disapproval, used for dogs)

The following lexemes are nouns rather than particles, which can be used to address people. But as they are also used as non-referential exclamations marking surprise and, commonly, disapproval, they are listed here:

- *’pio* (addressing one person) – *’poito* (addressing two people) – *’poima* (addressing more than two people)
- *po’rau* ‘friend’ – *po’ragha* ‘friends’
- *koio* ‘woman’

The first word, *pio*, is equivalent to *mate* in British and Australian English, and according to conservatively inclined speakers, this and the non-singular forms were originally rather used for men. However, today they are also used for women. *Poragha* is very common as a general expression of disapproval.

Chapter 5

Noun phrases

Noun phrases (NP hereafter) function as subjects, objects, locational adjuncts, non-verbal predicates and complements of postpositions and derivative markers. They are defined by the following features:

- They are headed by personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, nouns or locationals.
- They can contain the proximal demonstrative *ai*, determiners, adjectives, quantifiers, genitive pronouns/NPs, relative clauses and the modifier *pono* ‘only’.
- Non-singular number is marked either inherently (if the head is a pronoun) or it can be marked by the enclitics *=(za)lo* ‘DU’ and *=gha* ‘PL’, which occur only in NPs.
- NPs can be case-marked by means of enclitic nominative or locative case markers.

The following sections will start with a description of the structure of NPs in Savosavo (5.1) and continue with a section on case marking (5.2). The last section of this chapter will provide information on composite NPs (5.3).

5.1. NP structure

5.1.1. Order of constituents within an NP

Order of elements in an NP is quite strict, with little variation. The head of an NP can be a free personal pronoun, a possessive pronoun, a locational, a noun or a nominal compound, but headless NPs are very common (cf. Sec. 5.1.1.1).

If an NP head is present, it is preceded by all other NP constituents except the emphatic modifier *toa* ‘really’ and the limiting modifier *pono* ‘only’.⁴⁶ The number enclitics will attach to the head. An example of a typical NP headed by a noun is (174) (the head of an NP is marked by bold print in all examples of this section).

46. Note, however, that these two modifiers operate on different syntactic levels: *toa* ‘really’ has scope only over the preceding word, while *pono* ‘only’ has scope over the whole phrase. As a consequence, if a head noun is modified by *pono* ‘only’, the number enclitics will attach to the noun and thus precede the modifier (e.g. *mapa=**gha** pono* ‘only people’), whereas in case of *toa* ‘really’, the number enclitics will attach to the complex consisting of noun and modifier as a whole (e.g. *mapa toa=**gha*** ‘real people’).

- (174) *ighia ngai vaka_{Head}=gha*
 three big ship=PL
 Quan Adj N
 ‘three big ships’ (bk_WWII_028)

A simplified, abstracted representation of an NP that contains a head is as follows:

((Dem) Det) (Modifiers) [**Head** (*toa* ‘really’)]^{Number} (*pono* ‘only’)

It is very common to find headless NPs. The order of constituents remains unchanged. The number marking enclitics will attach to either the NP constituent preceding the head slot (175), or to the limiting modifier *pono* ‘only’ (see below for details).

- (175) *ai lo ara=gha*
 this DET.PL five=PL
 ‘these five’ (jn_lotu_124)

Apart from nouns, pronouns and locationals, which all can be head of an NP, there are two groups of NP constituents: those that are autonomous in the sense that they can occur by themselves in a headless NP, and those that cannot occur alone. Table 32 provides a list of all elements that can occur in an NP, sorted by function. While none can be said to be obligatory, they can be divided into those that function as heads, those that are modifiers, but can occur alone in a headless NP, and those that can only be used in combination with an element of the former categories. A minimal NP would consist of a single constituent from one of the first two categories.

Table 32. Constituents occurring in NPs and their function

Head
nouns, nominal compounds, fixed expressions (see below)
free personal pronouns (Sec. 4.5.1.1)
possessive pronouns (Sec. 4.5.2)
locational (Sec. 4.7)
Autonomous modifiers, including constituents that can be NP heads
nouns, adjectives and quantifiers (Sec. 4.2–4.4)
locationals (Sec. 4.7)
adjective phrases (Sec. 4.3.2)
quantifier phrases (Sec. 4.4.2)
<i>sua</i> -phrases (Sec. 4.8.1)

Autonomous modifiers cont.

relative clauses formed with *sua*, a subtype of *sua*-phrases (Sec. 8.2.1)
lava-phrases (Sec. 4.8.2)
(*zepo*-phrases (4.8.3))⁴⁷

Other NP constituents

pono ‘only’ (Sec. 4.11)
determiners (Sec. 4.6)
relative clauses formed with *-tu* (Sec. 8.2.1)
a genitive-marked NP (Sec. 5.2.3)
an unmarked NP (only with possessive pronouns, see Sec. 5.1.1.2)

NPs headed by a noun or nominal compound are very similar in structure to headless NPs, but differ quite substantially from NPs headed by a pronoun or a locational. NPs headed by a noun or nominal compound can contain all modifiers listed in Table 32, and headless NPs are identical in structure to a noun-headed NP, but do not contain any noun. In pronominal or locational NPs, only very few modifiers can be used. The following sections provide descriptions of the structure of an NP headed by a noun or nominal compound and of headless NPs (Sec. 5.1.1.1), of pronominal NPs (Sec. 5.1.1.2) and of NPs headed by a locational (Sec. 5.1.1.3).

5.1.1.1. NPs headed by a noun or nominal compound and headless NPs

An NP headed by a noun shows the greatest range of variation in that it can contain all word classes and phrase types that can be used in an NP. A structural template of such an NP headed by a noun is provided in the schema in Table 33. The order is rather strict, with little variation. NPs with all possible constituents are not attested in the corpus. (176) is a constructed example of a near-maximal NP.

- (176) *ai lo [no-va z-au-tu]_{RelCl} ai lo me-va*
this DET.PL 2SG-GEN.M 3PL.O-take-REL this DET.PL 2PL-GEN.PL
ighia gnari [seghe sua]_{sua-Phr} [kuvikuvi lame]_{lava-Phr} popo=gha pono
three small be.full ATT.SG.M lid PROPR.PL bowl=PL only
‘only these your three small full bowls with a lid that you took’

47. *Zepo*-phrases have been found as the only constituent of a headless NP, but not directly used as modifiers. To be used attributively, a *zepo*-phrase has to be complement of a *sua*-phrase, which can then function as an adnominal modifier (see Sec. 4.8.3).

Table 33. Structure of an NP headed by a noun. Alternatives are indicated by curly brackets and parentheses stand for optionality. A star marks that there may be multiple instances of a particular word class or phrase type. Note that *sua*-phrases are mentioned twice, because they are the only type of NP constituent that can appear in different positions (see p. 122). Bold print marks autonomous NP constituents.

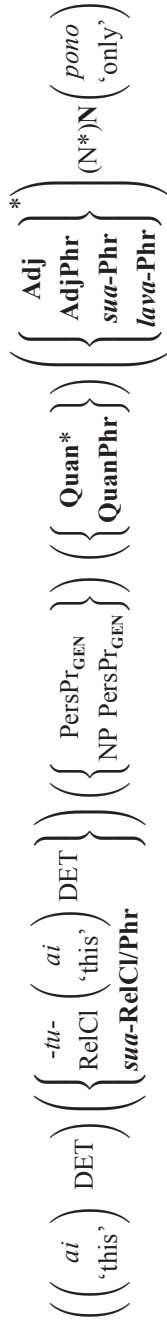


Table 34. Structure of a headless NP with an adjective as the right-most autonomous constituent.



As was mentioned above, headless NPs only differ in structure from NPs headed by a noun or nominal compound in that there is no head, therefore it is simple to derive the structural template of any headless NP from this schema. At least one of the constituents marked by bold print has to be present in a headless NP, and it has to be the right-most constituent with the exception of the number marking enclitics and the only post-head modifier *pono* ‘only’. The schema provided in Table 34 shows the structure of a headless NP where an adjective is the right-most autonomous constituent.

The headless NPs occurring in the corpus tend to be less complex than NPs with a head noun. When a headless NP is used, the referent has usually been introduced before and can be referred to without much additional information being needed. Even though they are rare in every-day speech, an example of a more extensive headless NP can easily be constructed (177).

- (177) *ai lo [no-va z-eghe-tu]_{RelCl} lo ko-va*
 this DET.PL 2SG-GEN.M 3PL.O-see-REL DET.PL 3SG.F-GEN.PL
alea ngai=gha pono
 all big=PL only
 ‘only all these big (ones) of hers that you saw’

Example for more typical headless NPs are (178) to (180).

- (178) *[[No no-va]_{Possession} alea=gha]_{NP}=na ota.*
 2SG 2SG-GEN.M how.many=PL=NOM there
 ‘How many of yours (are) there?’ (jp_ji_mt_301)
- (179) *[[Lo l-oghoni sua]_{RelCl} pa]_{NP}=gne ata*
 3SG.M 3SG.M.O-be.like ATT.SG.M one=1SG.NOM here
l-eghe-i.
 3SG.M.O-see-FIN
 ‘I have seen one like that here.’ (pk_mk_mt_166)
- (180) *[Pade pono]_{NP} lo pale-ghu=e.*
 one only 3SG.M[GEN] stay-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Only one was left[, the others had fallen down].’, lit. ‘Only one his staying.’ (bd_cs_tonelo_257)

As for NPs with a nominal head, the schema in Table 33 applies not only to NPs headed by a noun, but also to NPs headed by a noun compound or a lexicalized expression such as *sisi kalugha* ‘traditional shell money’, lit. ‘be.red money’⁴⁸.

48. *Sisi* ‘to be red’ is an intransitive verb that can be used as a modifier in an NP without derivation, see the discussion on the continuum between adjectives and intransitive verbs in Section 4.3.1.

Most compounds in Savosavo are right-headed constructions. For example, in *gnoko puti* ‘nostril’ the noun *gnoko* ‘nose’ modifies the noun *puti* ‘hole’, thereby specifying what kind of hole the expression refers to. There are very few cases of copulative compounds. One is *nitognoko* ‘face’, a compound that consists of the two nouns *nito* ‘eye’ and *gnoko* ‘nose’, and another *mama mau* ‘parents’, consisting of *mama* ‘mother, aunt’ and *mau* ‘father, paternal uncle’. In these cases none of the components can be identified as the head, they are of equal status. Evidence for analyzing *nitognoko* ‘face’ as a compound (instead of as a case of coordination by juxtaposition) is that the order is conventionalized and that the complex term appears to be unified, as it carries only one primary stress, and the meaning of the whole extends beyond the reference of the parts.⁴⁹ The situation for *mama mau* ‘parents’ is more complex, as the data shows that the expression *mama mau* is morphosyntactically treated in two ways: as a compound meaning ‘parents’, triggering singular agreement (181), and as two coordinate nouns, meaning ‘mother (and) father’ with dual (182) or plural agreement (183).

- (181) $[[Lo \quad [mama \quad mau]]]_{NP} [lo]_{NP}]_{NP-va} \quad nanaghiza=na \quad te$
 DET.SG.M **mother father** 3SG.M-GEN.M teaching=NOM EMPH
baighoza-i.
 not.exist-FIN
 ‘The teaching of the parents does not exist (any more).’ (ap_custom_028)
- (182) *Lo=na \quad avu-a \quad te=lo \quad bo mala*
 3SG.M=NOM exit-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM go along.coast.side
 $[[lo \quad [mama \quad mau]=zalo]_{NP} [to]_{NP}]_{NP} \quad tuvi=la.$
 3SG.M[GEN] **mother father=DU** 3DU[GEN] house=LOC.M
 ‘He went out and he went along the coast to the house of his mother and father.’
 (cr_cs_savokiki_334)
- (183) *Apoi \quad to=na \quad te \quad agni \quad pozogho \quad [ai \quad [mama*
 because 3DU=NOM EMPH 1SG basically 1SG.GEN **mother/aunt**
mau]_{NP}=gha]_{NP} \quad z-emata \quad gn-au \quad kabu-i.
father/pat.uncle=PL 3PL-at 1O-take move.away-FIN
 ‘Because they (two) basically brought me away to my mother and fathers
 (i.e. parents, aunts and paternal uncles).’ (as_WWII_042)

49. There are individual differences between speakers with respect to the interpretation of *nitognoko*, varying from the immediate surrounding areas of nose and eyes, to an area equivalent of the English term ‘face’, suggesting that this term might be in the process of lexicalization and semantic reinterpretation, possibly due to contact with English. For a more detailed discussion of this, also in relation to the corresponding Solomon Islands Pijin term *fes*, see Wegener (2006).

The order of modifiers preceding the head is largely predetermined. A typical NP headed by a noun and containing different modifiers is provided in (184).

- (184) [*edo ngai [tei sua] uvi=gha*]
 two big be.like.this ATT **yam**=PL
 ‘two big yam tubers of that kind (lit. being thus)’ (st_cs_vangazua_079)

Nouns used as modifiers of other nouns are for example *sodu* ‘piece’, *vata* ‘kind’ (185), and nouns typically denoting containers or arrangements which, by modifying the head noun, provide information on quantity or arrangement of the referent (186, 187).

- (185) [*tei sua pa vata_N sodu_N rongorongō*]
 be.like.this ATT.SG.M one kind piece **story**
 ‘such a kind of a piece of story’ (cv_biti_020)

- (186) [*to-va bos_N uvi*]
 3DU-GEN.M basket **yams**
 ‘their basket of yams’ (st_cs_vangazua_129)

- (187) [*lo kabu_N ita*]
 DET.SG.M heap **rubbish**
 ‘the heap of rubbish’ (jp_ji_mt_005)

Sua-phrases⁵⁰ are the only NP constituents that can appear in different places. They are occasionally fronted and precede the quantifier slot and sometimes also the slot for the genitive pronoun. This is usually found when the *sua*-phrase is rather long and complex (188).

- (188) [[*[pa [negha sua] ravu]_{NP}=la sua*] no-va pa
 one different **tribe**=LOC.M ATT.SG.M 2SG-GEN.M one
toka]_{NP}
sibling
 ‘a cross-sex sibling of yours from a different tribe’, lit. ‘your one sibling of a different tribe’ (ap_custom_015)

The *sua*-phrase used as a modifier in the NP in (188) precedes both the genitive pronoun and the numeral. The locative-marked NP cannot function directly as a

50. The attributive marker *sua* takes a variety of complements including verbs, a type of non-finite clause, locative-marked NPs and postpositional phrases (cf. Sec. 4.8.1 and 8.2.1.2). A phrase headed by *sua* ‘ATT’ can function as a non-verbal predicate (cf. Sec. 7.1.2.2) or as a modifier in an NP. When the complement is a non-finite clause, the resulting *sua*-phrase is a type of relative clause (cf. Sec. 8.2.1.2).

modifier in an NP, but must be embedded in a *sua*-phrase. The locative-marked NP is complex itself: it contains not only a head, but two modifiers. One of them, *negha sua*, is still analyzable as a *sua*-phrase with the locational *negha* ‘somewhere else’ as its complement, but today its meaning has lost the locative component and is just ‘different’.

The longer and more complex a *sua*-phrase is, the higher is the probability that it is fronted. In addition, relative clauses formed with *sua* are typically fronted, even if they are fairly short (189).

- (189) $[[[ai\text{-}va \quad ene\text{-}li \quad sua]_{RelCl} \quad pa \quad levolevo]$
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M hear-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M one talk
 ‘a story that I heard’ (ap_biti_040)

Most NPs consist of the head only, or the head and a small number of other constituents. The complexity of NPs in Savosavo is very often due to fact that recursion is a common phenomenon. Direct recursion, i.e. an NP being directly used as a constituent of another NP, is only possible in the case of NPs denoting a possessor (cf. Sections 5.1.1.2 and 5.1.3). Indirect recursion is much more common. NP constituents such as *sua*- and *lava*-phrases as well as relative clauses often contain NPs, and these embedded NPs can be quite complex and contain modifiers and modifying phrases. Example (190) shows how the NP *lo tua* ‘the neck’ (190a) can be part of a relative clause used in another NP, headed by *kekeve* ‘necklace’ (190b), which is again used as part of a genitive NP in apposition with the personal pronoun *lo* ‘3SG.M’, specifying the possessor of the noun *ghobu* ‘middle’ ((190c); see also example (188) above).

- (190) a. $[lo \quad tua]_{NP}$
 DET.SG.M neck
 ‘the neck’
- b. $[[[lo \quad tua]_{NP}=la \quad l\text{-}ovu\text{-}tu]_{RelCl} \quad lo$
 DET.SG.M neck=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-put-REL DET.SG.M
 $kekeve]_{NP}$
 necklace
 ‘the necklace which is worn at the neck’
- c. $[[[[[lo \quad tua]_{NP}=la \quad l\text{-}ovu\text{-}tu]_{RelCl} \quad lo$
 DET.SG.M neck=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-put-REL DET.SG.M
 $kekeve]_{NP} [lo]_{NP}]_{NP\text{-}va} \quad ghobu]_{NP}=la$
 necklace 3SG.M-GEN.M middle=LOC.M
 ‘in the middle of the necklace which is worn at the neck’
 (jp_ji_mt_020)

Zepo-phrases⁵¹ are special in that they can be the sole constituent of a headless NP, as evidenced by the presence of the number marking enclitic for example in (191), but they are apparently not used directly as adnominal modifiers. They can be direct complement of a *sua*-phrase, which is then used as an adnominal modifier (see Sec. 4.8.3).

- (191) [Du to]_{NP}=te [[*kuvikuvi zepo*]=lo]_{NP}
 all 3DU=EMPH.3DU **lid** **without**=DU
 ‘Both (are) lidless ones.’ (pk_mk_mt_186)

Zepo-phrases in headless NPs have not been found to occur with any pre-nuclear modifiers.

5.1.1.2. NPs headed by a pronoun

Both free personal pronouns (cf. Sec. 4.5.1.1) and possessive pronouns (cf. Sec. 4.5.2) are always head of an NP ((192), pronouns are marked by bold print in the following examples).

- (192) *Oma* [*ko*]_{NP}=na [*kokoa*]_{NP} *l-aju-atu*.
 not **3SG.F**=NOM **3SG.F.POSS.M** 3SG.M.O-finish-BG.IPFV
 ‘She had not finished hers yet.’ (bi_cs_kakula_078)

Only a very few NP constituents have been found to occur together with pronouns. Possessive pronouns are not very common in general, and in most cases occur without any modifier (192). They are occasionally modified by an NP denoting the possessor (193), and in one example a possessive pronoun was found with the demonstrative *ai* ‘this’ and a determiner ((78) of Sec. 4.5.2, repeated here for convenience).

- (193) *Zu* [*lo* *boti*]_{NP}=e *ka* *ghoi* [[*lo* *japani*=*gha*]_{NP}
 and DET.SG.M boat=EMPH already also DET.PL Japanese=PL
zezea]_{NP}
3PL.POSS.M
 ‘And the boat (was) also the Japanese’s.’ (pk_WWII_047)
- (78) *Oma*=lo [*ai lo* ***agnia***]_{NP} *l-au*
 no=3SG.M.NOM this 3SG.M **1SG.POSS.M** 3SG.M.O-take
epi-li-zu.
 hit.target-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘It didn’t fit mine (lit. this one mine).’ (jp_ji_mt_328)

51. The privative derivative marker *zepo* can take nouns or NPs as complements and express the lack of something (cf. Sec. 4.8.3). Phrases headed by *zepo* ‘PRIV’ are not very common and so far all seem to be instances of a *zepo*-phrase used as the sole constituent of a headless NP.

Only one example in the corpus shows an NP headed by a possessive pronoun being modified by *pono* ‘only’ (194).

- (194) *Oma* [[*gnari gnuba=gha*]_{NP} **zezea** *pono*]=*e*.
 not small child=PL **3PL.POSS.M** only=EMPH
 ‘(It is) not just the small children’s.’ (jv_tarai_292)

Although there is no example with a possessive pronoun and two or more other constituents, it is likely that the demonstrative and the determiner could be combined with a possessor NP, and with *pono* ‘only’. To summarize, the structure of an NP headed by a possessive pronoun is provided in Table 35.

Table 35. Structure of an NP headed by a possessive pronoun. Parentheses indicate optionality, and the head is marked by bold print

(*ai* ‘this’ DET) (NP_{POSS’OR}) **PossPr** (*pono* ‘only’)

Personal pronouns also usually occur unmodified, and have only been found with a small number of NP constituents so far: *du* ‘all’ ((195), and (191) above), *ai* ‘this’ (196), and relative clauses formed with *-tu* (197).

- (195) [*du to*]_{NP}=*na* *tagha te* *ghoi kozi(-i)*.
 all **3DU**=NOM up EMPH also face(-FIN)
 ‘They both also face up.’ (cp_api_mt_455)
- (196) *Oma=me* [*ai zepe*]_{NP} *z-ali* *ta-i*.
 no=1NSG.IN.NOM this **3PL** 3PL.O-hit FUT-FIN
 ‘We won’t kill (lit. hit) these.’ (png_WWII_3_271)
- (197) [*Lo* [*bo-tu*]_{RelCl} **ze**]_{NP}=*na* *te* *l-au* *ba-i*.
 DET.PL go-REL **3PL**=NOM EMPH 3SG.M.O-take come-FIN
 ‘Those who had gone brought it.’ (mp_mapagha_176)

Ai ‘this’ is restricted to the third person pronouns, and *du(lo)* ‘all’ to the non-singular pronouns. Relative clauses with *-tu* (cf. Sec. 8.2.1.1) can be preceded by a determiner (197), optionally in combination with the proximal demonstrative *ai*, or by *du* ‘all’ (198).

- (198) *Minister, secretary*, [*dulo* [*bo-tu*]_{RelCl} **me**]_{NP}=*me* *kati ka*
 minister secretary all go-REL **2PL**=EMPH.2PL CERT already
zui so=gha=e *me=na*.
 end ATT=PL=EMPH 2PL=NOM
 ‘Minister, Secretary, you all who went, you will all be fired.’
 (js_marine_221)

The demonstrative *ai* ‘this’ can also follow a relative clause modifying a personal pronoun (199).

- (199) [[*lo ata gn-omata varavi-tu*]_{RelCl} *ai lo*]_{NP=na}
 DET.SG.M here 1-at lean-REL this 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘it which is leaning here towards me’ (jp_ji_mt_198)

Example (200) suggests that other quantifiers such as numerals can also be used as modifiers for personal pronouns.

- (200) ...[*ighiva ze*]_{NP ze} *kama gharani-za-ghu=e*
 three 3PL 3PL[GEN] already injure-DETR-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...they three were already injured.’, lit. ‘they three their already being injured.’ (ap_jeff_beki_405)

One could ask whether *ighiva* constitutes a headless NP in an appositional construction with the pronoun (see Sec. 5.3.2 below for more information on this construction). However, it is not marked for plural number, although the referents are human, in which context the number marking is usually consistent and accurate (see Sec. 5.1.2 below). This is evidence that it is better seen as part of the same NP as the pronoun, which is inherently specified for number and would make any additional number marking impossible.

Table 36 shows the possible structures of an NP headed by a personal pronoun.

Table 36. Possible structures of an NP headed by a personal pronoun. Parentheses indicate optionality.

			PersPr	
		<i>ai</i> ‘this’	PersPr	(196)
((<i>ai</i> ‘this’) DET)	- <i>tu</i> -RelCl	(<i>ai</i> ‘this’)	PersPr	(197, 199)
<i>du</i> ‘all’ (DET.PL)			plural PersPr	(195)
((<i>du</i> ‘all’) DET.PL)	- <i>tu</i> -RelCl	(<i>ai</i> ‘this’)	plural PersPr	(198)

Personal pronouns may not occur often with modifiers, but their referents can be specified by another NP joined with the pronoun in an appositional or inclusory construction, see Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3 below.

5.1.1.3. NPs headed by a locational

There are only very limited possibilities for modification in an NP headed by a locational. A locational can be modified by a genitive NP (201). *Ota* ‘there’ can also be modified by a relative clause (202).

- (201) *Zu lo qola kiba sisi=na te [lo ulunga*
 and DET.SG.M green orn.flower=NOM EMPH DET.SG.M pillow
*lo-va]*_{Possession} *taghata.*
 3SG.M-GEN.M **on.top**
 ‘And the green flower (is) on top of the pillow.’, lit. ‘And the green flower
 (is) the pillow its top.’ (pk_mk_mt_157)
- (202) *Bua te=ghe bo [lo topotopo-tu]*_{RelCl} *ota*
 go.SS CONJ=1DU.EX.NOM go 3SG.M[GEN] bubble-REL **there**
sara-i.
 reach-FIN
 ‘(We) went and we reached there where it bubbles [hot water springs].’
 (mp_biti_058)

The schematic representation of a locational phrase is as follows:

(relative clause / genitive NP) **Loc**_{Head}

5.1.2. Number and gender marking

Number is encoded in personal and possessive pronouns, determiners, the genitive suffix and the derivative markers *sua* ‘ATT’ and *lava* ‘PROPR’ ((203, 204); cf. Sec. 4.8). In addition, the enclitics *=(za)lo* ‘DU’ and *=ghe* ‘PL’ are used in dual or plural NPs when the head of the NP does not inherently mark number (204).

- (203) *ko ai-ma kula soma levolevo*
3SG.F 1SG-GEN.SG.F be.short **ATT.SG.F** talk
 ‘this short story of mine’ (ap_uzi_025)
- (204) *boragha sua korakora mijila lame mapa=ghe*
 be.black ATT.SG.M skin body **PROPR.PL** person=**PL**
 ‘people having a black skin (and) body’ (pc_biti_015)

On the kinship noun *tone* ‘brother’, the dual suffix occasionally takes the form *=to* (205), but the form *=(za)lo* can also be used (see ex. (206) below).

- (205) *Koata kuaragna=la=e, edo tone=to=e*
 before distant.past=LOC.M=EMPH two **brother=DU=EMPH**
kulo Vatilau=la te pale so=lo.
 seawards Vatilau=LOC.M EMPH stay ATT=DU
 ‘Long time ago, two brothers were staying seawards on Vatilau Island.’
 (jr_cs_soghe_001)

The possessive pronouns, the genitive suffix and the derivative marker *sua* ‘ATT’ mark number indirectly, by virtue of having a specific third person singular feminine form. Table 37 lists the respective forms of the word classes listed above that would be used in an NP referring to a third person referent, which is the most common context. Shaded cells mark syncretism in the paradigms.

Table 37. The forms of number-marking constituents of NPs in relation to the person, number and gender of the referent. Syncretism within a column is marked by shading of the respective cells

NP Referent	Pers. pron.	<i>lava</i> ‘PROPR’	DET	<i>sua</i> ‘ATT’	Poss. pron. ⁵²	GEN suffix	NB Encl.
3SG M	<i>lo</i>	<i>lava</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>sua</i>	<i>loloa</i>	<i>-va</i>	=Ø
3SG F	<i>ko</i>	<i>lama</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>soma</i>	<i>loloma</i>	<i>-ma</i>	=Ø
3DU	<i>to</i>	<i>laghe</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>sua</i>	<i>loloa</i>	<i>-va</i>	=(<i>za</i>) <i>lo</i>
3PL	<i>ze</i>	<i>lame</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>sua</i>	<i>loloa</i>	<i>-va</i>	= <i>gha</i>

The number marking enclitics are the only morphemes that do not conflate gender and number marking. For all other NP constituents, syncretism in the paradigms always involves the third person singular masculine and plural categories, and occasionally also the dual category. The third person feminine is always distinguished.

Personal pronouns have different forms for all person-number combinations (cf. Sec. 4.5.1.1). Most of the other NP constituents have either not been found with first and second person referents (this concerns possessive pronouns, determiners and the genitive suffix), or the form used for those referents is similar to that used for third person singular masculine referents (in the case of *sua* ‘ATT’ and *lava* ‘PROPR’).

The enclitics =(z*a*)*lo* ‘DU’ and =*gha* ‘PL’ are exclusively used in non-pronominal NPs.⁵³ They attach to the head noun as the right-most lexical constituent (see example (204) above). The allomorph =*zalo* is not very common and is usually used in NPs with animate referents (206).

- (206) [*To tone=zalo*]_{NP} *to* *kama ae-ghu=e*
 DET.DU brother=DU 3DU[GEN] already be.married-NMLZ=EMPH

52. The possessive pronouns for a third person singular masculine possessor are used exemplarily here, as the pattern is the same for all other possessors. For all other forms see Table 22 in Section 4.5.2.

53. With the possible exception of locative-marked pronominal NPs with human referents that are used to express a topic or reason, but it is unclear at present whether it is indeed the plural enclitic =*gha* or a different, homophonous morpheme that is used in this context, see Section 5.2.4.

lo=na.

3SG.M=NOM

‘The brothers were already married.’, lit. ‘The brother’s being already married (was) it.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_280)

In an NP with the only postnuclear modifier *pono* ‘only’, they will attach to the head noun and thus come between the noun and the modifier (207).

- (207) *ighia mili=gha pono*
 three string=**PL** only
 ‘only three strings’ (jz_mili_011)

In headless NPs, the number marking follows the last autonomous constituent, i.e. it also usually precedes *pono* ‘only’ (208).

- (208) [*Agni edo=gha pono*]_{NP}=*na te ata.*
 1SG[GEN] two=**PL** only=NOM EMPH here
 ‘Only two of mine (are) here.’, lit. ‘My two only (are) here’
 (cp_api_mt_470)

But if the last lexical constituent is an adjective or a *sua*-phrase, *pono* ‘only’ precedes the number marking (209, 210).

- (209) [*Du to*]_{NP}=*te* [*sisi pono=lo*]_{NP}
 all 3DU=EMPH.3DU be.red only=**DU**
 ‘Both (are) only red ones [i.e. not of different colors].’ (pk_mk_mt_294)
- (210) [[*Gn-omata izi sua*]_{RelCl} *pono=gha*]_{NP}=*e* [*ze*]_{NP}=*na.*
 1-at sleep ATT only=**PL**=EMPH 3PL=NOM
 ‘They (were) just sleeping at my place.’ (png_WWII_3_112)

This appears to be the only case where *pono* ‘only’ can be host of the number marking enclitics.

Number marking is not always consistent. Occasionally, NPs are not marked as plural, and agreement is also in the singular, although it is clear from the context that the NP refers not just to a single referent. This is found with inanimate as well as animate referents, although appropriate number marking and agreement is much more likely to be found when the referent is animate. In particular, number marking is omitted in contexts where a noun is used in a rather generic way, e.g. to refer to something that is collected or harvested (211).

- (211) ...*no mane* [*kola uvi*]_{NP} *ghoi*
 2SG[GEN] consecutively **cassava** also
zili-li-ghu=e
 take.out.of.ground-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...you then also harvest cassava.’ (ap_manga_037)

In example (211), there is no plural marking on the compound *kola uvi* ‘cassava’ (lit. ‘stick yam’), and the agreement on the verb is singular as well, but it is clear from the ‘harvesting’ context that not just one cassava root will be taken out of the ground. Such a generic usage seems to be possible only for nouns referring to inanimates.

Reduplication of the head (212, 213), a modifier or a demonstrative (214) is occasionally used to mark distributive plural, either instead of, or in addition to, the plural enclitic =*gha*.

- (212) *Ai mapa=gha me; samu nogho-li-lu; ze*
 1SG.GEN person=PL 2PL food divide-3SG.M.O-IMP.PL CONJ.SS
me samu k-aju kia, me mane
 2PL[GEN] have.meal 3SG.F.O-finish when 2PL[GEN] consecutively
 [*me magni~magnigha*]_{NP}=*la liaza-ghu=e*
 2PL[GEN] REDUP~ village=LOC.M return-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘You my people, share the food, and when you have finished eating, then you return to your respective villages.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_045)
- (213) *To levolevo-ghu lo buringa=la to-va*
 3DU[GEN] talk-NMLZ 3SG.M[GEN] back=LOC.M 3DU-GEN.PL
 [*rumu~rumu=gha*]_{NP}=*la liaza-ghu=e*.
 REDUP~ room=PL=LOC.M return-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘After their conversation they returned to the respective rooms.’ (ap_jeff_beki_147)
- (214) *Ze te mane [lo~lo gana=gha]_{NP}*
 3PL[GEN] EMPH consecutively REDUP~ DET.PL gun=PL
kulo bo vata-mi-ghu=e.
 seawards go line.up-3PL.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then they went and installed those respective guns seawards.’, lit. ‘(It was) their then going (and) lining up those guns seawards.’ (bk_WWII_109)

5.1.3. Possession

A possessive relation between two referents can be expressed in three ways: by means of a possessive pronoun, e.g. *zezea* ‘theirs’ ((215, 216), cf. Sec. 4.5.2), by a genitive NP ((216), cf. Sec. 5.2.3), or by a *lava*-phrase ((217), cf. Sec. 4.8.2). In contrast to the neighboring Austronesian languages, and similar to Lavukaleve (cf. Terrill 2003), there is no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession.

- (215) *Tei patu kakau=gha=na zezea l-au*
 be.thus BG.IPFV kakau.tribe=PL=NOM **3PL.POSS.M** 3SG.M.O-take
tagha gnari Kaoqele bo l-ovu-i.
 up small Kaoqele go 3SG.M.O-put-FIN
 ‘[Talking about traditional altars:] As it was like that, the Kakau tribe
 took theirs and placed it up (clockwise along the coast) at small Kaoqele.’
 (ap_headhunt_063)
- (216) *Ko tada lo-va ti=gho te*
3SG.F[GEN] man 3SG.M-GEN.M tea=3SG.F.NOM EMPH
pala-tu, bo kokoa.
 make.3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV or **3SG.F.POSS.M**
 ‘Is she making her husband’s tea or hers?’ (ap_dr_se_056)
- (217) *...ai lo magnigha lava mapa=e*
this DET.SG.M homestead PROPR.SG.M person=EMPH
lo isarongo toa mapa.
 DET.SG.M bad really.m person
 ‘...the man owning (lit. having) this homestead (is) a really bad person.’
 (bd_cs_tonelo_187)

An NP containing a possessive pronoun or a genitive NP refers to the possessum (the altar in (215) and the tea in (216)), and the possessive pronoun or the genitive NP provides information about the possessor. In contrast, the referent of an NP containing a *lava*-phrase is the possessor (the man in (217)), and the *lava*-phrase is used to attribute the possession of something to this referent.

Possessive pronouns and *lava*-phrases are treated in more detail in Sections 4.5.2 and 4.8.2 respectively. For more information on genitive NPs see Section 5.2.3 below.

5.2. Case marking

The term ‘case marking’ refers to the marking of an NP determined by the syntactic function it has in the clause or phrase (cf. Haspelmath 2009). Case marking is done by suffixes, enclitic case markers and postpositions. The suffixes and case markers are ‘phrase marking’, i.e. they are attached to the NP as a whole and occur only once. The enclitics form a phonological word with the last constituent of the NP, regardless of its word class.

In total, six overtly marked cases can be distinguished in Savosavo, associated with different syntactic functions: nominative, genitive, locative, ablative, comitative and benefactive. Not every syntactic function requires an NP to be

case-marked, therefore unmarked NPs are also found. Object NPs are also unmarked, but as Savosavo is a nominative-accusative language (see below), unmarked NPs functioning as objects are analyzed as accusative. Table 38 provides an overview of the syntactic functions and the case categories, including a category for unmarked NPs.

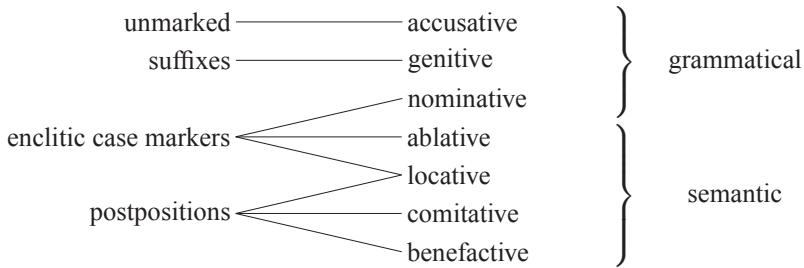
Table 38. Summary of syntactic functions associated with different case categories.

Case	Syntactic function of NP
nominative (=na)	subject of verbal clauses subject of non-verbal locational clauses subject of non-verbal property clauses (P–S order) subject of some subordinate clauses
accusative (unmarked)	object of verbal clauses
genitive (-va/-ma)	modifier in NP (possessor) subject of several subordinate clauses subject of nominalized clauses
locative (=la, l-omata)	adjunct of verbal clauses predicate of non-verbal clauses complement of <i>sua</i> ‘ATT’
ablative (=tu/=le)	adjunct of verbal clause
comitative (l-aka)	adjunct of verbal clauses complement of <i>sua</i> ‘ATT’
benefactive (l-omiti)	adjunct of verbal clauses complement of <i>sua</i> ‘ATT’
unmarked	predicate of non-verbal property clauses subject of non-verbal property clause (S–P order) complement of <i>lava</i> ‘PROPR’ complement of <i>zepo</i> ‘PRIV’

Of the marked cases, the locative is used not only for locations, but for a range of semantic roles including instruments or substance. Table 39 shows which case is expressed by which structural means.

Sometimes a distinction is made in the literature between ‘grammatical’ and ‘semantic’ cases. The ‘grammatical’ cases are said to express “a purely syntactic as opposed to semantic relation” (Blake 1997: 33), i.e. the difference is between those cases that are unspecified in terms of semantic role, and those that are tied more closely to one or more semantic roles. Other terms used for this distinction are, for example, ‘core’ vs. ‘peripheral’ cases, or ‘abstract’ vs. ‘concrete’ cases (see Haspelmath 2009 and references therein). When classifying the case

Table 39. Morphosyntactic means employed in Savosavo to express the seven different case categories



categories of Savosavo in this manner, there appears to be a relation between the type of case and the way it is marked: the ‘grammatical’ cases nominative, accusative and genitive⁵⁴ are either unmarked or marked by bound morphology, i.e. by means of suffixes or enclitic markers.⁵⁵ The ‘semantic’ cases are always marked overtly, either by enclitic morphemes or postpositions. The ‘grammatical’ cases cannot be combined, and none of the ‘semantic’ cases can be combined with any of the ‘grammatical’ cases, but within the group of ‘semantic’ cases, the ablative case markers often combine with the locative case marker and postposition, and one of them has also been found with the comitative postposition (see Sec. 5.2.5).

Savosavo is a language with a “marked nominative” case system (Dixon 1979; Haspelmath 2009), overtly marking the subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs as well as some non-verbal clauses on the NP (see Sec. 7.1.2), but leaving object NPs unmarked. The pattern of NP-marking is reversed in the marking of core participants on the verbs: there is no subject marking, but obligatory object marking for transitive and transitively used ambitransitive verbs (cf. Sec. 4.1). A system with overt marking of subjects, while objects are unmarked, is typologically unusual (cf. Greenberg’s Universal 38: “Where there is a case system, the only case which ever has only zero allomorphs is the one which includes among its meanings that of the subject of the intransitive verb” (Greenberg 1966: 95)), but is found, for example, in languages from the Yuman and Cushitic families (Dixon 1979: 77).

54. The genitive case can be seen as a ‘semantic’ case, because it is connected to the semantic role ‘possessor’, but in this case the semantic role ‘possessor’ is equivalent to the syntactic relation of being a pronoun used as an attribute. The genitive is also the subject case of some subordinate and nominalized clauses.

55. The main difference between enclitics and suffixes, according to how the terms are used in this grammar (cf. Sec. 3.1), is that suffixes only attach to members of one particular word class, while enclitics can attach to members of several word classes.

As for terminological considerations, Dixon (1979: 78) notes that “none of the terms ‘nominative’, ‘accusative’, ‘absolutive’, or ‘ergative’ are really appropriate” for such a system; as alternatives he proposes either ‘extended ergative’ and ‘restricted absolutive’, or ‘marked nominative’ and ‘unmarked accusative’ (Dixon 1979: 78). More recently, Haspelmath (2009) states that “there is a tendency to call the (zero-marked) case of the P [i.e. most patient-like argument of a transitive clause] *absolut(iv)e case*, and to call the marked nominative not ‘nominative’, but *subject(iv)e case*.” Using ‘(extended) ergative’ and ‘(restricted) absolutive’, or ‘subjective’ and ‘absolutive’, however, may give the impression that the underlying system is ergative-absolutive, i.e. that somewhere in the grammar the object of transitive clauses and the subject of intransitive clauses are grouped together, contrasting with subjects of transitive clauses. So far, this has not been observed; on the contrary, Savosavo appears to be thoroughly nominative-accusative. Thus, the terms ‘nominative’ and ‘accusative’ will be maintained for the subject- and object-case respectively.

The following sections provide more detailed information on the nominative (5.2.1), accusative (5.2.2), genitive (5.2.3), locative (5.2.4) and ablative (5.2.5), which are marked directly on the referring expression, inherently or by means of enclitic morphemes. Information on the comitative and the benefactive, marked by postpositions, can be found in Sections 4.9.1 and 4.9.3.

5.2.1. Nominative

Nominative NPs function as subjects of intransitive and transitive verbal clauses (218, 219) as well as subjects of some non-verbal clauses ((220); see Sec. 7.1.2). They are marked as nominative by means of an enclitic.

- (218) [To mau]_{NP}=**na** ka ave-i.
3DU[GEN] father=**NOM** already die-FIN
‘Their father had died already.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_005)
- (219) [No]_{NP}=**na** ka [korikori bulake]_{NP} l-oi?
2SG=**NOM** already korikori bulake 3SG.M.O-eat.FIN
‘Have you eaten korikori bulake yet?’ (ss_cl_pudding_198)
- (220) [Alea pera=gha]_{NP}=**na** te [lo mane]_{NP}=la.
how.many basket=PL=**NOM** EMPH DET.SG.M side=LOC.M
‘How many baskets are at the side?’ (pk_mk_mt_097)

With the first person singular pronoun, this marking is sometimes, but not always, omitted (221). On all other pronouns the marking is obligatory.

- (221) *Agni soing lo-va poi te l-au-i; kosi*
 1SG sewing 3SG.M-GEN.M thing EMPH 3SG.M.O-take-FIN course
 ‘I took the sewing thing; course.’ (agh_png_111)

There are two allomorphs of *na*, *kona* and *tona*, that have to be used on non-pronominal NPs in the third person feminine (222) and the third person dual (223). The paradigm of the nominative case marker is provided in Table 40.

- (222) *Zu [ko gnuba]_{NP}=kona oma ave-i.*
 but DET.SG.F child=**NOM.F** not die-FIN
 ‘But the child (f) had not died.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_062)
- (223) *To edo kola=zalo=tona lo polo=gha ze*
 DET.DU two tree=DU=**NOM.DU** DET.PL pig=PL 3PL[GEN]
kata.
 bushwards
 ‘The two trees (are) bushwards of the pigs.’ (cp_api_mt_215)

Table 40. The nominative case markers used with non-pronominal NPs. When pronominal NPs are marked as nominative, =*na* always has to be used.

		Sg	Du	Pl
1. + 2.		<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
3.	masculine		<i>tona</i>	
	feminine	<i>kona</i>		

A single example suggests that they can occur on pronominal NPs as well, but only if the modifier *pono* ‘only’ comes between the pronoun and the enclitic (224).

- (224) *To pono=tona te ave-i.*
 3DU only=**NOM.DU** EMPH die-FIN
 ‘Only they two died.’ (tt_bd_war_159)

The form as well as the distribution of the two longer forms *tona* and *kona* suggest that their diachronic origin is a combination of *na* and the personal pronouns *ko* ‘she’ and *to* ‘they (DU)’, respectively.

In contrast to free personal pronouns, the set of enclitic personal pronouns (Sec. 4.5.1.2, Tab. 21) can only be used for syntactic subjects in the same clause types where nominative-marked NPs can be found, and therefore have to be regarded as inherently nominative (225). Enclitic pronouns and nominative-marked NPs can co-occur.

- (225) *Oma=gne k-eghe-i.*
 not=1SG.NOM 3SG.F.O-see-FIN
 ‘I didn’t see her.’ (agh_png_399)

In the neighboring Papuan language Lavukaleve, *na* is the singular masculine definite article (Terrill 2003: 90ff.). NPs in Lavukaleve can contain several post-head modifiers, but the definite article is always the last element of the phrase when it is used (Terrill 2003: 75). There is no case marking on core participant NPs in Lavukaleve. Although Blake (1997) does not mention articles as a potential source for the diachronic development of case markers, and although a genetic relationship between the two languages is still under debate, the similarity in form and position suggests the hypothesis that the definite article *na* in Lavukaleve and the nominative case marker *na* in Savosavo could have the same diachronic origin. Definiteness of an NP is an indicator that the referent of the NP “is treated as an identifiable entity in the discourse” (Lambrecht 1994: 158). The topic of a sentence is usually identifiable, and in many languages (also in Savosavo) preferably encoded as the subject. Thus it is conceivable that the NP-final definite article in Lavukaleve and the enclitic nominative marker in Savosavo are diachronically related. Some time ago they probably marked topical status rather than syntactic subjecthood. Further evidence for this is that the nominative markers, in contrast to all other case markers, are in complementary distribution with the emphatic enclitic *=e* ‘EMPH’, which can signal either that a constituent is in focus or that a topic shift or topic reactivation is taking place (see Sec. 7.2.1). However, apart from that the nominative markers are synchronically reliably connected to the syntactic function of an NP as subject of a clause, not primarily to its topicality, and are thus for example also found when referents are mentioned for the first time.

5.2.2. Accusative

Syntactic subjects are overtly marked as nominative on the NP, while the NPs in object function are unmarked (226).

- (226) *Ighiva sua manga=la [lo tada sua]_{NP=na}*
 three ATT.SG.M day=LOC.M DET.SG.M old.M giant=NOM
[lo ghau]_{NP} bo duku-li.
DET.SG.M fishing.bamboo go cut-3SG.M.O
 ‘On the third day the old giant went (and) cut the fishing bamboo.’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_151)

As Savosavo shows a nominative-accusative patterning both in marking of NPs and in participant marking on the verbs, unmarked NPs functioning as syntactic

objects are analyzed as accusative. Unmarked NPs in other syntactic functions are analyzed as not being of a particular case.

5.2.3. Genitive

The genitive is marked by a suffix with two allomorphs reflecting the gender of a singular possessum, shown in Table 41.

Table 41. The paradigm of the genitive suffix

	Sg	Du + Pl
masculine	-va	-va
feminine	-ma	

Only personal pronouns (cf. Sec. 4.5.1) can take this suffix. There is a special first person singular personal pronoun form for the genitive, *ai*, which is usually used (227); only rarely is the normal form *agni* found, usually to emphasize that the possessor is indeed the speaker (228).

(227) *ai-va* *mau*
1SG.GEN-GEN.M father
 ‘my father’ (pk_WWII.117)

(228) *Ka pe gheza kinu=e bo tei kia*
 already 2DU[GEN] own smell=EMPH or be.like.this if
agni-va kinu=e.
1SG-GEN.M smell=EMPH
 ‘[The giants asked what that nice smell was, and she answers:] (It must be) already your own smell or maybe my smell.’ (ap_cs_saraputu.113)

The forms of the genitive pronouns for the first person non-singular possessor and a feminine possessum (*mai-ma*, *ave-ma* and *aghe-ma*) are identical to the corresponding possessive pronouns (cf. Tab. 22), because in the first person the pronoun is not reduplicated to derive the possessive pronouns. The same is true for the (only occasionally used) full form of the first person singular dependent pronoun, *agnima*. But since possessive pronouns are always head of an NP referring to the possessum, while genitive pronouns function as subjects in nominalized and some subordinate clauses or adnominal modifiers that need to be part of an NP headed by a noun, any of these forms can be clearly identified by the syntactic context it is found in.

If the possessum is a singular referent, the genitive suffix marks its gender. Thus, the genitive pronouns represent the possessor (marking person, number

and gender) and at the same time agree with the possessum (via the suffix, marking gender in the singular); see example (229).⁵⁶

- (229) $(lo_{\text{Possessor}})$ **lo-ma** $ngai\ gnuba_{\text{Possessum}}$
 3SG.M **3SG.M-GEN.SG.F** big child
 ‘his older daughter’ (ap_jeff_beki_059)

In practice, the genitive suffixes are usually omitted, yielding what will be referred to as **reduced genitive pronouns**. The forms of such a reduced genitive pronoun and the corresponding normal personal pronoun are identical, except in the first person singular; it remains *ai* when the suffix is omitted and is thus still clearly identifiable as genitive. However, the syntactic distribution allows one in most cases to identify a form as a reduced genitive pronoun or a free personal pronoun. As an example, instead of the NP in (229) one would usually hear the following:

- (229') $(lo_{\text{Possessor}})$ **lo** $ngai\ gnuba_{\text{Possessum}}$
 3SG.M **3SG.M[GEN]** big child
 ‘his older child’

Note that example (229') could refer to a female as well as a male child, as the information on the gender of the possessum is lost when the genitive suffix is omitted.

The genitive has two important syntactic functions in Savosavo: it is used to express a possessor within an NP ((230), cf. Sec. 5.1.3 above) and for the encoding of the subject in nominalized clauses ((231), discussed in detail in Ch. 9) and in some types of subordinate clause, e.g. relative clauses ((232), cf. Sec. 8.2).

- (230) $ze_{\text{Possessor}}$ -**va** $aqutu_{\text{Possessum}}$
3PL-GEN.M work
 ‘their work’ (js_marine_098)
- (231) *Muzi ghobu=la* to_{Subject} -**va** *kama bo-ghu=e*.
 night middle=LOC.M 3DU-GEN.M already go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘In the middle of the night they (two) went.’, lit. ‘...their already going.’
 (ap_cs_kakula_052)
- (232) lo_{Subject} -**va** *k-au* *bo-tu ko adaki*
3SG.M-GEN.M 3SG.F.O-take go-REL DET.SG.F woman
 ‘the woman he took away’ (ap_cs_saraputu_217)

56. As indicated in example (229), the personal pronoun that receives the genitive marking can be preceded by an NP providing further information on the possessor. For more detail on this see Section 5.1.3.

A genitive-marked personal pronoun can stand alone (as in examples (230) to (232) above), or it can be preceded by an NP specifying the possessor ((229) above and (233)).

- (233) [*ko popo*]_{Possessor} *ko-va* *kuvikuvu*
DET.SG.F bowl **3SG.F-GEN.M lid**
 ‘the bowl’s lid’, lit. ‘the bowl its lid’ (jp_ji_mt_024)

The pronoun NP and the preceding NP are either fully coreferential, i.e. in apposition ((229, 233); cf. Sec. 5.3.2), or the set of referents denoted by the first NP is a proper subset of the referents denoted by the personal pronoun and they are combined in an inclusory construction ((234); cf. Sec. 5.3.3).

- (234) [*lo-va tone*]_{Possessor} *to-va* *mola*
3SG.M-GEN.M brother **3DU-GEN.M canoe**
 ‘the canoe of him and his brother’, lit. ‘his brother their canoe’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_011)

Any adnominal modifier can be found in the NP preceding the pronoun, thus indirect recursion is possible: it can contain another genitive NP, which can again contain a genitive NP, and so forth (235).

- (235) [[*Savo=gha ave-va*] *ae-ghu* [*lo-va*]]
 Savo=PL **1PL.EX-GEN.M be.married-NMLZ** **3SG.M-GEN.M**
vuni-ghu=e *tei* *sua.*
 start-NMLZ=EMPH be.like.this ATT
 ‘The beginning of the marriage of us Savoans (is) like this.’
 (ap_aeghu_003)

In example (235) the derived noun *vunighu* ‘beginning’ is the possessum. The possessive relation is expressed by genitive suffix *-va* on the complex NP specifying the possessor, consisting of the personal pronoun *lo* ‘he’ and the NP *Savogha aveva aeghu* ‘the marriage of us Savoans’. This NP contains another genitive-marked possessor NP, consisting of the personal pronoun *ave* ‘us’, which is then again in apposition with the NP *Savogha* ‘Savoans’. In principle this nesting can go on and on, but in practice it is very rare to get more than two nested genitives.

A genitive pronoun renders an NP definite. Evidence for this is that the numeral *pa* ‘one’, which can function as an indefinite article when no determiner is present, can only be interpreted as a quantifier when used together with a genitive pronoun, e.g. *aiva pa tone* ‘my one brother’. It is possible to add a determiner to an NP with a genitive pronoun, e.g. *lo aiva pa tone* ‘the one brother of mine’.

5.2.4. Locative

The locative, marked by the enclitics *la* ‘LOC.M’ and *ka* ‘LOC.F’, is a multi-functional case. It is called ‘locative’ here because of its basic meaning and most common usage. So far, five functions of locative-marked NPs have been identified: marking a **location**, an **instrument**, the **substance** something is made of, the **topic** of, or **reason** for, a conversation or concern, and providing a **set**, a subset of which is identified by the speaker. Each of these functions will be described below. The feminine form of the locative enclitic, *ka*, is restricted to, but not obligatorily used with, feminine NPs. This allomorph has so far only been encountered in locative-marked NPs expressing a location or a topic/reason.

In locative NPs headed by a pronoun referring to humans, a morpheme *-gha*, formally identical to the plural enclitic =*gha*, is commonly attached to the head (236).

- (236) *Omadai mai-va no-gha=la zughu-le.*
 lest 1NSG.IN-GEN.M 2SG-?=LOC.M disagree-APPR
 ‘Lest we argue about you.’ (ap_jeff_beki_336)

This is quite special, as personal pronouns do not normally occur with the plural enclitic, but mark number inherently. The morpheme *-gha* in this context seems to be associated with animacy and could be some kind of politeness phenomenon, but at present its function remains unclear (cf. further examples and comments on p. 144).

– **Location:**

In the prototypical locative, the NP is a place name or refers to a precise location, e.g. ‘house’ or ‘table’, whereas a postpositional phrase with *l-omata* ‘at’ (which agrees with its complement by a prefix) specifies an area near the referent of the complement NP (see Sec. 4.9.2). The complement of such a postpositional phrase can be either inanimate or animate, but expressing a location by means of a locative-marked NP requires an inanimate referent.

Locative NPs can express not only the spatial (237), but also the temporal setting of an action or state (238), and also the goal of a movement (239).

- (237) *Oma. Kama kulo [gnagnui pono]_{NP}=la.*
 no already seawards sea only=LOC.M
 ‘No. (They fought) only seawards on the sea.’ (bk_WWII_161)
- (238) [*Muzi*]=*la=me mane*
 night=LOC.M=1NSG.IN.NOM consecutively
tungi-li ta-i.
 put.fire.to.sth-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘At night then we will light it.’ (wr_cs_vulaole_215)

- (239) ...*ke=gho* *ela kalele* *ghavi~ghavi*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM little.by.little REDUP~ paddle
kuli-ghu=e; [*ko* *molumolu*]_{NP}=*ka*.
 move.seawards-NMLZ=EMPH DET.SG.F island=**LOC.F**
 ‘...and she paddled leisurely seawards, to the (small) island.’
 (wr_cs_vulaole_044)

This allative function is one context in which the feminine form *ka* is used with feminine NPs (239). Recall that while masculine is the default gender of inanimates, they are sometimes treated as feminine, e.g. to form diminutives (Sec. 4.2.1.1). Furthermore, some nouns such as the names of the months are treated as feminine by many speakers (240).

- (240) *Ela=e* *mane* [*noveba*]_{NP}=*ka* *suba so=gha*.
 some=EMPH consecutively november=**LOC.F** plant ATT=PL
 ‘Some plant in November.’, lit. ‘Some (are) ones planting in November.’
 (ap_manga_102)

Another item that is often used with *ka* is *buringa* ‘back’ (241). The result, *buringa=ka*, is usually contracted to *buringka*. Although almost half of examples in the corpus have *buringa* followed by *ka*, this is not obligatory; in slightly more than half of the examples, *buringa* is used with *la* (242).

- (241) *Me=na* *kama ota* [*buring(a)*]_{NP}=*ka* *alu-lu*.
 2PL=NOM already there **back=LOC.F** stand-IMP.PL
 ‘You will stand there in the back.’ (jk_mat_001)
- (242) *Zu* [*ko ko* *buringa*]_{NP}=*la* *ai to*
 and 3SG.F 3SG.F[GEN] **back=LOC.M** this DET.DU
edo=lo=tona *kao* *lo* *tada koko l-omata*
 two=DU=NOM.DU bushwards DET.SG.M man boy 3SG.M-at
te *alu* *kozi(-i)*.
 EMPH stand face(-FIN)
 ‘And behind her (lit. at her back) these two stand facing bushwards
 towards the adolescent boy.’ (jp_ji_mt_177)

Finally, when a speaker cannot remember the name of a place, the filler *poi* ‘thing’ is usually used with *ka* (243). Only rarely it is followed by *la*.

- (243) *Pa suti=e neu / Balo- ei poi=ka; / ala=e*
 one spotlight=EMPH down / Balo- ei **thing=LOC.F** / where=EMPH
ota.
 there
 ‘One spotlight (was) down (at) / Balo- ei, at what’s called; / what
 (place is) there?’ (bk_WWII_134)

Locative NPs can be additionally marked by the ablative case markers =*tu* and =*le* (see Sec. 5.2.5 below), as well as the enclitics =*lia* ‘about’ and =*ti* ‘PROX’. The enclitic =*lia* ‘about’ is also found to occur with locationals (Sec. 4.7) and some temporal adverbs (Sec. 4.12.1). It is used to express that the location given is a rough estimate (244). The enclitic =*ti* ‘PROX’ is also used on locationals (Sec. 4.7). When it is used, a proximal reading is added (245).

- (244) *Lo enemina pozogho [Sesepi]_{NP}=la=lia.*
 DET.SG.M enemy=NOM basically Sesepi=**LOC.M=about**
 ‘The enemy (was) basically somewhere at Sesepi.’ (png_WWII_3_119)
- (245) *Zu [Sesepi]_{NP}=la=ti=lo te alu*
 And Sesepi=**LOC.M=PROX=3SG.M.NOM EMPH** stand
kozi-zu; lo mapa=na.
 face-PST.IPFV DET.SG.M person=NOM
 ‘And he stands facing close to Sesepi, the man.’ (jp_ji_mt_244)

– **Instrument:**

NPs marked with *la* can also refer to an instrument used in an action (246, 247).

- (246) *[Kato]_{NP}=la=ze te l-evo ta-i.*
 stone=**LOC.M=3PL.NOM EMPH** 3SG.M.O-burn FUT-FIN
 ‘They will cook (lit. burn) it using a (hot) stone.’ (ss_cl_pudding_014)
- (247) *[Lo gnari molo]_{NP}=la=gho lo aqe*
 DET.SG.M small knife=**LOC.M=3SG.F.NOM** DET.SG.M branch
sodu-li.
 cut.in.two-3SG.M.O
 ‘With the small knife she cuts the branch.’ (20a-ws_cb)

As the example (248) shows, locative NPs can also express the price or the costs of things purchased.

- (248) [*Alea=gha*]_{NP}=*la=no* *te ai lo*
 how.many=PL=LOC.M=2SG.NOM EMPH this 3SG.M
l-au-i.
 3SG.M.O-take-FIN
 ‘How much did this cost you?’, lit. ‘At how many did you take this?’
 (ap_jeff_beki_209)

– **Substance:**

Another function for *la*-marked NPs is to specify a substance something is made of (249). Compare in particular examples (250) and (246) above: the NP clearly has two different thematic roles, although it is formally identical.

- (249) *Du lo taemu=la kama [ida]_{NP}=la=no*
 all DET.SG.M time=LOC.M already pana=LOC.M=2SG.NOM
te aqutu-li ta-i.
 EMPH work-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘You will always make it (i.e. a specific type of pudding) with pana tubers.’, lit. ‘At all times with pana tubers you will work it.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_222)

- (250) [[*Kato*]_{NP}=*la sua molo*].
 stone=LOC.M ATT.SG.M knife
 ‘(A) stone knife.’, lit. ‘Of stone being knife’ (mp_mapagha_077)

– **Topic/reason:**

Occasionally a locative NP can provide the topic of or reason for a conversation or concern (251, 252), expressing ‘about X’ or ‘because of X’. These two interpretations cannot always be distinguished, therefore this is treated as one function.

- (251) [*Lo pukupuku-ghu*]_{np}=*la=gne ekati*
 DET.SG.M breadfruit.pudding-NMLZ=LOC.M=1SG.NOM CERT
zua-ni ta-i.
 ask-2SG.O FUT-FIN
 ‘I will ask you about the making of breadfruit pudding.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_003)

- (252) *Jeffi=na, baigho=e [[lo-va]_{Mod} [ela sua]_{Mod}*
 Jeff=NOM not.exist=EMPH 3SG.M-GEN.M one ATT.SG.M
[ko adaki gnuba]_{NP}=ka sua]_{Mod} pa_{Mod}
 DET.SG.F woman child=LOC.F ATT.SG.M one
ghanaghana]_{NP}=na.
 thought=NOM

‘Jeff, he didn’t have any thought whatsoever about/because of the young woman.’ (ap_jeff_beki_360)

This is the only function apart from the locational use where the specifically feminine allomorph *ka* is documented (252).

In this function, the suffix *-gha*, which is formally identical to the plural enclitic *=gha*, appears to be obligatory on personal pronouns referring to humans, even if they are singular (253) and/or first or second person (254). It might also be obligatory for some or all of the other functions, and is also found in locative NPs that encode a set (see below), but personal pronouns referring to humans are more likely to occur in functions like topic/reason than in others, e.g. as instruments.

(253) *Zu Jeffi=na te [ko-gha]_{NP}=la oma ngou-tu.*
 but Jeff=NOM EMPH 3SG.F-?=LOC.M not worry-PRS.IPFV
 ‘But Jeff doesn’t worry about/because of her (i.e. he doesn’t care about her).’ (ap_jeff_beki_370)

(254) *Zu agni-gha=la=no ghase patu tei*
 but 1SG-?=LOC.M=2SG.NOM be.happy BG.IPFV be.like.this
kia...
 if
 ‘But if you are still happy about/because of me...’ (jv_tarai_149)

Example (253) shows that when the suffix *-gha* is used in this context, the case marking will not take the feminine form, despite the fact that the referent is a woman. This could be seen as evidence that the suffix *-gha* is indeed identical to the plural enclitic *=gha*, because gender is in general not distinguished for non-singular NPs.

If the pronoun refers to a state of affairs, not to a person, the morpheme is not necessary (255).

(255) *Te=lo [lo]_{NP}=la l-ali*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-hit
l-ave-li-ghu savu-li-a...
 3SG.M.O-kill-3SG.M.O-NMLZ tell-3SG.M.O-SS
 ‘And he said he would kill him because of that (i.e. because of what he had done)...’ (ap_cs_saraputu_130)

The function of *-gha* in this context is unclear.

– Set:

Finally, a *la*-marked NP, commonly a non-singular personal pronoun, can specify a set and then be followed by an NP identifying a subset of this set to which a statement applies (256).

- (256) *Tei te, no zu agni, [mai-gha]_{NP}=la pa=na*
 be.like.this CONJ 2SG and 1SG 1NSG.IN-?=LOC.M one=NOM
ave kia...
 die if
 ‘So then, you and I, if one of us dies...’ (ap_jeff_beki_265)

As in locative NPs specifying a topic/reason, pronouns need to take a suffix *-gha* in this context. An analysis of *-gha* as the plural suffix would in this case seem more convincing as no singular pronouns can be used. However, the question remains why number would have to be marked twice, once inherently in the pronoun, here *mai* ‘we (incl.)’, and in addition by the plural suffix.

5.2.5. Ablative

There are two ablative enclitics in Savosavo, *=tu* and *=le*. The first one is used about ten times more often than the second one. The exact semantic difference between the two is unclear at present. They attach to place names, locationals and locative-marked NPs. The enclitic *=le* is mostly used on locationals, in particular *ota* ‘there’, but also others (257).

- (257) *Ze-va [kulo]=le tavatu kia, kulo me me*
 3PL-GEN.M seawards=ABL traverse if seawards 2PL 2PL[GEN]
z-ali-ghu=e.
 3PL.O-hit-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘If they cross (the river) from seawards, you seawards (i.e. the group positioned seawards) hit them.’ (png_WWII_3.185)

When *=le* ‘ABL’ is found attached to the locative marker *la*, the NP only rarely refers to a location (258). More often it is used metaphorically for the reason of the state of affairs (259).

- (258) *Elakati=ve, [ai lo ighia*
 CERT=1PL.EX.NOM this DET.PL three
kui kui=gha]_{NP}=la=le=ve te, lo ave-tu
 point=PL=LOC.M=ABL=1PL.EX.NOM EMPH DET.PL die-REL
lo mapa=gha=na, ze-va uzi=na,
 DET.PL person=PL=NOM 3PL-GEN.M soul=NOM

ota=tu=ze te mane bo soko
 there=ABL=3PL.NOM EMPH consecutively go throw.3SG.F
kuli ta-i.
 move.seawards FUT-FIN

‘We will, from these three points, we, the people who have died, their soul, from there they will then go off seawards.’ (ap_uzi_013)

- (259) *Ke=lo lo=la=le gnagnui-sa-i,*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M=LOC.M=ABL salt-VBLZ-FIN
lo rasaniu=na.
 DET.SG.M grated.coconut=NOM

‘So that because of that it becomes salty, the grated coconut.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_072)

The enclitic =*tu* is found in the same contexts as =*le*. Example (258) also contains the locational *ota* ‘there’ marked with =*tu* ‘ABL’, and in example (260) it is attached to a locative-marked NP providing a reason instead of a location.

- (260) *Te=gne lo=la=tu te ai to edo*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM 3SG.M=LOC.M=ABL EMPH this DET.DU two
koko=lo te elakati te rongorongoti
 boy=DU EMPH CERT EMPH tell.story-3DU.O
l-ame-mi ta-i.
 3SG.M.O-give-2PL.O FUT-FIN

‘And because of that I will tell the story about these two boys for you.’
 (bd_cs_tonelo_009)

However, in contrast to =*le*, it is very often also used on locative-marked NPs providing a spatial (261) or temporal (262) location, expressing the source or origin of a movement or development.

- (261) *Aba=la=tu=lo te ba-zu.*
 Guadalcanal=LOC.M=ABL=3SG.M.NOM EMPH come-PST.IPFV
 ‘He was coming from Guadalcanal.’ (tt_bd_war_055)
- (262) *Forty-two=la=tu ai lo ivaghu=la toko-ghu.*
 forty-two=LOC.M=ABL this DET.SG.M day=LOC.M arrive-NMLZ
 ‘From (19)42 to this day.’ (png_WWII_1_270)

Sometimes =*tu* is found on postpositional phrases with *l-aka* ‘with’ (263). In all of these examples the clause is about physical movement, going or coming, performed together with someone else, but =*tu* does not appear to be obligatory in his context (264). It is unclear at present what function the enclitic has in this context.

- (263) *Ko=va kama z-aka=tu ale bo-ghu=e.*
 3SG.F-GEN.M already **3PL-with=ABL** enter go-NOM=EMPH
 ‘She already went inside with them.’ (ap_jeff_beki_579)
- (264) *Aghe=na Sesepe=gha z-aka te koi ba-i.*
 1DU.EX=NOM Sesepe=PL **3PL-with** EMPH board come-FIN
 ‘We came with those from Sesepe.’ (st_cs_vangazua_150)

5.3. Composite NPs

Composite NPs consist of two or more NPs which are of structurally equal status. Composite NPs can be used in the same syntactic functions as non-composite NPs. In Savosavo, there are three constructions that represent different types of relation between the NPs constituting a composite NP: **coordination**, **apposition** and the **inclusory construction**.

In **coordination**, two or more NPs of equal status are combined. The NPs refer to distinct (groups of) entities. The coordination can either be asyndetic, i.e. unmarked, or marked by means of a coordinating morpheme. In Savosavo, three coordinators can be used to link NPs: *zu* ‘and’, *bo* ‘or’ and *tei kia* ‘or’. An example is provided in (265). They are described in more detail in Section 5.3.1.

- (265) *Lo ropo=la [[Beki]_{NP} zu [lo dokta]_{NP}]_{NP}*
 DET.SG.M morning=LOC.M **Becky and DET.SG.M doctor**
to kama lo dokta lo
 3DU[GEN] already DET.SG.M doctor 3SG.M[GEN]
magnigha=la kama bo-ghu=e.
 homestead=LOC.M already go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘On that morning Becky and the doctor went to the doctor’s house.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_459)

In an **appositional** construction, two NPs of equal status are juxtaposed. The NPs in an appositional construction are co-referential, i.e. they refer to exactly the same entity or group of entities. For an example see (266). A description of the appositional constructions is provided in Section 5.3.2.

- (266) *Dai-sa patu=lo; [[ai mapa=gha]_{NP}*
 good-VBLZ BG.IPFV=3SG.M.NOM **1SG.GEN person=PL**
[me]_{NP}]_{NP}
2PL
 ‘It is ok, you my people.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_056)

Finally, in an **inclusory construction** one NP has to be a non-singular personal pronoun, and the other NP is non-pronominal. According to Haspelmath (2004: 25), inclusory constructions are “notionally like conjunction and are rendered by ‘and’-conjunction in English, but [they] are crucially different from ordinary conjunction in that one of the constituents has the same reference as the entire construction”. The pronoun refers to the group denoted by the construction as a whole, while the non-pronominal NP specifies a subset of this group. (267) is an example of such an inclusory construction. The details are laid out in Section 5.3.3.

- (267) *Oma kao doi=la [[lo mau]_{NP} [pe]_{NP}]_{NP}*
 not bushwards earth=LOC.M **DET.SG.M father 2DU**
p-oghoni togho sue agni=na.
 2DU.O-be.like live ATT=EMPH 1SG=NOM
 ‘I (am) not one living bushwards ashore like you (Sg.) and your father
 (lit.: you two (including) the father).’ (wr_cs_poghoroghuliagha_156)

An inclusory construction thus lies semantically between a coordination and an appositional construction: there is no overlap between the reference of the coordinated NPs, whereas NPs in an apposition construction are co-referential. In an inclusory construction the NPs show a partial overlap in that one specifies a subset of the other. This is schematically depicted in Figure 15.

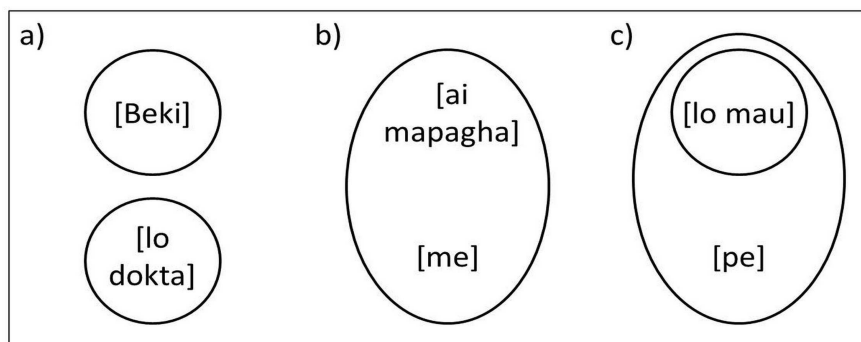


Figure 15. This figure is a schematic representation of a) a coordinating construction (265), b) an appositional construction (266), and c) an inclusory construction (267). The solid line represents the reference of the NPs.

5.3.1. Coordination in and between NPs

The term ‘coordination’ is used not only for coordination of NPs, but also for coordination of lexical items, other phrase types and clauses. In this section,

coordination in and between NPs will be discussed. For coordination between other phrase types and clauses see Section 8.1.

Savosavo can be classified as an ‘AND-language’, i.e. a language employing the ‘coordinate encoding strategy’ as described by Stassen (2000: 7; emphasis added):

A fundamental formal characteristic of [the coordinate encoding] strategy is that it encodes the two participants in the construction by way of NPs **with equal structural rank**. Thus, the two NPs involved are not differentiated as to syntactic function; they have the same thematic role, and in languages in which such NPs receive case marking they will both have the same case. Typically, though not necessarily, the two NPs in such constructions can be seen to form a constituent, viz., a coordinate (plural or dual) NP. As a result of this, **they typically govern dual or plural number agreement** on predicates, if they have a grammatical function for which this agreement is defined.

In Savosavo, coordinated NPs are of equal structural rank, and they clearly form one constituent. Evidence for this is that case marking attaches to the ‘coordinate NP’, using Stassen’s term, as a whole, not to the coordinands (268).

- (268) *Te* [[*ai* *madaki*] *zu* [*ai* *pa adaki gnuba*]]=**tona**
 CONJ 1SG.GEN wife and 1SG.GEN one woman child=**NOM.DU**
rughu ta bo-i.
 go.to.bush FUT go-FIN
 ‘Then my wife and one of my daughters went to work in the garden.’
 (es_agutu_041)

As for number, each of the coordinand NPs in Savosavo can have singular, dual or plural referents, and so the whole coordinate NP can be semantically either dual or plural.⁵⁷ External agreement targets such as verbs and postpositions agree with the number of the coordinate NP. NP-internal number marking tends to be separate for each coordinand NP and marked on the respective head, e.g. when the coordination is done by means of *zu* ‘and’ (269).

- (269) [[*lo-va* *tone=gha*] **zu** [*lo* [*mama mau*]=**zalo**]]
 3SG.M-GEN.M brother=**PL** and 3SG.M[GEN] mother father=**DU**
 ‘his brothers and his mother (and) father’ (bd_cs_tonelo_394)

57. As mentioned in Section 5.1.2, agreement with mass nouns is singular in most cases. When two mass nouns are coordinated, as in example (270) below, the agreement is also usually singular.

The following sections will briefly describe coordination of NPs and within NPs, first by juxtaposition (5.3.1.1), then by means of *zu* ‘and’ (5.3.1.2), *bo* ‘or’ (5.3.1.3) and *tei kia* ‘or’ (5.3.1.4).

5.3.1.1. Coordination by juxtaposition

A common way of coordinating NPs, nouns, adjectives or quantifiers is by juxtaposition. Usually this expresses conjunction (270), but sometimes also disjunction, especially with numerals (271).

- (270) ...*ghobu=la baigho=e ghoi [fuli piva]*
 middle=LOC.M not.exist=EMPH also **fuel water**
l-omu sua.
 3SG.M.O-fill.a.container ATT
 ‘...in the middle there is no (station) filling up fuel and water.’
 (js_marine_247)

- (271) ...*pa [ighia aghava] kughe=gha=na babo-a...*
 one **three four** month=PL=NOM go.past-SS
 ‘...some⁵⁸ three, four months went by...’
 (jn_lotu_072)

The distinction between juxtaposed nouns and compounds is not easy. A combination of two nouns will be analyzed as juxtaposed if its meaning is compositional (including non-singular number), but as a compound if it can be used to refer to a singular referent (e.g. *nitognoko* ‘face’, lit. ‘eye-nose’). This criterion is not unproblematic, as number marking, especially for inanimates, often is inconsistent. Furthermore, mass nouns such as *fuli* ‘fuel’ and *piva* ‘water’ do not take non-singular number marking, unless they are used to refer to, e.g., several pools of water, and would therefore not be expected to be marked for non-singular number if juxtaposed (as in (270)). Example (272) shows a combination of coordination by juxtaposition on two different syntactic levels within the same clause.

- (272) *Elakati [[agni-va [bekeni salu]]_{NP} me-va*
 CERT 1SG-GEN.M betel.nut betel.leaf 2PL-GEN.M
ena-li kia=me oma [[me [mama
 chew.betel.nut-3SG.M.O if=2PL.NOM not 2PL[GEN] **mother**
mau]=gha]_{NP} [me [toka
father/pat.uncle=PL 2PL[GEN] sibling
kulagha]=gha]_{NP}] z-olomi ta-i.
mat.uncle/nephew/niece=PL 3PL.O-know FUT-FIN

58. *Pa* ‘one’ is commonly used as an indefinite article (cf. Sec. 4.4.1), and commonly found to precede such a disjunctive juxtaposition of two numerals.

‘If you chew my betel nut (and) leaf, then you won’t know your mothers (incl. aunts) and fathers (incl. paternal uncles), your siblings and maternal uncles (any more).’ (ws_cs_ghulia_025)

It contains three complex NPs consisting of pairs of nouns, each pair modified by a genitive pronoun, and two also sharing number marking enclitics. Two of these NPs, those containing number marking, are again coordinated by juxtaposition. This shows that the number marking can be shared by the coordinands, e.g. *me toka kulagha=gha* ‘your siblings (and) maternal uncles’, or each coordinand can have its own number marking, as in the coordination of the two complex NPs *me mama mau=gha* ‘your mothers, parental aunts, fathers (and) paternal uncles’ and *me toka kulagha=gha* ‘your siblings and maternal uncles’.

The first pair of nouns in (272), *bekeni salu* ‘betel nut (and) betel leaf’ often occur together, and are not marked for non-singular number, but first of all they refer to inanimates, where number marking is often inconsistent, and secondly they could also be analyzed as referring to an unspecified mass of nuts and leaves instead of a specific set of individual items. They also do not always occur by themselves, but sometimes in combination with a third noun, *poke* ‘betel lime’ (273).

- (273) *Ekati me* [ai-va [bekeni salu poke]_{NP}]
 CERT 2PL[GEN] 1SG.GEN-GEN.M betel.nut betel.leaf betel.lime
ena-li *kia=me...*
 chew.betel.nut-3SG.M.O if=2PL.NOM
 ‘If you chew my betel nut, leaf (and) lime, then you...’ (ws_cs_ghulia_040)

In the kinship domain, examples with as much as four nouns combined in one NP are attested in the corpus (274).

- (274) *Koata*, [*mai* [bibiu dodoe molumolu kavekave]=gha]_{NP}
 before 1NSG.IN[GEN] gen3 gen4 gen5 gen6=PL
ze-va *tuvi* *are-li-a* *ke=ze*
 3PL-GEN.M house plan-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3PL.NOM
pala *tei* *tuka...*
 make.3SG.M.O want.to.do whenever
 ‘In the old days, when our great-grandparents, great-great-grandparents, great-great-great-grandparents (and) great-great-great-great-grandparents planned a house and wanted to build it...’ (jd_house_003)

However, kinship terms are usually presented in pairs, as in (272). The order of kinship terms seems to be conventionalized, as it is exactly the same in all examples in the corpus.

As was mentioned above, also NPs consisting of more than one element are coordinated by juxtaposition. When several NPs of a similar structure are juxtaposed, the complex NP has a very peculiar intonation pattern: it starts out at a normal within-sentence height and also ends at this height, but there are a number of drops in pitch in between, sometimes together with a short break. The drops are not, as might be expected, between the last element of one NP and the first element of the following NP, but rather **inside** of the following NP (see example (275); a semicolon signals a pitch drop). The corresponding pitch contour is provided in Figure 16.

- (275) *Are-li te / neu so=gha lo; tagha so=gha*
 command-3SG.M.O CONJ / down ATT=PL DET.PL up ATT=PL
lo; kulo so=gha lo; kao so=gha=na / ene
 DET.PL seawards ATT=PL DET.PL bushwards ATT=PL=NOM / hear
zui(-i).
 end(-FIN)
 ‘(He) ordered it and (the) ones staying downwards (and) the ones staying upwards (and) the ones staying seawards (and) the ones staying bushwards heard it all.’
 (ap_cs_sivugha_006)

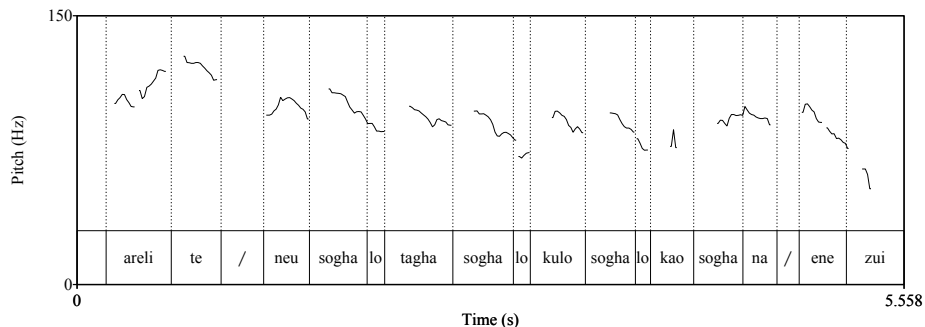


Figure 16. This figure shows the pitch contour of the juxtaposed NPs in example (275). The pauses in the example (marked by /) have been shortened by 1.9 seconds and 1.35 second respectively.

5.3.1.2. Coordination with *zu* ‘and’

One coordinator used to link two NPs is *zu* ‘and’. This coordinator is also used for the coordination of PPs and clauses, see Section 8.1.1.

Examples (268) to (277) show the coordination of NPs in different syntactic positions, as subject (268), object (276) and postpositional complement (277).

- (276) *Te* [[*ai mau lo rongorongo-ghu*] **zu** [*ai*
 CONJ 1SG.GEN father 3SG.M[GEN] tell.story-NMLZ **and** this
lo sere sua lo ba
 DET.SG.M be.white ATT.SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] come
rongorongo-ghu]_{obj} *ai-va t-eghe...*
 tell.story-NMLZ 1SG.GEN-GEN.M 3DU.O-see
 ‘Then I saw my father’s storytelling and this white man’s coming and
 storytelling...’ (mp_biti.256)
- (277) *Te=gho* [[*lo sua*] **zu** [*lo*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM DET.SG.M giant **and** 3SG.M[GEN]
madaki]]_{PPComp1} *t-omata te pale soma=e.*
 wife 3DU-at EMPH stay ATT.SG.F=EMPH
 ‘Then she stayed with the giant and his wife.’ (ap_cs_saraputu.103)

Usually case marking is shared between coordinated NPs (278), but occasionally each NP is each marked for case (279).

- (278) [[*Lo sisi*] **zu** [*lo ulunga*]]=*na kulo*
 DET.SG.M orn.flower **and** DET.SG.M pillow=**NOM** seawards
sughu=la toala=tu.
 be.far=LOC.M really=PRS.IPFV
 ‘The flower and the pillow (are) very far seawards.’ (pk_mk_mt.176)
- (279) [[*Mati Aba=la*] **zu** [*ata Savo=la*]] *sara*
 along.coast.PROX Guadalcanal=LOC.M **and** here Savo=LOC.M reach
sua muzi.
 ATT.SG.M cloud
 ‘A cloud extending to Guadalcanal there and here on Savo.’
 (bk_WWII.172)

5.3.1.3. Coordination with *bo* ‘or’

Bo ‘or’ is a coordinator usually employed to connect clauses (see Sec. 8.1.2). However, occasionally it is used to express disjunctive coordination of NPs (280), although this function is more often fulfilled by *tei kia*, see Section 5.3.1.4.

- (280) *Ze=na* [*lo apoi*], [[*lo kapu*]; **bo** [*lo gilasi*]]
 3PL=NOM DET.SG.M what DET.SG.M cup **or** DET.SG.M glas
bo [*apoi*]_{obj} *te ghoi mapamapa l-ame-li.*
or what EMPH also RECIP 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.M.O
 ‘They again give each other what, cups; or glasses or what.’ (037_bd_rec)

5.3.1.4. Coordination with *tei kia* ‘or’

The complex coordinator *tei kia* ‘or’ is used to connect NPs, and also nouns or quantifiers within one NP. Literally, *tei kia* means something like ‘if, say,’ or ‘if like that’. As a coordinator, it is usually used with a disjunctive connotation (281–282); even example (283) can be interpreted that way, as only one of the two coordinands, life or death, can prevail.

- (281) [*Edo tei kia ighia elegho=gha*]=*lo pale-i*.
two or three year=PL=3SG.M.NOM stay-FIN
‘Two or three years he stayed.’ (ap_qiluilu_076)
- (282) [*Oma* [[*pa mapa*]_{NP} *tei kia* [*pa kosu*]_{NP} *tei kia* [*pa maramane=la*
not one person or one bird or one world=LOC.M
sua apoi]_{NP} *lo-va ata ba zala-gni*
ATT.SG.M everything 3SG.M-GEN.M here come look.for-1SG.O
sue]_{Pred} [*agni*]_{Subj}=*na*.
ATT.EMPH 1SG=NOM
‘No man or bird or anything that is in this world ever comes here to look
for me.’, lit. ‘I (am) someone, not a person nor a bird nor anything (else)
in the world comes here (and) looks for me.’ (dr_cs_taragau_143)
- (283) *Edo=gha=na gn-omata; ave-ghu tei kia togho-ghu*.
two=PL=NOM 1-at die-NMLZ or live-NMLZ
‘[A wounded man is speaking:] Two are with me; death and life.’
(png_WWII_3_251)

The combination of *tei* ‘say, want to do, be thus’ and *kia* ‘if, when’ is not always used for coordination; in (284), *kia* is used to subordinate the preceding clause which happens to have *tei* as the final element (for more information on *kia* see Sec. 8.2.2.2).

- (284) *Oma ze lo polo samu pala*
not 3PL[GEN] DET.SG.M pig food make.3SG.M.O
l-ame-li tei kia, ze pa sodu doi
3SG.M.O-give-3SG.M.O say if 3PL[GEN] one piece earth
l-ame-li-ghu=e.
3SG.M.O-give-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
‘If they don’t want to make the pig (and other) food for him,⁵⁹ they give
him a piece of land.’ (ap_qiluilu_042)

59. *Tei* is a multi-functional morpheme used to express ‘say’, ‘be like this’ and ‘want’. ‘Say’ does not appear to be an appropriate translation in this context, but the sentence could also mean ‘If they don’t make the pig and food for him like this [i.e. as described in the sentence before this]...’

However, this is very different from (but diachronically probably related to) the coordinating function in (283) to (282).

5.3.2. Appositional construction

Appositional constructions consist of two juxtaposed co-referent NPs. Very often this construction combines a pronoun of the first or second person and a preceding co-referential NP that characterizes the referents (285, 286).

- (285) *[[No mapa=gha]_{NP} [ave]_{NP}]_{NP}=na kulo ata no-va*
2SG[GEN] person=PL 1PL.EX=NOM seawards here 2SG-GEN.M
nito=la.
 eye=LOC.M
 ‘[Addressing the volcano:] We, your people, (are) here seawards at your eye.’ (ap_biti_035)

- (286) *Apoi [[ai mama mau=zalo]_{NP} [pe]_{NP}]_{NP}=na te*
 because **1SG.GEN mother father=DU 2DU=NOM EMPH**
k-au ngai-sa-zu.
 3SG.F.O-take big-VBLZ-PST.IPFV
 ‘Because you, my parents, have been raising her.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_117)

But it is also possible to combine two non-pronominal NPs (287).

- (287) *Kao, [[ko mau]_{NP} [lo sua]_{NP}]_{NP} lo*
 bushwards **3SG.F[GEN] father DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M[GEN]**
baba=la=ze bo ka sara tulola...
 hole=LOC.M=3PL.NOM go move.bushwards reach then
 ‘Bushwards, when they went inland (and) reached the hole of the giant, her father,...’ (ws_cs_ghulia_045)

The first NP in an appositional construction can be quite complex (288). It can also be a coordinate NP (289b).

- (288) *[Neu lo papale=la sua mapa=gha]_{NP}*
downwards 3SG.M[GEN] side=LOC.M ATT person=PL
[me]_{NP}=na vuni-a-li⁶⁰ ta-i, lo ba
2PL=NOM start-EP-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN DET.SG.M come
dele-ghu.
 dance-NMLZ
 ‘You people from the downwards side will start it, the coming and dancing.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_008)

- (289) a. *Dulo mai=me, lo tuvi=e*
 all 1NSG.IN=EMPH.1NSG.IN DET.SG.M house=EMPH
te mai togho-ghu.
 EMPH 1NSG.IN[GEN] live-NMLZ
 ‘(For) all of us, the house (is) our life.’ (rr_house_035)
- b. *[[[Sere so=gha]_{NP} zu [boboragha=gha]_{NP}][_{NP}] [mai]_{NP}]_{NP}*
be.white ATT=PL and black=PL 1NSG.IN
 ‘Us whites and blacks.’ (rr_house_036)

Although the order of pronominal and non-pronominal NP is fixed, and although the non-pronominal NP provides an additional characterization of the referent(s) just as modifiers within an NP would, there is no structural evidence that one of the two NPs in an appositional construction should be analyzed as the head of the construction.

5.3.3. Inclusory construction

The inclusory construction in Savosavo is intermediate between coordination and the appositional construction. It conforms to all of the defining and prototypical features of an inclusory construction provided by Singer (2001: 22, (11) and (12); cf. also Singer 2005). It consists of two NPs, a non-singular personal pronoun preceded by a non-pronominal NP. The pronoun refers to the whole set of referents denoted by the composite NP (called ‘superset’ following Singer (2001)), while the non-pronominal NP specifies a subset of this superset. The superset and the subset are in a relationship “of proper inclusion” (Singer 2001: 22). Thus, in contrast to the appositional construction, the NPs are not co-referent, but they also do not refer to completely distinct (sets of) referents, as is the case with coordinated NPs. The inclusory construction is “equivalent to a single argument of a predicate” (Singer 2001: 25). It can occur in the same syntactic positions as other NPs and functions as one NP, similar to the other composite NPs. As in many other languages (cf. Bril 2004: 524), the inclusory construction in Savosavo is restricted to human and personified referents.

The construction has two variants: in the dual, the NPs are simply juxtaposed; in the plural, the comitative particle *ma*⁶¹ is inserted before the pronoun.

60. Some verbs have an epenthetic /a/ inserted between the stem and the object suffix, cf. fn. 12, p. 34.

61. The similarity in form and function between the comitative marker *ma* in Savosavo and reflexes of the Proto-Oceanic (POc) **ma* ‘and’ (used to connect NPs in POc, Lynch et al. 2002: 75) as well as the Proto-Polynesian **ma* ‘and, with’ (Clark 1981: 74) in many contemporary Oceanic languages (Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004) suggests that it is a borrowed element.

In the dual variant, the whole construction refers to two people, the personal pronoun thus has to be a dual pronoun. Note, however, that the use of the first person inclusive pronoun *mai*, which is otherwise used both for dual and plural, is excluded from this construction, i.e. only *aghe* ‘1DU.EX’, *pe* ‘2DU’ and *to* ‘3DU’ can be used.

The NP preceding the dual pronoun can only refer to a single person. Commonly this NP is a name (290), but it can also be a normal non-pronominal NP (291).

(290) [[*Joele*] [*pe*]]
 Joel 2DU
 ‘you and Joel’, lit. ‘Joel you two’ (jv_tarai_301)

(291) [[*ai pa gnagnai gnuba*] [*aghe*]]
 1SG.GEN one small child 1DU.EX
 ‘me and my one small child’, lit. ‘my one small child us two’
 (as_WWII_115)

If, as in these examples, the pronoun is first or second person dual, the referents are clear: the inclusory construction refers to the speaker or the hearer plus the referent of the noun or NP. When the pronoun is third person dual, the referent not expressed by the NP specifying the subset has to be inferred from the context (292).

(292) [[*Buebue*] [*to*]]
 Buebue 3DU
 ‘s/he and Buebue’, lit. ‘Buebue they two’ (tt_bd_war_022)

The subset NP can also be *ai* ‘who’, then the inclusory construction is used to inquire about the identity of one of the two people (293).

(293) [[*Ai*] [*pe*]]=*na te bai*.
who 2DU=NOM EMPH come-FIN
 ‘You and who came?’, lit. ‘You two who came?’ (agh_png_472)

Although the pronoun referring to the superset is usually a normal, free personal pronoun, in a small number of examples a genitive-marked personal pronoun fulfills this function (294).

(294) [[*Ai tada*] [*aghe*]]-*va kama to sagito*
 1SG.GEN man 1DU.EX-GEN.M already DET.DU married.couple
t-omata te kama pale-ghu=e lo=na.
 3DU-at EMPH already stay-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘My husband and I already stayed with that married couple.’, lit. ‘My man our already with the married couple staying (was) it.’ (as_WWII_041)

The plural variant of the inclusory construction is used to refer to more than two people, thus a plural pronoun has to be used. This pronoun then has to be preceded by the comitative particle *ma*. The subset NP can refer to one person (295), or to more than one (296).

- (295) *Ai zepo=e te ota bo sukulu sue;* [[*ai ko*
 this 3PL=EMPH EMPH there go school ATT.EMPH **this DET.SG.F**
[*mami*] *ma* [*zepo*].
mummy COM 3PI
 ‘These went there to attend school; this mummy and they (i.e. her family).’
(jv_tarai_210)
- (296) *Apoi* [[*Saunana Lakamate*] *ma* [*zepo*] *z-emata te pale*
 because **Saunana Lakamate COM 3PL** 3PL-at EMPH stay
sue agni mau=na.
 ATT.EMPH 1SG[GEN] father=NOM
 ‘Because my father (was) staying with Saunana, Lakamate and the ones associated with them.’, lit. ‘Because one staying at (the place of) Saunana, Lakamate and those (was) my father.’
(pk_WWII_065)

Example (297) shows that again a genitive personal pronoun can be used to refer to the superset, although in this case the genitive suffix is omitted (as is often the case, cf. Sec. 5.2.3).

- (297) *Zu lo sua lo magnigha=e*
 and DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M[GEN] homestead=EMPH
mati ota [[*lo Rasa*] *ma* [*ze*]
 along.coast.PROX there **DET.SG.M Rasa COM 3PL[GEN]**
keghi pale=lia.
 coconut.plantation inside=about
 ‘But the homestead of the giant (was) close along the coast there somewhere in the coconut plantation of Rasa and them (i.e., his family).’
(st_cs_vangazua_064)

On the basis of these examples one could also think of the composite NP as a coordination of two NPs with distinct referents by means of a specific coordinator. So far, none of these examples forces the analysis that the referents of the first NP are indeed included in the set of referents denoted by the pronoun. Proof that this is nonetheless the case comes from example (298):

- (298) [[*Mami*] *ma* [*me*].
 mummy COM 2PL
 ‘you (≥ 2) and mummy’
(bk_WWII_027)

While this example can be used to refer to more than three people, namely mummy and more than two other people, it could also be used to refer to **exactly three** people, i.e. mummy and two other people. This is clear evidence that the referent of the preceding NP is included in the set of referents of the pronoun. In a coordination of NPs with distinct referents, a dual pronoun instead of a plural pronoun would be expected and required. However, it is impossible to use a dual pronoun with *ma*, and if it is used without *ma*, the result would be a typical inclusory construction denoting two people.

Those referents that are not identified by the non-pronominal NP have to be inferred from the context. The use of the inclusory construction implies that there is some connection between those referents that are specified and those that are not, but the nature of this connection can vary. A plural inclusory construction as in (295) to (297) will often be used to refer to people connected in a relatively time-stable manner, e.g. a person and her family, or a person and her friends, though in an appropriate context it can also refer to a more short-lived association, e.g. to refer to a person and the people she accompanied to the village store. But in this case the association between the referents has to be recoverable for the addressee.

Inclusory constructions are also quite common in Oceanic languages (cf. Brill 2004). For example, Mwotlap, an Oceanic language spoken in North Vanuatu, has a construction so similar to the one found in Savosavo for the dual that literal translation is possible in most cases (François (2001: 389) refers to this construction as “le duel associatif”, the ‘associative dual’). Not only is the structure itself very similar (juxtaposing an NP and a dual pronoun in that order), the pragmatic implications associated with this construction and the typical situations where it is used are very similar as well (François 2001: 384ff.). However, in some respects the constructions in Savosavo and Mwotlap do differ. One difference is that in Savosavo, a comitative marker is required to be used in the plural inclusory construction, while this is also done by juxtaposition in Mwotlap. Furthermore, in Mwotlap, the third person dual pronoun can be used to actually coordinate two NPs, and thus specify both participants (François 2001: 389), and the order of NP – dual pronoun can be reversed to ensure that the topical participant is mentioned first (François 2001: 390f.).

Another very similar inclusory construction is found in Solomon Islands Pijin, but the pronoun (superset) precedes the NP (subset): compare SIP *iutufala Anna* ‘Anna and you’, lit. ‘you two Anna’, and Savosavo *Anna pe* ‘Anne and you’, lit. ‘Anna you two’. Another difference from Savosavo is that in SIP, as in Mwotlap, no comitative morpheme is needed when the plural pronouns are used: *olketa John* ‘John and they’, lit. ‘they John’. Unfortunately, as there is not much documentation of SIP in general or inclusory constructions in SIP in particular it is impossible to provide a more thorough comparison at this point.

As for other languages of the Solomon Islands, the neighboring Papuan language Lavukaleve does not have an inclusory construction (Angela Terrill, pers. comm.), but it is found in some Oceanic languages in the vicinity, e.g. Kokota, spoken on St. Isabel (Palmer 2009: 116f.) and Longgu, spoken on Guadalcanal (Hill 1992: 294).⁶²

62. However, in Longgu the construction seems to be limited to the dual, and in Kokota to a pronoun plus personal name. As the phenomenon is not described in much detail in either of these grammars, the accuracy of this impression is unclear.

Chapter 6

The verb complex

The following description of the verb complex, the nucleus of a verbal clause, will start with the structure of individual verbs (Sec. 6.1). Two ‘layers’ of morphology can be identified. The compatibility of morphemes within each of these two layers will be described. After that the functions of these morphemes are presented, first those of the inner layer (Sec. 6.2), then those of the outer layer (Sec. 6.3). This is followed by a short discussion of reduplication on verbs (Sec. 6.4). The last part of this chapter provides an overview of serial verb constructions (SVC hereafter), i.e. constructions consisting of more than one individual verb (Sec. 6.5).

6.1. Structure of individual verb stems

Verbs in Savosavo consist of a verb root, surrounded by two ‘layers’ of morphology. The inner layer, closest to the nucleus, consists of the object marking prefixes and suffixes as well as transitivity-changing morphology, namely the transitivizing suffix *-vi* and the detransitivizing suffix *-za*. The outer layer contains further suffixes, marking tense, aspect, mood, and finiteness, and the nominalization suffix *-ghu* as well as a same-subject marker used in clause chaining constructions. This marker is used on a non-finite verb or SVC when the subject of the following clause is identical to that of the preceding clause. When the subject of the following clause differs from that of the preceding clause no overt marking is used. See Section 8.3 for a more detailed discussion. This can be schematized as follows:

Inner layer	Outer layer
[[(Obj-) V (-Obj/-DETR/-TR-Obj)]]	(-TAM/-FIN/-SS/-NMLZ)]

These two layers are completely independent from each other. In particular, the status of a verb as finite or non-finite does not depend on the presence or absence of inner layer morphemes. A non-finite as well as a nominalized transitive (or transitivized) verb has the same inner layer morphology as the finite forms. If the object is not specified, the third person singular masculine form will be taken as the default for the object affixes.

In the inner layer, only a few morphemes can be combined. Table 42 shows the structural makeup of members of the different verb classes distinguished in Section 4.1.

Table 42. The inner layer of morphology on verb roots and its application to different verb classes. Curly brackets indicate complementary distribution, parentheses mark optionality.

Morphological class		Internal structure	
transitive	stem modification	V	
	prefixing	Obj-	V
	suffixing	V	{ -Obj -za 'DETR' }
	prefixing & suffixing	Obj-	V -Obj
intransitive	can be transitivity	V (-vi 'TR' -Obj)	
	cannot be transitivity	V	
ambitransitive		V	{ { -Obj -za 'DETR' } }

The object marking affixes and the detransitivizing suffix *-za* are in complementary distribution. The transitivity suffix *-vi* has to be followed by an object marking suffix.⁶³

The situation is more complex when we look at the outer layer morphology, which contains all TAM markers and the same-subject marker *-a* used in clause-chaining constructions. Table 43 shows all outer layer morphemes. The suffixes in the left column specify the verb as finite while those in the right column are unspecified with respect to finiteness.⁶⁴

Table 43. Overview of the outer layer morphemes in the verb complex

Finite			Unspecified		
Morpheme	Gloss	Function	Morpheme	Gloss	Function
<i>-i</i>	'FIN'	finite	<i>ta</i>	'FUT'	future
<i>-a</i>	'IMP.SG'	imperative (Sg)	<i>-ale</i>	'BG.IPFV'	background
<i>-lu</i>	'IMP.PL'	imperative (Pl)			imperfective
<i>-tu</i>	'PRS.IPFV'	present imperf.	<i>-ata</i>	'ANT'	anticipatory
<i>-zu</i>	'PST.IPFV'	past imperf.	<i>-a</i>	'SIM'	simultaneous
<i>-atu</i>	'BG.IPFV'	imperfective	<i>-a</i>	'SS'	same subject
<i>-ale</i>	'IRR'	irrealis	Non-finite		
<i>-le</i>	'APPR'	apprehensive	<i>-ghu</i>	'NMLZ'	nominalization

63. The transitivity suffix *-vi* is synchronically not productive. It has only been found occurring on four verb stems, see Section 6.2.2.1.

64. The analysis of the simultaneous suffix *-a* as unspecified with respect to finiteness is tentative; further research may show that it is better described as finite (see discussion in Sec. 6.3.2.3).

All finite suffixes are in complementary distribution with each other and with the nominalizing suffix *-ghu*. All morphemes, the other unspecified markers included, are in complementary distribution with the simultaneous marker *-a* and the same-subjectmarker *-a* used in clause chaining constructions. This complementary distribution may either be due to an incompatibility of the simultaneous and same-subject markers with other TAM markers, or it can be a result of restrictions on TAM marking imposed by the syntactic environment they occur in; neither of these possibilities can be excluded at present.

The three unspecified markers *ta* 'FUT', *-ale* 'BG.IPFV' and *-ata* 'ANT' can occur in combination with some finite outer layer morphemes: The future marker *ta* and the background imperfective marker *-ale* can be followed by *-i* 'FIN'. The latter as well as the anticipatory marker *-ata* can also co-occur with the future marker *ta* plus *-i* 'FIN' and the nominalizing suffix *-ghu*. This is impossible for *ta*. Finally, the anticipatory marker *-ata* can be followed by the imperative suffixes *-a* and *-lu*. These structural possibilities are summarized in Table 44.

Table 44. Possible combinations of *ta* 'FUT', *-ale* 'BG.IPFV' and *-ata* 'ANT' with other outer layer morphemes

V <i>ta</i>	-i 'FIN'
V- <i>ale</i>	{ -i 'FIN' <i>ta</i> -i 'FUT-FIN' - <i>ghu</i> 'NMLZ' }
V- <i>ata</i>	{ <i>ta</i> -i 'FUT-FIN' - <i>a</i> / <i>-lu</i> 'IMP.SG/PL' - <i>ghu</i> 'NMLZ' }

Although the anticipatory suffix *-ata* can occur together with *ta*-i 'FUT-FIN' and other suffixes not compatible with a finite verb form, it has not yet been found to occur with the finiteness suffix *-i* alone. This may be due to the fact that it is commonly used in contexts in which a non-finite verb form is required. The examples in contexts that require a finite verb form all show this suffix in combination with one of the three listed above. It seems likely that *-ata* can be combined with *-i* 'FIN', but more data is needed to have evidence of this.

Some of the morphemes listed above are very similar to each other, or indeed homophones, e.g. *-atu* 'BG.IPFV' and *-tu* 'PRS.IPFV', *-ale* 'BG.IPFV', *-ale* 'IRR', and *-le* 'APPR', or *-a* 'SIM', *-a* 'SS' and *-a* 'IMP.SG'. The ones that are formally similar have, however, different distributions as parts of different paradigms and are not interchangeable. As for the suffix *-a*, it can only have one of the three meanings in a given syntactic context, and although the meanings 'SIM' and 'SS' can be seen as different interpretations of a basic meaning of continuity, they are for now analyzed as different morphemes.

In the following section the functions of the inner layer morphology are presented. This is followed by an overview of the outer layer morphology, followed by sections on reduplication and serial verb constructions.

6.2. Inner layer morphology

The inner layer of verbal morphology contains the object marking affixes as well as transitivity-changing suffixes.

6.2.1. Object marking

Objects are indexed by affixes added to the verb root. There are exclusively prefixing verb roots, exclusively suffixing verb roots and a handful of verbs that take both a prefix and a suffix at the same time (see discussion in Sec 4.1.1.1). There is no variability or choice here. Via these affixes, verb stems agree with their object in person, number, and gender. The paradigms are given in Table 45 (cf. Todd 1977: 815f.). In many cases the affixes are formally similar to the corresponding free personal pronouns, repeated here from Section 4.5.1.1 for convenience. This kind of agreement, where the agreement morphology shows “an obvious [phonological] resemblance to the independent pronouns of the language” (Steele 1978: 611), has been termed ‘copy agreement’ by Steele (1978: 612).

Table 45. Object marking affixes. The forms of the free personal pronouns are provided for comparison.

		Prefixes	Suffixes	Pronouns
Sg	1	<i>gn-</i>	<i>-gni</i>	<i>agni</i>
	2	<i>n-</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>no</i>
	3 masc.	<i>l-</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>lo</i>
	3 fem.	<i>k-</i>	<i>-ghi</i>	<i>ko</i>
Du	1 incl.	<i>(mai) gn-</i>	<i>-migni</i>	<i>mai</i>
	1 excl.	<i>(aghe) gn-</i>	<i>-ghigni</i>	<i>aghe</i>
	2	<i>p-</i>	<i>-pi</i>	<i>pe</i>
	3	<i>t-</i>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>to</i>
PL	1 incl.	<i>(mai) gn-</i>	<i>-migni</i>	<i>mai</i>
	1 excl.	<i>(ave) gn-</i>	<i>-vigni</i>	<i>ave</i>
	2	<i>m-</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>me</i>
	3	<i>z-</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>ze</i>

Examples (299), (300) and (301) show a prefixing verb stem, a suffixing verb stem and a stem that takes both prefix and suffix, respectively.

- (299) *Ze=na te ai [lo qana=gha]_{obj} z-ovu-i.*
 3PL=NOM EMPH this DET.PL gun=PL **3PL.O-put-FIN**
 ‘They put up these guns.’ (bk_WWII_103)
- (300) *Ko tada=na boso-ghi(-i).*
 3SG.F[GEN] man=NOM **leave-3SG.F.O(-FIN)**
 ‘Her husband left her.’ (agh_png_036)
- (301) *O, ekati=ze kama t-ave-ti ta-i!*
 o CERT=3PL.NOM already **3DU.O-kill-3DU.O FUT-FIN**
 ‘O, they will kill them (two)!’ (pk_WWII_032)

When a verb takes both a prefix and a suffix, the affixes usually agree with the same object, as in example (301). There is only one verb where this is different. This is the verb *l-ame-li* ‘to give something to someone’, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Under certain circumstances a prefixing verb stem has to be preceded by a personal pronoun (given in round brackets in Tab. 45) referring to the object as well as the prefix.⁶⁵ This happens when:

1. a prefixing verb stem is used as the only verb or as the first transitive verb of a serial verb construction **AND**
2. the object is first person dual or plural

Examples of this are (22), repeated here from page 52 for convenience, and (302). If there is no personal pronoun, the interpretation would be that the first person singular is the object.

- (22) *Te=lo Prime Minister lo [ave]_{obj} gn-ovu*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM Prime Minister 3SG.M[GEN] **1PL.EX 1O-put**
gn-au bo-ghu=e.
 1O-take go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And the Prime Minister sent us (out).’ (js_marine_201)
- (302) “*O, kati lo pa vaka=na ba mai gn-au*
 o CERT DET.SG.M one ship=NOM come **1NSG.IN 1O-take**
ta-i” tei(-i).
 FUT-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘“O, later a ship will come and take us” (he) said.’ (pk_WWII_076)

65. This requirement seems to suggest that the object affixes are pronominal, and not just agreement morphemes. A discussion of this question is provided in Section 6.2.1.1.

This is the only situation where an object NP is obligatory even though the object referent may be clear from the context. Because of this rule there is no ambiguity of number when a first person prefix is used. Note, however, that there is no such rule to solve the ambiguity in the suffix paradigm between the second and third person plural.

As was mentioned above, the verb *l-ame-li* ‘to give something to someone’ is exceptional (as it is in many languages, cf. e.g. Newman 1997; Margetts and Austin 2007). It takes both a prefix and a suffix, which refer to different objects. The suffix on this verb indexes the recipient and shows regular agreement, making use of the full paradigm in Table 45, but the prefix does not show regular agreement. Usually the third person singular masculine form is used. When another form is used (see below) it becomes clear that the prefix can agree with the theme. The theme is indeed usually third person singular masculine, because themes of ‘give’ are commonly inanimate objects, and inanimate objects are by default masculine singular in Savosavo. However, this form of the prefix is also found when the theme is dual or plural (303), feminine (304) or non-third person (305).

- (303) *Te=lo* [lo *edo kilekile=gha*]_{obj}
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM DET.SG.M two axe=PL
l-eme-ti-a *te lo* *tei-ghu=e*:
 3SG.M.O-give-3DU.O-SS CONJ 3SG.M[GEN] say-NMLZ=EMPH
 “*Gnari no=na ai lo, ngai no=na ai lo.*”
 small 2SG=NOM this DET.SG.M big 2SG=NOM this DET.SG.M
 ‘And he gave them two axes and said: “You younger one this, you elder one this.”’
 (st_cs_vangazua_117)
- (304) “*Pe* [*pa adaki gnuba*]_{obj} *l-ame-gni* *kia*
 2DU[GEN] one woman child 3SG.M.O-give-1SG.O if
ai ka liaza-ghu=e” *tei(-i)*.
 1SG.GEN already return-NMLZ=EMPH say(-FIN)
 ‘“If you (two) give me a girl I will go back” (he) said.’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_234)
- (305) *Agni=na* [*agni*]_{obj} *l-ame-ni*.
 1SG=NOM 1SG 3SG.M.O-give-2SG.O
 ‘I give myself to you.’ (094_001_srb)

Although the third person singular masculine is used most of the time, there are a few examples of a third person plural prefix that agrees with a third person plural theme⁶⁶, e.g. example (306).

66. There are at the moment no examples with a first or second person plural theme in the corpus.

- (306) ...[*edo erongo=gha*]_{obj} *ai* *kati*
two something=PL 1SG.GEN CERT
z-ame-mi-ghu=e.
3PL.O-give-2PL.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...two things I will give you.’ (js_marine_254)

Especially with a female animate theme (304) the feminine prefix form is also accepted by speakers (304’).

- (304’) “*Pe* [*pa adaki gnuba*]_{obj} *k-ame-gni* *kia ai*
 2DU[GEN] one woman child **3SG.F.O-give-1SG.O** if 1SG.GEN
ka liaza-ghu=e” *tei(-i)*.
 already return-NMLZ=EMPH say(-FIN)
 ‘“If you (two) give me a girl I will go back” (he) said.’

But there are no examples of this kind in the spontaneous texts of the corpus collected so far.

In serial verb constructions, this verb serves as a means of giving argument status to a benefactive, see the description in Section 6.5.3.1.

6.2.1.1. Object affixes: agreement or pronominal suffixes?

In some languages, the distribution of bound object morphology on verbs and overt object NPs provides strong evidence for analyzing the morphemes as agreement or as pronominal: if the overt NPs and the bound morphology are in complementary distribution, the bound morphemes are pronominal, if the overt NPs are obligatory whether or not the bound morphology is present, the bound morphemes are agreement markers. In Savosavo, object affixes are obligatory on transitive verbs, and overt object NPs are optional in most contexts (there is one context in which an overt object NP is obligatory, and one context in which no overt NP can be used, see discussion below). This situation does not provide evidence for either analysis. One could analyze the affixes as agreement morphology, and say that it is possible to drop overt object NPs, or one could analyze the affixes as pronominal, and regard the overt NPs as extensions.

While the truth probably lies somewhere in the middle, I analyze the object affixes in Savosavo as agreement morphology, and not as pronominal suffixes. I will start by presenting the counterarguments before turning to the arguments supporting my analysis.

Based on the criteria provided by Corbett (2006: 103ff.), the arguments for an analysis of the Savosavo agreement morphology as pronominal suffixes are as follows:

1. While it is possible to use only a verb with object marking, without any overt object NP, subjects, which are not indicated by morphology on the verb, cannot usually be dropped.
2. The prefix used on prefixing transitive verbs does not distinguish number in the first person, it is always *gn-*. When the object is non-singular first person, a prefixing verb that is the only or the first verb in a clause has to be preceded by a free non-singular first person pronoun (e.g. (*agni gn-au* ‘take me’, but *aghe gn-au* ‘take us (dual exclusive)’; cf. Sec. 6.2.1, p. 165 above). This is the only context in which an overt object NP is obligatory. The free pronoun seems to be necessary to establish the reference in this case; but note that there is also syncretism in the suffix paradigm involving the second and third person plural, which does not require any free pronoun to be added (e.g. *rami-mi* ‘pelt you (PL)/them (PL)’).

Although these two arguments against the agreement analysis may seem quite convincing, there are more and, in my view, stronger arguments that support the agreement analysis adopted in this grammar:

1. Only the object, but not the subject, is indicated by means of morphology on the verb; this is according to Corbett (2006: 103) typical in “the indisputable instances of verb agreement”, while pronominal affixes “typically [...] index all main arguments”.
2. On the verb *l-ame-li* ‘to give something to someone’, the suffix indicates the recipient and the prefix the theme. The suffix shows the full range of distinctions in person, number and gender available to object marking affixes, but the paradigm for the prefix is severely restricted (cf. Sec. 6.2.1 above). Although this leads to extensive syncretism, an overt NP is no more obligatory for the theme than for the recipient.
3. In serial verb constructions consisting of more than one transitive verb sharing the same object referent, each and every verb has to have the appropriate object marking. According to Corbett (2006: 109), “[i]f there is more than one target within the clause (that is, if the marker in question is not unique), then we are dealing with agreement”, a heuristic that “is based on the intuition that we do not expect a pronoun to be repeated”.
4. Relativization of objects provides the last argument in favor of the agreement analysis. If an object is relativized, the verb in the relative clause still has to have the appropriate object marking, but it is not possible to use any overt NP (cf. Sec. 8.2.1). The only exception to this rule is again the obligatory non-singular first person personal pronoun that is required if a prefixing verb is the only or first verb in the clause, at least in relative clauses formed with *sua* ‘ATT’ (cf. Sec. 8.2.1.2, p. 260). Despite this exception, the ban on overt object NPs in relative clauses where the object is relativized is seen as evidence

against an analysis of overt NPs as extensions of pronominal object affixes. If the affixes were pronominal and fully referential, why should it be prohibited to use an extensional NP, and only in this context? When the complement of a postposition (which agrees with its complement by prefixes from the same paradigm used by verbs) is relativized, there can be a pronoun NP in addition to the prefix on the postposition inside the relative clause. Analyzing the affixes as agreement with the external head of the relative clause seems to me a more convincing analysis.

Thus, although the object marking in Savosavo is not a canonical agreement system, and in particular the obligatory non-singular first person pronoun required in some contexts is problematic, I analyze the object marking affixes as agreement morphology for the time being.

6.2.2. Transitivity-changing devices

Savosavo has two transitivity-changing suffixes. The suffix *-vi* derives a transitive stem from an intransitive root, whereas the suffix *-za* derives an intransitive stem from a transitive or ambitransitive root. The following sections describe these two suffixes in more detail.

6.2.2.1. The transitivity-changing suffix *-vi*

The suffix *-vi* is not productive, but is only used with four intransitive verbs in my data: *raghe* ‘run’, *sara* ‘reach’, *sogha* ‘jump’ and *tete* ‘balance’. The suffix is directly attached to the verb stem and followed by an obligatory object suffix. The following table shows the resulting forms (in the usual default citation form, i.e. with a third person masculine object suffix):

<i>raghe</i> ‘run’	+ <i>-vi</i> + <i>-li</i> ‘-3SG.M.O’	→ <i>raghe-vi-li</i> ‘to run to so. or sth.’
<i>sara</i> ‘reach’	+ <i>-vi</i> + <i>-li</i> ‘-3SG.M.O’	→ <i>sara-vi-li</i> ‘to reach so. or sth.’
<i>sogha</i> ‘jump’	+ <i>-vi</i> + <i>-li</i> ‘-3SG.M.O’	→ <i>sogha-vi-li</i> ‘to jump at so. or sth.’
<i>tete</i> ‘balance’	+ <i>-vi</i> + <i>-li</i> ‘-3SG.M.O’	→ <i>tete-vi-li</i> ‘to balance on sth.’

Although it is not productive, *-vi* is here analyzed as a transitivity-changing suffix, and the transitive forms as derived.

Similarity in form and function suggests that the diachronic origin of *-vi* could be the Proto-Oceanic transitivity-changing suffix **-i* (cf. Lynch et al. (2002: 44), Crowley (2002b: 34)). Similar in form, but slightly different in function, is the causative suffix *-ri* in the neighboring Papuan language Lavukaleve (Terrill 2003:

359ff.), which introduces a new subject while demoting the subject of the intransitive verb to the object of the derived form. In contrast to Savosavo *-vi*, it is “by far the most productive of the word-class changing affixes” (Terrill 2003: 360).⁶⁷

Transitive verbs in Solomon Islands Pijin have the ending *-im*. On some verbs borrowed into Savosavo, this is just omitted. *Kuki(-li)* ‘to cook (something)’ for example, from Pijin *kuki* ‘to cook’ and *kukim* ‘to cook something’, is an ambitransitive verb stem in Savosavo and shows no trace of the ending *-im*.⁶⁸ Occasionally, however, it is not lost but gets reanalyzed during borrowing into Savosavo. As syllables in Savosavo cannot end with a consonant, /u/ is added after /m/. The vowel /i/ is reanalyzed as part of the verb stem, especially when it is directly preceded by a consonant. The remaining /mu/ is not analyzed uniformly. On some lexemes, it is also analyzed as part of the verb stem, which is then treated as an ambitransitive verb that can occur with or without object suffixes, e.g. *batisimu(-li)* ‘to be baptized, to baptize someone’, from Pijin *baptaes* ‘to be baptized’ and *baptaesim* ‘to baptize someone’ in Pijin (Jourdan and Maebiru 2002: 14). On others, /mu/ is only found on the transitive forms. For example, parallel to the Pijin lexemes *ring* ‘to make a telephone call’ and *ringim* ‘to give someone a call’ (Jourdan and Maebiru 2002: 188), *ringi* is used in Savosavo as an intransitive verb, with the transitive counterpart *ringimu-li* ‘to give him a call’.⁶⁹ This can be analyzed in two different ways: In one possible analysis, *ringi* was borrowed as an intransitive verb root and /mu/ was reanalyzed as a transitivizing suffix parallel to *-vi*. In that case, the transitive form would have to be analyzed as *ringi-mu-li* ‘make.a.call-TR-3SG.M.O’. The other possible analysis is that the intransitive and transitive forms were borrowed separately into Savosavo, so that there are both *ringi* ‘to make a call’ as an intransitive verb root and *ringimu-li* ‘to give someone a call’ as a transitive verb root. Neither analysis can be ruled out at the moment, and they are in fact not incompatible. Maybe pairs like those given above became segmentable in Savosavo after a large enough number of them was borrowed.⁷⁰

67. In both cases the similarity could also be due to chance, given the small number of vowels in the languages involved, although the similarity in function supports the hypothesis that they are diachronically connected.

68. It is possible that this lexeme was borrowed directly from English, not from Pijin. Indeed, the presence or absence of a trace of *-im* could be seen as indicative of the source language. Further research is needed before anything can be said with certainty.

69. The transitive form *batisimu-li* ‘to baptize someone’ is the causative of *batisimu* ‘to be baptized’, but with *ringi* vs. *ringimu-li* the difference is only in the presence or absence of the object. Whether this difference has anything to do with the observed difference in borrowing is unclear at present.

70. Thanks to Bernard Comrie for pointing this out.

6.2.2.2. *The detransitivizing suffix -za*

This suffix derives intransitive verb stems from some transitive and ambitransitive verb stems that index objects only by means of suffixes. It is lexically determined what changes will occur in the argument structure of a given verb when *-za* is added. There are three possibilities:

1. The subject is demoted and removed, the object is promoted to subject position.
2. The subject is unchanged, only the object is removed.
3. Both subject and object are removed and are replaced by a subject that is a semantic cognate of the verb, e.g. ‘a shout’ in case of a verb ‘to shout’.

The first pattern is the most frequent one; an example is given in (307) (transitive in (307a) and intransitive in (307b)).

- (307) a. [*Karoti*]_{obj}=*lo*_{Subj} *te* ***tozo-li(-i)***
 carrot=3SG.M.NOM EMPH cut-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘He cut (a) carrot.’ (09a-cgh_cb)
- b. [*Lo* *karoti*]_{Subj}=*na* ***tozo-za-i***
 DET.SG.M carrot=NOM cut-DETR-FIN
 ‘The carrot is cut.’ (09p2-ws_cb)

An example for the second pattern is the verb *ghogho-li* ‘to swear at someone or something’ ((308), transitive in (308a) and intransitive in (308b)).

- (308) a. ...*te*=*ze*_{Subj} ***ghogho-li*** *te*=*ze*...
 CONJ=3PL.NOM swear-3SG.M.O CONJ=3PL.S
 ‘...and they swear at him and they...’ (ap_custom_077)
- b. *Ai lo* *taemu*=*la*=*ze*_{Subj} *mane* *oma*
 this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M=3PL.NOM consecutively not
ghogho-za(-a)=*ze*.
swear-DETR(-SIM)=3PL.NOM
 ‘This time they don’t swear.’ (jv_tarai_167)

Only a few verbs, all of them ambitransitive, have so far been found to follow the third pattern: *kanga(-li)* ‘to shout (to someone or something)’, *leka(-li)* ‘to laugh (about someone or something)’, *onea(-li)* ‘to listen (to someone)’, and *rongorong(-li)* ‘to tell a story’. For example, in the case of *kanga(-li)* ‘to shout (to someone or something)’ the person that shouts will be the subject when this verb is used transitively or intransitively (309a, 309b). In contrast, the subject of the intransitive verb derived by *-za* denotes the speech or shout that is uttered (309c).

- (309) a. *Te=lo*_{Subj} **kanga-ti** *t-au* *ba-i-a*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM **shout-3DU.O** 3DU.O-take come-EP-SS
te=lo *tei(-i)*...
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM say(-FIN)
 ‘And he shouted to them (two) and said...’ (ap_cs_kakula_063)
- b. *Te* [*lo* *konga~kongali-za*⁷¹ *sua*
 And DET.SG.M REDUP~ worship-DETR ATT.SG.M
mapa]_{Subj}=*na* **kanga** *te=lo* *l-aka* *tei(-i)*...
 person=NOM **shout** CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M-to say(-FIN)
 ‘And the priest (lit. worshipping person) shouted and said to him...’
 (ap_biti_034)
- c. [*Vere*]_{Subj}=*na* **kanga-za-i**.
 speech=NOM **shout-DETR-FIN**
 ‘The speech/word rang out/sounded/was shouted.’ (041_elicitation)

Neighboring Lavukaleve has a detransitivizing suffix *-a* (Terrill 2003: 362f.) that is similar in form and function to the Savosavo suffix *-za*, though it is not very productive; it has only been found on a handful of verbs so far (Terrill 2003: 362). When intransitive verbs are derived by means of *-a*, either the subject or the object becomes “the sole argument of the intransitivised verb” (Terrill 2003: 362), as with the first two patterns of detransitivization in Savosavo. But in Lavukaleve, the suffix *-a* can also occur with some intransitive verbs “to give them an iterative or intensified meaning” (Terrill 2003: 362).⁷²

6.3. Outer layer morphology

In the outer layer of verb morphology we find markers for tense, aspect, mood and finiteness, as well as the same-subject marker used in clause chaining constructions.

6.3.1. Finiteness

Depending on the clause type (see Ch. 7 and Ch. 8), either a finite or a non-finite verb is required. Finite verbs are heads of verbal main clauses. Non-finite

71. Example (309b) also contains a verb form with *-za*. The verb *kongali* follows the second pattern, i.e. the subject of the transitively used verb and that of the verb form with *-za* will be the same.

72. As in the case of the transitivity suffix *-vi* (cf. Sec. 6.2.2.1), the similarity in form could be due to chance, but as the morphemes are similar in function as well, the hypothesis that there is a diachronic connection seems reasonable to me.

verb forms can be made finite by the finiteness marker *-i* or by one of the finite TAM markers (see Tab. 43). There is no overt marking of non-finite verbs, e.g. in subordinate clauses. They can occur with or without one of the unspecified TAM markers.

The finiteness suffix *-i* can be the only outer layer morpheme on a finite verb form, as in example (310), or combine with most TAM markers unspecified for finiteness, see Table 44 on page 163 and examples (311) and (312).

- (310) *Vangazua=na siko-i.*
 Vangazua=NOM **steer-FIN**
 ‘Vangazua steered.’ (st_cs_vangazua_028)
- (311) “*O, elakati=gne ai lo jai sala*
 o CERT=1SG.NOM this DET.SG.M river follow.3SG.M
ka-ghu tovoa-li ta-i” tei(-i).
 move.bushwards-NMLZ **try-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN** say(-FIN)
 ‘“O, I will try to follow this river inland” (he) said.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_067)
- (312) *Te pa olomane=na ota epi-ale-i.*
 CONJ one old.man=NOM there **sit-BG.IPFV-FIN**
 ‘And there was an old man sitting there.’ (ej_cs_turibibinu_063)

A finite verb without further specification of TAM is by default interpreted as past perfective (310, 313). Often adverbs or temporal adjuncts specify when the event took place (314, 315).

- (313) *Kise-ghu=na te pala-i.*
 fight-NMLZ=NOM EMPH **make.3SG.M-FIN**
 ‘(The) fighting caused it [i.e. that the bible college was closed].’
 (jv_tarai_228)
- (314) *Ake ze=no te moibia kabu-i?*
 be.what PA=2SG.NOM CONJ **yesterday move.away-FIN**
 ‘What was wrong with you (lit. you were what) that you ran away yesterday?’
 (jv_tarai_048)
- (315) *Poi=na te ghoi bo-tu lo elegho=la*
 thing=NOM EMPH also **go-REL DET.SG.M year=LOC.M**
ba-i, Murray.
come-FIN M.
 ‘Whatshisname also came last year (lit. the year that went (by)), Murray.’
 (jv_tarai_241)

6.3.2. Tense and aspect

The major tense distinction in Savosavo is between future and non-future. Future is marked overtly and obligatorily by the particle *ta*, and is incompatible with all other TAM markers except *-ata* ‘ANT’. The non-future on the other hand is not always marked, and when it is marked it is in combination with aspect.

Two markers express relative tense. The anticipatory marker *-ata* is used to express that the event has to happen before something else, while the simultaneous marker *-a* signals that two events are happening at the same time. The latter is, however, only used in very specific clause types.

For aspect, the major distinction is between perfective and imperfective. The imperfective is marked overtly. Savosavo has four suffixes that belong to the imperfective category. Two of them contain not only aspectual, but also temporal information. The present imperfective suffix *-tu* is used for events or states ongoing at the time of speaking, while the past imperfective suffix *-zu* is used when the event or state was ongoing at a reference time in the past. The other two imperfective suffixes, *-ale* and *-atu*, do not relate an event or state to a certain time, but rather to another event. They express that at the very time a certain event took place, some other event was ongoing, or a certain state held. In contrast to the past and present imperfective suffixes, these two suffixes can be used to express what was going on in the background when some other, foregrounded event happened, e.g. one that advances the plot of a story. They are therefore termed background imperfectives.

6.3.2.1. The future marker *ta*

The particle *ta* marks that the event encoded by the verb is situated in the relative future (316–318). It is obligatory in normal verbal clauses talking about future events. This morpheme cannot be combined with morphemes marking aspectual categories.

(316) *Apoi=la=me* *k-uma* *ta-i?*
 what=LOC.M=1NSG.IN.NOM 3SG.F.O-feed FUT-FIN
 ‘What will we feed her with?’ (da_cs_kosakosa_089)

(317) *Oma=gne* *k-agma* *ta-i.*
 no=1SG.NOM 3SG.F.O-marry FUT-FIN
 ‘I won’t marry her.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_116)

(318) *Savosavo* *ta=gho*
 speak.savosavo FUT=3SG.F.NOM
 ‘She will speak Savosavo.’ (png-WWII_1_107)

6.3.2.2. *The anticipatory marker -ata*

When the speaker wants to express that something will happen first, before something else, this suffix is used. It is usually used in direct speech, often ordering someone to do something first (319) or announcing what the speaker plans to do before something else will or can be done (320).

- (319) “*Ata tau-gni-ata(-a)*” *tei(-i).*
 here **wait-1SG.O-ANT(-IMP.SG)** say(-FIN)
 ‘“Wait here for me first” (she) said.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_213)

- (320) “*Te=gne bo ai kukua=zalo zua-ti-ata*”
 CONJ=1SG.NOM go 1SG.GEN gen.2=DU **ask-3DU.O-ANT**
tei(-i).
 say(-FIN)
 ‘“Then I will go and ask my grandparents first.” (she) said.’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_214)

It is also occasionally used to express that one event preceded another (321, 322).

- (321) *Ze-va gn-ovu gn-au ‘O, pa vaka=ze ota*
 3PL-GEN.M 1O-put 1O-take o one ship=3PL.NOM there
l-au tei(-i)’ tei kia, agni bo gnaghoi
 3SG.M.O-take want.to.do(-FIN) say when 1SG go be.first
l-eghe-ata-ghu=e.
3SG.M.O-see-ANT-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When they got me and said ‘O, they want to take a ship (from) there’, I
 would go first and look at it first.’ (js_marine_102)

- (322) *Te=lo memere vazu keva(-a)ta.*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM little.bit bud **do.all.about-ANT**
 ‘(Those pana tubers that will be planted again are put on a high bed) And
 then they all first germinate a bit (before they are planted).’
 (ap_manga_056)

A verb complex containing *-ata* ‘ANT’ may be nominalized, as in example (321); another example for this is (323). This suffix can also co-occur with the future particle (324). However, both of these options are only rarely found in the corpus.

- (323) *Dai=e no buata-ghu.*
 good=EMPH 2SG **go.ANT-NMLZ**
 ‘It would be good for you to go.’ (ap_jeff_beki_035)

- (324) *O, ave=na ata izi-ata ta-i.*
 o 1PL.EX=NOM here **sleep-ANT FUT-FIN**
 ‘O, we will sleep here first (before we continue the journey).’
 (cr_cs_savokiki_028)

6.3.2.3. The simultaneous marker *-a*

The simultaneous marker *-a* is used to indicate that two events are happening at the same time. It only occurs in very specific clause types: the simultaneous clause construction ((325); see Sec. 8.2.2.4) and basic verbal clauses with a verb complex followed by an enclitic personal pronoun ((326); see Sec. 7.1.1, p. 200).

- (325) *Kokoroko=na ngia ze ka bo-ghu=e*
 chicken=NOM **cry.SIM** 3PL[GEN] already go-NMLZ=EMPH
lo=na.
 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘As the rooster crowed, they went already.’, lit ‘As the rooster crowed
 their already going (was) it.’ (ej_cs_botoli_073)
- (326) *Ba-i-a=ze kama.*
come-EP-SIM=3PL.NOM already
 ‘They are coming already.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_194)

In the second case, when no other event is specified, the event marked with *-a* ‘SIM’ is simultaneous with the moment of the utterance. Note that *-a* ‘SIM’ is only used in these clauses when the subject is expressed by an enclitic personal pronoun following the verb (cf. Sec. 7.1.1.1); in all other cases (i.e. when the subject is expressed by an NP, or when the enclitic pronoun attaches to an object NP or any other clausal constituent preceding the verb complex) the present imperfective suffix *-tu* has to be used (see Sec. 6.3.2.4).

The suffix *-a* ‘SIM’ was tentatively analyzed as unspecified with respect to finiteness, which is compatible with the two syntactic environments it occurs in. Simultaneous clauses are subordinated to a following main clause and can have a genitive subject, both features usually associated with non-finite verb forms. As for the second environment, an enclitic pronoun can only be attached to a verb complex if it contains either *-a* ‘SIM’, as in example (326), or *ta* ‘FUT’, which is unspecified with respect to finiteness as well (otherwise, a particle *ze* has to be introduced, see Sec. 7.1.1 for details).

The simultaneous marker *-a* is homophonous with the same-subject marker used in clause chaining constructions (see Sec. 8.3), but they are nonetheless analyzed as separate morphemes, at least for the time being. In the syntactic contexts presented above, *-a* can only be interpreted as signalling temporal continuity, while it can only be interpreted as signalling continuity with respect to the subject participant when it is used on a non-finite verb in a clause chain (see Sec. 8.3.2).

6.3.2.4. *The present and past imperfective markers -tu and -zu*

Both *-tu* ‘PRS.IPFV’ and *-zu* ‘PST.IPFV’ render a verb finite. The present imperfective suffix *-tu* is used when the event is ongoing at the time of speaking (327, 328).

(327) *Agni=na p-aka te mare-tu!*
 1SG=NOM 2DU-with EMPH **joke-PRS.IPFV**
 ‘I am just joking with you!’ (ap_cs_kakula_076)

(328) *Ala=no bo-tu.*
 where=2SG **go-PRS.IPFV**
 ‘Where are you going?’ (es_cs_kakamora_018)

The only situation where *-tu* cannot occur is when the subject is encoded by an enclitic personal pronoun following the verb. In this case, the simultaneous marker *-a* will be used (see Sec. 6.3.2.3 above and Sec. 7.1.1.1).

The past imperfective marker *-zu* expresses that the event was ongoing at a specific moment in the past (329, 330).

(329) *Te=gho epi-atu lo pa kanita*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM sit-BG.IPFV DET.SG.M one school.tuna
melo=na ghogho-a te=lo ba
 tuna=NOM splash-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM come
sara-vi-ghi-zu.
reach-TR-3SG.F.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘And she was still sitting there when a school of tuna was splashing around and coming up to her.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_191)

(330) *Ze-va eareti=la ngoi-li-tu lo*
 3PL-GEN.M air.raid.alarm=LOC.M call-3SG.M.O-REL DET.SG.M
erongo=na ngei-zu.
 something=NOM **cry-PST.IPFV**
 ‘The thing they called air raid (alarm) was sounding.’ (pk_WWII_101)

6.3.2.5. *The background imperfective markers -ale and -atu*

Both suffixes have an imperfective meaning. They can only be used with very few commonly used verbs. With other verb stems, a SVC containing *pale* or *patu*, both forms of the verb *pale* ‘stay’, has to be used (see Sec. 6.5.2.2 below). Table 46 shows which verbs can be used with either *-ale* or *-atu* or both. These are the only verbs that could be found so far, despite extensive elicitation.

Table 46. Verb stems found with *-ale* and *-atu* ‘BG.IPFV’

Verb	<i>-ale</i>	<i>-atu</i>
<i>epi</i> ‘sit’	✓	✓
<i>alu</i> ‘stand’	✓	✓
<i>l-ate</i> ‘hold’	✓	✓
<i>taunga</i> ‘remain’	✓	✓
<i>l-omaqa</i> ‘carry’	✓	—
<i>izi</i> ‘sleep’	✓	—
<i>l-au</i> ‘take’	—	✓
<i>tabu</i> ‘be.whole’	—	✓

Both suffixes are used to provide background information for another event. One of these suffixes, *-ale*, is semantically a bit more general. It is used to express that an action is ongoing at the moment the reference event takes place (331, 332).

- (331) *Lo=na bua lo kaunga lo-ma adaki*
 3SG.M=NOM go.SIM 3SG.M elder 3SG.M-GEN.SG.F woman
gnuba k-eghe-a=gho te epi-ale-i.
 child 3SG.F.O-see-SIM=3SG.F.NOM EMPH sit-BG.IPFV-FIN
 ‘As he went he saw the chief’s daughter sitting (there).’
 (bd_cs_tonelo_213)

- (332) *Zu Kukui=na ghoi pa atale pise=gha*
 and/but Kukui=NOM also one ten bamboo.seperation=PL
lava molo=lo te ghoi
 PROPR.SG.M bamboo=3SG.M EMPH also
l-omaqa-(a)le-i.
 3SG.M.O-carry-BG.IPFV-FIN
 ‘And Kukui was also carrying a (piece of) bamboo that had ten segments.
 (If he had met his wife and daughter he would have killed and cooked
 them in it)’
 (ap_kukui_058)

The other suffix, *-atu*, has an additional meaning component, it is used for actions that are **still** ongoing at the time when the reference event takes place (333).

- (333) *To=na epi-atu lo sua=na kama*
 3DU=NOM sit-BG.IPFV DET.SG.M giant=NOM already
ba-zu.
 come-PST.IPFV
 ‘They (two) were still sitting there as the giant was coming.’
 (ap_cs_kakula_062)

There seems to be a tendency for *-atu* to occur in initial conjuncts and for *-ale* to occur in final conjuncts.

The suffix *-atu* is also found in negated clauses to express that something has not happened yet (i.e., that it is still not the case that something has happened), see example (334).

- (334) *Oma=no pa dai levolevo gn-aka savu-li-atu.*
 no=2SG.NOM one good talk 1-to **tell-3SG.M.O-BG.IPFV**
 ‘[He already told her that he loves her and wants to marry her. She hasn’t yet, so he says:] You still haven’t told me a good talk (or: you haven’t told me a good talk yet).’ (ap_jeff_beki_261)

Note that, in the context of a negated clause, *-atu* can be used with all verbs tested so far, not just the selection of verbs given above for the background imperfective usage, whereas the SVC with *patu*, which is used with all other verbs to express background imperfectivity, cannot be used in negated clauses like *-atu* can.

6.3.3. Mood

Savosavo has markers for the imperative distinguishing singular and non-singular addressee. Furthermore there is an apprehensive suffix expressing the fear that something undesirable might happen. An irrealis suffix that is formally similar to one of the background imperfective suffixes, *-ale*, is used for prohibitions as well as in the apodosis of hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses (see Sec. 8.2.2.1).

6.3.3.1. The imperative markers *-a* and *-lu*

The strongest way to order someone to do something is by using the suffixes *-a* and *-lu* for one or more addressees respectively, see examples (335) and (336). Note that this is the only context where there is any verb agreement with the subject of the clause, namely in number.

- (335) *E, liaza ba-i-a!*
 e **move.back come-EP-IMP.SG**
 ‘E, come back! (addressing one person)’ (jk_mat_061)
- (336) *Kao ba-lu!*
 bushwards **come-IMP.PL**
 ‘Come bushwards (addressing more than one person)!’ (ej_cs_gnero_018)

6.3.3.2. The apprehensive marker *-le*

This suffix is used to express the fear that the event described by the clause might happen, see examples (337) to (339). This function has received different labels in the literature, e.g. ‘timitive’ (Palmer 2001: 131), ‘apprehensional’ Lichtenberk (1995), and ‘lest’, ‘apprehensive’ or ‘evitative’ (cf. Evans 2007: 392).

- (337) *Lo-va no ghoi n-ali n-ou-le.*
 3SG.M-GEN.M 2SG also 2SG.O-hit 2SG.O-eat-APPR
 ‘Lest he kills and eats you, too.’ (ap_kukui_033)
- (338) *Pe bo kia, sika=pe ai lo lo*
 2DU[GEN] go when don’t=2DU.NOM this DET.SG.M 3SG.M[GEN]
mola l-au zaba-(a)le; ko
 canoe 3SG.M.O-take become.visible-IRR 3SG.F[GEN]
lo-va roroko l-eghe-le.
 3SG.M-GEN.M small.plank.canoe 3SG.M.O-see-APPR
 ‘When you (two) go, don’t you let this canoe of his (the dead giant) be seen, lest she (the giant’s wife) sees his canoe.’ (st_cs_vangazua_134)
- (339) *“Ei, sika=no ai lo vata tarai=la buale;*
ei don’t=2SG.NOM this DET.SG.M kind pray=LOC.M go.IRR
no ave-le” tei(-i).
 2SG[GEN] die-APPR say(-FIN)
 ‘“Ei, don’t you go to this kind of church, lest you die” (they) said.’ (jv_tarai_128)

6.3.3.3. The irrealis marker *-ale*

While a distinction between realis and irrealis is very important in many Papuan languages (cf. Foley 1986), in Savosavo the irrealis marker *-ale* is only used for prohibitions (cf. Sec. 7.3.3 and Sec. 7.3.4) and in the apodosis of hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses (cf. Sec. 8.2.2.1). The prohibitions are introduced by the particle *sika* ‘don’t’ (340).

- (340) *Sika=no ave gn-aka vere-ale!*
 don’t=2SG.NOM 1PL.EX 1-with speak-IRR
 ‘Don’t you talk with us!’ (pk_mk_mt_069)

Conditionals of the type ‘if only x, then y’ are either used to express counterfactuals, i.e. situations that could not or did not happen (341, 342), or hypothetical situations, e.g. wishes that seem to be unrealistic or difficult to fulfill at the moment, but might come true (see example (343); see also Sec. 8.2.2.1).

- (341) *Agni oma tei sua vere savu-li sua*
 1SG not be.like.this ATT.SG.M word tell-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M
monei=gho oma buale.
if.only=3SG.F.NOM not go.IRR
 ‘If only I had not said such a word, she wouldn’t have gone.’
 (es_cs_kakamora_126)
- (342) *Pio, lo=la ave sua erongo monei*
 man 3SG.M=LOC.M die ATT.SG.M something **if.only**
ave=na ka ave-ale.
 1PL.EX=NOM already **die-IRR**
 ‘Man, if it was something one would die from, we would have died already.’
 (jv_tarai_140)
- (343) *Ai ko adaki gnuba ai k-au*
 this DET.SG.F woman child 1SG.GEN 3SG.F.O-take
k-agma-ghu monei, ai-va ae-ghu
 3SG.F.O-marry-NMLZ **if.only** 1SG.GEN-GEN.M be.married-NMLZ
lo pale k-aka taunga-ghu monei, dai toa
 3SG.M[GEN] inside 3SG.F-with remain-NMLZ **if.only** good really
taunga-ghu=la=ghe taunga-(a)le.
 remain-NMLZ=LOC.M=1DU.EX.NOM **remain-IRR**
 ‘If only I married this girl, if only I was in my marriage with her, we would have a very good life.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_007)

As the examples show, no finiteness marking is needed with this suffix. This is one criterion to distinguish it from the background imperfective marker *-ale*, another one is that the latter can only be attached to a handful of verb stems, whereas the irrealis marker *-ale* can be used with all verb stems.

6.3.4. The same-subject marker *-a*

This marker is used in clause chaining constructions. It attaches to the non-finite verb or SVC of a non-final clause in the chain and signals that the following clause has the same subject as the preceding clause. If the subject of the following clause is different the verb or SVC remains unmarked ((344); square brackets indicate clause boundaries).

- (344) [*Ai lo Savo molumolu lo-va alea*
 this DET.SG.M Savo island 3SG.M-GEN.PL all
jai=gha=gho same-a] [te=gho
 river=PL=3SG.F.NOM follow.2/3PL.O-SIM CONJ=3SG.F.NOM

pizo-mi z-aju-i].
 drink-3PL.O 3PL.O- finish-FIN

‘She followed all the rivers of this Savo Island and she drank them up.’
 (ap_cs_sekuna_027)

Clause chains as a whole can be nominalized by means of *-ghu*. In this case, the first subject encoding in the chain is usually genitive (see Sec. 8.3.3). Although this means that a clause with a genitive subject can be followed by a clause with a nominative subject, the same-subject marker *-a* is still used as long as the referent is the same (345).

- (345) [*Tei*] [*te to-va ba singe zala-li-a*]
 say CONJ **3DU-GEN.M** come kind.of.vine look.for-3SG.M.O-SS
 [*te=to pata-li l-au*]
 CONJ=**3DU.NOM** separate.rope-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take
ba-i-a] [*te=to piti-ghi-ghu=e*].
 come-EP-SS CONJ=**3DU.NOM** tie-3SG.F.O-NOM=EMPH
 ‘(She) said and they came and looked for singe vine and they cut (and)
 brought it and they tied her up.’ (bi_cs_kakula_118)

The same is true in case of tail-head-linkage, i.e. when the last predicate of the preceding clause is repeated as the first predicate of the following chain. These repeated predicates are treated as normal non-final clauses, except that the subject is usually not mentioned again (cf. Sec. 8.3.4). Example (345) starts with *tei* ‘say’, which is repeated from the preceding clause without mentioning the subject again (which was third person singular feminine). Because the omitted subject of *tei* ‘say’ at the beginning of the clause chain is different from that of the following clause, *-a* ‘SS’ is not used. In contrast, the subject referent in example (346) is identical in both clauses, therefore *-a* ‘SS’ is attached to the first predicate *sodoa-li* ‘to find/meet someone or something’.

- (346) [*Sodoa-li-a*] [*ke=lo l-au ave*]
find-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=**3SG.M.NOM** 3SG.M.O-take 1PL.EX
gn-omata ba-ghu=e lo=na].
 1-at come-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘(He) met him and he took him to us.’ (no_WWII_038)

A more detailed discussion of clause chaining and related phenomena is provided in Section 8.3.

6.4. Reduplication

Reduplication is a derivative process used to change the aktionsart of a verb. The resulting stem has an iterative (347, 348) or durative interpretation (349, 350), depending on the semantics of the verb. As was described in Section 2.4.2, either the first or the first two syllables are reduplicated.

- (347) *Lo karoti=lo te*
 DET.SG.M carrot=3SG.M.NOM EMPH
sodu~ sodu-li l-au gnari-sa-i.
REDUP~ cut.in.two-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take small-VBLZ-FIN
 ‘He cuts the carrot small (i.e. in small pieces).’ (10a-is_cb)
- (348) *Zepo=e mala buringa=ka sogha~ sogha ba-tu*
 3PL=EMPH along.coast.side back=LOC.F **REDUP~ jump** come-REL
ze=na.
 3PL=NOM
 ‘They (a group of dolphins) are the ones who are coming jumping from back there along the coast.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_193)
- (349) *Savokiki=na ota tali~ talighu-ghi-zu,*
 Savokiki=NOM there **REDUP~ go.around-3SG.F.O-PST.IPFV**
ko vali.
 DET.SG.F stingray
 ‘Savokiki (a shark) was circling around the stingray there.’
 (cr_cs_savokiki_140)
- (350) *...lo gnuba=na ngai~ ngai-sa-i.*
 DET.SG.M child=NOM **REDUP~ big-VBLZ-FIN**
 ‘...the child grew up, lit. became big.’ (wr_cs_vulaole_065)

Reduplication can co-occur with markers of tense, aspect, mood and finiteness (349, 350) and with the detransitivizing suffix *-za* (351). The resulting verb stem can be nominalized (352).

- (351) *Viri~ viri-za sue.*
REDUP~ coil-Intr ATT.EMPH
 ‘(It is) coiled up.’ (cp_api_mt_059)
- (352) *...lo gnari keda pala kia, lo-va*
 DET.SG.M small fire make.3SG.M when 3SG.M-GEN.M
rangi~ rangi-li-ghu=e.
REDUP~ heat-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...when making a small fire, he heats it (to dry it over fire, for a long time).’ (ap_qilulu_083)

A reduplicated verb stem can also be used within a SVC, as shown in examples (347), (348) above and (353) below.

- (353) *Ekati=gne ka l-ate*
 CERT=1SG.NOM already 3SG.M.O-hold
zari~ zari-li ta-i.
REDUP~ tear.in.pieces-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘I will hold it and tear it in pieces.’ (jk_mat_090)

Example (354) shows that object marking affixes are already in place when the reduplication comes in: the object marking prefix on the verb stem is reduplicated alongside material from the root.

- (354) “*Te=gne agni=na mai-va dudurongo*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM 1SG=NOM 1NSG.IN-GEN.M everything
lovu~ l-ovu sera-li ze=gne
REDUP~ 3SG.M.O-put do.properly-3SG.M.O CONJ.SS=1SG.NOM
pala sera-li” tei.
 make.3SG.M do.properly-3SG.M.O say
 ‘[After arrival, he orders his brother to stay and prepare the food] “And I put (away) our things properly and make it properly.” (he) said.’
 (bd_cs_tonelo_115)

With suffixing transitive verbs, reduplication can detransitivize the verb stem. The subject of the resulting form will be identical to the subject of the transitive form (in contrast to the effect of the detransitivizing suffix *-za*, which in some cases leads to more complex changes in the argument structure, see Sec. 6.2.2.2). Some examples are:

- rami-li* ‘to pelt so. or sth.’ + CVCV REDUP~ → *rami~rami* ‘to be pelting’
eri-li ‘to push sth. or so.’ + VCV REDUP~ → *eri~eri* ‘to be pushing’
lusi-li ‘to squeeze sth.’ + CV REDUP~ → *lu~lusi* ‘to be squeezing’

This detransitivizing effect is analyzed as a byproduct of the change in aktionsart rather than a primary function of reduplication on verbs. When a transitive verb stem is reduplicated to change the aktionsart, adding a durative or iterative component, the focus is on the action as such, not on the individual object(s). However, this is not a mandatory consequence, see examples (347) and (352) above, both featuring a reduplicated transitive verb with an object suffix.

Example (355) shows a typical situation in which the reduplicated form is used without object suffixes.

- (355) *Kevasala=na epi uka~ukalele-tu,... Lolo=kona*
 Kevasala=NOM sit **REDUP~ play.ukulele-PRS.IPFV** Lolo=NOM.F
lu~ lusi-tu, Martha=kona
REDUP~ squeeze-PRS.IPFV Martha=NOM.F
lu~ lusi-tu, Jenny=kona kola uvi
REDUP~ squeeze-PRS.IPFV Jenny=NOM.F cassava
kira-li-tu.
 peel-3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV
 ‘Kevasala is playing ukulele,... Lolo is squeezing, Martha is squeezing,
 Jenny is peeling cassava.’ (bd_korikori_021)

The speaker describes a scene of pudding making. He wants to express that the subject referents are busy in a certain way. For most subject referents it is implicitly clear what they are acting on, either because it is clear from the verb (the ukulele; note that this is an intransitive verb) or because it is the usual object for this action in such a context (grated coconut). Only for the last subject referent, Jenny, does he use a transitive verb with object marking and an object NP, probably because pudding can be made of different kinds of tubers.

One might ask whether reduplication on verbs is not aspect marking rather than a derivational process changing the aktionsart. The following points are seen as evidence against this:

- As can be seen in those examples where reduplication is found on a verb in a SVC, it has a very restricted scope and just modifies the semantic interpretation of the host verb. In contrast, aspectual marking in Savosavo has always scope over a SVC as a whole. For example, in (348) above the dolphins are not coming again and again, they are jumping again and again while they are coming towards the deictic center. It is therefore also possible to have reduplication on more than one verb within a SVC, as in example (356), which is not possible for aspect marking morphemes.

- (356) *...ze ghajia ze-va tou~ tougha-li*
 3PL[GEN] self 3PL-GEN.M **REDUP~ stab-3SG.M.O**
kaba~ kaba-li
REDUP~ pierce-3SG.M.O
l-ave-li-ghu=e lo=na...
 3SG.M.O-kill-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘...they themselves stabbed and pierced and killed him...’
 (ap_cs_polupolu_057)

- Reduplication is independent of the absence or presence of tense or aspect marking morphemes. For example, it can co-occur with imperfective marking, but it does not have to.
- Reduplication can co-occur with nominalization (see example (352) above), the same-subject marker *-a* (357), and in modifiers derived by the attributive marker *sua* (358).

(357) *K-ali k-ave-ghi-a te=lo*
 3SG.F.O-hit 3SG.F.O-kill-3SG.F.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM
sodu~ sodu-ghi-a te=lo
REDUP~ cut.in.two-3SG.F.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM
due bo duku-li-a te=lo
 bamboo.segment go cut-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM
lo ba due-ghi-ghu=e.
 3SG.M[GEN] come put.in.bamboo-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘(He) killed her and cut her in pieces and went and cut bamboo and put her in the bamboo (to cook her).’ (ap_kukui_012)

(358) *Duku~ duku so=gha=na duku~ duku-tu,*
REDUP~ cut ATT=PL=NOM REDUP~ cut-PRS.IPFV
paso~ paso-a-li⁷³ so=gha=na
REDUP~ take.skin.off-EP-3SG.M.O ATT=PL=NOM
paso-a-li-tu.
 take.skin.off-EP-3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV
 ‘The ones (doing the) cutting (of the vines) are cutting, the ones (doing the) stripping (of the vines) are stripping.’ (ej_cs_botoli_084)

This is impossible for aspect markers, with the exception that *-ale* ‘BG.IPFV’ can occur in nominalized forms.

6.5. Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are commonly used in Savosavo. The criteria for identifying SVCs in Savosavo are that a sequence of verbs in one utterance

- are not linked by any overt conjunctive or subjunctive morpheme **AND**
- share one overt marking of finiteness, tense, aspect and/or mood on the last verb of the sequence.

73. Some verbs have a kind of epenthetic /a/ inserted between the stem and the object suffix, cf. fn. 12, p. 34.

In some cases certain verbs occurring in SVCs have lost some of their lexical content and have been grammaticalized, taking on aspectual or transitivity-changing functions. They can, however, also be used as independent verbs. The remainder of this chapter provides a short overview of SVCs with fully lexical verbs, followed by a description of SVCs with aspectual verbs, and finally a section presenting SVCs with transitivity-changing verbs.

6.5.1. SVCs with fully lexical verbs

This section will provide an overview of what kinds of SVCs are possible in Savosavo. An exhaustive description of SVCs cannot be provided at this stage of research.

In most cases the verbs of a SVC have the same referents as subject and object. The verbs can either describe a sequence of events (359), or the first verb gives information on the manner or directionality of the action described by the second verb (360, 361).

- (359) *Kati=ze ata lo japani=gha=na l-olomi bo*
 CERT=3PL here 3SG.M Japanese=PL=NOM **3SG.M.O-know go**
bomu-li ta-i.
bomb-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘Later the Japanese here will know it, go and bomb it.’ (bk_WWII_021)
- (360) *Lo=la=ze te bome*
 3SG.M=LOC.M=3PL.NOM EMPH **shoot.2/3PL**
z-ave-mi-zu.
3PL.O-kill-3PL.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘With that they shot them dead (i.e. killed them by shooting them).’
 (tt_bd_war_133)
- (361) *...te=ze ghoi raghe liaza ba-ghu=e.*
 CONJ=3PL.NOM also **run return come-NMLZ=EMPH**
 ‘...so they came running back again.’ (pk_WWII_051)

The verbs of a SVC can be modified by preceding locative adjuncts (362–364).

- (362) *...ke=to ai lo bosi polo zu lo uvi*
 CONJ=3DU.NOM this DET.SG.M basket pig and DET.SG.M yam
sake-li kao l-ovu...
lift-3SG.M.O bushwards 3SG.M.O-put
 ‘...and they (two) lifted the basket with pork and the yam and put it ashore...’
 (st_cs_vangazua_140)

- (363) ...*tulola ko ka sogha neu lo jai=la*
 then 3SG.F already **jump** down DET.SG.M river=LOC.M
au bo-ghu=e.
move.down go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...and then she jumped (off the bridge) and went down into the river.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_620)
- (364) *Te ze lo uelesi veghoa-li*
 CONJ 3PL[GEN] DET.SG.M wireless **take.apart-3SG.M.O**
kao Suba Kokoilo kokoilo neu bo
 bushwards Suba Kokoilo kokoilo.tree down **go**
l-ovu-ghu=e.
3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And they took the radio apart and went and put it bushwards at Suba
 Kokoilo under the Kokoilo tree.’
 (bk_WWII022)

Occasionally the verbs of a SVC have different objects (365). Usually the first verb is then *l-au* ‘take’ and the object is the instrument used for the action described by the following verb.

- (365) *Elakati=gne kokoqa l-au p-ali ta-i.*
 CERT=1SG.NOM stick **3SG.M.O-take 2DU.O-hit** FUT-FIN
 ‘I will take a stick and hit you two.’
 (jk_mat_072)

If the first verb is intransitive and the second is transitive, the object of the second verb can either precede both verbs (366), or appear between them (367).

- (366) ...*te=to [ko-va tuvi mane=la alu*
 CONJ=3DU.NOM **3SG.F-GEN.M house side=LOC.M stand**
sua pa kola kekeu]o te ba
 ATT.SG.M one tree mango EMPH come
pia-li-zu.
move.up-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘...and then they came and climbed a mango tree that stood next to her
 house.’
 (ap_cs_kakula_002)
- (367) *Ze pa vudu lo-va bo raghe kola_o*
 3PL[GEN] one friend 3SG.M-GEN.M **go run stick**
duku-li-a te=lo...
cut-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘One of their friends went (and) ran (and) cut a stick and then he...’
 (ap_cs_polupolu_054)

- (370) ...*ke=gho* *t-au* *epi-a ke=gho*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM 3DU.O-take sit-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM
t-uma *t-aju* *tulola to*
3DU.O-feed 3DU.O-finish then 3DU[GEN]
rongorongo-ghu=e.
 tell.story-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...and she seated them and fed them and then they told (their story).’
 (st_cs_vangazua_103)

- If it follows an intransitive verb (with the exception of *zui* ‘to end’), the third person singular feminine prefix will be used:

- (371) *No no* *zili* *k-aju* *kia=no*
 2SG 2SG[GEN] **take.out.of.ground 3SG.F.O-finish** when=2SG
mane *ela kalele* *savevigni* *ba.*
 consecutively little.by.little follow.1PL.EX come
 ‘When you have finished harvesting, you follow us.’
 (bi_cs_kakula_082)

- If it follows *zui* ‘to end’, the third person dual prefix will be used:

- (372) *Liaza te=lo* *ghora kilekile l-au* *tulola*
 ‘return CONJ=3SG.M.NOM shield axe 3SG.M.O-take then
lo *magnigha lo* *dulo adaki=gha z-ali*
 DET.SG.M village 3SG.M[GEN] all woman=PL 3PL.O-hit
te zui t-aju-i.
 CONJ **end 3DU.O-finish-FIN**
 ‘Came back and he took shield and axe and then killed all the women
 of the village off.’
 (wr_cs_poghorog_huliagha_178)

These agreement rules seem to be obligatory and are very consistently applied.

It is not clear at present why these particular prefix forms are used in the respective contexts. As for the third person singular feminine (371), given the very restricted usage of the feminine noun class for higher female animates only, assignment of an inanimate noun to the feminine class fulfills a number of functions. As was described above (see Sec. 4.2.1.1), one such function is to form diminutives and, possibly, the marking of discourse relevance. It seems as if not only the assignment to the feminine class is utilized to emphasize that something extraordinary is going on, but also the associated morphology itself. A SVC consisting of an intransitive verb plus *k-aju* is not transitive in the sense that it governs a nominal object. If anything, the event described by the preceding verb(s)

74. Some verbs have a kind of epenthetic /a/ inserted between the stem and the object suffix, cf. fn. 12, p. 34.

could be seen as determining the object agreement of *k-aju*. But if that was the case, it would make no difference if the preceding verb is transitive or not, the agreement on the grammaticalized verb should always be determined by the preceding verb(s), and thus would be expected to be the same in all cases. That this is not the case is evidence that the third person singular feminine (instead of the default masculine form) is used because there is no way of detransitivizing transitive verbs with a prefix-slot, and therefore the slot has to be filled although there is no object to agree with. The default form would still indicate that there is an object, maybe just a semantically empty filler, but this is not the case, and so the ‘marked’ form of the paradigm (‘marked’ meaning less frequent and unusual) is used to signal this extraordinary situation.

6.5.2.2. Background imperfective: SVC with *pale/patu* ‘stay’

For most verbs, the background imperfective aspect has to be expressed by a SVC with *pale* or *patu*, since only very few verbs can take the suffixes *-ale* and *-atu* (cf. Sec. 6.3.2.5). Both *pale* and *patu* are forms of the verb ‘stay’ and can be used alone, outside the context of a SVC. *Pale* is taken to be the basic form of the verb, because it is non-finite and found with outer layer morphemes such as *-ale* ‘IRR’, *-tu* ‘PRS.IPFV’, *-i* ‘FIN’, *-a* ‘SIM’, *-a* ‘SS’ and *-a/-lu* ‘IMP.SG/PL’. In contrast, *patu* cannot take any outer layer morphemes and is thus regarded as finite. It seems reasonable to assume that the background imperfective suffixes *-ale* and *-atu* developed from these verb forms, even more so as the only verbs that occur with these suffixes are highly frequent. To use *patu* and *pale* in a SVC to express background imperfective may have been the first step in grammaticalization, and the suffixes *-atu* and *-ale* might represent the next step, the free forms *pale* and *patu* fusing into one word form with those verb stems they occur with most commonly.

Typologically it is not surprising that these verb forms are used to express imperfective aspect, as “[m]any languages of the world use the form ‘stay’ to express [progressive/habitual aspect].” (Crowley 1987: 57).

The functions of *pale* and *patu* in SVCs are equivalent to those of the respective suffixes: both *pale* and *patu* can be used to provide background information. Like *-ale*, *pale* is used to express that something is going on while something else happens (373, 374).

(373) *Ba suba=la lo mala qele-a ka*
 come garden=LOC.M 3SG.M along.coast.side look-SIM already
k-eghe-a=gho aghavaza pale-i.
 3SG.F.O-see-SIM=3SG.F.NOM hang.down BG.IPFV-FIN

‘As (he) came to the garden and he looked along the coast, he already saw her hanging there.’ (es_cs_kakamora.176)

- (374) *Lo=na kulo sobo pale-i.*
 3SG.M=NOM seawards float **BG.IPFV-FIN**
 ‘[He was not paddling backwards towards the shore at that time.] He was
 floating seawards (i.e. out on the sea).’ (cr_cs_savokiki_267)

In contrast to that, and similar to *-atu*, *patu* means that something is **still** going on (375, 376).

- (375) *Ko susuru patu lo pa majali=na*
 3SG.F[GEN] **be.pregnant BG.IPFV** DET.SG.M one ghost=NOM
te k-aka savu-li...
 EMPH 3SG.F-to tell-3SG.M.O
 ‘She was still pregnant when a ghost came and told her...’
 (wr_cs_vulaole_047)
- (376) *Agni=na dada patu.*
 1SG=NOM **be.afraid BG.IPFV**
 ‘I was still afraid.’ (jv_tarai_053)

6.5.2.3. Ingressive: SVC with *alu* ‘stand’

A serial verb construction consisting of the verb *alu* ‘to stand (be standing)’⁷⁵ followed by another verb is used to express that the subject has started doing something:

- (377) *Bo sara tulola to-va kama alu qore-ghu=e.*
 go reach then 3DU-GEN.M already **stand dig-NMLZ=EMPH**
 ‘Arrived there and then they started digging.’ (ap_cs_kakula_053)
- (378) *Qola=la ko avu sara tulola ko ka*
 doorway=LOC.M 3SG.F[GEN] exit reach then 3SG.F[GEN] kama
alu raghe-ghu=e.
stand run-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When she went out of the doorway she started running.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_593)

6.5.3. SVCs with verbs that increase the transitivity of the verb complex

A couple of verbs have been grammaticalized in the context of a SVC and now serve to increase the transitivity of the verb complex:

75. For ‘stand up’ a separate verb *pialu* is used, maybe diachronically a SVC *pia alu* ‘move.up stand’.

Serial verb construction	Function
V + <i>l-ame-li</i> ‘give’	Benefactive
<i>l-au</i> ‘take’ + V	Causative

Each will be presented in more detail below.

6.5.3.1. Benefactive: SVC with *l-ame-li* ‘give’

One possibility of expressing that something is or was done for someone is to use the postposition *l-omiti* ‘for’ (cf. Sec. 4.9.3). However, it is also possible to use a SVC with *l-ame-li* ‘give’. There are about 50 examples of this in the corpus at the time of writing. In this case, the suffix on ‘give’ denotes the beneficiary of an action or a state. There is no example yet where the beneficiary is also expressed by an overt object NP.

With respect to the prefix we again find a relationship between the transitivity of the preceding verb and the form the prefix takes (see Sec. 6.5.2.1). If the preceding verb is intransitive the prefix will be third person singular feminine (379). If it is transitive the prefix will usually match the agreement on that verb (380).

- (379) *Lo=la te ai lo vata kاپisi=na te*
 3SG.M=LOC.M EMPH this DET.SG.M kind story=NOM EMPH
tate k-ame-ni-zu ai ko no
 show 3SG.F.O-give-2SG.O-PST.IPFV this DET.SG.F 2SG[GEN]
madaki k-omata.
 wife 3SG.F-at

‘[The addressee did not follow the instructions, so his wife turned out to be very ugly.] Because of that, this kind of thing happened to you (lit. showed for you) with respect to this wife of yours.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_275)

- (380) *Tulola ko-va kukua=gha ze-va bo keda*
 then 3SG.F-GEN.PL gen.2=PL 3PL-GEN.M go fire
kolo-li l-ame-ghi-ghu=e.
 light.fire-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And then her grandchildren came and lit a fire for her.’

(bi_cs_kakula_011)

There is only one example in the corpus where this is not true; this is example (381).

- (381) *Dai=e ai-va boli-li*
 good=EMPH 1SG.GEN-GEN.M **disembowl-3SG.M.O**
ze=gne sapi-li
 CONJ.SS=1SG.NOM **cut.into.slices-3SG.M.O**
k-ame-pi-ghu=na.
3SG.F.O-give-2DU.O-NMLZ=NOM
 ‘It would be good for me to disembowel it and cut it into slices for you
 two.’ (ap_cs_kakula_021)

The mismatch in example (381) could be a mistake or it could be connected to the fact that in this example the serial verb construction is quite complex. Since it is difficult to get any reliable answers in this area by elicitation more data will be needed to investigate this further.

The fact that there seems to be quite a strong correspondence between the prefix on ‘give’ and the object marker on the preceding verb might be evidence for a grammaticalization from a normal SVC where an action is performed on something and that object is then given to the beneficiary (e.g. make+give, collect+give) to a more general benefactive construction where no transfer of an object has to take place (e.g. ‘make for’, ‘collect for’, but also ‘light a fire for’, ‘be good for’). This could be the reason for the synchronic existence of two strategies to express the benefactive, the postposition *l-omiti* ‘for’ and the SVC. The semantic and pragmatic differences between the two constructions for the benefactive still have to be investigated in more detail. At the moment all that can be said is that the SVC is only used when the beneficiary is easily identifiable, not expressed by an overt NP, and when there are no other particular reasons to emphasize it.

6.5.3.2. Causative: SVC with *l-au* ‘take’

The verb *l-au* ‘take’ can be combined with an intransitive verb to express a causative. The subject of the intransitive verb becomes the object of *l-au* ‘take’ (382, 383).

- (382) *Bua, no napu l-au aka(-a)!*
 go.IMP.SG 2SG mouth **3SG.M.O-take be.open(-IMP.SG)**
 ‘Go ahead, open your mouth!’ (ap_cs_polupolu_054)
- (383) *L-au sasi ze=no.*
3SG.M.O-take be.wrong PA=2SG.NOM
 ‘You made it wrong.’ (jk_mat_093)

This structure can be used again as part of a SVC where it is treated like a transitive verb. Evidence for this is that if it is followed by *l-aju* ‘finish’ to express the completion of the action, the agreement on ‘finish’ is third person singular masculine (384), not third person singular feminine, which would go with intransitive verbs (cf. Sec. 6.5.2.1).

- (384) *Lo pazu=la=ze ba jaka-li(-i),*
 DET.SG.M palm.leaf=LOC.M=3PL.NOM come shut-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 [[*l-au talighu l-aju*] *te ze-va*
3SG.M.O-take go.around 3SG.M.O-finish CONJ 3PL-GEN.M
onea(-a) ko ko-va ngori-ghu=e
 listen(-SIM) 3SG.F 3SG.F-GEN.M snore-NMLZ=EMPH
lo=na.
 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘They came and enclosed (the house) with palm leaves, finished putting
 them (lit. it) around (the house) and as they listened she was snoring.’
 (cr_cs_savokiki_331)

The commonest use of this construction is to express ‘bring (here)’ and ‘take away / bring somewhere else’, combining *l-au* ‘take’ with *ba* ‘come’ and *bo* ‘go’ respectively:

- (385) *Lo kise-ghu l-au ba-tu zepo=e*
 DET.SG.M fight-NMLZ **3SG.M.O-take come-REL** 3PL=EMPH
ze=na.
 3PL=NOM
 ‘They were the ones who brought the fighting (i.e. World War II).’
 (png_WWII_3_393)
- (386) *Kia no ala gn-au bo-ghu=e?*
 if 2SG[GEN] where **1O-take go-NMLZ=EMPH**
 ‘[Asking the taxi driver going around the same block several times] If
 (so, then) where are you taking me?’ (js_marine_155)

Chapter 7

Independent basic clauses

Construire une phrase,
c'est mettre la vie dans une masse amorphe de mots
en établissant entre eux un ensemble de connexions.
Tesnière (1969: 12)

Clauses can be **complex** or **basic**. A complex clause consists of at least two clauses, each with its own predicate, and each encoding a proposition or state of affairs, whereas a basic clause does not contain another clause, features one predicate only and encodes one proposition or state of affairs.

Another important distinction can be made between **dependent** and **independent** clauses. An independent clause is grammatical and complete in itself, and can therefore easily be used in isolation. Independent clauses are also sometimes called **main** clauses. A dependent clause, in contrast, is not complete; it typically lacks the specification of some features, for example of TAM and/or arguments, which is provided by another clause. The dependent–independent distinction cross-cuts the complex–basic distinction, i.e. both dependent and independent clauses can be either complex or basic.

This chapter provides a description of independent basic clauses. The description will start by presenting affirmative declarative clauses, both verbal and non-verbal (Sec. 7.1), as well as the emphatic morphemes *=e* and *te* (Sec. 7.2) that are very commonly encountered in basic clauses. This is followed by sections on negation (Sec. 7.3), the formation of questions (Sec. 7.4) and apprehensive clauses (Sec. 7.5).

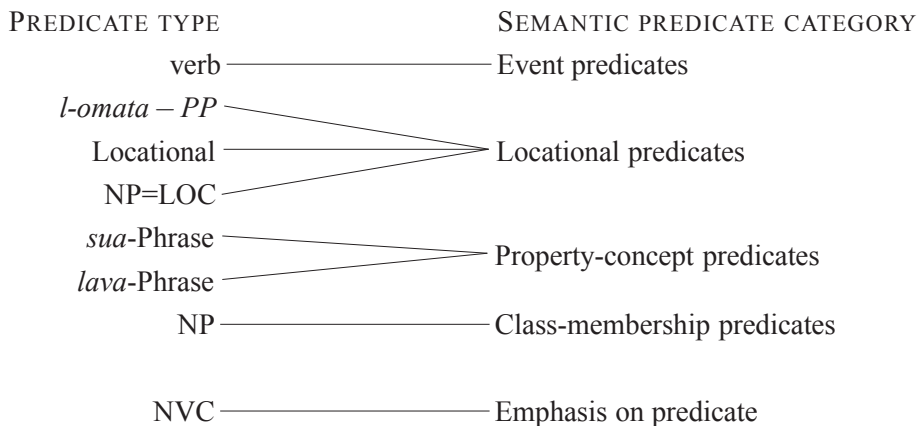
7.1. Affirmative declarative clauses

Clauses can be classified on the basis of the transitivity of the predicate. The distinction made is between transitive and intransitive predication: predicates with more than one argument are transitive, and predicates with only one argument ('one-place predicates') are intransitive (Stassen 1997: 9). Lexemes used for transitive predication in Savosavo are those that are used with object marking morphology as predicates in verbal clauses. This includes mostly transitive verb stems (cf. Sec. 4.1), but also kinship terms (see Sec. 4.2, p. 58). Intransitive predicates are intransitive verbs and all types of non-verbal predicates used in Savosavo. They will be discussed in detail below in Sec. 7.1.2.

Stassen (1997: 18) distinguishes four semantic predicate categories: "EVENT (or ACTION/STATE) PREDICATES, CLASS-MEMBERSHIP PREDICATES, [...] LO-

CATIONAL PREDICATES [and] PROPERTY-CONCEPT PREDICATES”. These four categories are reflected in the basic clause types of Savosavo, as they will be discussed below (see Tab. 47): event predicates are usually transitive or intransitive verbs used in verbal clauses (Sec. 7.1.1), while the other three categories are expressed by non-verbal clauses (Sec. 7.1.2). Among these, locational predicates are a clearly distinct category including locative-marked NPs, locationals and postpositional phrases with *l-omata* ‘at’ (described in Sec. 7.1.2.1), property-concept predicates are primarily *sua-* and *lava-*phrases, and class-membership predicates are typically NPs (the last two categories are discussed together in Sec. 7.1.2.2). Savosavo has one additional predicate type: nominalized verbal clauses (NVCs) are used as predicates in a non-verbal clause frame to place emphasis on the predicate. This is discussed in Section 7.1.2.3.

Table 47. Mapping between predicate types and the semantic predicate categories, based on Stassen (1997)



7.1.1. Verbal clauses

The predicate of a verbal clause is a verb or SVC (387).

- (387) [*Pa boke ghuraghura*]=*na ba-i*.
 one group whale=NOM come-FIN
 ‘A group of whales came.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_184)

Depending on the transitivity of the verb/SVC, a verbal clause can contain one, two or three arguments, and in addition different types of adjunct. The clause in example (387) consists only of one argument (the subject) and a finite verb.

The first position in the clause is of particular importance; especially relevant constituents are often placed there (see below).

Savosavo is a language with nominative-accusative alignment (featuring a ‘marked nominative’ system, see discussion in Sec. 5.2), thus subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs are treated alike, and different from objects. They are set apart by their nominative case-marking (Sec. 5.2.1), the existence of a special set of enclitic subject pronouns (Sec. 4.5.1.2), and the fact that they, in contrast to objects, are not cross-referenced on the verb (Sec. 6.1). Objects are not case-marked, but cross-referenced on the verb. Thus, a verbal clause in Savosavo can be said to contain a subject and one, or at most two, objects, as well as adjuncts of different kinds (see below).

All of these elements tend to precede the verb, especially when they are represented by NPs. In particular, object NPs are always pre-verbal. The position of subjects is more flexible, depending on what linguistic expression (NP or enclitic pronoun) is used. However, in a transitive clause with both subject and object represented by NPs, the order will be SOV. Following the notation of Dixon (1979, 1994), the structures can be described as SV/AOV, with S representing the subject of an intransitive clause, and A and O representing the subject and the object of a transitive clause respectively. The following list shows a schematic structure for intransitive and transitive verbs/SVCs (represented by VC for verb complex) with NP arguments, as well as the verb *l-ame-li*⁷⁶ ‘to give something to someone’, the only verb that has two objects (see Sec. 6.2.1).

$$S_{NP=NOM} \quad VC_{intr} \quad (387)$$

$$A_{NP=NOM} \quad O_{NP} \quad VC_{tr} \quad (388)$$

$$A_{NP=NOM} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} O_{NP}^{Recipient} & O_{NP}^{Theme} \\ O_{NP}^{Theme} & O_{NP}^{Recipient} \end{array} \right\} \quad V_{give} \quad (389, 390)$$

(388) [Ko]_A=na [ko mama mau=zalo]_O
 3SG.F=NOM 3SG.F[GEN] mother father=DU
ghana=ti=tu.
 think-3DU.O-PRS.IPFV

‘She is thinking of her parents.’

(ap_cs_sivugha_105)

(389) [Ko adaki]_A=kona [lo ighiva]_O^{Recipient} te
 DET.SG.F woman=NOM.F DET.PL three EMPH
 [buka]_O^{Theme} l-eme-mi-zu.
 book 3SG.M.O-give-3PL.O-PST.IPFV

‘The woman was giving those three a book.’

(032_sl_rec)

76. This verb has the allomorphs *l-amo-li* and *l-eme-li*.

- (390) [Lo mapa]_A=na [mi]_O^{Theme} [lo-ma toka]_O^{Recipient}
 DET.SG.M person=NOM fish 3SG.M-GEN.SG.F sibling
l-amo-ghi(-i).
 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.F.O(-FIN)
 ‘That man gave fish to his sister.’ (009_elicitation)

Note that, irrespective of constituent order, the recipient is cross-referenced by the object suffix on the verb.

Examples (389) and (390) are both elicited, reflecting the fact that it is rather unusual in natural speech to find a transitive clause with all arguments realized as full NPs. Full NPs are either used to introduce or re-activate referents, or as a marked way to refer to already established referents, e.g. when switching back and forth between several topical referents. The more arguments there are in a clause, the less likely it is that they should all require reference by means of a full NP. Objects that are clearly identifiable from the context are usually dropped and thus only represented by the object agreement on the verb. This does not influence the order of the remaining constituents, i.e. a subject NP will still precede the verb (391).

- (391) [Ze]_A=na te bo gn-ovu-i.
 3PL=NOM EMPH go 1O-put-FIN
 ‘They brought me (there).’ (agh_png_053)

Subjects, on the other hand, are only very rarely dropped. Instead, a set of second-position enclitic personal pronouns is used to denote established referents (cf. Sec. 4.5.1.2). These pronouns are very common indeed. They attach to a wide variety of hosts, including most adverbs (except *kama* ‘already’), conjunctions, phrases and subordinate clauses, as long as they are the first element of the clause (392, 393, 394), but they cannot attach to finite verb complexes.

- (392) *Te=to_s liaza-i.*
 CONJ=3DU.NOM return-FIN
 ‘And they returned.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_282)

- (393) [Ai duzi tone lo-va ghau]_O=*gne_A*
 1SG.GEN elder brother 3SG.M-GEN.M fishing.bamboo=1SG.NOM
qolo-li-zu.
 break-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘I broke my elder brother’s fishing bamboo.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_040)

- (394) [Lo]_{Adjunct}=*la=gne_A* te [lo mapa]_O
 3SG.M=LOC.M=1SG.NOM EMPH DET.SG.M person
l-uma-i.
 3SG.M.O-feed-FIN
 ‘With that I fed the man.’ (no_WWII_064)

As the position of these enclitic pronouns does not depend on the position of the other constituents of the clause, it is futile to provide schematic structures for all possible clause structures involving enclitic pronouns; however, the structures of some illustrative examples are given below.

CONJ	=S _{CL}		VC _{intr}	(392)	
O _{NP}	=A _{CL}		VC _{tr}	(393)	
Adjunct _{NP=LOC}	=A _{CL}	PA	O _{NP}	VC _{tr} (394)	
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} O_{NP}^{Recipient} \\ O_{NP}^{Theme} \end{array} \right.$	=A _{CL}	(Adjunct _{ADV})	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} O_{NP}^{Theme} \\ O_{NP}^{Recipient} \end{array} \right.$	V _{give}	(395, 396)

- (395) [Mapamapa]_o^{Recipient} =ze_A [lo pepa]_o^{Theme}
 RECI=3PL.NOM DET.SG.M paper
l-ame-li(-i).
 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘To each other they give the paper.’ (032_bd_rec)
- (396) [Pa ringi pono]_o^{Theme} =lo_A mane [Basilio]_o^{Recipient}
 one ring only=3SG.M.NOM consecutively Basilio
l-eme-li(-i).
 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘Only a ring he gave Basilio.’ (png-WWII_3_319)

7.1.1.1. Verb-initial minimal clauses

Verbal clauses minimally consist of a verb complex and a subject. In such a minimal verbal clause, subject NPs precede the verb complex (see (387) above), whereas clitic subject pronouns are attached to the verb complex and thus appear in the second position (397).

- (397) *Tei-li* ta=gne_A
 do.thus-3SG.M.O FUT=1SG.NOM
 ‘I will do it like that.’ (jk_mat_019)

This predicate-first structure requires the verb complex to be of a certain form. These requirements can be formulated as follows:

The only TAM markers allowed in the verb complex are *ta* ‘FUT’, *-a* ‘SIM’ and *patu* ‘BG.IPFV’ (398–400). If any of these is used, the pronoun can attach directly to the verb complex, i.e., directly to these three morphemes. Note that two of these morphemes, *ta* ‘FUT’ and *-a* ‘SIM’, are unspecified as to finiteness (cf. Sec. 6.1).

- (398) *Ngai~ngai-sa ba-i-a=lo_s*
 REDUP~big-VBLZ come-i-SIM=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘It is getting bigger.’ (bd_cs_tonelo_089)
- (399) *Samu-a=gho_s*
 have.meal-SIM=3SG.F.NOM
 ‘[She will come later.] She is eating (at the moment).’ (133_003_srb)
- (400) *Jira-za patu=lo.*
 break.container-DETR BG.IPFV=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘It (a container) is still broken.’ (ap_dr_se_758)

In accordance with the semantics of the simultaneous marker and the imperfective marker, examples such as (398) to (400) would usually be interpreted as referring to the moment of the utterance.

If neither *ta* ‘FUT’, *-a* ‘SIM’, nor *patu* ‘BG.IPFV’ is present, the particle *ze* is introduced between the verb/SVC and the pronoun (401, 402).

- (401) *L-eghe ze=gne_A*
 3SG.M.O-see PA=1SG.NOM
 ‘I saw/see it.’ (jp_jpa_mt_281)
- (402) *Ba ze=ze_s*
 come PA=3PL.NOM
 ‘They came/are coming’ (bi_cs_kakula_018)

Evidence for the status of the particle *ze* used in this construction as a free morpheme comes from the stress patterns⁷⁷ observed in the examples: in examples (398) and (399), the (final) verb is stressed on the first syllable, and there is no stress on any of the following syllables. In examples (401) and (402), there is stress on the first syllable of the verb stem, but also on the particle *ze*. This is the same stress pattern as found in example (397).

A parallel predicate-first structure is used as one type of locational non-verbal clause (see below in Sec. 7.1.2.1, p. 207): the non-verbal predicate is followed by a particle *te*, which is host for an enclitic subject pronoun. It is interesting to note that both particles found in these predicate-first clause structures (*ze* and *te*) have a homophonous counterpart used in clause chaining constructions (cf. Sec. 8.3). In addition, there is also the homophonous emphatic particle

77. It has to be kept in mind that the stress pattern of a clause is largely independent from its intonation contour. The intonation contour is the same for all predicate-first verbal clauses. For an example and the corresponding intonation contour see example (6) and Fig. 4 in Sec. 2.5, p. 35.

te ‘EMPH’. For the moment all of these have been analyzed as different morphemes (see discussion of the emphatic particle *te* in Sec. 7.2.2).

The possible variation in the structure of predicate-first verbal clauses is summarized below.

SVC/V	FUT	=S/A _{CL}	(397)
SVC/V	-SIM	=S/A _{CL}	(398, 399)
SVC/V	BG.IPFV (<i>patu</i>)	=S/A _{CL}	(400)
SVC/V	ZE	=S/A _{CL}	(401, 402)

As the enclitic subject pronouns obligatorily have to be in the second position in the clause, the most relevant part of such a minimal verbal clause (the verb or SVC) appears in first position, while the pronoun, which can only be used because it is given and non-focal, follows. This is in accordance with the observation that the clause-initial position attracts the most relevant constituents of the clause.

7.1.1.2. Adjuncts

Examples (394) and (396) contain a locative marked adjunct (*lo=la* ‘with that’; cf. Sec. 5.2.4) and the adverb (*mane* ‘consecutively’; cf. Sec. 4.12.2), respectively. Other possible adjuncts are locationals (Sec. 4.7) and postpositional phrases (Sec. 4.9). As mentioned in the beginning of this section, they are also usually preverbal; however, they occasionally follow the clause, like an afterthought (403).

- (403) [Agni]_A=na [edo-nipiti]_o z-oqo-i; [ata]_{Adjunct} [kulo]_{Adjunct}
 1SG=NOM two-teen 3PL.O-collect-FIN here seawards
 [kui_{kui}]_{Adjunct}=la.
 point=LOC.M
 ‘I collected twelve; here seawards at the point.’ (png-WWII_1_021)

Locationals, locative NPs and postpositional phrases can be placed between the verbs of a SVC ((404), see Sec. 6.5.1).

- (404) ...[lo]_A=na [lo ko dulo boli]_o
 3SG.M=NOM DET.SG.M 3SG.F[GEN] all intestines
l-au [neu]_{Adjunct} [jai]_{Adjunct}=la solo tulola...
3SG.M.O-take down river=LOC.M **throw.3SG.M.O** then
 ‘...he took all her intestines and threw them down into the river and then...’ (bi_cs_kakula_145)

They are rather free with respect to their position in the clause. Whether they precede or follow other constituents of the clause depends on how relevant they are; thus, the adjunct in example (405) could also be used in clause-initial position if it was the most relevant constituent (405').

(405) [Lo kola]_o=gho_A [ko kakau]_{Adjunct}=la
 DET.SG.M stick=3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.[GEN] arm=LOC.M
 l-ali sodu-li(-i).
 3SG.M.O-hit cut-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 'The stick she cut with her hand.' (42a-ws_cb)

(405') [Ko kakau]_{Adjunct}=la=gho_A [lo kola]_o
 3SG.F.[GEN] arm=LOC.M=3SG.F.NOM DET.SG.M stick
 l-ali sodu-li(-i).
 3SG.M.O-hit cut-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 'With her hand she cut the stick.'

The schematic structures of (403), (405) and (405') are provided below. Negation in basic verbal clauses is discussed in Section 7.3, and formation of questions from basic verbal clauses is described in Section 7.4.

$A_{NP=NOM}$	O_{NP}	V	$Adjunct_{LOC}$	$Adjunct_{LOC}$	$Adjunct_{NP=LOC}$	(403)	
$A_{NP=NOM}$	O_{NP}	V_1	$Adjunct_{LOC}$	$Adjunct_{NP=LOC}$	V_2	(404)	
O_{NP}	= A_{CL}	$Adjunct_{NP=LOC}$	VC				(405)
$Adjunct_{NP=LOC}$	= A_{CL}	O_{NP}	VC				(405')

7.1.1.3. Summary and a note on basic word order

The constituent order in affirmative declarative verbal clauses is quite flexible, although there is a tendency to have the verb complex at the end, and a restriction that object NPs always have to precede the verb complex. This flexibility is caused to a large extent by the possibility to drop object NPs, and by the fixed position of enclitic subject pronouns. Only when all arguments are represented by NPs is the constituent order more restricted; however, it was already mentioned that this is rather rare. The cognitive status of the referents influences the choice of linguistic expression used to denote the argument referents. The initial position is of particular importance; usually, the most relevant constituent of a clause will be placed there.

The term 'basic word order' or 'basic constituent order' is often used in typological and descriptive works. Applying Greenberg's criterion for a 'basic

word order’, which is “the order of nominal subject, nominal object, and verb in declarative sentences” (Greenberg 1966: 80; cf. Dryer 2007), Savosavo has the basic word order Subject – Object – Verb. Indeed, other structures in the grammar are in accordance with the universals relating to basic word order directly or indirectly as formulated in Greenberg (1966): the genitive precedes the governing noun (Universal 2, p. 78), there are postpositions rather than prepositions (Universal 4, p. 79), there is no invariant rule placing the interrogative word first in questions (Universal 12, p. 83), and verb forms subordinate to the main verb precede it (Universal 13, p. 84). Savosavo could therefore be considered a rather well-behaved SOV-language, but as pointed out above, in affirmative declarative clauses having overt NPs for subject and object this constituent order is neither a ‘pragmatically neutral’ structure nor is it very frequent; it thus fails to meet many of the criteria set up by other authors in discussion and application of the concept of ‘basic word order’ (cf. e.g. Brody 1984; England 1991; Mithun 1992; Dryer 1995).

7.1.2. Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses, i.e. clauses with a non-verbal constituent as the predicate, are very common: in most texts of the corpus, the portion of independent clauses (i.e. clauses that are not subordinate or cosubordinate clauses) with a nominal predicate is between 40 and 60 %, independent of the text genre.

Nominal predicates can be postpositional phrases (PPs) with *l-omata* ‘at’ (Sec. 4.9.2), locationals (Sec. 4.7), phrases headed by two of the three derivative markers, *sua* ‘ATT’ and *lava* ‘PROPR’ (Sec. 4.8), and locative-marked NPs or NPs without case marking (Ch. 5). Furthermore, the nominal predicate is often a nominalized verbal clause (NVC) derived by the nominalizing suffix *-ghu* (see Sec. 7.2.1.2 and Sec. 9.6). There is no copula, the subject and the predicate are simply juxtaposed. The primary order of constituents in non-verbal clauses is Subject – Predicate (abbreviated as S and P, respectively); for conditions on and extent of variation, see the discussion below.

Subject NPs of non-verbal clauses take nominative case marking. In two types of non-verbal clause this marking can be omitted (one type of predicate-first locational clause, cf. Sec. 7.1.2.1, p. 208 and subject-first property clauses, cf. Sec. 7.1.2.2, p. 211). The majority of non-verbal clauses contain the emphatic enclitic *=e* ‘EMPH’. It marks a constituent as pragmatically prominent and can attach to the subject (which then loses its nominative case-marking), the predicate or an adjunct. An *=e*-marked constituent is usually fronted⁷⁸ (for a more de-

78. One may argue that an *=e*-marked constituent is not just fronted, but placed in an “extra-clausal pragmatically prominent position”, postulated by Donohue (2005: 186) for the Papuan language Lani (spoken in the highlands of Papua New

tailed description of =*e* see Sec. 7.2.1). Non-verbal clauses can contain adverbs such as *ghoi* ‘also’, *kama* ‘already’, *mane* ‘consecutively’ and *koata* ‘before’. No tense marking can be used in non-verbal clauses; the temporal setting is either specified by adverbs, or it has to be inferred from the context.

A classification of non-verbal clauses can be based either on the nature of their predicate or on their semantics. The schema in Table 48, an elaborated version of the non-verbal predicate part of Table 47 above, provides an overview of the mapping between predicate type and the semantics of the clause.

Table 48. Mapping between non-verbal predicate type and meaning of non-verbal clauses

PREDICATE	MEANING	SECTION
<i>l-omata</i> – PP	Location	7.1.2.1
Locational		
NP=LOC		
<i>sua</i> -Phrase	Property	7.1.2.2
<i>lava</i> -Phrase	Possession	
NP	Lack	
	Class membership	
NVC	Emphasis on predicate	7.1.2.3

The dashed lines indicate that the predicative use of some NPs can have additional meaning components besides expressing class membership; this is due to the fact that phrases headed by one of the derivative markers (see Sec. 4.8) can either directly be used as the predicate of a non-verbal clause, or indirectly, as part of a headless NP which is then used as a non-verbal predicate (for a more detailed discussion see Sec. 7.1.2.2 below).

Non-verbal clauses used to convey a location exhibit similar syntactic behavior, independent of which type of predicate is used. In particular, they allow

Guinea). One phenomenon which is also attested in Lani could be very well explained by that, namely why a subject marked with =*e* loses its normal sentential case marking: if the constituent is outside of the clause, it would be outside of the scope of case marking assigned on the clause level (cf. Donohue 2005: 186). However, as will become clear in the following chapters (in particular in Sec. 7.1.2.2, Sec. 7.1.2.3 and Sec. 7.2.1), there are some situations where the subject of a clause can be dropped and the clause then consists only of an =*e*-marked constituent. As I am very reluctant to analyze this as a clause with only one constituent positioned in the extra-clausal pragmatically prominent position, I prefer to analyze the first position inside of the clause as pragmatically prominent.

the use of a predicate-first construction reminiscent of that described above for verbal basic clauses. They will be described together in Section 7.1.2.1.

Non-verbal clauses ascribing a property as well as non-verbal clauses expressing a class membership or possession are also structurally similar and will be described together in Section 7.1.2.2.

Finally, non-verbal clauses with NVCs as their predicate are used to express the same content as the non-nominalized verbal counterpart, except for a strong emphasis on the event in contrast to the participants. The non-verbal clause structure is just a frame for the NVC. A short introduction and some examples will be provided in Section 7.1.2.3, but the main discussion of this clause type will be postponed till Section 9.6.

Negation in non-verbal clauses as well as non-verbal questions is discussed in Sections 7.3 and 7.4 respectively.

7.1.2.1. Locational clauses

Non-verbal clauses that convey a location consist of a subject NP and a locational predicate, either a locative-marked NP (406, 407), a locational (408), or a postpositional phrase with *l-omata* ‘at’ (409). Often more than one locational is used, or a locational is combined with a *l-omata* ‘at’ postpositional phrase or a locative NP marked by =*la*, forming a complex non-verbal predicate (406–409).

- (406) [Ko *tada*]_s=*na* [kulo *magnigha*]_p=*la*.
3SG.F[GEN] man=NOM seawards village=LOC.M
‘Her husband (was) seawards in the village.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_024)
- (407) [Pa *kola*]_s=*e* [kao *karu*]_p=*la*.
one tree=EMPH bushwards edge=LOC.M
‘A tree is bushwards at the edge.’ (pk_mk_mt_298)
- (408) [Pa *piva*]_s=*na* [ota *kuata* *ghoita*]_p
one water=NOM there seawards near
‘A stream (is/was) there seawards close.’ (as_WWII020)
- (409) [Ko *ghulia*]_s=*kona* [kao *ko* *mau l-omata*]_p
DET.SG.F Ghulia=NOM.F bushwards 3SG.F[GEN] father 3SG.M-at
‘Ghulia (was) bushwards at her father(’s place).’ (ws_cs_ghulia_116)

Structurally, there are two ways of forming locational non-verbal clauses, differing in the order of constituents. The subject NP can precede the predicate, or it can follow it.

7.1.2.1.1. Subject–predicate locational clauses

Examples (406)–(409) above are all examples of subject–predicate locational clauses. They show that a subject noun phrase and a locational expression specifying the place can simply be juxtaposed in that order, i.e. the basic order of constituents is SP. In this case the subject NP has to be marked as nominative, just like syntactic subjects in verbal clauses (cf. Sec. 7.1.1), or it is marked by the emphatic enclitic =*e* for special emphasis ((407); for a discussion of =*e* ‘EMPH’, see Sec. 7.2.1). The schematized structures of the examples given above are as follows:

S _{NP=NOM}	P _{NP=LOC}	(406)
S _{NP=EMPH}	P _{NP=LOC}	(407)
S _{NP=NOM}	P _{Locational}	(408)
S _{NP=NOM}	P _{(Locational) PP}	(409)

7.1.2.1.2. Predicate–subject locational clauses

The second possibility is to use a predicate-first construction similar to, but not identical with, the predicate-first structure found in verbal clauses (see above, Sec. 7.1.1.1). There are two types of predicate-first construction used in locational clauses:

- A. In the first type of predicate-first locational clauses, the locational predicate is given clause-initially, followed by the particle *te*⁷⁹, which is host to an enclitic personal pronoun denoting the subject referent (410)–(411). Occasionally, this is followed by a full, case-marked subject NP (412).

(410) [*Padenge mavutu*]_p=*la te=ze*_s
 only.one place=LOC.M PA=3PL.NOM
 ‘In just one place (are) they.’ (jp_ji_mt_004)

(411) [*Gn-omata*]_p *te=lo*_s
 1-at PA=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘With me (is) it’, lit. ‘At me (is) it.’ (jp_ji_mt_158)

(412) (Describing a picture with two balls, one yellow and one red, arranged on the sagittal axis; answering: Is the yellow one here (i.e. closer) or...?)

79. For the time being, *te* in examples (410) to (412) is glossed as ‘PA’, and distinguished from the emphatic particle *te* ‘EMPH’ (appearing, for example, below in (414)) and the clause-chaining *te*. For a more detailed discussion see Section 7.2.2.

[Atati]_p te=lo_s [lo posovata]_s=na.
 here.PROX PA=3SG.M.NOM DET.SG.M yellow=NOM
 ‘Here (is) it, the yellow one.’ (pk_mk_mt_351)

Inverting the usual order of subject and predicate brings the focal part of the clause to the clause-initial position, similar to the verbal predicate-first construction (cf. Sec. 7.1.1.1). Another similarity is that the particle *te* used as the host for the enclitic pronouns in (410) to (411) receives its own stress, as does *ze* in the verbal predicate-first construction, which is evidence for its status as a free morpheme. However, in the verbal predicate-first construction the particle *ze* is only introduced if the verb complex does not contain either *ta* ‘FUT’ or *-a* ‘SIM’.

As was mentioned in the description of the verbal predicate-first construction, both *ze* and *te* have homophonous counterparts used in clause-chaining constructions (cf. Sec. 8.3). Furthermore, there is also an emphatic particle *te* ‘EMPH’, but this particle never receives stress or acts as host for an enclitic pronoun. All of these particles are at present analyzed as separate morphemes (see Sec. 7.2.2 for a more detailed discussion on *te*).

- B. In the second type of predicate-first locational clause, the locational predicate is marked by the emphatic enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ and is followed by a subject NP (413–414). The subject NP can be case-marked (414). No enclitic pronoun can be used.

(413) (Description of a picture)
 [Lo lo buringa]_p=la=e [edo kola=gha]_s
 3SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] back=LOC.M=EMPH two tree=PL
 ‘At his back (are) two trees.’ (jp_ji_mt_208)

(414) (We went inland here, here bushwards...)
 Apoi [ata]_p=e te [lo keva]_s=na.
 because here=EMPH EMPH DET.SG.M path=NOM
 ‘Because here (is) the road.’ (mp_biti_046)

(415) (There were several numbered guns put up along the coast)
 Te [kulo lo sukulu=gha ze kulo]_p=e
 CONJ seawards DET.PL school=PL 3PL[GEN] seawards=EMPH
 [lo naba uan]_s
 DET.SG.M number one
 ‘And, seawards, seawards from the school buildings was the number one.’ (bk_WWII_112)

The pragmatic difference between these two types of predicate-initial clauses is difficult to assess, because different factors play a role:

- the form of the subject (dependent on the activation and accessibility status of the referent);
- the function of *=e* ‘EMPH’ and *te* ‘EMPH’ as markers of pragmatic prominence that are not tied to any specific kind of prominence (e.g. contrastive focus vs. information focus vs. contrastive topic vs. topic shift);

Enclitic personal pronouns can only be used for activated, non-emphasized referents, therefore the first type of predicate-first locational clause, which involves enclitic pronouns, is usually used when the emphasis is on the location as the particularly relevant, new information. The subject referent tends to be already established, and the primary function of the clause is to specify the location of this referent. This can be described as a rather clear topic–comment relation: the subject referent is the topic, and the locational predicate is the comment about this topic. Still, examples such as (412) show that it is possible to have another subject NP following, in case of a contrastive topic.

The second type can be used with new referents as the subject (413, 414), or with a subject referent that is in contrast to other referents (415). In these cases, it is much less clear if there is something like a topic–comment structure, or if the clause is used in a thetic, presentational way, making use of the location as an anchoring device. This can be reflected by a translation of (413) as ‘There are two trees behind him’.

The structures of the examples given for each type are provided below:

$P_{NP=LOC}$	TE	$=S_{CL}$		(410)
P_{PP}	TE	$=S_{CL}$		(411)
$P_{Locational}$	TE	$=S_{CL}$	$S_{NP=NOM}$	(412)
$P_{NP=LOC}=EMPH$			$S_{NP(=NOM)}$	(413)
$P_{Locational}=EMPH$	(EMPH)		$S_{NP(=NOM)}$	(414, 415)

The predicate-first constructions appear to be breaching the second-position restriction on the enclitic pronouns, especially the first type of the non-verbal one. In the verbal predicate-first construction, the particle *ze* is used to replace *ta* ‘FUT’ and *-a* ‘SIM’, both morphemes that are located within the verb complex; it would therefore not pose a problem to analyze *ze* as being part of the verb complex. However, in the first type of the non-verbal construction, e.g. in example (410), the particle *ze* is clearly not inside the locative-marked NP; similarly, *te* follows the postposition *ny-omata* in example (411), and can therefore not be said to be located within the PP. In addition, there is no general restriction that would bar enclitic pronouns from attaching to locative-marked NPs, locationals or PPs. An alternative analysis compatible with this would be to analyze this

structure as a cleft-construction, but the intonation of these non-verbal predicate-first clauses does not provide any evidence for such an analysis; the intonation contour is similar to that of other declarative affirmative clauses (see example (9) and Figure 6 in Sec. 2.5).

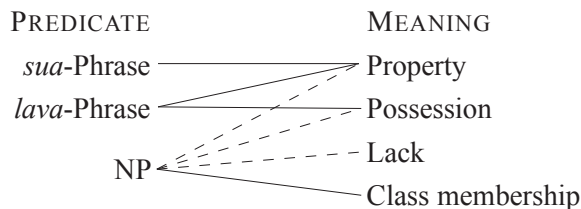
7.1.2.2. Property clauses and classificational clauses

Two phrase types can function as predicates of property clauses and classificational clauses:

- an NP that is not case-marked (7.1.2.2.1), or
- a derivative marker phrase headed by *sua* ‘ATT’ or *lava* ‘PROPR’ (7.1.2.2.2).

The internal structure of derivative marker phrases was described in Section 4.8. For the time being, it will be assumed that phrases headed by *zepo* ‘PRIV’, the third type of derivative marker phrase, and adjectives cannot be used as predicates of non-verbal clauses, because there is no example in the corpus at present that forces such an analysis. In all examples available, adjectives and *zepo*-phrases can always be analyzed as being the sole constituent of a headless NP (cf. Ch. 5), which then functions as the non-verbal predicate.

The mapping between those predicate types discussed in this section and the semantics of the non-verbal clause is repeated here for convenience (see Tab. 48 for the complete overview).



There are syntactic features that all property clauses have in common. These features will be described first, followed by a more detailed description of the two types of property clause.

The constituent order of property clauses is usually Subject–Predicate, similar to the constituent order observed in locational clauses (416).

(416) [*Agni*]_s *ghoi* [*tei-li* *sua*]_p
 1SG also do.thus-3SG.M.O ATT

‘I also (usually) do it like that.’, lit ‘I (am) also doing it thus.’

(ss_cl_pudding_138)

A peculiarity of property clauses is that, in contrast to locational clauses, the subject is often not case-marked, even though case-marking can occur ((417), see also (436) below) and the enclitic subject personal pronouns are also occasionally found (418).

- (417) [Lo]_s=*na* [uniform zepo]_p
 3SG.M=NOM uniform PRIV
 ‘He was not wearing a uniform.’, lit. ‘He (was) uniform-less.’
 (png_WWII_3_329)

- (418) *Te=ve*_s [lo te ka sala sua]_p
 CONJ=1PL.EX.NOM 3SG.M EMPH already follow.3SG.M.O ATT
 ‘And then we (used to) obey that/him.’, lit. ‘And then we (were) following that/him.’
 (bk_WWII_018)

Another difference in relation to locational clauses is that the constituent order is occasionally reversed without requiring any particle to be inserted (419).⁸⁰

- (419) [Ururu-gha lava]_p [ko-va zuba]_s=*na*.
 be.fragrant-NMLZ PROPR.SG.M 3SG.F-GEN.M child=NOM
 ‘[Talking about eggs of a megapode] Her child (i.e. egg) has a nice smell (when cooked).’, lit. ‘Fragrance having (is) her child.’ (da_gnero_058)

When the subject follows the predicate, it tends to receive nominative case-marking, but the number of examples without case marking suggests that this is a preference rather than a necessity (see for example (439) below).

Similar to locational clauses, the emphatic enclitic =*e*, associated with pragmatic prominence, can be found on subjects in clause-initial position as well as on fronted predicates. If the subject NP is marked by =*e* ‘EMPH’ (420), it cannot be marked as nominative any more (cf. Sec. 7.2.1).

- (420) [*Pa*]_s=*e* [Malaita soma]_p
 one=EMPH Malaita ATT.SG.F
 ‘One (was) from Malaita.’ (agh_png_032)

Fronted predicates are often marked with =*e* ‘EMPH’ (421). The subject of an =*e*-marked predicate can be dropped if the subject referent is inferable (422).

- (421) [Brisbane sue]_p [lo sere sua]_s=*na*.
 Brisbane ATT.EMPH DET.SG.M be.white ATT.SG.M=NOM
 ‘From Brisbane (was) the white man.’ (bk_WWII_017)

80. The intonation contour does not depend on whether the predicate or the subject comes first (cf. Sec. 2.5, examples (7) and (8), Figure 5).

- (422) [*Ka pazuzu soma*]_p=*e*.
 already give.birth ATT.SG.F=EMPH
 ‘She had already given birth.’, lit. ‘Already birth-giving (was she).’
 (da_cs_kosakosa_009)

Adverbs can precede both subject and predicate (423), or they can appear between them (see (416) above).

- (423) ***Kama*** [*to sua=lo to batu=lo*]_p [*ai*
already DET.DU giant=DU 3DU[GEN] head=DU this
ta]_s=*na*.
 3DU.PROX=NOM
 ‘The heads of the giants (are) these two already.’, lit. ‘Already the giants’
 heads (are) these.’ (wr_cs_vulaole_205)

The subject NP in property clauses with a fronted predicate is one syntactic context where the special proximal third person pronouns can be used ((423); cf. Sec. 4.5.1.1).

The patterns described above can be represented as follows (double parentheses indicate that a constituent is optional, but preferably left out):

	S _{NP(=NOM)}	(Adjunct _{ADV})	P	(416)
	S _{NP} =EMPH		P	(420)
CONJ	=S _{CL}		P	(418)
(Adjunct _{ADV})	P		S _{NP=NOM}	(419, 423)
	P=EMPH		(S _{NP=NOM})	(421, 422)

7.1.2.2.1. NP predicates

NPs without case marking are primarily used as non-verbal predicates to express a class membership (424, 425).

- (424) [*Agni ghajia*]_s [***Solomone*** *sua* *mapa*]_p,
 1SG self Solomon.Islands ATT.SG.M person
 ‘I was the only Solomon Islander.’, lit. ‘I myself (was) a Solomon Island
 person.’ (js_marine_054)
- (425) [***Keda pono***]_p *ka* [*lo popole*]_s=*na*.
 fire only already DET.SG.M blanket=NOM
 ‘[They didn’t have blankets back then.] Only fire (was their) blanket.’
 (mp_mapagha_092)

It is common to find headless NPs in predicate position. Recall from Section 5.1.2 that in a headless NP with a non-singular referent the number-marking enclitics =*(za)lo* ‘DU’ and =*gha* ‘PL’ attach to the right-most autonomous NP constituent. This is often a *sua*-phrase ((426), with *sua* contracted to *so*) or a *lava*-phrase (427, 428, with the dual and plural forms *laghe* and *lame* respectively).

- (426) [*Ela*]_s=*e* [*l-olomi so=gha*]_p
 some=EMPH 3SG.M.O-know ATT=PL
 ‘Some knew it.’, lit. ‘Some (were) ones knowing it.’ (mp_mapagha_431)
- (427) [*Qola kiba-sa sua qeleqele laghe=lo*]_p=*e*
 green-VBLZ ATT.SG.M appearance PROPR.DU=DU=EMPH
 [*to kola=lo*]_s=*tona*.
 DET.DU tree=DU=NOM.DU
 ‘The trees have a green appearance.’, lit. ‘Ones having a green being appearance (are) the two trees.’ (jp_ji_mt.136)
- (428) *Apoi [ave]_s [tei sua vata bo-ghu lame=gha]_p*
 because 1PL.EX say ATT.SG.M kind go-NMLZ PROPR.PL=PL
 ‘Because we have this way of living.’, lit. ‘Because we (are) ones having a kind of said going.’ (as_WWII_050)

Headless NPs with *sua*- or *lava*-phrases serve to express that a referent has a certain attribute or is in possession of an object or trait.

In examples (426) to (428), the number marking is clear evidence that the *sua*- and *lava*-phrases are part of a headless NP and are not used directly as predicates (see Sec. 7.1.2.2.2 below).

Adjectives are also found in headless NPs functioning as predicates (429).⁸¹

- (429) *Zu [zepo]_s=e [lo dai=gha]_p ghoi.*
 and 3PL=EMPH DET.PL good=PL also
 ‘And they (were) also good ones.’ (su_WWII_158)

Only very few examples feature headless NPs with a *zepo*-phrase. Such an NP is used to express that the subject is lacking something, comparable to some uses of the English adjectival suffix *-less* ((430); see also Sec. 4.8.3).

- (430) [*Ave]_s mane [tuvia zepo=gha]_p*
 1PL.EX consecutively house PRIV=PL
 ‘We didn’t have a house then.’, lit. ‘We (were) then house-less ones.’ (as_WWII_034)

81. The presence of plural marking and the determiner in this example is clear evidence that the predicate is an NP.

So far, *zepo*-phrases and adjectives have not been found to occur directly as predicates.

Occasionally, the subject of a property clause with an NP predicate is represented twice, in the beginning of the clause as a left-dislocated topical expression (not case-marked), and in the end (case-marked), as in examples (431) and (432).

- (431) [Aghe]_s [Kaoqele sua mapa=lo]_p [aghe]_s=na, kukua.
 1DU.EX Kaoqele ATT.NSG person=DU 1DU.EX=NOM gen.2
 ‘We, people from Kaoqele (are) we, Granny.’ (st_cs_vangazua_106)
- (432) Zu [Marovo sua mapa=gha]_s ghoi [ave gn-oghoni sua
 and M. ATT person=PL also 1PL.EX 1O-be.like ATT.M
 mapa=gha]_p [ze]_s=na. (Boragha so=gha=e.)
 person=PL 3PL=NOM (be.black ATT=PL=EMPH)
 ‘And Marovo people, they (are) also people like us. ((They are) black.)’,
 lit. ‘And Marovo people also people like us (are) they.’ (ts_marovo_007)

This structure can be represented as follows:

(CONJ) S_{NP}(=EMPH) (Adjunct_{ADV}) P S_{NP=NOM} (431, 432)

The first topical subject NP is characterized by rising pitch. After a fall over the first part of the predicate, the pitch rises again (though not as high), and finally shows the clause-final fall over the second subject NP (see pitch contour of example (431) in Fig. 17). These cases are more common with the emphatic enclitic =e ‘EMPH’ attached to the predicate, and sometimes to the first subject NP as well, see Section 7.2.1 (p. 223).

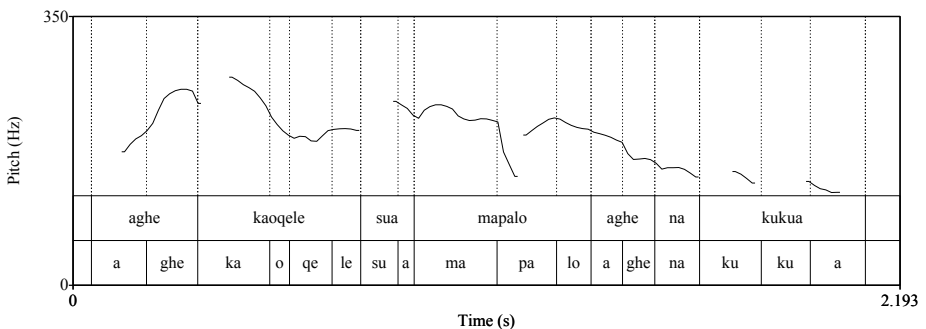


Figure 17. Pitch contour of example (431)

7.1.2.2.2. Sua- and lava-phrase predicates

Derivative marker phrases headed by *sua* and *lava* express attributive and possessive relations between their complement and another referent (see Sec. 4.8.1 and Sec. 4.8.2). When they are directly used as predicates of non-verbal clauses, they predicate an attribute (433) or the possession of an object (434) or property (435) to the subject.

- (433) [Ai-va tuvi]_s [seghe sua]_p
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M house be.full ATT.M
 ‘My house (is/was) full.’ (png_WWII_3_029)
- (434) [Agni]_s [pa tarake lava]_p
 1SG one truck PROPR.SG.M
 ‘I have a truck.’, lit. ‘I (am) having a truck.’ (cp_api_mt_031)
- (435) [Ai lo ivaghu=la sua mapa=gha]_{s=e} [negha sua
 this DET.SG.M day=LOC.M ATT.M person=PL=EMPH different
 qeleqele lame]_p
 appearance PROPR.PL
 ‘People of today look different.’, lit. ‘People of today (are) having (a)
 different appearance.’ (mp_mapagha_118)

The attributive marker *sua* is also one way to form a relative clause ((418) above; cf. Sec. 4.8.1 and 8.2.1). If such a relative clause is used as a non-verbal predicate, it is possible to extract and raise the object NP for special emphasis (436).

- (436) [Tei sua vata ai-va samu
 be.like.this ATT.SG.M kind 1SG.GEN-GEN.M food
 lov-u-ghu]_o [no]_s=na te [θ_o pala
 3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ 2SG=NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O
 l-amo-gni sua]_p
 3SG.M.O-give-1SG.O ATT
 ‘That is how you leave food for me.’, lit. ‘Such a kind of putting aside
 my food you are of the make-give-me kind.’ (dr_cs_taragau_043)

When *sua*- and *lava*-phrases function directly as predicates, no number-marking enclitics can be used for non-singular referents ((435) above, (437) below).

- (437) Pade sekuriti=gha; [raskolo=gha]_s=e [z-ali sua]_p
 no.matter security=PL criminal=PL=EMPH 3PL.O-hit ATT
 ‘No matter security men, (the) criminals will hit them.’ (agh_png_492)

But as there is no overt marking in an NP for the singular, examples with a singular referent like (433), (438) and (439) are ambiguous and can be analyzed in two ways: either the derivative marker phrase is directly used as the predicate, or it is the only constituent of an NP that is then used predicatively (cf. Sec. 7.1.2.2.1 above).

- (438) [*Lo lapi*]_s [*sisi sua*]_p
 3SG.M[GEN] tongue be.red ATT
 ‘Its tongue (is) red.’, lit. ‘Its tongue (is) red being.’ (cp_api_mt_013)
- (439) *Oma* [*gnuba bo-ghu lama*]_p [*ko boti*]_s
 not child go-NMLZ PROPR.SG.F DET.SG.F boat
 ‘(It was) pretty fast, that boat.’, lit. ‘Not having a childlike going (was) the boat.’ (pk_WWII_085)

One could argue that *sua*- and *lava*-phrases are not in fact directly used as predicates, but that the number marking enclitics are simply omitted. It has been mentioned in Section 5.1.2 that this occasionally happens, but less with animate referents, and there are quite a number of examples like (435), (438) and (439) in the corpus, contrasting with examples like (440), (441) and (442).

- (440) *Apoi* [[*zepo*]]_s=e [[*mapamapa l-olomi so=gha*]]_p
 because 3PL=EMPH RECIP 3SG.M.O-know ATT=PL
 ‘Because they knew each other.’, lit. ‘Because they (were) ones knowing each other.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_077)
- (441) [[*Tei so=gha*]]_p=e [[*ota sua mapa=gha*]]_s=na.
 be.like.this ATT=PL=EMPH there ATT person=PL=NOM
 ‘Ones like this (were) people from there.’ (ts_marovo_053)
- (442) [[*Marovo sua mapa=gha*]]_s [[*dai toa boi ba-ghu*⁸²
lame=gha]]_p=e.
PROPR.PL=PL=EMPH
 ‘People from Marovo have a very good lifestyle.’, lit. ‘People from Marovo (are) ones having (a) very good lifestyle.’ (ts_marovo_047)

Furthermore, if number marking in predicatively-used NPs was especially prone to being omitted, it should not matter if the NP is headless and consists only of a derivative marker phrase, or if it contains a head noun and/or some other NP constituent. One would thus expect frequent omission of number marking in all types of predicatively used NP (cf. Sec. 7.1.2.2.1 above), which is not the case.

82. *Boi baghu* is a lexicalized expression meaning ‘the things to do with it’, ‘the ways of acting’, or ‘lifestyle’.

The meaning difference between using a derivative marker phrase directly as a predicate and having it as sole constituent of a headless NP is subtle, equivalent to the difference between English *They are red* and *They are red ones*. Instead of predicating the property to the subject referent, the subject referent is classified as a referent having the property.

7.1.2.3. *Non-verbal clauses with a NVC (nominalized verbal clause) predicate*

NVCs are very common in Savosavo. The term ‘NVC’ is reserved for the type of *-ghu*-nominalization that is used in a non-verbal clause frame (see below) and is structurally closest to a verbal clause. NVCs contain many syntactic constituents that are found in normal verbal clauses, e.g. accusative objects, adjuncts, adverbs and even the emphatic particle *te*. Differences from a verbal clause are that the predicate is nominalized by *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’, the subject is in the genitive case, and nothing can occur post-verbally. Furthermore, no finite TAM marker can be used in a NVC, therefore any such information has to be inferred from the context. NVCs are preferentially used to talk about past and present events. A more detailed discussion of the structure of NVCs is provided in Section 9.6.

NVCs are embedded into a non-verbal clause structure. They function as the predicate and appear in clause-initial position, usually marked by *=e* ‘EMPH’, and are followed by an expletive subject NP, consisting of a third person singular masculine subject with nominative case marking (443).

- (443) [To kama ae-ghu]_{NVC=e} [lo]_{s=na}.
 3DU[GEN] already be.married-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘They are/were already married.’, lit. ‘Their already marrying (is/was) it.’ (ap.aeghu_057)

In example (443), the NVC consists of the abbreviated genitive pronoun *to* ‘3DU’ (the full form *to-va* ‘3DU-GEN.M’ could be used as well, cf. Sec. 5.2.3), an adverb, and the nominalized intransitive verb *ae-ghu* ‘be.married-NMLZ’. The NVC is then marked with *=e* ‘EMPH’, a marker signalling discourse prominence (see Sec. 7.2.1). Finally, this *=e*-marked NVC is used as the syntactic predicate followed by an expletive pronominal subject NP in a presentational structure, which is syntactically parallel to the structure of non-verbal property clauses (cf. Sec. 7.1.2.2). Parallel to property clauses with fronted *=e*-marked predicates, the subject can be dropped. This subject NP does not refer to any specific referent, but is a dummy subject comparable to *it* in impersonal English clauses like *It rains*. The constituent order is always PS, but the subject can easily be dropped:

In these constructions, the event is presented as a whole, and not as a comment about a topic.

It is not possible to use negation in the non-verbal clause frame. Negation is only allowed inside the NVC (444).

- (444) *Tulola [ze kama ghoma gn-au-ghu]_{NVC=e}*
 then 3PL[GEN] already **no** 1O-take-NMLZ=EMPH
[lo]_{s=na}.
 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘And then they didn’t take me.’, lit. ‘And then their already not taking me
 (was) it.’ (js_marine_028)

A non-verbal clause frame with a NVC predicate is either used on its own, as in example (443), or as the main clause in a complex clause structure. It is often found as the final clause in a clause chain (445), or as the apodosis of a conditional clause (446).

- (445) *Ze zaghero-a te [[ze]_s [tagha]_{Adjunct} [lo*
 3PL[GEN] take.all-SS CONJ 3PL[GEN] up 3SG.M[GEN]
mama mau=zalo to tuvi]_{Adjunct}=la bo-ghu]_{NVC=e}
 mother father=DU 3DU[GEN] house=LOC.M go-NMLZ=EMPH
([lo]_{s=na})].
 (3SG.M=NOM)
 ‘They packed and they went up to his parent’s house.’, lit. ‘Their packing
 and their going up to his parent’s house (was it).’ (ap_cs_saraputu_183)
- (446) *Ze bia pizo-li kia, [[ze]_s kuili*
 3PL[GEN] beer drink-3SG.M.O if 3PL[GEN] shout
keukeu-ghu]_{NVC=e} ([lo]_{s=na})].
 make.loud.high.noise-NMLZ=EMPH (3SG.M=NOM)
 ‘If they drink beer, they shout and make noise.’, lit. ‘Their beer drinking
 if, their shouting making noise (is it).’ (ap_custom_070)

For a more detailed discussion of the structure and functions of NVCs embedded in a non-verbal clause frame, see Section 9.6.

7.2. The emphatic morphemes =e and te

Savosavo has two commonly used morphemes, the enclitic =e and the particle te, that are used for emphasis of both topical and focal constituents.

7.2.1. The emphatic enclitic =e

The emphatic enclitic =e ‘EMPH’ is the second most common morpheme in the corpus.⁸³ It is an enclitic that can attach to everything but verbs, verb complexes, conjunctions and a number of particles. Very often it is found in non-verbal clauses (447).

- (447) [Aba=*la* sua vere l-olomi
 Guadalcanal=LOC.M ATT.SG.M language 3SG.M.O-know
 so=*gha*]_p=e [ave]_s=na.
 ATT=PL=**EMPH** 1PL.EX=NOM
 ‘We know the language of Guadalcanal.’ (mp_mapagha_458)

It has not been found with most adverbs in adverbial function, with the exception of *pogala* ‘tomorrow’ and *koata* ‘before’. The enclitic does not occur inside of subordinate, cosubordinate or nominalized clauses. There is an allomorph of =e ‘EMPH’, =Ce, which is used with all personal pronouns except the third person plural pronoun. The last consonant of the pronoun is repeated as the syllable onset of the enclitic. The resulting forms (with the pronouns in parentheses) are listed in Table 49.

Table 49. Allomorphs of the enclitic =e ‘EMPH’ on personal pronouns

		Sg	Du	Pl
1.	incl.		(mai)=me	
	excl.	(agni)=gne	(aghe)=ghe	(ave)=ve
2.		(no)=ne	(pe)=pe	(me)=me
3.	m	(lo)=le	(to)=te	(zepo)=e
	f	(ko)=ke		

The emphatic enclitic =e ‘EMPH’ operates on the level of information structure and pragmatics. It is used in all genres represented in the corpus and witnessed in the field. First, a description will be given of the ways in which =e ‘EMPH’ can be used with non-verbal clauses (Sec. 7.2.1.1), then we turn to verbal clauses (Sec. 7.2.1.2). In this part the focus is on the structural features of =e ‘EMPH’. Finally, Section 7.2.1.4 will provide a characterization of the functions of =e.

83. The most common morpheme is *lo* with 11,222 occurrences, including both its uses as a personal pronoun and as a determiner. The enclitic =e and its allomorphs are found 5,467 times, and is followed by the subject marking *na* (4,233 occurrences), the nominalizing suffix *-ghu* (4,060 occurrences), the genitive suffix *-va* (3,928 occurrences) and the multipurpose case marker *la* (3,667 occurrences).

7.2.1.1. Non-verbal clauses and =e ‘EMPH’

In a non-verbal clause, =e can attach to the subject or the predicate. Where the subject NP would or could be case-marked, =e simply replaces the case-marking. In a non-verbal property, classificational or identificational clause, =e ‘EMPH’ can just be attached to the subject NP without further changes in the structure (448).

- (448) [Ko nini]_{Subj}=e [koi Polupolu]_{Pred}
 3SG.F[GEN] name=EMPH DET.SG.F Polupolu
 ‘Her name (was) Polupolu.’ (ap_cs_polupolu_006)

Locational non-verbal clauses have obligatorily case-marked subject NPs when the subject precedes the predicate. Again, if =e ‘EMPH’ is added to the subject NP in such clauses, it simply replaces the case-marking (449, 450).

- (449) [Pa poi]_{Subj}=e te [lo mane=la]_{Pred}
 one thing=EMPH EMPH 3SG.M[GEN]/DET.SG.M side=LOC.M
 ‘One thing (is) at its/the side.’ (cp_api_mt_031)
- (450) [Pa]_{Subj}=e [neuta]_{Pred}, [pa]_{Subj}=e [taghata]_{Pred}
 one=EMPH below one=EMPH on.top
 ‘One (is) down⁸⁴, one (is) up.’ (cp_api_mt_461)

If in non-verbal clauses the predicate precedes the subject, =e ‘EMPH’ can be attached to the predicate. (451) is an example of a locational clause; (452) and (453) are examples of non-locational clauses.

- (451) Apoi [ata]_{Pred}=e te [lo keva]_{Subj}=na.
 because here=EMPH EMPH DET.SG.M path=NOM
 ‘Because here (is) the road.’ (mp_biti_046)
- (452) [Mapa batu]_{Pred}=e te [lo-va seu]_{Subj}=na.
 person head=EMPH EMPH 3SG.M-GEN.M container=NOM
 ‘Human heads (were) his cup.’ (wr_cs_vulaole_093)
- (453) [Ghoma lo mapa]_{Pred}=e [ai lo biti]_{Subj}=na.
 not DET.SG.M person=EMPH this DET.SG.M volcano=NOM
 ‘(It was) not a conscious being, this volcano.’, lit. ‘Not a person (was) this volcano.’ (ap_biti_046)

These examples also illustrate that the subject is usually case-marked (479, 452) and that the predicate can be negated (453).

84. The notions ‘up’ and ‘down’ are used to refer to directions and locations clockwise and anticlockwise along the coastline respectively (cf. Sec. 4.7.1).

When the predicate of a property clause is marked by =e ‘EMPH’, the following subject NP can be omitted if the subject is clear from the context (454), or expressed by a case-marked pronoun (455).

(454) *Ai-va kulagha=e.*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M uncle=**EMPH**
 ‘(He is) my uncle.’ (wr_cs_vulaole_107)

(455) *Ngai keda=e lo=na.*
 big fire=**EMPH** 3SG.M=**NOM**
 ‘It (was) a big fire.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_125)

If the subject is dropped the intonation contour of a normal declarative clause is simply compressed; the clause-final fall is then located on the last couple of syllables, see Figure 18. Note also that the intonation contour is not influenced by the changed order of subject and predicate. The pitch contour of example (455) given in Figure 18 is similar to that of non-verbal clause with subject-predicate constituent order (cf. Sec. 2.5).

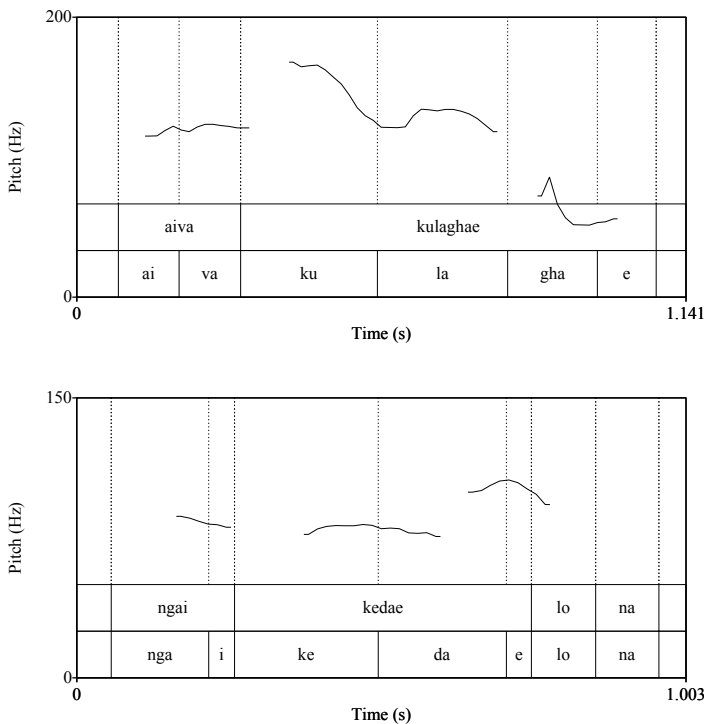


Figure 18. The pitch contours of examples (454) and (455).

There is a specific set of third person pronouns (Tab. 50) that indicate proximity and are only used in subject NPs following an =*e*-marked predicate ((456); cf. Sec. 4.5.1.1 and Sec. 7.2.1.2, p. 226).

- (456) [*Ze savu-mi-tu lo pogoro ghulia=gha*]_{pred}=*e*
 3PL[GEN] tell-3PL.O-REL DET.PL seven dolphin=PL=**EMPH**
 [*za*]_{subj}=*na*.
3PL.PROX=NOM
 ‘These (are) the seven dolphins they mentioned.’
 (wr_cs_pogoro_ghuliagha_051)

Table 50. Proximal third person pronouns

		Sg	Du	Pl
3.	m	<i>la</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>za</i>
	f	<i>ka</i>		

Although these pronouns already have a connotation of proximity, it is possible to combine them with the proximal demonstrative *ai* (457).

- (457) *Apoi [azua-li sua mapa]*_{pred}=*e* [*ai*
 because smoke-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M person=**EMPH** **this**
la]_{subj}=*na*.
3SG.M.PROX=NOM
 ‘Because this (was) a smoked person.’⁸⁵ (ap_qiluilu_019)

The enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ is not found with the predicate-first locational clauses involving the particle *te* discussed in Section 7.1.2.1 (p. 207). If *te* occurs in a non-verbal locational clause between a fronted =*e*-marked predicate and the subject NP, it is always the emphatic particle *te* ‘EMPH’: unstressed, not obligatory, and never host of an enclitic personal pronoun ((458); cf. Sec. 7.2.2).

- (458) *Ata=lia=e te to-va kual.*
 here=about=**EMPH** **EMPH** 3DU-GEN.M quarters
 ‘Somewhere here (were) their quarters.’ (jn_lotu_059)

Non-verbal clauses can contain an =*e*-marked adjunct, usually specifying the temporal or spatial setting.

85. This refers to a custom of drying a corpse wrapped in leaves over a fire so that it could be kept for a while.

- (459) [Ai lo manga]_{Adjunct}=la=e, [ai lo popo]_{Subj}=e
 this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M=**EMPH** this DET.SG.M bowl=EMPH
 [kuvikuvu zepo]_{Pred}
 lid PRIV
 ‘This time, this bowl doesn’t have a lid.’, lit. ‘...is lidless.’ (jp_ji_mt.040)
- (460) [Sesepi]_{Adjunct}=la=e, [lo kilorua tau-li
 Sesepi=LOC.M=**EMPH** DET.PL kilorua wait-3SG.M.O
 so=gha]_{Subj}=e [ota pale sua]_{Pred}
 ATT=PL=EMPH there stay ATT
 ‘At Sesepi, those looking after the Kilorua (were) staying there.’, lit.
 ‘...those waiting for the Kilorua...’ (ap_headhunt.017)

As was mentioned above (Sec. 7.1.1, p. 214), occasionally the subject of a non-verbal property clause is mentioned twice, once at the beginning and once at the end (461–463). The NP at the end will consist of a case-marked personal pronoun, the one at the beginning can be either a full NP (461) or a pronoun (462, 463), either case-marked (462) or marked with =e ‘EMPH’ (461, 463). The predicate is commonly marked with =e as well.

- (461) [Ai to edo Fiji sua mapa=lo]_{Subj}=e [to boboragha
 this DET.DU two F. ATT person=DU=**EMPH** DET.DU black
 mapa=lo]_{Pred}=e [to]_{Subj}=na.
 person=DU=**EMPH** 3DU=**NOM**
 ‘These two Fijians, they (were) black people.’ (jn_lotu.104)
- (462) [Ave]_{Subj}=na [kama lotu so=gha]_{Pred}=e [ave]_{Subj}=na.
 1PL.EX=**NOM** already pray ATT=PL=**EMPH** 1PL.EX=**NOM**
 ‘We, we (are) already Christians.’, lit. ‘We, already praying ones (are) we.’
 (jn_lotu.136)
- (463) [Mai]_{Subj}=me [tagha lo kaunga lo
 1NSG.IN=**EMPH**.1NSG.IN up DET.SG.M elder 3SG.M[GEN]
 mai gn-eghe samemigni sua pono=lo]_{Pred}=e
 1NSG.IN 1O-see follow.1NSG.IN.O ATT.SG.M only=DU=**EMPH**
 [mai]_{Subj}=na.
 1NSG.IN=**NOM**
 ‘We, we (are) just looked after by the Lord up (there).’, lit. ‘We, only ones whom the Lord up (there) looks after (are) we.’ (png_WWII.3_317)

7.2.1.2. Verbal clauses and =e ‘EMPH’

In a verbal clause, the emphatic enclitic =e can be attached to an adjunct (464, 465) or adverb (465). A verbal clause can contain more than one of these =e-marked elements (465).

- (464) *Zu [ai lo ivaghu]_{Adjunct}=la=e [mai]_{Subj}=na [pugne-i]_{VC}*
 but this DET.SG.M day=LOC.M=EMPH 1NSG.IN=NOM bath-FIN
 ‘But today we wash.’, lit. ‘But on this day we wash.’ (mp_mapagha_128)
- (465) *[Koata]_{Adv}=e, [mai-va toka=gha ze*
 before=EMPH 1NSG.IN-GEN.PL sibling=PL 3PL[GEN]
tuvi]_{Adjunct}=la=e, ghoma=no_{Subj} tomai bo ale ta-i.
 house=LOC.M=EMPH no=2SG.NOM just go enter FUT-FIN
 ‘Before, at the house of our (cross-sex) siblings, you won’t just go inside.’ (ap_custom_004)

Only few instances of subjects and objects of verbal clauses marked by =e ‘EMPH’ have been found so far (466, 467).

- (466) *[Ave]_{Subj}=ve [qazu]_{Obj} te livu-li*
 1PL.EX=EMPH.1PL.EX ripe.coconut EMPH carry-3SG.M.O
[Australia]_{Adjunct} l-au bo-i.
 Australia 3SG.M.O-take go-FIN
 ‘We shipped ripe coconuts to Australia.’ (js_marine_043)
- (467) *Zu [lo pa]_{Obj}=e=ze_{Subj} l-au [to edo=lo*
 and DET.SG.M one=EMPH=3PL 3SG.M.O-take DET.DU two=DU
to taghata]_{Adjunct} te l-ovu-i.
 3DU[GEN] on.top EMPH 3SG.M.O-put-FIN
 ‘And that one they took and put on top of those two.’ (cp_api_mt_417)

In non-verbal clauses, =e ‘EMPH’ can attach to both the subject and the predicate, or to an adjunct. The subject of non-verbal clauses with =e on the predicate can sometimes be dropped. In verbal clauses we have seen that =e can attach to adjuncts, and is (albeit rarely) found on arguments as well. The only structural difference between verbal clauses with or without =e ‘EMPH’ is that subject case-marking is not possible if =e ‘EMPH’ attaches to the subject NP, and that the =e-marked constituent is fronted. Verbs and verb complexes cannot host =e.

7.2.1.3. Nominalized verbal clauses marked by =e ‘EMPH’

The emphatic enclitic =e is very often found on a nominalized verbal clause (NVC). In NVCs in contrast to corresponding verbal clauses, the state of affairs

itself is foregrounded, while the participants are downgraded (see Sec. 9.6). The whole verbal clause is turned into an NP, which functions as the predicate of a non-verbal clause. The =e ‘EMPH’ attached to the NVC emphasizes the state of affairs as a whole.

Example (468) is a simple verbal clause, and (469) shows how the equivalent content is expressed in a NVC marked with =e ‘EMPH’: the nominative case-marking of the subject personal pronoun is replaced by genitive marking, and the verb loses the finiteness suffix *-i* and acquires the nominalizing suffix *-ghu*. The adverb is kept without any change.

(468) [Ze]_{Subj}=na ka bo-i.
3PL=NOM already go-FIN
‘They already went.’ (mp_biti_155)

(469) Ze[=na] ka bo[-i]
↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
[Ze ka bo-ghu]_{pred}=e [lo]_{Subj}=na.
3PL[GEN] already go-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
‘They already went.’, lit. ‘Their already going (was) it.’
(bd_cs_tonelo_159)

Alternative forms of the same clause are (470) and (471), featuring the full form of the genitive pronoun and the adverb⁸⁶.

(470) [Ze-va kama bo-ghu]_{pred}=e.
3PL-GEN.M already go-NMLZ=EMPH
‘They already went.’, lit. ‘Their already going.’
(wr_cs_poghorog_huliagha_064)

(471) [Ze-va kama bo-ghu]_{pred}=e [la]_{Subj}=na.
3PL-GEN.M already go-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M.PROX=NOM
‘They already went.’, lit. ‘Their already going (was) this’
(ej_cs_turibibinu_005)

The subject NP is semantically empty; its only function is the completion of the nominal clause, comparable to *it* in the English impersonal clause *It is raining*. However, in contrast to the subject in the English example, *lo=na* ‘3SG.M=NOM’ in (469) can easily be dropped (470). As in other non-verbal clauses that have the

86. Both forms of the adverb, *ka* and *kama*, are in free variation. In these specific examples, the monosyllabic form is probably preferred after the monosyllabic reduced genitive pronoun, and the disyllabic form after the disyllabic full genitive pronoun, because it leads to a more symmetric rhythm.

subject NP following an =*e*-marked predicate, the proximal third person pronoun forms can be used (471).

The intonation of nominalized verbal clauses is slightly different from that of a normal declarative clause (for examples of verbal and non-verbal clauses see Sec. 2.5): The peak preceding the clause-final drop in pitch is placed on the stressed syllable of the nominalized verb. This is true whether there is a subject NP following or not, see the pitch contours of examples (469) above and (472) in Figure 19.

- (472) *Ko ba'bo-ghu=e.*
 3SG.F[GEN] go.past-NMLZ=EMPH
 'She went past.', lit. 'Her going past.' (da_gnero_043)

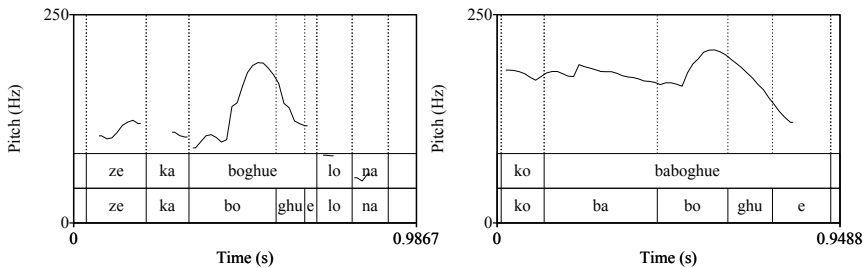


Figure 19. The pitch contours of the nominalized verbal clauses in examples (469) and (472)

This can be seen as further evidence of the NP character of the nominalized clause; examples like (472) consist of only one constituent, therefore the clausal intonation is spread out over this constituent. If the agent expressed by the genitive pronoun still had the status of a clausal constituent instead of an NP constituent, the peak would be located on the end of the clausal constituent before the verb, not on the verb itself (cf. Sec. 2.5).

Verbal clauses nominalized with *-ghu* are very common in Savosavo. In fact, in more than half of the 5,207 occurrences of =*e* in the corpus (not counting the allomorphs used with personal pronouns) it is attached to such a nominalized verbal clause (NVC). It is a construction of great importance in Savosavo discourse, therefore it will be discussed in detail in Section 9.6, with respect to both structural details and functions. For the moment, a few more examples should suffice, showing that adjuncts (473), objects (474) and negation (475) can be used just as in normal verbal clauses:

- (473) [*Ai bo ota sade=la z-aka tarai-ghu*]_{Pred}=*e.*
 1SG.GEN go there Sunday=LOC.M 3PL-with pray-NMLZ=EMPH
 'I went and prayed with them there on Sunday.', lit. 'My going there on Sunday with them praying.' (jv_tarai_038)

- (474) [To-va bo pa kola zu mili l-au-ghu]_{pred}=e.
 3DU-GEN.M go one stick and string 3SG.M.O-take-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘They went and took a stick and string.’, lit. ‘Their going (and) taking a
 stick and string.’ (ap_cs_kakula_015)
- (475) Tulola [ze kama ghoma gn-au-ghu]_{pred}=e
 then 3PL[GEN] already not 1O-take-NMLZ=EMPH
 [lo]_{Subj}=na.
 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘And then they just didn’t take me.’, lit. ‘And then their just not taking
 me (was) it.’ (js_marine_028)

7.2.1.4. Functions of =e ‘EMPH’

In Sections 7.2.1.1 and 7.2.1.2 there was discussion of where in a clause the emphatic enclitic =e can appear. It was shown that the enclitic =e can be found on arguments, predicates and adjuncts. In this section the function of =e as an emphasizing element on the level of the information structure of a clause will be discussed and illustrated. First some terms used in this section need to be briefly defined, following Lambrecht (1994):

- **Topic**: “A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if IN A GIVEN DISCOURSE the proposition is construed as being ABOUT this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is RELEVANT TO and which increases the addressees KNOWLEDGE OF this referent.” (Lambrecht 1994: 127)
- **Topic expression**: “[A] LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION designating a topic referent in a sentence.” (Lambrecht 1994: 128)
- **Focus**: “The semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition.” (Lambrecht 1994: 213). Three types of focus can be distinguished:
 - **Predicate-focus** (answers a question like *What did John do with the cookie?*)
 - **Argument-focus** (answers a question like *Who ate the cookie?*)
 - **Sentence-focus** (answers a question like *What happened?*)

The emphasizing enclitic =e, as well as the emphasizing particle *te* mentioned above in Section 7.1.2.1 and discussed in more detail in Section 7.2.2 below, cannot be uniquely assigned to one of these information structural categories. It is often possible to make perfectly grammatical utterances without any of them, indicating topical and/or focal constituents by means of intonation and/or word order, as in many other languages. When they are used they are found on both



Figure 20. A picture of three bananas, from the Man & Tree matching game, described in Example (476)

topical as well as focal constituents. *Te* and *=e* can also co-occur. As it is impossible to discuss issues of information structure and pragmatics on the basis of isolated utterances, the examples in this section will be longer and consist of a number of contiguous utterances, marking rising intonation by a comma, falling intonation by a semicolon, and breaks by a solidus. A period marks clause-final falling intonation followed by a break.

When *=e* ‘EMPH’ is used on a topical constituent, it usually signals topic shift, e.g. from a group to one of the members, or from a whole to a part, or it marks the reactivation of a referent that had topical status some time ago. Example (476) is a description of a picture (reproduced in Fig. 20) used in a Man & Tree matching game (described in Pederson et al. 1998). The speaker had to describe it to the other participant who had to identify it among a set of pictures spread out in front of her. They could not see each other. This is one picture of a set of twelve, two of which show three bananas; the speaker started with the other banana picture, and described this picture next.

- (476) a. *Ok; [lo pa]=e, / [edo sou=lo]=e, /*
 ok DET.SG.M one=**EMPH** / two banana=DU=**EMPH** /
[to puto]_{Subj}=e [kulo te kozi sua]_{Pred};
 3DU[GEN] bottom=**EMPH** seawards **EMPH** face ATT
- b. *tuka [lo pa lo puto]_{Subj}=e [neu]_{Pred};*
 whenever DET.SG.M one 3SG.M[GEN] bottom=**EMPH** down
- c. *zu [lo pa]_{Obj}=e=ze_{Subj} l-au to*
 and DET.SG.M one=**EMPH**=3PL.NOM 3SG.M.O-take DET.DU
edo=lo to taghata te l-ovu-i.
 two=DU 3DU[GEN] on.top **EMPH** 3SG.M.O-put-FIN

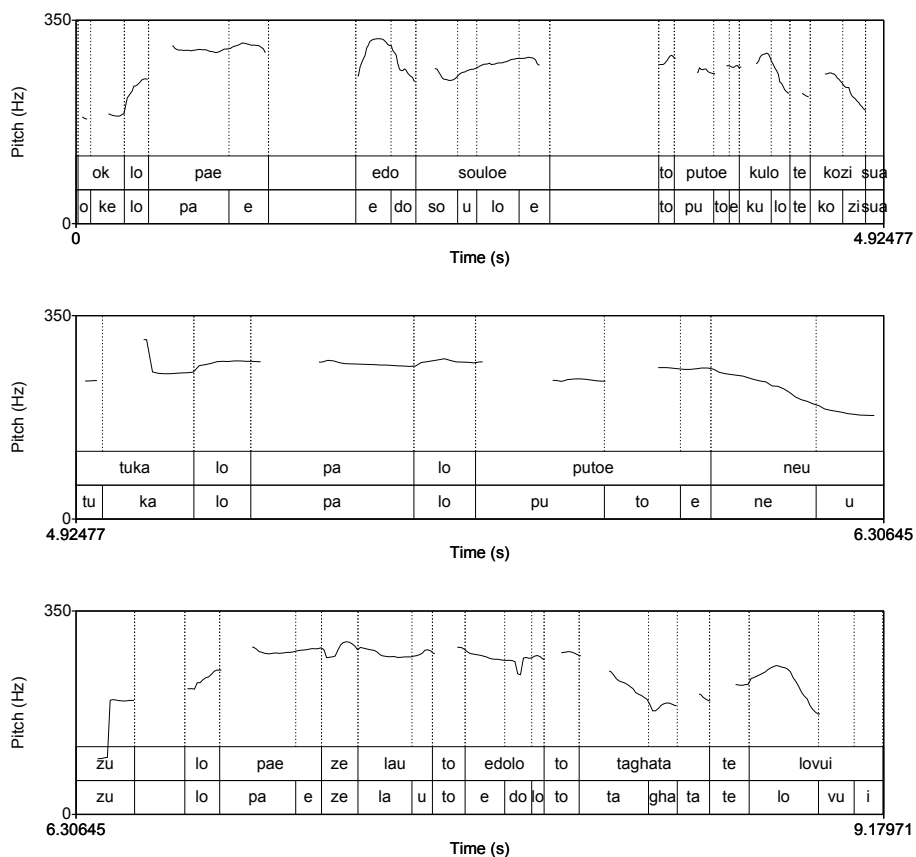


Figure 21. Pitch contour of the clauses in example (476).

‘Ok; that one (picture), two bananas, the bottom of them faces sea-wards; then the bottom of the one (faces) down; and the one they took and put on top of the (other) two.’ (cp_api_mt_417)

The enclitic =e ‘EMPH’ is used several times in this example, and always on a topical constituent. With the first three instances, in (476a), the speaker ‘zooms in’ on the first referent about which a statement is made: from *lo pae* ‘that one’, referring to the second (and last) banana picture as a whole, to *edo souloe* ‘two bananas’, to *to putoe* ‘the bottom of them’. In the second clause (476b) the topic is shifted to *lo pa lo putoe* ‘the bottom of the one’. Finally, in (476c) the topic is *lo pae* ‘that/the one’, i.e. the whole banana lying on the other two, not longer just its bottom.

Judging from the transcription provided in (476), an alternative analysis could be suggested. As was said in Section 7.2.1.1, it is possible to get an =e-

marked predicate as a complete non-verbal clause, because a subject can easily be dropped. Therefore one could hypothesize that the first two so-called ‘topical constituents’ are in fact complete non-verbal clauses, consisting only of an =*e*-marked predicate. The translation would then be something like ‘Ok; (it is) that one. (There are) two bananas.’. However, when the intonation (provided in Fig. 21) is taken into account, this analysis is ruled out. None of the constituents in question exhibits the falling intonation that would be expected at the end of a clause (see Sec. 2.5), instead the pitch is kept at roughly the same height.

On a focussed constituent (a predicate of a non-verbal clause, which may be a NVC) =*e* serves to mark that constituent as especially relevant in the current situation, either in the course of the story being told, or in the speech situation. Example (477) is an excerpt from a traditional folk story, interrupted by an aside to make sure that the addressee was familiar with the term *gori* ‘frog’. The story starts with a mother taking her baby daughter to the garden. She leaves her at the resting place and works in the garden, but then the child starts crying. The mother wants to finish her work first and lets her cry.

- (477) a. *Tulola=gho ngia; ngia; ngia; ngia; ngia; /*
 then=3SG.F.NOM cry.SIM cry.SIM cry.SIM cry.SIM cry.SIM /
 [*ko neu piva=la soma pa; / pa tuqana ngai; /*
 DET.SG.F down water=LOC.M ATT.SG.F one / one mighty big /
gori ko-va te pia ba-ghu]=e.
 frog 3SG.F-GEN.M EMPH move.up come-NMLZ=**EMPH**
 ‘And then as she cried and cried and cried... a gigantic frog staying
 down at the water came up.’, lit. ‘...her moving up coming.’
 (da_cs_kosakosa_026)
- b. [*Qori l-olomi sue*]_{Pred} [*no*]_{Subj}=*na?* (CW: Mm.)
 frog 3SG.M.O-know ATT.**EMPH** 2SG=NOM mm
 ‘Do you know “gori”?’ (CW: Mm.)’, lit. ‘One knowing “gori” (are)
 you?’
 (da_cs_kosakosa_027-028)
- c. [*Neu piva=la pale sue*]_{Pred} (CW: Eo.)
 down water=LOC.M stay ATT.**EMPH** yes
 ‘(It is) one staying down at the water. (CW: Yes.)’
 (da_cs_kosakosa_029-030)
- d. *Ko pia ba tulola /* (CW: Mm?) [*ko*
 3SG.F[GEN] move.up come then / mm 3SG.F[GEN]
ko zuba qutu-ghi-ghu]=e.
 DET.SG.F child swallow-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=**EMPH**
 ‘When she had come up... (CW: Mm?) she swallowed the child.’, lit.
 ‘...her the child swallowing.’
 (da_cs_kosakosa_031)

- e. *Qutu-ghi tulola [ko kama k-omaqa neu*
 swallow-3SG.F.O then 3SG.F[GEN] already 3SG.F.O-carry down
piva=la au-ghu]=e.
 water=LOC.M move.down-NMLZ=**EMPH**
 ‘Swallowed her and then she already carried her down to the wa-
 ter.’, lit. ‘...her already carrying down to the water going down.’
 (da_cs_kosakosa_032)
- f. *Au tulola / ko mama=kona*
 move.down then / 3SG.F[GEN] mother=NOM.F
ene-ghi-a=gho todo te=gho
 hear-3SG.F.O-SIM=3SG.F.NOM be.immobile CONJ=3SG.F.NOM
 ‘O; / ai gnuba=kona izi-tu.’ *tei(-i).*
 o / 1SG.GEN child=NOM.F sleep-PRS.IPFV say
 ‘Had gone down and then, as her (i.e. the child’s) mother heard that
 she was quiet she said: “O; my child is sleeping.”’
 (da_cs_kosakosa_033)

In (477a), the whole nominalized clause (marked by square brackets) consists of new material. The agent is a new referent, mentioned for the first time. This clause leads up to the first climax in the story. Examples (477b) and (477c) are a short aside on the term *qori* ‘frog’, consisting of property clauses with =e-marked predicates; the addressee’s knowledge of the term as well as its meaning are obviously very relevant for the speech situation. The story is resumed in (477d)⁸⁷. In the =e-marked NVC in (477d) the participants are given, only the way they are related in the event, namely that the frog swallows the child, is ‘new’ information and asserted; this is the first climactic event in the story plot. (477e) is structured the same way: the predicate of the NVC is the new information. Just as the clause before the climax (the new referent, the frog, coming up) was assigned special emphasis by the use of =e, so is the clause right after the climax (the frog carrying the child away to the water). The following clause, turning back to the mother, does not contain =e ‘EMPH’ (477f).

NVCs marked by =e ‘EMPH’ appear to be preferably used for new developments and climactic events in a story line. Taking just those 20 out of 66 utterances from the traditional story about Polupolu (Appendix A.1) that contain an NVC marked with =e ‘EMPH’, it is possible to recover virtually the whole story plot.

87. As in many Papuan languages (cf. de Vries 2005), there is tail-head-linkage in Saposavo, i.e. the predicate of the preceding clause is repeated at the beginning of the following clause: *pia baghue* at the end of (477a) is repeated as *pia ba* in (477d), as well as *qutughighue* at the end of (477d) and *qutughi* in (477e) (see Sec. 8.3.4).

The examples above showed a string of =*e*-marked topical and focal constituents respectively (476, 477); example (478) shows that these uses of =*e* ‘EMPH’ are mixed easily. The speaker talks about the Savo marriage customs. After the parents make an arrangement, the compensation payment has to be made.

- (478) a. *Kia*, [*to-va* / *sala-ghu=la*, /
 if 3DU-GEN.M / follow.3SG.M.O-NMLZ=LOC.M /
lo *jojokuli* / *ghoi l-ovu-ghu*]_{Pred}=*e*.
 DET.SG.M compensation / also 3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘If (so,) they (two), subsequently, also give the compensation.’, lit.
 ‘...their, at following, the compensation also putting.’ (ap_aeghu_017)
- b. [*Lo* *jojokuli*]=*e*, / [*ghoma lo* / *mama* /
 DET.SG.M compensation=EMPH / not DET.PL / mother /
mau / *kulagha* *kukua* / =*gha*
 father/pat.uncle / uncle/nephew/niece gen.2 / =PL
epi-mi *sue*]_{Pred}; / *zu*; / [*ko* *adaki*
 hit.target-3PL.O ATT.EMPH / and/but / DET.SG.F woman
ko-va / *tada toka=gha*; / *z-emiti* *sue*]_{Pred} / [*ai*
 3SG.F-GEN.M / man sibling=PL / 3PL-for ATT.EMPH / this
lo *jojokuli*]_{Subj}=*na*.
 DET.SG.M compensation=NOM
 ‘The compensation, (it is) not for the parents, uncles, grandparents,
 but the male siblings of the woman, for them (is) this compensation.’
 (ap_aeghu_018)

In (478a) =*e* ‘EMPH’ the object and predicate are new information,⁸⁸ the parents are the current topic. The first occurrence of =*e* ‘EMPH’ in (478b) serves to shift the topic to the newly introduced compensation (note the rising intonation marked by the comma, as in example (476a) above). The second and third then mark the predicates of what are syntactically two complete non-verbal clauses, only the second of which contains an overt subject NP.

Summing up, =*e* ‘EMPH’ is used to mark that something requires a bit more attention than the addressee might assume, either because it is of specific importance for the current situation, either within a story, or within the external speech situation, or because there is a change in topic. It is an important device that is frequently employed, but for a comprehensive description of its use more research on its interaction with other information-structural devices is needed.

88. Note that Lambrecht (1994) subsumes clauses in which only the object is ‘new’ information, i.e. focussed, and clauses in which both predicate and object are in focus under ‘predicate focus’.

To conclude, the following utterances (479–481) are a sample of occurrences of =e ‘EMPH’ very common in everyday interaction.

- (479) [Lo]_{Pred}=e [lo]_{Subj}=na.
3SG.M=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
‘That’s it.’ (ss_cl_pudding_200)
- (480) *Mai ka sara-ghu=e!*
1NSG.IN[GEN] already reach-NMLZ=EMPH
‘There we are!’, lit. ‘Our already reaching’ (133_001_srb)
- (481) *Poima, ave ka bo-ghu=e!*
friends 1PL.EX[GEN] already bo-NMLZ=EMPH
‘Folks, we’re going!’, lit. ‘...our already going’ (097_001_srb)
- (482) *Zui-ghu=e!*
end-NMLZ=EMPH
‘Finished!’ or ‘Done!’ (cp_api_mt_373)

7.2.2. The emphasizing particle *te* ‘EMPH’

The emphasizing particle *te* is one of the fifteen most common morphemes in the corpus and occurs in a great number of examples throughout this grammar. Synchronically, there are three homophonous morphemes *te*: one is used to link clauses in a clause chaining construction and could be translated as ‘(and) then’ (see Sec. 8.3); the second appears in predicate-first locational clauses (described in Sec. 7.1.2.1, p. 207); and the function of the third, the emphatic particle, is to put emphasis on the referent of the preceding constituent (483). This constituent has to be a phrase or independent word, it cannot be a clitic.

- (483) a. Speaker 1, after talking about a traditional knife made from stone:
Kila=la te ngoi-li so=gha=e.
stone.knife=LOC.M EMPH call-3SG.M.O ATT=PL=EMPH
‘They called it ‘kila’.’ (mp_mapagha_071)
- b. Speaker 2:
Eo; lo-va nini=e te lo=na;
yes **3SG.M-GEN.M name=EMPH EMPH 3SG.M=NOM**
kila.
stone.knife
‘Yes; that (was) its name, kila.’ (mp_mapagha_072)

While the enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ is restricted to independent clauses, the particle *te* ‘EMPH’ has so far also been attested in conditional clauses with *kia* ‘if’ (Sec. 8.2.2.2), temporal clauses (8.2.2.3), relative clauses with *-tu* (Sec. 8.2.1.1), initial or medial clauses of a clause chain (Sec. 8.3), and *-ghu*-nominalizations in some contexts (Ch. 9).

The emphasized constituent can be an NP in any syntactic position, including a subject (484), object (484, 485), locative-marked adjunct (483a) and non-verbal predicate (483b), but also a postpositional (486) or a locational adjunct (487).

- (484) *Ze=na te ai lo lo Peraviko te*
3PL=NOM EMPH this 3SG.M **DET.SG.M Peraviko EMPH**
l-eghe sala-i.
 3SG.M.O-see follow.3SG.M-FIN
 ‘It was them who looked after this Peraviko.’ (tt_bd_war_091)
- (485) *Apoi=me te pala ta-i?*
what=1NSG.IN.NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘What will we do?’ (ap_cs_kakula_046)
- (486) *Merika=gha ghoi gn-omata te izi so-gha*
 American=PL also **1-at EMPH** sleep ATT=PL
 ‘Americans also used to sleep at my place.’ (png_WWII_3_110)
- (487) *Ai lo mapa=na ai lo taemu=la*
 this DET.SG.M person=NOM this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M
kao te alu kozi(-i).
bushwards EMPH stand face(-FIN)
 ‘This man is facing bushwards this time.’ (jp_ji_mt_303)

It is also possible to emphasize a genitive-marked NP expressing a possessor in an NP (488) or the subject of a (nominalized or subordinate) clause (489).

- (488) *Sipiriano Uri lo-va te gnuba=e.*
Sipiriano Uri 3SG.M-GEN.M EMPH child=EMPH
 ‘The son of Sipiriano Uri.’ (jn_lotu_138)
- (489) *Tulola ze-va te raghe liaza-ghu=e*
 then **3PL-GEN.M EMPH** run return-NMLZ=EMPH
lo=na.
 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘Then they ran back.’ (jn_lotu_043)

Furthermore, *te* ‘EMPH’ can be used to emphasize a *sua-* or *lava-*phrase (cf. Sec. 4.8) used attributively in an NP (490, 491). But *te* ‘EMPH’ cannot be used to emphasize a verb or SVC.

- (490) *Ghoma ata mai magnigha=la kao*
 no here 1NSG.IN[GEN] homestead=LOC.M bushwards
l-au sua te veji=e.
 3SG.M.O-take ATT.SG.M EMPH bamboo=EMPH
 ‘(It was) not a bamboo taken here bushwards at our homestead.’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_043)

- (491) *Lo dai toa sere kakala=gha mali*
 DET.SG.M good really.M be.white white.parrot=PL be.like
sua ngolangola lava te tada mapa.
 ATT.SG.M beard PROPR.SG.M EMPH old.M person
 ‘An old man having a very nice white beard being like the white parrots.’
 (xs.198)

Te ‘EMPH’ is a free morpheme, not an enclitic. Evidence for this is that enclitic subject personal pronouns, which have to follow the first constituent of a clause, will intervene between the constituent and *te* ‘EMPH’ (485). Although in (485) *te* ‘EMPH’ does not any longer follow the emphasized constituent directly, such a clause cannot be interpreted as having emphasis on the clitic pronoun. The emphasis will always be on the host of the clitic pronoun.

Te ‘EMPH’ can co-occur with the emphatic enclitic =*e* (cf. Sec. 7.2.1), as in (483b). The emphasized constituent is often, but not necessarily, in focus. In (483a) above, for example, the term ‘kila’ is new information and in focus, and in (485) the interrogative proform is emphasized. In (484), the first instance of *te* ‘EMPH’ follows a constituent in focus, but the second instance emphasizes a constituent denoting a topical referent, *Peraviko*. *Te* ‘EMPH’ is never obligatory in the sense that a clause would be ungrammatical without it, but according to speakers it ‘sounds much better’ when it is used. It is not the case that a focused constituent would always require a following *te* ‘EMPH’, e.g. questions can easily be formed without it (492).

- (492) *Zu apoi=gne ghoi savu-li ta-i.*
 but what=1SG.NOM also tell-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘But what else will I say?’
 (ap_jeff_beki_267)

It is likely that the emphatic particle *te* shares a common diachronic origin with the clause-chaining *te* and the particle *te* found in predicate-first locational clauses. Whether it might also be related to the emphatic enclitic =*e* (discussed above in Sec. 7.2.1) is unclear.

The three morphemes *te* in Savosavo differ not only in function, but can be distinguished by structural criteria as well. The clause-chaining *te* is always the first element of a clause, either connecting two clauses or, occasionally, starting a new clause (493).

- (493) *Te=lo* *ze-va* *tovolo pono l-au-a*
CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3PL-GEN.M bone only 3SG.M.O-take-SS
te=lo *data lo* *baba napu=la*
CONJ=3SG.M.NOM outside DET.SG.M hole mouth=LOC.M
vata-li *l-ovu-i.*
 line.up-3G.M.O 3SG.M.O-put-FIN
 ‘And he took only their bones and he lined them up outside the cave
 entrance.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_099)

In either case, if the subject of the following clause is expressed by an enclitic pronoun (as it commonly is), this pronoun attaches directly to *te*, corroborating the analysis of clause-chaining *te* as the first element of the clause. The clause-chaining *te* can bear stress, and in most cases the clause would be ungrammatical if it was omitted.

The particle *te* found in predicate-first locational clauses is quite similar to the clause-chaining *te*, except that it does not connect two clauses, but is placed between a locational predicate and the syntactic subject (494).

- (494) *Ata_p te=lo_s*
 here **PA=3SG.M.NOM**
 ‘Here it (is).’ (cp_api_mt_021)

Te ‘PA’ is usually stressed, and it often functions as the host for enclitic personal pronouns. It is obligatory in this context.

In contrast, the emphasizing *te* does not bear stress. As mentioned above, it occurs within a clause, following an emphasized constituent (495).⁸⁹

- (495) *Pa sere sua laka=gne te aqutu-i.*
 one be.white ATT.SG.M 3SG.M-with=1SG.NOM **EMPH** work-FIN
 ‘I worked with a white man.’ (js_marine_104)

The emphasizing *te* can usually be omitted without rendering the clause ungrammatical, although it may not be as well-formed and elegant.

In Solomon Islands Pijin, the morpheme *nao* is used in similar ways for emphasis: According to the respective entry in a SIP dictionary (Jourdan and Maebiru 2002: 145), *nao* is used, among other functions, as a ‘sequencer’ with

89. As was mentioned above, enclitics cannot be emphasized. Instead, the emphasis is on the constituent that hosts the enclitic, in (495) the postpositional phrase.

the meaning ‘then’, as well as a “[f]ocus or emphasis marker” that “[f]ollows the word it modifies”. The examples given for the latter function are *Wanem nao nem blong iu?* ‘What is your name?’ and *Muina nao bae go long maket* ‘It’s Muina who will go to the market’ (cf. examples (485) and (484) above). In Savosavo, while the first example would contain the enclitic =*e* rather than the particle *te* (496), an example parallel to the second Pijin example would be encoded with *te* (497).

- (496) *Ai=e ko nini=na?*
 who=EMPH 3SG.F[GEN] name=NOM
 ‘What (is) her name?’, lit. ‘Who (is) her name?’ (ap_jeff_beki_075)
- (497) Answering the question: “But who told you it was my birthday today?”
Airini=kona te gn-aka savu-li-zu.
 Irine=NOM.F EMPH 1-with tell-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘It was Irine who told me.’ (ap_jeff_beki_192)

7.3. Negation

Negation is found on different syntactic levels and is expressed by different means. The most commonly used option is the particle *oma* ‘not’, used as the negative answer to questions, and employed to negate verbal and non-verbal clauses, NPs and adverbs (Sec. 7.3.1). Other possibilities are to use the negative existential *baigho(za)* (Sec. 7.3.2), the irrealis suffix *-ale* (Sec. 7.3.3), the prohibitive particle *sika* (which is used in combination with *-ale* ‘IRR’; Sec. 7.3.4) and the apprehensive suffix *-le* (Sec. 7.3.5).

Each of the lexemes will be shortly presented below. There are furthermore some verbs that have negative semantics: *zove* ‘to be unwilling’, *zovea-li* ‘to refuse something’, and *peje* ‘to be averse to something’.

7.3.1. *Oma* ‘not’

Both verbal and non-verbal clauses can be negated by insertion of *oma* ‘not’, which is also used to answer a question with ‘no’ (498). It is also used in dependent clauses. The form *oma* is in most contexts in free variation with the allomorph *ghoma* (see below). This particle is a full-fledged constituent of the clause and can be host to an enclitic personal pronoun (499).

- (498) ***Oma***; *ata=ze oma pa vaka bola-i.*
no here=3PL.NOM **not** one ship shoot.3SG.M-FIN
 ‘No; here they didn’t shoot any ship.’, lit. ‘No; here they shot not one ship.’ (bk_WWII_163)

- (499) *Ghoma*=*gne* *ghoi p-ou* *ta-i!*
 not=1SG.NOM also 2DU.O-eat FUT-FIN
 ‘I won’t eat you!’ (ap_cs_kakula_075)

Oma ‘not’ precedes the (non-clitic) constituent which it negates. Enclitics like enclitic personal pronouns cannot be negated. *Oma* ‘not’ is used for both negating a whole clause (in this case it can follow some constituents, as long as it precedes the predicate) or just a part of a clause. Its scope can only extend over elements on the same syntactic level; however, in examples such as (498) it could be analyzed as being located on the clause level, or as being part of one of the constituents of the clause. As a consequence, it would have scope either over the NP *pa vaka* ‘a ship’ only (*ata=ze [oma pa vaka] bolai*), or over the whole clause (*ata=ze oma [pa vaka] bolai*). Accordingly, the example could be translated in different ways, either as ‘No, here they shot not any / a single ship’ in the first case, or as ‘No, here they didn’t shoot a ship’ in the second case. When *oma* immediately precedes an NP with *pa* ‘one’ (498), or even a determiner plus *pa* ‘one’ (500), the restricted-scope analysis seems more appropriate because this appears to be a collocation, but often the examples are simply ambiguous.

- (500) *Oma lo* *pa=na* *ave=i; Savo=la.*
 not DET.SG.M one=NOM die-FIN Savo=LOC.M
 ‘No-one died; on Savo.’ (png_WWII_1_177)

Oma can also appear in nominalized verbal clauses (see example (444) above) and subordinate clauses, e.g. relative clauses (501) or temporal clauses (502), but it is not found in medial clauses, i.e. the non-final clauses in a clause-chaining construction.

- (501) [*Lo*]_s=*le* [*no ghoma lusi-li sua*]_p
 3SG.M=EMPH.M 2SG[GEN] no squeeze-3SG.M.O ATT
 ‘That (is) one you don’t squeeze.’, lit. ‘That (is) your not squeezing being one.’ (ss_cl_pudding_066)
- (502) [*Elu lo oma supu*]_c *tuka lo te*
 ngali.nut 3SG.M[GEN] not be.many whenever 3SG.M[GEN] EMPH
ghoi kaka-ghu=e.
 also be.tight-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When there are not many Ngali nuts (in the pudding), then it is also too dense.’ (ss_cl_pudding_160)

Oma can be used in combination with *natu* to express ‘not yet’. The second part of the collocation, *natu*, is not found on its own. *Oma natu* in itself constitutes

a complete utterance. To express that something has not happened yet, *oma* is used in combination with the background imperfective suffix *-atu* ‘BG.IPFV’ attached to the verb ((503); cf. Sec. 6.3.2.5).

- (503) *Oma=to ae-atu?*
not=3DU.NOM be.married-BG.IPFV
 ‘They are not married yet?’ (ap_jeff_beki_565)

In both contexts, only the form *oma*, not *ghoma*, has been found.

7.3.2. The negative existentials *baigho* and *baighoza*

To express that something is non-existent, the particle *baigho* and the intransitive verb *baighoza* are used. *Baigho* appears as the =*e*-marked predicate of a non-verbal clause (504), and *baighoza* as a verbal predicate (505).

- (504) *Zu koata=e, baigho=e keda=na.*
 but before=EMPH **not.exist=EMPH** fire=NOM
 ‘But before, there was no fire.’ (mp_mapagha_058)

- (505) *Zu lo boti ze bo leghe-a=lo*
 but DET.SG.M boat 3PL[GEN] go 3SG.M.O-see-SIM=3SG.M.NOM
baighoza-i.
not.exist-FIN
 ‘But as they looked for the boat, it wasn’t there.’ (pk_WWIL061)

Baighoe can be used on its own as an answer to a question such as ‘Is John there?’. The verb *baighoza* is furthermore used in combination with *oma* ‘not’ to express that something is perfectly possible and not completely out of the question (506).

- (506) *O, oma=lo baighoza ta-i, ko Kakamora*
 o no=3SG.M.NOM **not.exist** FUT-FIN DET.SG.F Kakamora
z-eghe-a ke=gho te ba l-au-i.
 3PL.O-see-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM EMPH come 3SG.M.O-take-FIN
 ‘O, it is not impossible (that) the Kakamora⁹⁰ saw them and she came (and) took it.’ (es_cs_kakamora_149)

90. According to the speaker, *Kakamora* is the name of a group of ‘small people’, probably mythical, living hidden on the island of Makira.

7.3.3. The irrealis suffix *-ale*

The irrealis suffix *-ale* (discussed in Sec. 6.3.3.3) is restricted to non-embedded, independent clauses denoting hypothetical or counterfactual propositions. It appears in the apodosis of hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses (507). In combination with *sika* ‘don’t’ it is used in negative commands (see Sec. 7.3.4 below).

- (507) *Zu zua sua monei ai mane ghoi erongo*
 but ask ATT if.only 1SG.GEN consecutively also something
ghana-li-ale.
 think-3SG.M.O-IRR
 ‘But if (there were) some questions, I would then also remember something.’
 (png_WWII_1_303)

7.3.4. The prohibitive particle *sika*

The prohibitive *sika* ‘don’t’ is used in main clauses to express negative commands. The verb in such a command has to be marked with the irrealis suffix *-ale* (508).

- (508) *Sika=me ata ave-ale*
don’t=2PL.NOM here die-IRR
 ‘Don’t you die here!’
 (png_WWII_3_152)

Sika is also used on its own, often to admonish children.

7.3.5. The apprehensive suffix *-le*

The apprehensive suffix *-le* (introduced in Sec. 6.3.3.2) marks the event denoted as undesirable (509).

- (509) *Ai-va ave-le.*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M die-APPR
 ‘Lest I die.’
 (ap_cs_polupolu_031)

For a discussion of apprehensive clauses see Section 7.5 below.

7.4. Questions

Two functional types of question can be distinguished: content questions and polar questions. The formation of questions does not require any syntactic changes.

The only changes observed are the placement of an interrogative lexeme in the position of the requested information (i.e. the interrogative proforms are used in situ), and/or a change of the intonation pattern.

7.4.1. Content questions

Content questions use one of the interrogative proforms. Interrogative proforms in Savosavo are used in situ. They belong to different word classes and replace the unknown and requested information in the corresponding declarative sentence. Table 51 provides a list of question words used in Savosavo.

Table 51. Interrogative proforms

Interrogative proform	Gloss	Word class
<i>ai</i>	‘who’	noun
<i>apoi</i>	‘what’	noun
<i>alea</i>	‘how many’	numeral
<i>ala</i>	‘where’	locational
<i>avasa</i>	‘when’	adverb
<i>ake(-li)</i>	‘be what’, ‘do what’	ambitransitive verb
<i>maitei(-li)</i>	‘be how’	ambitransitive verb

A constituent containing or consisting of an interrogative proform is commonly marked with the enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’, or followed by the particle *te* ‘EMPH’. Occasionally, both markers co-occur. However, neither seems obligatory, as there are examples that do not contain either (510).

- (510) *Ai=na ekati n-eghe sane ta-i.*
who=NOM CERT 2SG.O-see follow.2SG FUT-FIN
 ‘Who will look after you?’ (rra_cs_likuliku_027)

The interrogative lexemes *ai* ‘who’ and *apoi* ‘what’ are both nouns. *Ai* ‘who’ is used to ask for a person (510, 511) or a person’s name (512).

- (511) *Ai=e lo=na*
who=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘Who (is) that/he?’ (ap_jeff_beki_556)

- (512) *Ai=e ko nini=na?*
who=EMPH 3SG.F[GEN] name=NOM
 ‘What (is) her name?’, lit. ‘Who (is) her name?’ (ap_jeff_beki_075)

Ai ‘who’ is head of an NP, which can then be used in any syntactic position available to NPs. This includes the first position in an appositional construction (513, 514) and in the inclusory construction (see ex. (293) in Sec. 5.3.3, p. 157).

- (513) *Ai lo-va taghala=e ai la=na.*
who 3SG.M-GEN.M betel.nut.tree=EMPH this 3SG.M.PROX=NOM
 ‘Who’s betel nut tree (is) this?’ (wr_cs_vulaole_113)
- (514) *Ai to adaki=zalo=e ta=na*
who DET.DU woman=DU=EMPH 3DU.PROX=NOM
 ‘Who are these two women?’, lit. ‘Who two women (are) these?’
 (jv_tarai_081)

Both can be modified by *toa* ‘very’ ((515) and (168), repeated from Sec. 4.10), and *ai* also by *koi* ‘DET.SG.F’ when inquiring about a woman ((89), repeated here from Sec. 4.6).

- (515) *Apoi toa=ze te pala-i.*
what really.M=3PL.NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘What the heck did they do?’ (ap_cs_sua_056)
- (168) *Ei, ai toa tada=e no=na.*
 ei **who really** man=EMPH 2SG=NOM
 ‘Ei, who the heck are you?’ (dr_cs_taragau_084)
- (89) *“Koi ai=e no=na?”*
DET.SG.F who=EMPH 2SG=NOM
 ‘“Who (are) you?” (asking a woman)’ (rra_cs_likuliku_015)

The interrogatives *ake* and *maitei* are ambitransitive verbs. Both can be used to express ‘to be what’, ‘to do what’ or ‘to do/be how’, i.e. to inquire about an event, an action or a state that would be expressed by a verb. The exact characterization of their individual meaning and the difference between them is challenging and requires further investigation. One typical example for each is given in (516) and (517).

- (516) *Ake ta=gne.*
do.what FUT=1SG.NOM
 ‘What will I do?’ (es_cs_kakamora_041)
- (517) *Tuka no=na maitei-li-tu.*
 whenever 2SG=NOM **do.what-3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV**
 ‘Whenever (it is like that, then) you do what with it?’ or ‘Whenever how do you treat it?’ (ss_cl_pudding_126)

Both can be used with a general meaning of ‘to do whatever’ or ‘to do anything’, commonly in combination with *oma* ‘not’ (518, 519).

- (518) *Oma=ghe ake-li ta-i.*
 no=1DU.EX.NOM **do.what-3SG.M.O** FUT-FIN
 ‘We won’t do anything to him.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_139)
- (519) *Oma=ve ghoi maitei-mi ta-i.*
 no=1PL.EX.NOM also **do.what-3PL.O** FUT-FIN
 ‘We also wouldn’t do anything to them.’ (as_WWII_064)

Usually, content questions will be answered by providing the requested information. A peculiarity of Savosavo is that answers to content questions are often started with (*gh*)*oma* ‘no’⁹¹. This has been observed for content questions with *ala* ‘where’ (520), *apoi* ‘what’, *ake* ‘to be what’, ‘to do what’ and *maitei* ‘to be/do how’ (521).

- (520) a. *Te lo gn-aka tei-ghu=e; “Pio. No=na*
 CONJ 3SG.M[GEN] 1-to say-NMLZ=EMPH man 2SG=NOM
ala te bo-tu.” tei(-i).
where EMPH go-PRS.IPFV say(-FIN)
 ‘And he said to me: “Buddy. You are going where?” (he) said.’
 (jv_tarai_132-133)
- b. “**Oma**; conference=la=gne te bo
no conference=LOC.M=1SG.NOM EMPH go
tei-tu.” ai tei-ghu=e l-aka.
 want.to.do-PRS.IPFV 1SG.GEN say-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M-to
 ‘“No, I want to go to (the) conference.” I said to him.’ (jv_tarai_134)
- (521) a. “*Zu maitei-ghu=la=no te ba-i.*”
 but **be.how**-NMLZ=LOC.M=2SG.NOM EMPH come-FIN
 ‘“But why have you come?”’ (bd_cs_tonelo_216)
- b. “**Oma**; *zu ka no=gne te*
no but already 2SG=1SG.NOM EMPH
zala-ni-tu.”
 look.for-2SG.O-PRS.IPFV
 ‘“No; but (it is) you I am looking for.”’ (bd_cs_tonelo_217)

91. *Ghoma* and *oma* are in free variation in almost all contexts, see Section 7.3.1. Both forms would be possible in examples (520) and (521).

7.4.2. Polar questions

Polar questions, sometimes referred to in the literature as ‘yes-no questions’, can be formed from basic verbal and non-verbal clauses by changing the intonation. The distinguishing criterion is a higher final pitch peak, located on the beginning of the last constituent instead of the end of the penultimate constituent, followed by a steep drop, or a rise in pitch on the last syllable (cf. Sec. 2.5).

- (522) *Ave-ghu bo majali tamalu-li sue no=na?*
 die-NMLZ or ghost fear-3SG.M.O ATT.EMPH 2SG=NOM
 ‘Do you fear death or ghosts?’, lit. ‘Death or ghost fearing being (are) you?’ (AC1-106-A_124)

Negated questions can be answered by either by ‘yes’, simply affirming the truth of the negative statement in question, or ‘no’ (523), affirming the truth of the negative statement by repeating the negation.

- (523) a. *Oma=ze pleitenisi-tu?*
 no=3PL.NOM play.tennis-PRS.IPFV
 ‘Are they not playing tennis?’ (ap_dr_se_514)
 b. *Ghoma.*
 no
 ‘No (they are not)’ (ap_dr_se_515)

If the negative statement is not correct, there are two options as well. The answer can be ‘no’ only, with a higher pitch peak signalling contradiction, sometimes then followed by a statement providing a correction. The other option is to answer only with the correcting statement (524).

- (524) a. *Oma=lo lo ngoa*
 no=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M[GEN] chin
bela-li(-i)?
 lay.on.surface-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘Doesn’t he rest his chin (on the table)?’ (ap_dr_se_405)
 b. *Bela-li ze=lo.*
 lay.on.surface-3SG.M.O PA=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘He rests it (on the table).’ (ap_dr_se_406)

7.5. Apprehensive clauses

Apprehensive clauses are used to express that an unpleasant or feared event might happen. A verb of an apprehensive clause is marked with the appren-

sive suffix *-le*, which requires a genitive subject (see example (509), repeated here from Sec. 7.3.5 for convenience):

- (509) *Ai-va* *ave-le*.
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M die-APPR
 ‘Lest I die.’ (ap_cs_polupolu_031)

This form of the subject is found in most dependent clauses (see Sec. 8.2) and does not occur in other independent finite verbal clauses. Furthermore, no TAM or finiteness marking can be used in addition to or instead of *-le* ‘APPR’. Thus, regarding only the internal syntax of this clause, it appears to be a dependent clause. However, with respect to their external syntax, apprehensive clauses are similar to independent clauses, as they can easily be used on their own and are not embedded in or dependent on another clause.

There has been discussion of the status of apprehensive clauses as subordinate or not subordinate in other languages as well. For example, Austin (1981) classifies ‘lest’ clauses in Diyari as subordinate, although they differ from all other subordinate clauses in the language in that they “do not participate in the system of switch-reference which is an integral part of the syntax of other Diyari subordinate clauses” (Austin 1981: 226) and can occur by themselves, i.e. without being preceded by “a main clause to which [they are] subordinated” (Austin 1981: 229). The intonation break between the ‘lest’ clause and a preceding main clause “is slight” (Austin 1981: 188), but this could also be due to the fact that they are pragmatically closely linked. The argument given for the analysis of ‘lest’ clauses as subordinate even when they occur by themselves is that “they may be regarded as structurally subordinate because it is always POSSIBLE to add a main clause before them, although context may make it unnecessary” (Austin 1981: 229, original emphasis). Referring to the same quote, Lichtenberk (1995) argues against this analysis by saying that “there is no reason to appeal to an ‘understood’ main clause; this is precisely what the apprehensional-epistemic function of LEST elements is all about: there is a possibility of a situation coming about, and there is apprehension about that possibility” (Lichtenberk 1995: 307, original emphasis).

Thus, in Diyari, the internal syntax of clauses with the morpheme meaning ‘lest’ does not seem to provide evidence for classifying them as subordinate, as the only argument for regarding them as subordinate is the possibility to add a ‘main clause’ before them; for Austin, this possibility alone is sufficient to suggest that they may be subordinate clauses, while for Lichtenberk it is not. In Savosavo, although speakers do not need to use a clause expressing an imperative, warning or suggestion with apprehensive clauses like (509), they can and often do (525).

- (525) *Oma=gne liaza bo ta-i; dada ze=gne;*
 no=1SG.NOM return go FUT-FIN be.afraid PA=1SG.NOM
ai ave-le.
 1SG[GEN] die-APPR
 ‘I won’t go back; I’m scared; lest I die.’ (agh_png_505)

These clauses are then also main clauses. The external syntax of apprehensive clauses in Savosavo is thus similar to that in Diyari. However, Savosavo dependent or subordinate clauses usually precede the finite, independent matrix clause (with the exception of one type of purpose clause, see Sec. 8.2.2.5), whereas apprehensive clauses follow an imperative/warning/suggestion clause (526). Furthermore, they are found in typical main clause positions, e.g. as apodosis in a conditional clause following *kia* ‘if’ ((526c); cf. Sec. 8.2.2.2):

- (526) a. *Sika=no doi pala-ale;*
 don’t=2SG.NOM earth make.3SG.M-IRR
 ‘Don’t you make dirt;’
 b. *korikori lo doi~ doi-sa-le.*
 pudding 3SG.M REDUP~ earth-VBLZ-APPR
 ‘lest the pudding is dirty.’ (bd_korikori_051)
 c. *Kia me doi qaru-li-le.*
 if 2PL earth eat.crunchingly-3SG.M.O-APPR
 ‘If (so), lest you then crunchingly eat ground.’ (bd_korikori_052)

Another example for an apprehensive clause used as the apodosis of a conditional clause, this time with a preceding subordinate clause, is (527):

- (527) *Lo ba bomu solo kia me lapi*
 3SG.M[GEN] come bomb throw.3SG.M.O if 2PL[GEN] tongue
l-ova-li sodu-li-le.
 3SG.M.O-bite-3SG.M.O cut.in.two-3SG.M.O-APPR
 ‘[He told them to take a stick and bite on it and continued:] Lest you bite off your tongue if it [i.e. an attacking plane] comes and throws a bomb.’ (bk_WWII016)

Thus, internally, apprehensive clauses have the structure of a dependent clause, but regarding the external syntax of apprehensive clauses, i.e. which environments they are found in, they behave like an independent clause. This is in fact not unheard of cross-linguistically, see Evans (2007) on the phenomenon of ‘in-subordination’, i.e. “*the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses*” (Evans 2007: 367, original emphasis).

Chapter 8

Complex clauses

This chapter provides a description of complex clauses. There are different ways to form a complex clause by combining two or more clauses. One distinction pertains to how the connection between the clauses is marked: if there is a specific morpheme or particle used to link the clauses the term ‘**syndetic**’ is used, if that is not the case it is called ‘**asyndetic**’.

Another difference is how the two clauses that are joined relate to each other. If two clauses of the same kind (for example, two independent clauses, i.e. grammatical, complete clauses that can be used in isolation) are joined on the same syntactic level, this is called ‘**coordination**’. A particle joining two clauses in a coordinating construction will be called a **coordinator**. Coordination will be described in Section 8.1.

If one of the two clauses is a dependent clause (i.e. a clause that is incomplete in some way and cannot be used in isolation) which takes on a syntactic function in the clause it depends on, i.e. if it replaces one of its constituents or acts as a modifier, this dependent clause is **embedded** into the main clause. This is called ‘**subordination**’.⁹² The **embedded dependent** clauses are accordingly commonly called **subordinate** clauses, and the clause they are part of is a **main** or **matrix clause**. A particle marking a clause as subordinate will be called a **subordinator**. A description of subordinate clauses in Savosavo is provided in Section 8.2.

But subordination is not the only possibility to combine a dependent clause with an independent clause. Apart from **subordinate dependent** clauses, there are also **coordinate dependent** clauses, commonly found in Papuan languages (see e.g. Foley 1986). Constructions featuring coordinate dependent clauses are often called **clause-chaining** constructions. One or more coordinate dependent clauses, also called **medial** clauses, are lined up “much like beads on a necklace” (Foley 1986: 177), and the independent clause that contains the fully inflected verb is either the first or the last clause of such a chain. These constructions

92. Note that the term ‘embedded’ is used here synonymously with ‘subordinate’; envisioning a phrase structure tree, every dependent clause that is located hierarchically below the S-node of its main clause is considered to be ‘embedded’. In the literature, however, ‘embedded’ is sometimes used to refer to a subcategory of ‘subordinate’ clauses, namely those that either replace an argument (like a complement clause) or are located on an even lower level in a syntactic tree (like an adnominal relative clause), e.g. in Lehmann (1988), Dixon (1995), and in Functional Grammar (Haliday and Matthiessen 2004: 374, fn; Sinnemäki 2006). The result is that adverbial clauses would be considered as subordinate, but not embedded.

share characteristics of both coordination and subordination: as in coordination, the clauses are linked on the same syntactic level, the dependent clauses do not take on a syntactic function within the main clause. But in contrast to coordination, the syntactic status of the joined clauses is not the same: one or more dependent clauses are joined with an independent clause. Based on this in-between character, the term ‘**cosubordination**’ has been coined by Foley and Van Valin (1984) to refer to these clause-chaining constructions. Particles used to link the clauses in a clause-chaining construction will be referred to as **cosubordinators**. Section 8.3 provides a description of cosubordination in Savosavo.

8.1. Coordination of clauses

Following (Haspelmath 2004: 4), the units conjoined in a coordinating construction will be called ‘**coordinands**’, and the morphemes or particles used to mark the coordination in a syndetic coordinating construction ‘**coordinators**’. In an asyndetic coordinating construction the coordinands are simply **juxtaposed**.

Coordination of clauses in Savosavo is achieved by the coordinators *zu* ‘and, but’, *bo* ‘or’, and *apoi* ‘because’. This chapter will focus on coordination of clauses, but when a coordinating strategy is also used to coordinate other elements this will be mentioned as well. Coordination within NPs was discussed earlier in Section 5.3.1.

While in many languages a coordinator clearly belongs syntactically to the preceding or following coordinand, there is no clear evidence in Savosavo that the coordinators *zu* ‘and, but’ and *bo* ‘or’ are part of one of the coordinands.⁹³ They can start a new clause, thus connecting an utterance to the preceding text (especially *zu*), but they are not found at the end of a clause. While this seems to suggest that they belong syntactically to the second coordinand, counter-evidence is that an enclitic second-position subject pronoun cannot attach to these coordinators, but has to follow the next constituent (528, 529).

- (528) [C *zu* C]_c
 [[*Patere Bouillon=e* *buringa ba sua*] *zu*
 father Bouillon=EMPH back come ATT **but**
 [*pepa=la=lo* *zaba-zu*]].
 paper=LOC.M=3SG.M.NOM become.visible-PST.IPFV
 ‘Father Bouillon came later, but he (is the one who) appears in the records’
 (jn_lotu_106)

93. A similar situation is found in neighboring Lavukaleve, cf. Terrill (2004).

- (529) [C *bo* C]_C
No=na kati ake ta-i; [[*magnigha=la=no bo*
 2SG=NOM CERT be.what FUT-FIN village=LOC.M=2SG.NOM go
ta-i] **bo** [*ata=no uikeni ta-i*]?
 FUT-FIN **or** here=2SG weekend FUT-FIN
 ‘What will you do; will you go to the village or will you spend the weekend
 here?’ (jv_tarai_062)

In contrast, the coordinator *apoi* ‘because’, which is clearly part of the following coordinand, can be host for enclitic personal pronouns (Sec. 8.1.3), as can subordinators and cosubordinators (see Sec. 8.2 and Sec. 8.3).

8.1.1. Coordination with *zu* ‘and, but’

Zu ‘and, but’ is used to connect NPs and both verbal and non-verbal clauses. Coordination of NPs by means of *zu* ‘and, but’ is common and was discussed in more detail in Section 5.3.1.2. This coordinator primarily expresses conjunctive⁹⁴ coordination (530)⁹⁵. Given the right context, *zu* can also express adversative coordination (531).

- (530) [C, C *zu* C]_C
 [[*Ighia totoa=gha=na papale=la*], [*ighia=gha=na papale=la*],
 three sibling=PL=NOM side=LOC.M three=PL=NOM side=LOC.M
zu [*ko ze-ma adaki totoa=kona te*
and DET.SG.F 3PL-GEN.SG.F woman sibling=NOM.F EMPH
ghobu=la]].
 middle=LOC.M
 ‘Three siblings (were) on (one) side, three (were) on (the other) side, and
 their sister (was) in the middle.’ (wr_cs_poghoroghuliagha_055)

- (531) [C *zu* C]_C
Agni mau=na tei: “Ake-a=no?” tei, tulola agni tei:
 1SG[GEN] father=NOM say what-SIM=2SG.NOM say then 1SG say
 “[*Dai-sa patu*]; **zu** [*oma=lo dai-sa-i ata*]”.
 good-VBLZ BG.IPFV **but** no=3SG.M.NOM good-VBLZ-FIN here

94. Semantically, three types of coordination are usually distinguished: “**conjunction** (= conjunctive coordination, ‘and’ coordination [...]), **disjunction** (= disjunctive coordination, ‘or’ coordination [...]), and **adversative coordination** (‘but’ coordination [...])” (Haspelmath 2004: 5).

95. The coordinands as well as the whole coordination construction are marked by square brackets in all examples of this section. Furthermore, the first line of the examples specifies what kind of coordinands are connected.

‘My father said: “How are you?” (he) said, and then I said: “Ok (lit. still good); but it is not good here.”’ (agh_png_270)

In both (531) and (528), there is a contrast between the expectation evoked by the first coordinand clause, and the state of affairs encoded in the second clause. In (531), answering the question ‘How are you?’ with ‘OK’ suggests that the speaker is comfortable where she is, but actually she is not, because ‘it is not good here’. In (528), the first clause stresses that it was Pater Bouillon who came later, i.e. after Christianity had already arrived on Savo Island. Accordingly, he should not be in the records as bringing Christianity to Savo Island. But, as the second clause states, he is nonetheless the one mentioned in the records.

Zu ‘and, but’ can link clauses that are both non-verbal (530) or verbal (531), or clauses that are of different kinds (see example (528) above, where the first coordinand is a non-verbal clause with a *sua*-phrase as its predicate).

8.1.2. Coordination with *bo* ‘or’

This disjunctive conjunction is mostly used to connect verbal and/or non-verbal clauses (examples (529) above and (532)).

(532) [C *bo* C]_C

Kia=gne elakati zua-ni ta-i; [[moka⁹⁶ no=ne
if=1SG.NOM CERT ask-2SG.O FUT-FIN maybe 2SG=EMPH2SG
ela l-olomi sua] bo [elamoka no=ne kama
maybe 3SG.M.O-know ATT or maybe 2SG=EMPH2SG already
koata ela kama pala l-au ba sua]]]; ni?
 before maybe already make.3SG.M 3SG.M.O-take come ATT Aff
 ‘If (so) I will ask you (how to make this kind of pudding); maybe you
 (are) one maybe knowing it (i.e., how to make it) or maybe you (are) one
 who already before maybe already made it; ok?’ (ss_cl_pudding_005)

Sometimes it is also found with other elements, e.g. NPs (see Sec. 5.3.1.3) or locationals (533).

(533) [Loc *bo* Loc]_{Loc}

Ala=lo te kozi(-i), lo polo=na,
where=3SG.M.NOM EMPH face(-FIN), DET.SG.M pig=NOM
[[kulo] bo [kao]]?
 seawards or bushwards
 ‘Where does it face, the pig, seawards or bushwards?’ (pk_mk_mt_342)

96. The full form of this word is *elamoka*. It can be shortened to *ela* or *moka*.

Alternative questions can be expressed by *bo ghoma* ‘or not’ (534, 535).

- (534) C *bo* Neg
 [[*L-eghe ze=no*] *bo [ghoma]*]?
 3SG.M.O-see PA=2SG.NOM **or** no
 ‘Do you see it or not?’ (pk_mk_mt_287)
- (535) C *bo* Neg
 [[*Ze kuvi-li sue*] *bo [ghoma]*].
 3PL[GEN] cover-3SG.M.O ATT.EMPH **or** no
 ‘(Is it) one they covered or not?’ (pk_mk_mt_114)

8.1.3. Coordination with *apoi* ‘because’

When two independent clauses are connected by means of *apoi* ‘because’,⁹⁷ the second one expresses the reason for whatever is said in the first clause. For example, in (536), the reason that Jeff was not saying anything is that he in general is not a very talkative person.

- (536) *Te Jeffi=na oma vere-zu; apoi Jeffi=e oma*
 CONJ Jeff=NOM not speak-PST.IPFV **because** Jeff=EMPH not
kagnika vere sua mapa.
 too.much speak ATT.SG.M person
 ‘And Jeff was not saying anything; because Jeff (was) not a very talkative person.’ (ap_jeff_beki_356)

Apoi ‘because’ can only be used to link independent, non-embedded clauses; syntactically, therefore, this is a case of coordination.

8.2. Subordination

Three types of subordinate clause can be distinguished in Savosavo, depending on their syntactic function in the main clause (cf., e.g., Thompson et al. 2007: 238): **relative clauses** modify the head of an NP constituent of the matrix clause (Sec. 8.2.1), **adverbial clauses** modify the predicate or the main clause as a whole (8.2.2), and **complement clauses** function as an argument (8.2.3).

Subordinate clauses in Savosavo can be regarded as more or less desententialized and/or nominalized, for a number of reasons. One is that only very few

97. *Apoi* is a multi-functional lexeme; it can be used as an interrogative noun meaning ‘what’, a noun meaning ‘anything, everything’, and as a coordinator meaning ‘because’.

types of subordinate clause in Savosavo can contain any TAM morphemes at all, and those that can be used have to be unspecified in terms of finiteness. Finite TAM morphemes cannot be used at all. Furthermore, in several subordinate clauses the subject is optionally or obligatorily encoded as genitive instead of nominative. And finally, subordinate clauses can have syntactic functions that are usually fulfilled by NPs (e.g. complement clauses).

For some authors, a clausal structure that is lacking some of the features associated with an independent verbal clause, e.g. finite marking, already counts as nominalized (Lehmann 1982; Dik 1997). Genitive case is usually associated with NPs, not verbal clauses, and so subordinate clauses that require genitive encoding of the subject are nominalized to a higher degree than subordinate clauses that merely allow it, or subordinate clauses that require nominative encoding of the subject. And finally, a subordinate clause that occurs in the same position as an NP, e.g. an object complement clause (see Sec. 8.2.3), is functionally similar to that of an NP, and is nominalized to a higher degree than a subordinate clause that does not fill a slot in the matrix clause usually reserved for NPs, e.g. a purpose clause (see Sec. 8.2.2.5).

8.2.1. Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Savosavo are subordinate clauses that are used as modifiers within NPs or predicates of non-verbal clauses. NPs containing a relative clause can be used in all syntactic positions available to NPs. Relative clauses are externally headed by the head of the NP, which they precede (see example (537); the relative clause in this and the following examples is marked by square brackets).

- (537) [*kabu-tu*] *lo* *mapa*_{Head}=*gha*
 move.away-REL DET.PL person=PL
 ‘the people who ran away’ (mp_biti_267)

Relative clauses always have a verbal predicate. One of two morphemes has to be used to form relative clauses in Savosavo: either the suffix *-tu* ‘REL’⁹⁸ (537), or the attributive marker *sua* (see example (538), with the feminine form *soma* ‘ATT.SG.F’).

- (538) [*Aghe* *k-ate* *soma*] *pa gnari sidi*_{Head}
 1DU.EX[GEN] 3SG.F.O-hold ATT.SG.F one small piglet
 ‘[Q: What did you bring? A:] One small piglet that we caught.’
 (ap_cs_kakula_020)

98. The suffix *-tu* ‘REL’ is formally identical to the present imperfective suffix; diachronically there may have been a connection. However, synchronically there is no trace of any temporal or aspectual meaning connected to the *-tu* found in relative clauses.

The suffix *-tu* ‘REL’ is attached to the (last) verb of the relative clause, while *sua* ‘ATT’ follows it as an independent phonological word. The formation of relative clauses is only one function of *sua* ‘ATT’ in NPs, which can take a variety of complements other than a non-finite subordinate clause (see Sec. 4.8.1).

8.2.1.1. Relative clauses with *-tu* ‘REL’

Relative clauses with *-tu* ‘REL’ function as modifiers of nouns (539) or personal pronouns ((540); cf. Sec. 5.1).

- (539) [Ze-va bo k-au-tu] ko adaki=e
 3PL-GEN.M go 3SG.F.O-take-REL DET.SG.F woman=EMPH
ko=na.
 3SG.F=NOM
 ‘She (was) the woman whom they had gone (to and) taken.’
 (cr_cs_savokiki_115)

- (540) [lo bomu luja-li l-au keva-tu] zepo
 DET.PL bomb load-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take do.all.about-REL 3PL
 ‘those who loaded bombs (and) took them all around’ (bk_WWII_189)

Relative clauses with *-tu* occupy the very first position in an NP. So far, only examples of restrictive use of *-tu* relative clauses were found. They require the NP to be definite. In non-pronominal NPs, *-tu*-relative clauses are obligatorily followed by a determiner (539) to indicate definiteness. In pronominal NPs, this is impossible (540). This is consistent with the fact that personal pronouns in general cannot be modified by a determiner (cf. Sec. 5.1.1.2). In both pronominal and non-pronominal NPs, the relative clause can be preceded by a determiner (540, 541).

- (541) [ai lo ai-va tabua-li-tu]
 this DET.SG.M 1SG.GEN-GEN.M put.taboo.on-3SG.M.O-REL
lo apoi
 DET.SG.M something
 ‘this thing that I put a taboo on’ (ap_custom_044)

The form of both determiners depends on the person, number and, in the third person singular, gender of the external head of the relative clause: *ko* for the third person singular feminine, *to* for the third person dual and *lo* for everything else (cf. Tab. 23 in Sec. 4.6). The determiner following the relative clause in a non-pronominal NP is analyzed as belonging to the head noun because its presence or absence depends on the nature of the NP head. The determiner at the beginning

of the relative clause can be present regardless of what type of NP head is used (see (540) above, where the NP head is a pronoun and a determiner can be used before, but not after, the relative clause) For this reason it is thus analyzed as belonging to the relative clause and including in the brackets marking the relative clause boundaries.

Whenever a determiner is used it can be preceded by the demonstrative *ai* ‘this’. If two determiners are present, sometimes only the first is accompanied by the demonstrative (541), sometimes only the second (542), and sometimes both (543).

- (542) [*lo ai-va savu-mi-tu*] *ai lo*
DET.PL 1SG-GEN-GEN.M tell-3PL.O-REL **this DET.PL**
ghanaghana=gha
 thought=PL
 ‘these thoughts that I talked about’ (ap_manga_036)

- (543) [*ai lo ai-va l-eghe sala-tu*] *ai*
this DET.SG.M 1SG-GEN.M 3SG.M.O-see follow.3SG.M-REL **this**
lo tabu sua mavutu
DET.SG.M be.whole ATT.SG.M place
 ‘this whole place that I look after’ (bd_cs_tonelo_390)

As definiteness is obligatory for an NP containing a relative clause with *-tu*, the numeral *pa* ‘one’, which can also function as an indefiniteness marker (cf. Sec. 4.4.1.1), can only be interpreted as a numeral when used in an NP with a *-tu*-relative clause (544).

- (544) [*no savu-li-tu*] *lo pa pera*
 2SG[GEN] tell-3SG.M.O-REL DET.SG.M one basket
 ‘the one basket you talked about’ (pk_mk_mt_126)

The constituent order in relative clauses is SOV, as in main clauses. The subject in relative clauses is obligatorily encoded as genitive, while all other constituents appear as they would in an independent verbal clause.

Every syntactic position in a verbal clause filled by NPs can be relativized: subject, object, locative-marked or locational adjunct, postpositional complement and possessor.

When the subject is relativized, no cross-referencing material remains in the relative clause (540, 542, 545).

- (545) [*lo Ø kabu ba-tu*] *lo mapa=gha*
 DET.PL move.away come-REL DET.PL person=PL
 ‘the people who came running away’ (cv_biti_014)

When the object is relativized, no overt object NP can be used in the relative clause, but the object agreement on the transitive verb remains ((546), and examples (539), (541), (543) above).

- (546) [*aiva* *Ø ghana-li-tu*] *lo* *ghanaghana*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M think-3SG.M.O-REL DET.SG.M thought
 ‘the thought that I thought’ (ap_cs_sivugha_122)

In all verbal clauses, if a prefixing verb is the first or only verb used in a clause, and if the object is first person dual or plural, a corresponding personal pronoun has to precede the verb (e.g. *ave/aghe/mai gn-au* ‘take us (DU.INCL/DU.EXCL/PL)’, cf. Sec. 4.1.1.1, p. 52). The same is true in *sua*-relative clauses, which are structurally almost identical to *-tu*-relative clauses (see below, Sec. 8.2.1.2). Although there is no example of a prefixing verb with a non-singular first person object in a *-tu*-relative clause, it is very likely that this rule also applies in this context.

A temporal or locational adjunct that would be expressed by a locative-marked NP can also be relativized. In case of a temporal adjunct being relativized, no pronoun or other cross-referencing material remains in the relative clause (547).

- (547) [*ze-va* *sara kavua-za-tu*] *lo* *taemu*
 3PL-GEN.M reach spread-DETR-REL DET.SG.M time
 ‘the time they arrived (and) spread out’ (png_WWII_3_014)

This is also the most common situation with a relativized locational adjunct (548), but here it is possible to use a locative-marked third person singular masculine pronoun as a placeholder (549).

- (548) [*lo* *fomu=gha ze* *pale-tu*] *lo* *mavutu*.
 DET.PL form=PL 3PL[GEN] stay-REL DET.SG place
 ‘the place where the forms are’ (jv_tarai_200)

- (549) [*to* *lo=la* *alu-tu*] *lo* *ulunga*
 3DU[GEN] 3SG.M=LOC.M stand-REL DET.SG.M pillow
 ‘the pillow that they (two) are standing on’ (jp_ji_mt_121)

For any other locative-marked adjunct⁹⁹, a co-referential locative-marked pronoun usually has to take its place in the relative clause (550), although rarely it is left out as well (551).

99. Recall that NPs with locative case-marking not only function to express a location, but also an instrument or reason, cf. Sec. 5.2.4.

- (550) [*lo no tone lo lo=la*
 DET.SG.M 2PL[GEN] brother 3SG.M[GEN] **3SG.M=LOC.M**
vasikaka-tu] lo ghau
 be.ungenerous-REL DET.SG.M fishing.bamboo
 ‘that fishing bamboo your brother is so ungenerous about’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_094)
- (551) [*lo ko-va Ø bo tei-tu] lo peleni*
 DET.SG.M 3SG.F-GEN.M go want.to.do-REL DET.SG.M plane
 ‘the plane she will go with’
 (js_marine_122)

NPs that function as complements of postpositions can, but do not have to be represented by a pronoun when they are the relativized constituent (552–554). The prefixes on the postposition have to be present in either case.

- (552) [*lo to l-aka savu-li-tu] lo*
 DET.SG.M 3DU[GEN] **3SG.M-to** tell-3SG.M.O-REL DET.SG.M
mapa
 person
 ‘the man the two of them talked to’
 (ap_kukui_042)
- (553) [*ko gnaghoa=la l-omata alu kozi-tu] lo*
 3SG.F[GEN] front=LOC.M **3SG.M.O-at** stand face-REL DET.SG.M
popo
 bowl
 ‘the bowl she is facing in front (of her)’
 (jp_ji_mt_097)
- (554) [*Ai-va pe p-emitu ko polo voli-ghi-tu]*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M **2DU 2DU-for** DET.SG.F pig buy-3SG.F.O-REL
pe=na kati kalugha l-ame-gni ta-i.
 2DU=NOM CERT money 3SG.M.O-give-1SG.O FUT-FIN
 ‘You two I bought the pig for will give me money.’
 (052_012_bgb)

It is also possible to relativize a possessor associated with an argument or adjunct. The genitive-marked pronoun denoting the possessor is obligatorily present, but no additional NP can be used. Examples of this have not been found in spontaneous speech yet, probably due to their complexity, but have been checked extensively in elicitation with several speakers (555, 557).

- (555) [*lo lo-ma gnuba ko-va Honiara*
 DET.SG.M **3SG.M-GEN.SG.F** child 3SG.F-GEN.M Honiara
bo-tu] lo mapa.
 go-REL DET.SG.M person
 ‘the man whose daughter went to Honiara’
 (049_002_bgb)

- (556) [*lo no-va lo-va ghau=la*
 DET.SG.M 2SG-GEN.M **3SG.M-GEN.M** fishing.bamboo=LOC.M
vasikaka-tu] *lo mapa*
 be.ungenerous-REL DET.SG.M person
 ‘the man whose fishing bamboo you are so ungenerous about’
 (061_016_bgb)
- (557) [*to no-va to-ma mama k-aka*
 DET.DU 2SG-GEN.M **3DU-GEN.SG.F** mother 3SG.F-to
savu-li-tu] *to gnuba=lo*
 tell-3SG.M.O-REL DET.DU child=DU
 ‘those (two) boys whose mother you told it to’
 (061_013_bgb)

Table 52 is a summary of the patterns outlined above. For each syntactic position that can be relativized, it is indicated whether or not the corresponding referent is still represented in the relative clause, either by an overt NP or by agreement morphology. If there is no target showing agreement with the relativized syntactic position, this is marked by grey shading of the corresponding cell.

Table 52. Summary of the syntactic positions of a verbal clause that can be relativized, indicating for each position whether the referent is represented in the relative clause by an NP or is obligatorily zero (\emptyset), and whether it is cross-referenced by agreement morphology. Brackets indicate optionality, shaded cells show that there is no agreement target for the respective syntactic function.

Syntactic function in RelCl	Represented in RelCl by	
	NP	Agreement (Target)
Subject	\emptyset	
Object	\emptyset	affixes (verb)
Locative Adjunct:		
Temporal	\emptyset	
Locational	(pronoun)	
Other	pronoun	
Postpositional Complement	(pronoun)	affixes (postposition)
Possessor	pronoun (GEN)	

Relative clauses with *-tu* can contain the emphatic particle *te* (558).

- (558) *Zu ko=na* [*lo samu te manamana-li-tu*]
 and 3SG.F=NOM DET.SG.M food **EMPH** prepare-3SG.M.O-REL
ko adaki ko=na.
 DET.SG.F woman 3SG.F=NOM.F

‘And she, she (is) the woman who prepared the food.’, lit. ‘And she, the food preparing woman (is) she.’ (ap_dr_se_817)

The clausal structure that is relativized can be a clause chaining construction if the relativized referent has the same syntactic role in all clauses in the chain. So far only examples with relativized object referents have been found (559).

- (559) [ai ko no k-au-a te=no ba
this 3SG.F 2SG[GEN] 3SG.F.O-take-SS CONJ=2SG.NOM come
k-oma ba-tu] ko
3SG.F.O-carry come-REL 3SG.F
‘she whom you took and brought here’ (cr_cs_savokiki_300)

The only TAM morphemes so far attested in *-tu*-relative clauses are the background imperfective suffix *-ale* and the anticipatory suffix *-ata*. These two suffixes are also the only TAM suffixes that can appear on verbs nominalized by means of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ (cf. Tab. 44, p. 163, and Ch. 9). There are no examples of these suffixes being used in relative clauses in the collected texts, but during elicitation sessions informants offered the relative clauses in (560) and (561).

- (560) [John lo koti epi-ale-tu] lo
John 3SG.M seawards.PROX sit-BG.IPFV-REL DET.SG.M
taemu=la
time=LOC.M
‘at the time at which John was sitting (there) a bit seawards’ (bgb_096_08)
- (561) [lo samu-ata-tu] lo mapa
DET.SG.M have.meal-ANT-REL DET.SG.M person
‘the/that man who eats first (before doing something else)’ (bgb_149_11)

The background imperfective suffix *-ale* can only be used with very few verbs, for all other verbs a SVC with *pale* ‘BG.IPFV’ has to be used (cf. Sec. 6.3.2.5 and Sec. 6.5.2.2). One example in the corpus shows that such a SVC can also be used in a *-tu*-relative clause. The speaker is describing video clips to another speaker, and in this example refers to someone whom he has already seen in several of these video clips (562).

- (562) lo [mai-va l-eghe pale-tu]
DET.SG.M INSG.IN-GEN.M 3SG.M.O-see BG.IPFV-REL
lo tada koko
DET.SG.M man boy
‘this boy whom we keep seeing’ (ap_dr_se_895)

As the future marker *ta* is not available for use in relative clauses, reference to future events is encoded by a serial verb construction with *tei* ‘want to do’ ((551), repeated here for convenience).

- (551) [*lo ko-va bo tei-tu*] *lo peleni*
 DET.SG.M 3SG.F-GEN.M **go want.to.do-REL** DET.SG.M plane
 ‘the plane she will go with’ (js_marine_122)

Relative clauses with *-tu* can be negated by means of *oma* ‘not’, but this is so far only attested in elicited examples (563, 564).

- (563) [*Lo moibia oma bo-tu*] *ze=na ba-i.*
 DET.PL yesterday not go-REL 3PL=NOM come -FIN
 ‘Those who didn’t go yesterday came.’ (099_008_bgb)
- (564) [*ze-va oma bo k-au-tu*] *ko adaki*
 3PL-GEN.M not go 3SG.F.O-take-REL DET.SG.F woman
 ‘the woman whom they did not go to take’ (099_009_bgb)

8.2.1.2. Relative clauses with *sua* ‘ATT’

The attributive marker *sua*, which can take a wide variety of complements (cf. Sec. 4.8.1), is another way to form a relative clause (565).

- (565) [*lo japani=gha ze bola sua*] *vaka*
 DET.PL Japanese=PL 3PL[GEN] shoot.3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M ship
 ‘a ship that the Japanese shot (at)’ (bk_WWII_179)

Based on the data available at the time of writing the main difference between the two types of relative clause seems to be that *-tu*-relative clauses are used in definite NPs, while relative clauses with *sua* appear in indefinite NPs. Correspondingly, *sua*-relative clauses have not been attested in NPs headed by a personal pronoun, and while relative clauses with *-tu* ‘REL’ have to be followed by a determiner, there cannot be any determiner following a relative clause with *sua* ‘ATT’. Furthermore, while *-tu*-relative clauses cannot be used in an NP marked as indefinite by means of *pa* ‘one, a’, this is possible with *sua*-relative clauses. *Pa* ‘one, a’ can either precede (566) or follow (567) the relative clause.

- (566) *No mama=kona pa [ko ko ghanaghana*
 2SG[GEN] mother=NOM.F one 3SG.F 3SG.F[GEN] thought
sala soma] adaki mata-ghi.
 follow.3SG.M ATT.SG.F woman want-3SG.F.O
 ‘Your mother wants a woman who is like she imagines’ (ap_jeff_beki_337)

- (567) *Zu* / [*oma pa* / *perongo l-oghoa-li* *soma*] *pa*
 but / **not** one / something 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.F one
adaki no k-au kia / elakati ko ko
 woman 2SG[GEN] 3SG.F.O-take if / CERT 3SG.F 3SG.F[GEN]
ghajia / elakati / raghi-ni n-au au ta-i.
 self / CERT / pull-2SG.O 2SG.O-take move.down FUT-FIN
 ‘But if you take a woman who doesn’t own anything, she herself will
 pull you down.’ (ap_jeff_beki_140)

Note that the restriction of *sua* relative clauses to indefinite NPs does not apply to other types of *sua*-phrases (see Sec. 4.8.1), which are found in both definite and indefinite NPs.

Relative clauses with *sua* can be used restrictively as well as nonrestrictively, but so far only restrictive relative clauses with *-tu* have been found.¹⁰⁰

The internal structure of relative clauses formed by *sua* ‘ATT’ does not differ much from that of relative clauses with *-tu*. The range of syntactic positions that can be relativized is identical to that of *-tu*-relative clauses, and the relativized constituent is represented in the same way as in *-tu*-relative clauses. Table 52 provided above on page 257 is thus equally valid for *sua*-relative clauses.

The subject, if not relativized, is in the genitive (565). Various adjuncts, e.g. locational adjuncts (568), as well as object NPs (566) and negation (567) are possible.

- (568) [*mati* *Aba=la* *zu ata Savo=la sara*
 along.coast.PROX Guadalcanal=LOC.M and here Savo=LOC.M reach
sua] *muzi*
 ATT.SG.M cloud
 ‘a cloud reaching from Guadalcanal to here on Savo’ (bk_WWII_172)

When the object is first person non-singular and the first or only verb is prefixing, the corresponding personal pronoun has to precede the verb, even if the object is the relativized position (569).

- (569) *Mai=me* [*tagha lo kaunga lo*
 1NSG.IN=EMPH.1NSG.IN up DET.SG.M elder 3SG.M[GEN]
mai gn-eghe samemigni so]=gha pono=e
 1NSG.IN 1O-see follow.1NSG.IN ATT=PL only=EMPH
mai=na.
 1NSG.IN=NOM
 ‘We, we (are) just ones the Lord above looks after.’ (png_WWII_3_317)

100. It is unclear at present how a nonrestrictive relative clause would be expressed in a definite NP. It may even be the case that other means than either of the two types of relative clause would be used for this purpose, e.g. the comment on the referent could be placed in a separate, following clause.

In contrast to relative clauses with *-tu*, no TAM morphology is attested in any *sua*-relative clause so far. Another difference is that *sua*-relative clauses tend to be less complex. For example, *sua*-relative clauses containing a clause chain are not attested so far, and, although elicitation shows that they are possible, examples with a relativized possessor or postpositional complement are rare.

Another difference is that *sua*-phrases in general, and accordingly also relative clauses with *sua*, can be the only constituent of a headless NP (570).

- (570) [No oma ave gn-olomi so]=gha=e ave=na.
 2SG[GEN] not 1PL.EX 1O-know ATT=PL=EMPH 1PL.EX=NOM
 ‘You don’t know us.’, lit. ‘Ones you don’t know (are) we.’
 (ej_cs.botoli_035)

There are important functional differences between the two types of relative clause. Relative clauses with *-tu* contain presupposed material, and are used to talk about referents that are already established. This is in accordance with the required definiteness of the superordinate NP. In contrast, while *sua*-relative clauses can also be used to talk about established referents, they are typically employed when the referent is new, and often provide additional information on the referent that was not yet shared knowledge. One example of this is (571), where the object referent is mentioned for the first time.

- (571) Te=ze [ota sukulu=la pale sua] pa
 CONJ=3PL.NOM there school=LOC.M stay ATT.SG.M one
barata te l-au-i.
 monasterial.brother EMPH 3SG.M.O-take-FIN
 ‘And they took a Brother who stayed there at the school.’ (agh_png_406)

But relative clauses with *sua* ‘ATT’ can also contain presupposed material. In (572), taken from a traditional folk story, a character unknowingly follows the same way that her mother had taken. Earlier in the story it was described how the mother left, so the event is known.

- (572) Kulisogha te=gho bo kulo pazale=la
 go.to.beach CONJ=3SG.F.NOM go seawards beach=LOC.M
 sara(-a) te=gho [ko mama ko-va
 reach(-SS) CONJ=3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F[GEN] mother 3SG.F-GEN.M
 sala bo sua] keva kama sala(-a)
 follow.3SG.M.O go ATT.SG.M path already follow.3SG.M.O(-SS)
 te=gho...
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM

‘Went seawards and she went (and) arrived at the beach seawards and she already followed a path, which was the one that her mother had taken, and she...’
(ws_cs_ghulia_170)

The relative clause in (572) could also be a *-tu*-relative clause, which would then have to be followed by a determiner (572’).

- (572’) ...*te=gho* [ko mama ko-va
CONJ=3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F[GEN] mother 3SG.F-GEN.M
sala bo-tu] lo keva kama
follow.3SG.M.O go-REL DET.SG.M path already
sala(-a) te=gho...
follow.3SG.M.O(-SS) CONJ=3SG.F.NOM
‘...and she already followed that path her mother had taken and she...’

The *-tu*-relative clause is used restrictively, specifying the path she takes as the very path her mother had taken, while the *sua*-relative clause is non-restrictive. It just adds the information that she took a road, which happened to be the same her mother had taken. But *sua*-relative clauses can also be used restrictively, providing information used to identify a referent, as, e.g., in (565) and (566) above.

Relative clauses with *sua* are frequently used as predicates of non-verbal clauses (cf. Sec. 7.1.2.2; (573, 574)).

- (573) [*No*]_s=*ne* oma [*agni dolo-a-gni*¹⁰¹ *sua*]_p; *zu*
2SG=EMPH.2SG not 1SG be.friend.with-EP-1SG.O ATT but
[*no*]_s=*ne* [ko *dolo-a-ghi* *sua*]_p
2SG=EMPH.2SG 3SG.F be.friend.with-EP-3SG.F.O ATT
‘You (are) not friends with me; but you are friends with her.’, lit. ‘You (are) not one who is friends with me; but you (are) one who is friends with her.’
(ap_jeff_beki_225)
- (574) [[*Ze l-ame-ghi* *sua*] *samu*]_s [ko
3PL[GEN] 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.F.O ATT.SG.M food 3SG.F
ko oma l-ou sue]_p [*lo*]_s=*na*.
3SG.F[GEN] not 3SG.M.O-eat ATT.EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
‘(Any) food that they gave her, she didn’t eat it.’, lit. ‘...one that she did not eat (was) it.’
(bd_cs_tonelo_312)

101. Some verbs have an epenthetic /a/ inserted before the object suffix, cf. fn. 12, p. 34.

8.2.2. Adverbial clauses

Savosavo has several types of adverbial clause. Table 53 provides an overview, including information on how they are marked, which position in the main clause they occur in, and where in this chapter they are described.

Table 53. Overview of the types of adverbial clause used in Savosavo

Type	Marking	Position of subord. clause	Section
Conditional clauses	<i>monei</i> ‘if only’	preceding the main clause	8.2.2.1
	<i>kia</i> ‘if’	preceding the main clause	8.2.2.2
Temporal clauses (future)	<i>kia</i> ‘when’	preceding the main clause	8.2.2.2
Temporal clauses (past/present)	<i>tuka</i> ‘whenever’	preceding the main clause	8.2.2.3.1
	<i>tulola</i> ‘then’	preceding the main clause	8.2.2.3.2
Simultaneous clauses	asyndetic	preceding the main clause	8.2.2.4
Purpose clauses	<i>te/ke</i> ‘CONJ’	following the main clause	8.2.2.5.1
	asyndetic	embedded in the main clause	8.2.2.5.2

The differences in meaning between conditional clauses formed by means of *monei* ‘if only’ and *kia* ‘if, when’ can be summarized as in Table 54, employing the terminology used in Thompson et al. (2007).

Table 54. Functions of the conditional subordinating morphemes *monei* ‘if only’ and *kia* ‘if’

Morpheme	Type	Paraphrase
<i>monei</i> ‘if only’	counterfactual	if X had happened (but it did not) if X would be the case (but is not and will not)
	hypothetical	if X would be the case in the future (but is highly unlikely to be)
<i>kia</i> ‘if’	hypothetical	if X could be the case in the future
	predictive	if X is the case in the future
	generic	whenever X is the case

The differences in meaning between temporal clauses formed by means of *kia* ‘if, when’, *tuka* ‘whenever’ and *tulola* ‘then’ can be summarized in a similar fashion:

As in some other languages, including languages of Papua New Guinea (Thompson et al. 2007: 257), future temporal clauses and predictive conditional clauses are treated alike. Both types of subordinate clause are formed with one subordinator, *kia* ‘if, when’. A distinction based on the degree of expectancy, as in English between ‘if’ and ‘when’, is only made within the category of hy-

Table 55. Functions of the temporal subordinating morphemes *kia* ‘when’, *tuka* ‘whenever’ and *tulola* ‘then’

Morpheme	Type	Paraphrase
<i>kia</i> ‘when’	sequential	when x is the case in the future
<i>tuka</i> ‘whenever’	habitual	usually, whenever x is/was the case
	generic	whenever X is/was the case
<i>tulola</i> ‘then’	sequential	at x, after x happened in the past

pothetical conditional clauses, distinguishing those that are highly unlikely to happen (expressed by means of *monei* ‘if only’) from those that are unlikely, but could happen (expressed by means of *kia* ‘if’). Other than that, the most important aspect in the choice of the subordinating morpheme is whether the events expressed in the complex clause have been realized or not at the time of speaking.

8.2.2.1. Conditional clauses with *monei* ‘if only’

The protasis of a conditional clause with *monei* ‘if only’¹⁰² is nominal, either a nominal clause (575), a nominalized verbal clause (576) or a noun phrase (577), and the apodosis is a verbal clause with irrealis marking on the predicate.

(575) *Zu ave tagha pale sua monei=ve ave-ale.*
 but 1PL.EX up stay ATT **if.only**=1PL.EX.NOM die-IRR
 ‘But if we had stayed up (i.e. above ground), we would have died.’, lit.
 ‘But if we (were) staying up we would have died.’ (png_WWII_1_151)

(576) *Ai ko adaki gnuba ai k-au*
 this DET.SG.F woman child 1SG.GEN 3SG.F.O-take
k-agma-ghu monei, ai-va ae-ghu
 3SG.F.O-marry-NMLZ **if.only** 1SG.GEN-GEN.M be.married-NMLZ
lo pale k-aka taunga-ghu monei, dai toa
 3SG.M[GEN] inside 3SG.F-with remain-NMLZ **if.only** good really
taunga-ghu=la=ghe taunga-(a)le.
 remain-NMLZ=LOC.M=1DU.EX.NOM remain-IRR
 ‘If only I married this girl, if only I was in my marriage with her, we
 would have a very good life.’ (ap_jeff_beki_007)

102. There is a homophonous adverb *monei* meaning ‘nearly’, probably diachronically related.

- (577) *Pio, lo=la ave sua erongo monei*
 man 3SG.M=LOC.M die ATT.SG.M something **if.only**
ave=na ka ave-ale.
 1PL.EX=NOM already die-IRR
 ‘Man, if (it was) something one would die from, we would have died
 already.’ (jv_tarai_140)

Conditional clauses with *monei* ‘if only’ express counterfactual (575) and hypothetical conditionals (576). Hypothetical conditional clauses with *monei* ‘if only’ usually express that it seems very unlikely that the situation could actually come true; when talking about some more likely hypothetical situation, *kia* ‘if’ will be used.

8.2.2.2. Conditional and future temporal clauses with *kia* ‘if’

The subordinator *kia* ‘if, when’ can be used to form conditional (578) and future temporal clauses (579).

- (578) *Agni-va ghana-ghi soma pa adaki ai*
 1SG-GEN.M think-3SG.F.O ATT.SG.F one woman 1SG.GEN
k-au ba kia=lo ekati maitei ta-i?
 3SG.F.O-take come **if**=3SG.M.NOM CERT be.how FUT-FIN
 ‘If I brought/bring a woman I think of (i.e. one that I like, not you), then
 how will it be (i.e. what will happen)?’, lit. ‘If my bringing of a woman
 I’m thinking of, it will be how?’ (ap_jeff_beki_135)
- (579) *Sade=la kia, no ala tarai-ghu=e?*
 Sunday=LOC.M **when** 2SG[GEN] where pray-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Where will you pray on Sunday, lit. When on Sunday, then where do
 you pray?’ (jv_tarai_054)

In some cases, both readings are possible (580).

- (580) *Elakati agni-va bekeni salu me-va*
 CERT 1SG-GEN.M betel.nut betel.leaf 2PL-GEN.M
ena-li kia=me oma me mama
 chew.betel.nut-3SG.M.O **if/when**=2PL.NOM not 2PL[GEN] mother
mau=gha me toka kulagha=gha
 father/pat.uncle=PL 2PL[GEN] sibling mat.uncle/nephew/niece=PL
z-olomi ta-i.
 3PL.O-know FUT-FIN

‘If/when you chew my betel nut (and) leaf, you won’t know your mothers and fathers and paternal uncles, your siblings and maternal uncles (any more).’
(ws_cs_ghulia_025)

Conditional clauses with *kia* ‘if’ are used when a situation is hypothetical, but quite likely to happen (578), or for predictive conditionals (581).

- (581) *Lo pa lo-va k-agma kia, ai*
3SG.M one 3SG.M-GEN.M 3SG.F.O-marry **if** 1SG.GEN
mane k-eghe saka-ghu=e
consecutively 3SG.F.O-see follow.3SG.F-NMLZ=EMPH
lo=na.
3SG.M=NOM
‘If someone marries her I will look after her.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_119)

Kia ‘if, when’ is also commonly used to refer to generic situations, e.g. in procedural texts (582). Another way to describe generic situations is by using temporal clauses with *tuka* ‘whenever’, see Section 8.2.2.3.1 below.

- (582) *Lo-va unu kia, no-va lo kiba=la*
3SG.M-GEN.M swell **when** 2SG-GEN.M DET.SG.M leaf=LOC.M
piti-li-ghu=e lo=na.
tie-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
‘When it swells, you tie it to the leaf.’ (se_kite_012)

In a future temporal clause, *kia* marks sequentiality of two as yet unrealized events (583).

- (583) *Ko-va ba kia=gho lo*
3SG.F-GEN.M come **when**=3SG.F.NOM DET.SG.M
lakavi=la sua korikori zu lo
wild.taro=LOC.M ATT.SG.M pudding and DET.SG.M
mai z-omu z-ovu-tu lo
1NSG.IN[GEN] 3PL.O-fill.a.container 3PL.O-put-REL DET.SG.M
kakado lakavi lo piva
bamboo.bottle wild.taro 3SG.M[GEN] water
pizo-li-ghu=e.
drink-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
‘When she comes she will (eat) the wild taro pudding and drink the bamboo bottle of wild taro juice we filled (and) placed (there).’
(ap_cs_sekuna_015)

The protasis of a *kia*-clause can be a verbal clause with a possessive (578–582) or, rarely, a nominative subject (584), or an NP, often a locative NP as in example (579) above.

- (584) *No=na pia-ghu mata-li kia, ko=na*
 2SG=NOM move.up-NMLZ want-3SG.M.O **if** 3SG.F=NOM
raghi-ni neu sone ta-i;
 pull-2SG.O down throw.2SG FUT-FIN
 ‘If you want to move up, she will pull you down.’ (ap_jeff_beki_141)

The apodosis can be a nominal clause (579) or a verbal clause (584). Commonly a nominal clause has a nominalized verbal clause (NVC) predicate, as in examples (579) and (582) above. The apodosis of subordinate clauses with *kia* can also be an order or a prohibition, as in (585).

- (585) *Pe bo kia, sika=pe ai lo lo*
 2DU[GEN] go **if** don’t=2DU.NOM this DET.SG.M 3SG.M[GEN]
mola l-au zaba-(a)le...
 canoe 3SG.M.O-take become.visible-IRR
 ‘When you (two) go, don’t you let this canoe of his (the dead giant) be seen...’ (st_cs_vangazua_134)

An enclitic subject can either be attached to the first constituent of the apodosis (585) or directly to *kia* (see ex. (578) above); this can be seen as evidence that the subordinate clause can be regarded as part of the main clause, but does not have to be.

The main clause subject is nominative when the main clause predicate is a finite verb complex (578), but genitive if it is nominalized (582). The form of the subject in the subordinate clause sometimes correlates with the form of the main clause subject, and thus the main clause predicate: if the predicate of the apodosis is a finite verb, the subject of the protasis is nominative (584), if the predicate of the protasis is a nominalized verb, the subject of the apodosis is genitive (582). However, examples where this correlation does not hold are also often found (e.g. examples (578) and (580) above, and (586) below).

- (586) *Lo dulo tada=gha / =ze te mata-mi-zu te*
 DET.PL all man=PL / =3PL EMPH want-3PL.O-PST.IPFV CONJ
ze=na te ba dele kia / lo kaunga
 3PL=NOM EMPH come dance **if** / DET.SG.M chief
lo-ma gnuba ko ba / data alu
 3SG.M-GEN.SG.F child 3SG.F[GEN] come / outside stand
ze=gho ba varuru-ghu.
 CONJ.SS=3SG.F.NOM come stare-NMLZ
 ‘They wanted all the men, so that if they come and dance, the chief’s daughter would come stand outside and then come and watch.’
 (ap_cs_sivugha_014)

Example (586) also shows that a verbal clause protasis can contain the emphatic particle *te*. The negative particle *oma* ‘not’ can also be used in a verbal clause protasis (587).

- (587) *Zu no oma ringi kia oma=ze kati n-olomi*
 but 2SG[GEN] not call if no=3PL.NOM CERT 2SG-know
ta-i.
 FUT-FIN
 ‘But if you don’t call, they will not know you (i.e. know where you are).’
 (agh_png_240)

Kia can also be used at the beginning of a clause, without a preceding subordinate clause. In this case the condition is whatever was said before (588). There are occasionally also examples in which the protasis follows the matrix clause (589).

- (588) “*Kia=gne ake ta-i?*” *tei(-i).*
 if=1SG.NOM be.what FUT-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘“If (so), what will I do?” (he) said.’ (ap_cs_polupolu_037)
- (589) *Memere zaba patu=lo. No-va*
 little.bit become.visible BG.IPFV=3SG.M.NOM 2SG-GEN.M
lo-va batu=la=tu qele bo kia.
 3SG.M-GEN.M head=LOC.M=ABL look go if
 ‘It is a little bit visible (the tree). If you look from his (the man’s) head.’
 (jp_ji_mt_234)

8.2.2.3. Past and present temporal clauses

Temporal clauses can be expressed by means of *tuka* ‘whenever’ and *tulola* ‘then’. The subordinate clause and the matrix clause encode two events that are in a temporal sequence relationship. *Tuka* ‘whenever’ is used when the complex clause expresses a habitual or generic relationship between two events, while *tulola* ‘then’ is used for two past or present events that took place one after the other, usually without a generic or habitual reading.

8.2.2.3.1. Temporal clauses with *tuka* ‘whenever’

Tuka ‘whenever’ is used to describe a generic (590) or habitual (591) relationship between two events.

- (590) *No l-obu l-aju tuka no*
 2SG[GEN] 3SG.M.O-crack.nut 3SG.M.O-finish **whenever** 2SG[GEN]
ghoi burongo-li tuka no-va kola uvi
 also squeeze.out.of.skin-3SG.M.O **whenever** 2SG-GEN.M cassava
kuro-li kama tutupara-li-ghu=e.
 cook-3SG.M.O already bread-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When you finish cracking nuts, when you have also squeezed them out
 of the skin, you cook cassava and make it into bread.’ (ss_cl_pudding_114)
- (591) *Father Stephen lo bo tuka, mane agni l-aka*
 father S. 3SG.M go **whenever** consecutively 1SG 3SG.M-with
lela keva-i.
 stroll do.all.about-FIN
 ‘Whenever Father Stephen went (out) I went for a walk with him.’
 (agh_png_441)

Structurally, temporal clauses with *tuka* ‘whenever’ are quite similar to conditional or temporal clauses with *kia* ‘if, when’ (cf. Sec. 8.2.2.2 above). The protasis is either a verbal clause with a possessive (590, 591) or a nominative subject (592), or it is an NP (593).

- (592) *Te=gho pala sala tei*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM make.3SG.M.O follow.3SG.M.O want.to.do
tuka ko ghoi dada-ghu=e.
whenever 3SG.F[GEN] also be.afraid-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And whenever she was about to act accordingly she was also afraid.’
 (ap_cs_sivugha_113)
- (593) *Aghava kughe=gha lo-va buringa=la tuka,*
 four month=PL 3SG.M-GEN.M back=LOC.M **whenever**
lo dada-ghu=e.
 3SG.M[GEN] be.ripe-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘After eight months it is ripe.’, lit. ‘When at the back of four months...’
 (mp_mapagha_231)

As with subordinate clauses with *kia* ‘if, when’, the subject of the main clause is nominative when the main clause predicate is a finite verb complex, but genitive if it is nominalized. The subject of the subordinate clause is often in the same case as the main clause subject (590, 593), but this is not obligatory (591, 592).

Conditional clauses with *tuka* ‘whenever’ occasionally contain the emphatic particle *te* ‘EMPH’ (594).

- (594) *Tuka ze ota=lia te pai tuka...*
 Whenever 3PL[GEN] there=about **EMPH** do.something whenever
 ‘Whenever (it is like that, then) whenever they do something thereabouts...’
 (ap_manga_104)

Sometimes *tuka* ‘whenever’ is used at the beginning of a clause, without a preceding subordinate clause. In this case the event encoded in the main clause is understood to follow the events referred to in the preceding clauses (595). Very rarely the protasis is found to follow the matrix clause (596).

- (595) *Tuka Botoli lo gharu au-ghu=e.*
whenever Botoli 3SG.M[GEN] move move.down-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then every time (the giants said this to him) Botoli moved down (a bit more, moved further into their cave).’
 (ej_cs_botoli_034)
- (596) *Ai tada aghe bo z-uma tuka.*
 1SG.GEN man 1DU.EX[GEN] go 3PL.O-feed **whenever**
 ‘Whenever my husband and I went to feed them.’
 (as_WWII_075)

8.2.2.3.2. Temporal clauses with *tulola* ‘then’

Another way of forming temporal clauses is to use *tulola* ‘then’. There is usually no generic or habitual reading connected to this morpheme. It often connects a subordinate clause with a following matrix clause encoding the successive event (597, 598).

- (597) *Lo eghu lo-va ghobu=la to bo*
 DET.SG.M fireplace 3SG.M-GEN.M middle=LOC.M 3DU[GEN] go
pia sara tulola to kama alu samu-ghu=e.
 move.up reach **then** 3DU already INGR have.meal-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When they had come up in the middle of the fireplace they started to eat.’
 (ap_cs_kakula_054)
- (598) *Te=lo ai mau=na zua tulola=ze*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 1SG.GEN father=NOM ask **then**=3PL.NOM
tei(-i)...
 say(-FIN)
 ‘Then my father asked and then they said...’
 (pk_WWII_098)

Often the two events can be seen as causally related, as in example (599). Occasionally the two events are simultaneous (600).

- (599) *Lo kosi lo zui tulola ai te liaza*
 DET.SG.M course 3SG.M[GEN] end **then** 1SG.GEN EMPH return
ba-ghu=e.
 come-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When the course was over I came back.’ (agh_png_020)
- (600) *Ave bo tulola=lo sota-i.*
 1PL.EX[GEN] go **then**=3SG.M.NOM be.calm-FIN
 ‘When we went, it was calm.’ (agh_png_161)

Temporal clauses with *tulola* ‘then’ are structurally almost identical to conditional and temporal clauses with *kia* ‘if, when’ or temporal clauses with *tuka* ‘whenever’. The first event, which is encoded in the subordinate clause, can be expressed by an NP (601) or a verbal clause with either a possessive (597) or (not as commonly) a nominative subject. The second event can be expressed by a verbal (600) or a non-verbal clause, often a nominalized verbal clause, as in (597).

- (601) *Edo sua manga=la tulola ze-va lo*
 two ATT.SG.M day=LOC.M **then** 3PL-GEN.M 3SG.M[GEN]
laghaso pala-ghu=e.
 portion make.3SG.M-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘On the second day they made his provisions.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_149)

Again, as with *kia* subordinate clauses and *tuka* temporal clauses, the encoding of the main clause subject as nominative or genitive is always determined by the main clause predicate: if it is a finite verb the subject is nominative (600), if it is a nominalized verb the subject is genitive (597, 599, 601). The subject of the subordinate clause is almost always genitive, with few exceptions (602).

- (602) *Kobi=na sua lo bogho l-ou ghari-li*
 Kobi=NOM giant 3SG.M[GEN] scrotum 3SG.M.O-eat tear-3SG.M.O
tulola sua lo kama
then giant 3SG.M[GEN] already
tatiakoqa-ghu=e.
 swallow.water.involuntarily-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Kobi bit and tore the giant’s scrotum and then the giant already swallowed water.’ (ap_cs_kakula_080)

The form of the subject in the subordinate clause often (597–599), but not always (600, 602), corresponds to that of the main clause.

The particle *te* ‘EMPH’ is also occasionally found in conditional clauses with *tulola* ‘then’ (603).

- (603) *Lo lo te zovea-ghi tulola ko*
 3SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] **EMPH** forbid-3SG.F.O then 3SG.F[GEN]
kama ota te ka pale-ghu=e.
 already there EMPH already stay-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When he stopped her (from going), then she just stayed there.’
 (da_gnero_059)

Similar to clauses with *kia* ‘if, when’ and temporal clauses with *tuka* ‘whenever’, *tulola* ‘then’ is also found at the beginning of a clause, without a preceding subordinate clause (604). Whatever event was talked about before then constitutes the first event of the sequence. Occasionally, a subordinate clause with *tulola* can also follow the matrix clause (605).

- (604) **Tulola ze** *kama ghoma gn-au-ghu=e*
then 3PL[GEN] already not 1SG.S-take-NMLZ=EMPH
lo=na.
 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘At that/Then they didn’t take me.’ (js_marine_028)
- (605) a. *Tia=lo, lo olomane lo-va*
 say.SIM=3SG.M.NOM DET.SG.M old.man 3SG.M-GEN.M
ghanaghana=na.
 thought=NOM
 ‘It said, the thought of the old man.’ (ap_cs_sua_069)
- b. *Lo-va lo sua l-eghe tulola.*
 3SG.M-GEN.M DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M.O-see **then**
 ‘When he saw the giant’ (ap_cs_sua_070)

Adverbial temporal clauses are also used for tail-head linkage, which is otherwise found with clause chaining constructions (see Sec. 8.3.4). Similar to clause chaining tail-head linkage, only the predicate of the preceding clause is repeated, not the subject or any other constituent, and linked by means of *tulola* ‘then’ to the following event encoded in the main clause (606).

- (606) a. *Tulola lo kori-sa sua docta lo-va*
 then DET.SG.M lie-VBLZ ATT.SG.M doctor 3SG.M-GEN.M
suki-ghi-ghu=e.
 pierce.sharp.pointed.obj-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And then the fake doctor gave her an injection.’ (ap_jeff_beki_471)

- b. *Suki-ghi* *tulola ko gnu*
 pierce.sharp.pointed.obj-3SG.F.O **then** DET.SG.F child
ko kama ave-ghu=e kama.
 3SG.F[GEN] already die-NMLZ=EMPH already
 ‘(He) gave her an injection and then the girl died.’ (ap_jeff_beki_472)

Diachronically, *tulola* probably grammaticalized from relative clauses with *-tu*, headed by the third person masculine singular pronoun *lo* and marked with the locative case enclitic *=la*. This could be an explanation for the fact that the subject of the subordinate clause is so often encoded as genitive compared to the other adverbial clause types, because relative clauses obligatorily have genitive subjects. The source of the grammaticalization process would have been a relative clause with a relativized temporal adjunct, like the one shown in example (607), which itself functions as a temporal adjunct in a superordinate clause.

- (607) [*Lo kise-ghu lo ba-tu lo*
 DET.SG.M fight-NMLZ 3SG.M[GEN] come-REL DET.SG.M
taemu]=*la*; *apoi vata togho-ghu=me te*
time=LOC.M what kind live-NMLZ=2PL.NOM EMPH
pala-i lo ivaghu=la.
 make.3SG.M.O-FIN DET.SG.M day=LOC.M
 ‘At the time when the fighting came, what kind of life were you leading
 that day?’ (png_WWII_1_116)

The relativized temporal adjunct does not leave any trace inside of the relative clause (cf. Sec. 8.2.1.1, p. 8.2.1.1). Such relative clauses headed by a personal pronoun instead of a noun, with a meaning changed from ‘at the time when X happened’ to ‘at that (time of the) happening of X’, could have undergone reanalysis as a subordinate clause structure with a non-finite, unmarked verb followed by a subordinator *tulola* ‘then’. Thus, an example like (608) can be analyzed either way, as a temporal subordinate clause (608a) or a temporal adjunct NP with a relative clause (608b).

- (608) a. *Ze ata kise tulola, [...] ave te Marovo*
 3PL[GEN] here fight **then** 1PL.EX[GEN] EMPH Marovo
bo-ghu=e.
 go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When they fought here, we went to Marovo.’ (ts_marovo_025)
- b. *Ze ata kise-tu lo=la, [...] ave*
 3PL[GEN] here fight-REL 3SG.M=LOC.M 1PL.EX[GEN]
te Marovo bo-ghu=e.
 EMPH Marovo go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘At that (time) when they fought here, we went to Marovo.’

In present-day speech, while there are several examples that would allow for either analysis, it is clear that *tulola* ‘then’ is established as a separate word in the lexicon. The evidence for this comes from the examples presented above, demonstrating the possibility to use *tulola* ‘then’ at the beginning of a clause (604) and following NPs (601) as well as clausal structures that would be incomplete or inappropriate in a relative clause, such as a single verb (606) or a clause with a nominative subject (602).

8.2.2.4. Simultaneous clauses

In the simultaneous construction, a subordinate clause is used to express an event taking place or a state holding at the same time as the event or state encoded in the main clause. The verb of the subordinate clause is either marked by the simultaneous suffix *-a* (609) or as imperfective, by means of the background imperfective morphemes *-atu* or *patu* ((610, 611); see Sec. 6.3.2.5 and Sec. 6.5.2.2), and is directly followed by the main clause.

- (609) [*Kokoroko=na ngia*] *ze ka gholigholi*
 chicken=NOM cry.SIM 3PL[GEN] already scrape
tete-ghu=e lo tada=gha=na.
 balance-NMLZ=EMPH DET.PL man=PL=NOM
 ‘As the rooster crowed they already scraped (coconuts), the men.’
 (ej_cs_botoli_014)
- (610) *Pa muzi=la [ko-va elu epi-atu] lo*
 one night=LOC.M 3SG.F-GEN.M wake sit-BG.IPFV DET.PL
sua=gha=na ngori~ngori(-i).
 giant=PL=NOM REDUP~ snore(-FIN)
 ‘One night as she was still awake sitting there, the giants snored.’
 (ap_cs_sivugha_117)
- (611) [*Aghe apoi toa samu=no ata ai lo*
 1DU.EX[GEN] what really food=2SG.NOM here this DET.SG.M
tuvi=la l-au l-ovu
 house=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-take 3SG.M.O-put
patu]=ghe te ba-i.
 BG.IPFV=1DU.EX.NOM EMPH come-FIN
 ‘What food for us were you putting in this house as we came?’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_111)

When the background imperfective morphemes *-atu* or *patu* are used, the state of affairs referred to by the subordinate clause has started before that of the main

clause and still continues. The simultaneous suffix *-a* is used when the main clause event has started earlier.

If an enclitic personal pronoun is used to refer to the subject of the main clause, it is attached directly to the subordinate verb (611, 612).

- (612) *Tulola* [*ai-va* *pili-za* *mata*
 then 1SG.GEN-GEN.M turn-DETR along.the.coast
qele-a]=*gne* *lo* *nini* *l-eghe-i*.
 look-SIM=1SG.NOM 3SG.M name 3SG.M.O-see-FIN
 ‘And then as I turned around and looked on the other side I saw the
 name.’ (agh_png_069)

The subjects of the subordinate and the main clause can be the same (612) or different (609–611). The subject of the subordinate clause can either be represented by a normal nominative NP or enclitic pronoun (609, 611), or by a genitive pronoun (610, 612). This does not seem to be strongly correlated with the form of the main clause predicate, i.e. genitive subject encoding can be used when the main clause predicate is a finite verb complex, as in (610–612), and nominative subject encoding can be used when the main clause predicate is nominalized, as in (609). However, the subject of the main clause is genitive with a nominalized verb and nominative with a finite verb.

Simultaneous clauses with an *-a*-marked verb are also used as one of two complementation strategies with verbs of perception. The other strategy is to use a nominalized clause as the object of the perception verb (cf. Sec. 9.4). When a simultaneous clause is used as a complementation strategy, the predicate of the subordinate simultaneous clause is the perception verb, while the main clause encodes the perceived event, see examples (613) and (614).

- (613) [*Dukuputu=na* *lo-va* *ghau*
 Dukuputu=NOM 3SG.M-GEN.M fishing.bamboo
l-eghe-a]=*lo* *te* *bona-zu*.
 3SG.M.O-see-SIM=3SG.M.NOM EMPH be.wet-PST.IPFV
 ‘Dukuputu saw his fishing bamboo being wet.’, lit. ‘Dukuputu seeing his
 fishing bamboo, it was wet.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_025)
- (614) [*Tuka=gho* *ene-a*]=*lo* *te* *tomai neu*
 whenever=3SG.F.NOM hear-SIM=3SG.M.NOM EMPH just down
lo *doi=la* *te* *tau dikidoko-tu*, *lo* *samu*.
 3SG.M earth=LOC.M EMPH fall rattle-PRS.IPFV 3SG.M food
 ‘Every time she heard that it just fell rattling down on the ground, the
 food.’, lit. ‘Whenever she heard, it is just falling rattling down to the
 ground, the food.’ (ej_cs_turibibinu_021)

This division of labor between the subordinate clause and the main clause is cross-linguistically not very common; usually, when a subordinate clause is employed in this context, the subordinate clause (typically a complement clause) encodes the percept, and the main clause predicate is the perception verb. This is also the case in English; compare the free and literal translations of examples (613) and (614) above.

There are, however, other languages that encode the perception predicate in a dependent clause, and the perceived event in a main clause. In Kayardild (Tangkic, Australia), the event of perception can be encoded in a clearly subordinated parenthetical clause, thereby supplying “the perceptual evidence for an assertion” Evans (1995: 515). An example is (12-69)¹⁰³:

(12-69) *nyingka* [*ngijuwa* *kurri-jarra-ntha*]_{COBL} *diya-jarra*
 2sgNOM 1sgSUBJ:COBL see-PST-COBL eat-PST
ngijin-jina yakuri-na
 my-MABL fish-MABL
 ‘You, I saw, were eating my fish.’ (Evans 1995: 514)¹⁰⁴

While parenthetical constructions in general are quite common, and “while it is common for the perceived event clause to have main clause status, it is rarer for the parenthetical clause to be overtly subordinated, as it is in Kayardild.” (Evans 1995: 515)

Lavukaleve, the Papuan language spoken close to Savosavo on the Russell islands, also uses an adverbial clause to encode the event of ‘telling someone to do something’, while the main clause encodes what is told: “in *He told them to go* the verb of telling is expressed as a subordinate Anterior clause, dependent on the verb *go*; thus, *Him telling them, they went*.” (Terrill 2003: 424) An ‘Anterior’ clause is an adverbial clause that “provides a temporal starting-point for the action of the main clause” (Terrill 2003: 432). Other complements are expressed by nominalized clauses (Terrill 2003: 423f.).

In Mian, a Papuan language of the Ok family spoken in the highlands of Papua New Guinea, the verb of perception is encoded in a dependent clause that is part of a clause-chaining construction (Sebastian Fedden, pers. comm.). It carries different-subject marking (615)¹⁰⁵.

103. Evans’ abbreviations are: ABL Ablative, C Complementizing, M Modal, NOM Nominative, PST Past, sg Singular, SUBJ Subject, : separates elements of port-monteau, or where segmentation is irrelevant (Evans 1995: xx ff.).

104. As all examples provided by Evans (1995) in the respective section have a first person singular subject in the parenthetical clause, it is unclear whether this construction can be used with other person-number combinations.

105. Additional abbreviations: AN animate, MED medial, N1 neuter 1, N2 neuter 2, SEQ sequential.

- (615) *wente-b-ib=a* *aaunin laak=o*
 hear.IPFV-DS.SIM-2/3.PL.AN.SBJ=MED water.place down=N2
as=e súm=e halô-s-e=a...
 tree=SG.N1 big=SG.N1 break.SG.O.PFV-DS.SEQ-SG.N1.S=MED
 ‘they heard how a big tree broke down at the water place...’
 (S. Fedden, pers. comm.)

This construction looks quite similar to the one used in Savosavo, but in Savosavo, a clause-chaining construction would contain a cosubordinator linking the clauses, and the suffix *-a* would mark the identity of the subject in the following clause with the subject of the preceding clause (cf. Sec. 8.3).

Finally, Kolyma Yukaghir, one of the two closely related languages constituting the Yukaghir language family spoken in northeastern Siberia, encodes perception events and the perceived state of affairs in a quite similar way (Maslova 2004). As in Savosavo, there are two ways of expressing a perceived event: either by an anaphoric pronoun or a nominalized clause in the object slot of the verbs for ‘see’ and ‘hear’, or by a finite clause in a construction which “formally resembles clause chains” (Maslova 2004: 309). Like Mian, Yukaghir has clause-chaining constructions with switch-reference marking, and encodes the event of perception in a dependent clause containing a different-subject marker. The only difference from a regular clause-chaining construction in Yukaghir is “that the object (Stimulus) slot in the Different-Subject clause is absent, and the finite clause event must be interpreted as the Stimulus” (Maslova 2004: 309). The functional difference between these two strategies in Yukaghir is that the clause-chaining construction is used to introduce a new event, whereas a nominalized clause or anaphoric pronoun is used when the perceived event “has been previously mentioned” (Maslova 2004: 309).

As for the functions of the two complementation strategies in Savosavo, the situation is similar, but not identical to that in Yukaghir (see discussion below).

It may be unusual that the main clause encodes the percept, and not the act of perception, but it is quite fitting that a subordinate clause expressing simultaneity should be employed as a complementation strategy specifically with perception verbs. In his paper on complementation, Noonan (2007) argues that in the case of ‘immediate perception predicates’, “the event coded by the CTP [i.e. complement-taking predicate] and that coded by the complement must necessarily be simultaneous, and, furthermore, participants involved in the matrix and complement events can be said to be shared.” (Noonan 2007: 119) These features are also shared by the simultaneous adverbial clause in Savosavo. Not only does it encode simultaneous events, it can also quite easily share arguments with the main clause by taking the subject of the main clause as the object of the simultaneous clause (see example (613) above and examples (616) and (617) below).

- (616) [*Ko mama=kona ene-ghi-a*]=*gho*
 3SG.F mother=NOM.F **hear-3SG.F.O-SIM**=3SG.F.NOM
todo te=gho “O, ai gnuba=kona
 be.immobile CONJ=3SG.F.NOM o 1SG.GEN child=NOM.F
izi=tu” tei(-i).
 sleep-PRS.IPFV say(-FIN)
 ‘Her mother heard that she was quiet and she said: “O, my child is sleeping”.’, lit. ‘Her mother hearing her, she was quiet and she said...’
 (da_cs_kosakosa_033)
- (617) [*Lo=na bua lo kaunga lo-ma adaki*
 3SG.M=NOM go.SIM 3SG.M elder 3SG.M-GEN.SG.F woman
gnuba k-eghe-a]=*gho te epi-ale-i.*
 child **3SG.F.O-see-SIM**=3SG.F.NOM EMPH sit-BG.IPFV-FIN
 ‘As he went, he saw the chief’s daughter sitting there.’, lit. ‘He going, he seeing the chief’s daughter she was sitting.’
 (bd_cs_tonelo_213)

Still, the question remains why Savosavo employs two complementation strategies for perception verbs (simultaneous clauses and nominalized clause complements, cf. Sec. 8.2.3), and what determines which of the two strategies is used. Using nominalized clauses in object position is a common, and in many languages the only strategy. Furthermore, theoretically the simultaneous construction could also be used with the perception event in the main clause and the perceived event in the subordinate clause, giving e.g. ‘As the food just fell rattling down to the ground, she heard it’ in example (614).

When the simultaneous clauses are not used as a complementation strategy for perception verbs, it depends on the context which event will be coded in the subordinate clause and which in the main clause: “it appears to be universally the case that languages allow one of the simultaneous events to be signaled as providing the context or background for the other, or foregrounded, event. The choice of which clause serves as the background is, of course, determined essentially by the nature of the discourse” (Thompson and Longacre 1985: 254). However, when a simultaneous clause is used as a complementation strategy the perception event must be encoded in the subordinate clause. This is the key to understanding both why this strategy is used to express a perception verb and the perceived event, and when it will be used: it serves to **foreground the perceived event**.

In examples (613) and (614) above, the situation perceived is new in the discourse. In (613), although it could be inferred that the bamboo is wet, because Dukiputu’s brother went fishing with it, it was not mentioned before; in any case it is the clue that makes Dukiputu realize what happened. In (614), the woman

listening did not expect the food to just fall down to the earth. In contrast, in example (618), the event of the speaker (a character from a story) throwing up ground is announced in the preceding clause (618a). Although it is very likely that a nominalized clause could have been used to express the perceived event in (618b), the speaker chose to use the simultaneous construction to emphasize that she did indeed throw up the ground, thereby betraying her location.

- (618) a. *Te=gne mane l-aka savu-li(-i):*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM consecutively 3SG.M-to tell-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 “*Ai lo doi vusi-li kia, agni*
 1SG.GEN DET.SG.M earth throw.up-3SG.M.O when 1SG
agni=na” tei(-i).
 1SG=NOM say(-FIN)
 ‘And I then said to him: “When I throw up ground, that’s me” (I) said.’
 (ap_cs_polupolu_060)
- b. [*Tulola=lo gn-eghe-a*]=*gne lo doi*
 then=3SG.M.NOM **1O-see-SIM**=1SG.NOM DET.SG.M earth
*vusi-li*¹⁰⁶ *tulola, lo ba*
 throw.up-3SG.M.O then 3SG.M[GEN] come
*saku-a-gni*¹⁰⁷ *kama gn-au pale napu=la*
 grab.quickly-EP-1SG.O already 1O-take inside mouth=LOC.M
sogne gn-omaqa bo-ghu=e.
 throw.1SG.O 1O-carry go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And then he saw me throwing up the ground, and at that he came, grabbed me quickly, already took me, threw me into his mouth and went away carrying me (in his belly).’
 (ap_cs_polupolu_061)

Thus, the situation in Savosavo is similar, but not identical, to that in Yukaghir: whereas in Yukaghir the status of a perceived event (i.e. whether it is new or has been mentioned before) determines which construction is used, the decisive criterion in Savosavo is whether the perceived event is relevant enough. Newly introduced events would usually fall into this category, but the strategy is not restricted to them.

106. The clause is non-finite here because the main clause is itself a subordinate conditional clause, see Section 8.2.2.1.

107. Some verbs have a kind of epenthetic /a/ inserted between the stem and the object suffix, cf. fn. 12, p. 34.

8.2.2.5. Purpose clauses

According to Thompson et al.'s classification of adverbial clauses on semantic grounds, "purpose clauses express a motivating event which must be *unrealized* at the time of the main event, while reason clauses express a motivating event which may be *realized* at the time of the main clause event" (Thompson et al. 2007: 250f., italics in the original). Savosavo does make use of subordinate clauses (in (619), introduced by *ke* 'CONJ') to express a purpose, but to express a reason, coordination by means of *apoi* 'because' is used (see Sec. 8.1.3). Example (619) demonstrates the difference between one kind of subordinate purpose clause and a coordinate reason clause.

- (619) *Ae-a, [ke=lo pa mapa=na*
 be.married-IMP.SG CONJ=3SG.M.NOM one person=NOM
*n-eghe sane]*_{Purpose}: [*apoi agni lo kakau nato*
 2SG.O-see follow.2SG **because** 1SG DET.SG.M arm/hand leg/foot
*zepo sue agni=na]*_{Reason}.
 PRIV ATT.EMPH 1SG=NOM
 'Get married, so that someone looks after you; because I [the snake woman] am someone without arms and legs (i.e. I can't look after you properly).'
- (rra_cs_likuliku_028)

There are two types of subordinate purpose clauses. The type employed in example (619) is used when the main clause and the purpose clause have different subjects; the main clause is commonly an order, as in (619), and the purpose clause explains why the order should be executed. However, when used with verbs of coercion, commanding, permission, desire or requesting, this type of purpose clause expresses that which is enforced, commanded, permitted, desired or requested. It is described in Section 8.2.2.5.1. The other type of purpose clause is asyndetic and used when the subject is the same in the purpose clause and the main clause. In addition to the same-subject restriction this construction can only be used in the specific situation that someone **came** or **went** in order to do something, i.e. when the predicate of the main clause is either *bo* 'go' or *ba* 'come'. Information on this asyndetic type of purpose clause can be found in Section 8.2.2.5.2.

8.2.2.5.1. Purpose clauses with *te/ke* 'CONJ'

If the subject of the purpose clause is different from the subject of the main clause, the purpose clause follows the main clause and is introduced by either *te* or *ke* (619–621), both being cosubordinators otherwise used in clause-chaining

constructions (see Sec. 8.3). The purpose clause is commonly, but not always, prosodically integrated.

- (620) a. “*Ai lo ringi=gne elakati Beki present*
 this DET.SG.M ring=1SG.NOM CERT Becky give.as.present
k-ame-ghi ta-i” tei(-i).
 3SG.F.O-give-3SG.F.O FUT-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘“This ring I will give as a present for Becky” (he) said.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_157)
- b. “[*Te=gho lo=la=le ghana-gni alea*
CONJ=3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M=LOC.M=ABL think-1SG.O all
manga=gha=la]” tei(-i).
 time=PL=LOC.M say(-FIN)
 ‘“So that she thinks of me because of that every day” (he) said.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_158)
- (621) *Vata(-a), [ke=gne ai ko piupiu*
 wait(-IMP.SG) **CONJ**=1SG.NOM this DET.SG.F betel.nut.first.stage
pia-ghi ze=gne ena].
 move.up-3SG.F.O CONJ.SS=1SG.NOM chew.betel.nut
 ‘Wait, so that I climb this betel nut tree (that has) young fruits and then
 chew betel nut.’
 (wr_cs_vulaole_115)

The purpose clause has to be a verbal clause with a non-finite predicate. This verbal clause can be complex, e.g. in (621) it consists of two clauses in a clause-chaining construction (see Sec. 8.3). Usually the predicate is unmarked, i.e. it contains no TAM or finiteness marking at all; however, occasionally the anticipatory suffix *-atais* used (622).

- (622) *Bua [ke=gne zua-ni-ata].*
 go.IMP.SG **CONJ**=1SG.NOM ask-2SG.O-ANT
 ‘Go (on), so that I (then) ask you first.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_128)

With verbs of coercion, commanding, permission, desire and requesting, purpose clauses serve to express that which is requested, permitted (623), commanded, desired (624) or enforced (625).

- (623) *Mama; dai=e no gn-au malanga-ghu*
 mother good=EMPH 2SG[GEN] 1O-take agree-NMLZ
[te=gne bo Beki k-eghe].
CONJ=1SG.NOM go Becky 3SG.F.O-see

‘Mama; (it would be) good (for) you to let me go and see Becky.’, lit.
 ‘Mama; good (is) your permitting me so that I go (and) see Becky.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_485)

- (624) *Apo~apoi=no* *mata-li(-i)*
 REDUP~ what=2SG.NOM want-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
te=ghe *l-ame-ni.*
 CONJ=1DU.EX.NOM 3SG.M.O-give-2SG.O
 ‘What do you want us to give you?’, lit. ‘What do you want so that we
 give it to you?’ (ap_cs_saraputu_232)
- (625) *Te=no* *agni fosi-mu-gni(-i)* [*te agni=na*
 CONJ=2SG.NOM 1SG force-TR-1SG.O(-FIN) CONJ 1SG=NOM
ae].
 be.married
 ‘And you forced me that I should get married.’, lit. ‘And you forced me
 so that I am married.’ (ap_jeff_beki_631)

Adverbial purpose clauses are thus a ‘complementation strategy’ (Dixon 1995) with a ‘potential’ meaning, “referring to something that has not happened, but which people intend or want should happen” (Dixon 1995: 213). In contrast to the use of simultaneous clauses as a complementation strategy with perception verbs discussed above (Sec. 8.2.2), the cross-linguistically typical pattern is preserved, the state of affairs that is semantically dependent is expressed by the subordinate clause. In contrast to the use of this type of purpose clause with other verbs, the subordinate clause is here usually prosodically integrated into the matrix clause, see Figure 22.

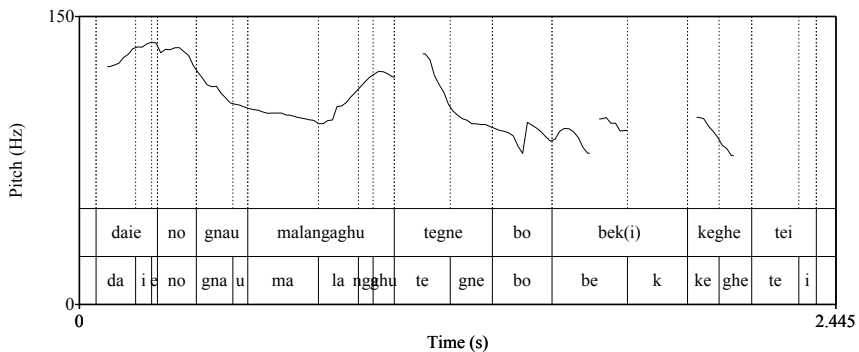


Figure 22. Pitch contour of example (623)

The subject of the adverbial clause is commonly the syntactic object of the main clause (623, 625).

8.2.2.5.2. *Asyndetic, embedded purpose clauses*

When the subject of the purpose clause is identical to the subject of the main clause, and the predicate of the matrix clause is either *ba* ‘come’ or *bo* ‘go’, the purpose clause is a subordinate clause consisting of a verb or SVC plus the future marking particle *ta* and does not have an overt subject (626, 627).

- (626) *Aaa*,¹⁰⁸ [*lela keva ta*]=*gne te bo-zu*;
 aaa stroll do.all.about FUT=1SG.NOM EMPH go-PST.IPFV
ai-va aquutu lo buringa=la.
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M work 3SG.M[GEN] back=LOC.M
 ‘Uhuh, I went to go for a walk, after my work.’ (ap_jeff_beki.112)
- (627) *Agni=na [ulula ta] bo-tu.*
 1SG=NOM pull.fish.with.bamboo FUT go-PRS.IPFV
 ‘I am going fishing / to fish.’ (003-other_sentences)

Other TAM or finiteness morphology within this type of purpose clause is not possible. If the verbal predicate of the purpose clause is transitive, the purpose clause can contain an overt object NP (628).

- (628) *Ekati=gne [[ida]_{obj} zili-li ta] bo*
 CERT=1SG.NOM pana take.out.of.ground-3SG.M.O FUT go
ta-i.
 FUT-FIN
 ‘I will go harvest pana / to harvest pana.’ (133_002_srb)

The NP referring to the object of the purpose clause can be raised and fronted if it is in focus (629).

- (629) [*Pa adaki gnuba*]_{obj}=*gne te [k-eghe ta] ba-i.*
 one woman child=1SG.NOM EMPH 3SG.F.O-see FUT come-FIN
 ‘I came to see **a girl**.’ (ap_jeff_beki.070)

The temporal setting is determined in the matrix clause; the future marker only indicates that the purpose clause talks about something that was (626, 629), is (627), or will be intended (628). In other words, the future tense marker has to be interpreted relative to the main clause predicate, the going or coming (cf. Comrie (1998) on ‘relative tense’). For example, in (629), the speaker intended to see the girl at the time he came and thus, at that time, the seeing of the girl lay in the future; it is not encoded whether he has already seen her at the time the sentence is uttered, is seeing her at that very moment (he may even be talking to her and continue “...and that was you”), or still intends to see her.

108. This is a ‘vocal gesture’ used for denial or disapproval; for details see Section 2.5, p. 41.

8.2.3. Complement clauses

The term ‘complement clause’ is understood here as referring to a finite clause structure that functions as the syntactic object in a verbal clause. Savosavo does not make much use of complement clauses, instead nominalizations with *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ (Sec. 9.4) or adverbial clauses (Sec. 8.2.2.4, p. 275, and Sec. 8.2.2.5, p. 281) are employed. So far, no verb has been identified that takes only complement clause objects, especially *-ghu*-nominalizations can usually also be used. Functional differences between these encodings remain to be investigated in more detail.

One context where complement clauses are found is with the verb *savu-li* ‘to tell something’, where the direct speech is the object of the verb ((630); the complement clause in this and the following examples is marked by square brackets).

- (630) *Ngangarasa tulola=gne ai vudu k-aka*
 scream then=1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN friend 3SG.F-to
savu-li(-i): [“*Qele-a ai lo mapa=na*
tell-3SG.M.O(-FIN) look-IMP.SG this DET.SG.M person=NOM
ai-va poketi te raragho-li(-i)”].
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M pocket EMPH reach.into-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘Screamed and then I said to my friend: “Look, this man has reached into
 my pocket.”’ (agh_png_126)

But direct speech can also be introduced by the intransitive verb *tei* ‘say’, in which case it cannot be analyzed as a syntactic object (631).

- (631) *Te=lo konga-kongali-za sua mapa=na*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM REDUP~worship-DETR ATT person=NOM
kanga(-a) te=lo l-aka tei(-i): “*Kukua;*
 shout(-SS) CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M-to **say(-FIN)** gen.2
kognola-vigni-a.”
 be.sympathetic-1PL.EX.O-IMP.SG
 ‘And the worshipping man shouts and he says to him (i.e. the volcano):
 “Grandfather, have mercy on us.”’ (ap_biti_034)

In the case of direct speech, complement clauses can be any finite clause, verbal or non-verbal, and of considerable complexity. With other complement-taking verbs complement clauses tend not to be very complex, but still both verbal (632) and non-verbal (633) complement clauses are found.

- (632) *Oma=lo l-olomi(-i) ai=na*
 no=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.O-know(-FIN) who=NOM
l-au-i.
 3SG.M.O-take-FIN
 ‘He didn’t know who took it.’ (cl_biti_066)
- (633) [A young giant, son of another giant, went to a village to win the chief’s daughter]
Lo lo ghajia mane ghoma ba-i apoi
 3SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] self consecutively not come-FIN because
ze l-olomi-le lo=le lo
 3PL[GEN] 3SG.M.O-know-APPR 3SG.M=EMPH.SG.M DET.SG.M
sua=e lo=na.
 giant=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘He himself (i.e. the father) then didn’t come, because lest they knew (that) he (i.e. the young giant), he was the giant.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_063)

8.3. Cosubordination

Like many Papuan languages (cf. e.g. Foley 1986; Farr 1999; Terrill 2003; Donohue 2005) Savosavo makes use of ‘clause-chaining’ constructions, constructions that are formed by one or more coordinate dependent clauses and one main clause. The main function of clause chains in Savosavo is to narrate sequences of events.

The basic structure of these clause chains is described in Section 8.3.1. The coordinate dependent clauses are often marked when the following clause has the same subject, be it another dependent clause or the main clause; this is discussed in Section 8.3.2. Finally, another phenomenon found with clause chains is described in Section 8.3.4, namely tail-head linkage, which means that the last verb of the preceding main clause is repeated as the initial clause of the following chain.

8.3.1. Structure of clause chains

Savosavo has three cosubordinators that can be used to link the coordinate dependent clauses to each other and to the main clause: *te*, *ke* and *ze*. The clauses they connect usually refer to consecutive events. Their differences can be summarized as follows:

The cosubordinating particles syntactically belong to the following clause, be it another medial clause or the final main clause. This is very clear from the

Table 56. Semantic and syntactic differences between the three cosubordinators *te*, *ke* and *ze*

Lexeme	Semantic difference	Syntactic difference
<i>te</i>	‘then’, neutral, consecutive events, usually past events	Coordinate dependent clauses are marked by means of <i>-a</i> when the following clause has the same subject
<i>ke</i>	‘so then’, causal relationship between linked clauses, usually past events	
<i>ze</i>	‘and’, very close connection between the events	Subjects of linked clauses have to be fully or partially identical, no same-subject marking possible

fact that the subject of the following clause is usually expressed by means of the enclitic subject pronouns, which are attached to the cosubordinator. As these pronouns are second-position enclitics, the cosubordinator must be part of the same clause.

The main clause in a clause chain is the **final** clause in the chain; one or more coordinate dependent clauses precede it. In initial position of a clause chain, either an **initial** or a **medial** clause can be used. The sole difference between the two is that the medial clause contains one of the cosubordinators (634), while the initial clause does not (635).

- (634) [*Te=to* / *mola l-au* / *kuli-a*]_{MedCl}
 CONJ=3DU.NOM / canoe 3SG.M.O-take move.seawards-SS
 [*te=to* / *zala-ghi* / *bo-i*]_{FinCl} *tagha lo* / *kuli*
 CONJ=3DU.NOM / look.for-3SG.F.O go-FIN up DET.SG.M sun
lo-va / *voda sua=la*.
 3SG.M-GEN.M / explode ATT.SG.M=LOC.M
 ‘And they brought the canoe seawards and they went to look for her, up in the east.’ (jr_cs_soghe_011)
- (635) “*M*; / [*kulo ko=na* / *apoi torongo te* / *l-evo*]_{IniCl}
 m / seawards 3SG.F=NOM what very EMPH / 3SG.M.O-burn
 [*te=lo* / *ururu-a*]_{MedCl} [*ke=lo* / /
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM smell.sweet-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM /
kunu~kunua-za / *pia* / *ba-zu*]_{FinCl}”
 REDUP~ influence.with.weak.smell-DETR move.up come-PST.IPFV
 ‘“M; what the heck was she burning seawards (i.e. cooking by putting in the fire) and it was smelling pleasantly so it was then coming up influencing with a weak smell.”’ (ej_cs_gnero_025)

The medial clause starting the chain in (634) is not the continuation of a preceding clause chain, because the immediately preceding clause was direct speech, and the clause before that a finite clause, with normal clause-final intonation. However, as was mentioned above in the sections on coordination and subordination (8.1, 8.2), morphemes used to link clauses can be used without a preceding clause to signal the close connection of the following to what was said before, much like starting a clause in English with *and then...*

Both initial and medial clauses are dependent. Any TAM specification is understood from the final, independent clause. Initial and medial clauses can contain object NPs (634, 635) and adjuncts of different kinds (e.g. locative NPs and postpositional phrases, as in (636)).

- (636) *Airini=kona pa manga=la gn-aka kuli*
 Irine=NOM.F one day=LOC.M 1-with move.seawards
ze=ghe ka ta-i.
CONJ.SS=1DU.EX.NOM move.bushwards FUT-FIN
 ‘One day Irine will go for a walk with me.’, lit. ‘...go seawards and we go bushwards. (ap_jeff_beki_229)

Furthermore, *oma* ‘not’ (637, 638) and the emphatic particle *te* (639, 640) are found in initial or medial clauses.

- (637) *Ko ai mama=kona oma qale liaza*
 DET.SG.F 1SG.GEN mother=NOM.F **not** be.quick return
te=lo tei(-i)...
CONJ=3SG.M.NOM say(-FIN)
 ‘My mother did not return quickly and then he said...’ (pk_WWII_024)
- (638) *Te=lo oma / lau-a te=lo /*
CONJ=3SgmS **not** / 3SG.M.O-take-SS **CONJ**=3SG.M.NOM /
l-aghalu-ghu pono pala-i.
 3SG.M.O-erect-NMLZ only make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘And he didn’t take it and he just put it upright (into the ground).’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_066)
- (639) *Pale ai pika=la=gho te levolevo-a*
 inside 1SG.GEN belly=LOC.M=3SG.F.NOM **EMPH** talk-SS
te=gho; / doke~dokere te=gne
CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / REDUP~ be.joyful **CONJ**=1SG.NOM
dada-i.
 be.afraid-FIN
 ‘In my belly she talked and she was happy and I was scared.’
 (ap_cs_polupolu_049)

- (640) *Te=to ropo=la te to-va vorau*
CONJ=3DU.NOM morning=LOC.M **EMPH** 3DU-GEN.M raft
ka koi-a ke=to...
 already board-SS **CONJ=3DU.NOM**
 ‘And then in the morning they boarded their raft and they...’
 (wr_cs_vulaole_212)

Depending on the cosubordinator used, initial and medial clauses can also contain the suffix *-a*, to signal that the following clause has the same subject as the preceding clause. There is no marker for signalling a change of subject. Clauses connected by the cosubordinator *ze* obligatorily have to have the same subjects (636), or the subject of the first clause has to be a proper subset of the second (641).

- (641) *No mama=no bo k-eghe ze=pe*
 2SG[GEN] mother=2SG.NOM go 3SG.F.O-see **CONJ=2DU.NOM**
l-au loloto-ata(-a).
 3SG.M.O-take be.at.right.angles-ANT(-IMP.SG)
 ‘You go see your mother and you (two) put things straight first.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_342)

Treating clauses with a referential overlap in the subjects in the same way as clauses with identical subjects is a cross-linguistically common phenomenon (cf. Reesink 1983), and the same-subject marker *-a* is also occasionally used in similar situations (see below, Sec. 8.3.2), so it is not surprising that *ze* can be used in both cases.

Clause chains with *ze* present propositions as having a closer semantic connection than clause chains with *te* and *ke*. Sometimes a clause chain with *ze* is used to introduce an event and add information about sub-events of this event in the following clauses, as in (642).

- (642) *[[Elakati lo oloa-za] [ze=lo*
 CERT 3SG.M[GEN] shake-DETR **CONJ.SS=3SG.M.NOM**
kuli] [ze=lo ka]] kia,
 move.seawards **CONJ.SS=3SG.M.NOM** move.bushwards when
ka lo biti lo-va ghoi azeaze
 already DET.SG.M volcano 3SG.M-GEN.M also breathe
liaza-ghu.
 return-NMLZ
 ‘When he shakes seawards and inland, the volcano will breathe again.’
 (ap_biti_022)

Ke has a connotation of causation ('X, so then Y'), while *te* has a more general, consecutive meaning like 'X, and then Y'. For example, in (635) above, the usage of *ke* emphasizes that the smell only had such an influence because it was a **pleasant** smell, i.e. it was smelling pleasantly, and so it came up exerting an influence on the speaker. The two propositions linked by *te* in the same example are also causally related in a way, as the food would not have smelled so good if it had not been cooked, yet they are presented simply as consecutive events: 'What is it that she cooks and then it smells so pleasantly'. The nice smell is here rather a feature of the food that is prepared, not a result of the cooking. If one would use *ke* here, the meaning would change to 'what is it that she cooks so that it smells so pleasantly', emphasizing the fact that it was the cooking which caused the pleasant smell. Both *te* and *ke* are also found in purpose clauses (see Sect. 8.2.2.5).

For some speakers, *te* and *ke* are interchangeable in many contexts. In these contexts, the connotation of causation of *ke* seems to be diminished (643).

- (643) *Lo=na mala negha / lo-va ka*
 3SG.M=NOM along.coast.side somewhere.else / 3SG.M-GEN.M car
l-ovu-a te/ke=lo; / lo-va /
 3SG.M.O-put-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / 3SG.M-GEN.M /
vanovano-a te/ke=lo; bo / lo ko
 walk-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM go / 3SG.M[GEN] 3SG.F[GEN]
tuvi qola=la bo alu-a te/ke=lo;
 house doorway=LOC.M go stand-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM
qe~ qele keva te/ke=lo; / lo
 REDUP~ look do.all.about CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / 3SG.M[GEN]
mane dikidiki-ghu=e.
 consecutively knock-NMLZ=EMPH

'He put his car somewhere up one side **and** he walked **and** he went and stood at her front door **and** he looked around **and** then he knocked.'
 (ap_jeff_beki_013)

In the intonation contour of a clause chaining construction, especially with longer chains, there is commonly a fall on the cosubordinator and the enclitic personal pronoun referring to the subject of the following clause, when there is one attached to the cosubordinator. This is then often followed by a pause. Example (643) shows this pattern (the pitch drop is marked by a semicolon); another example is (644).

- (644) *Muzi=la / tulola, / ko daki mapa ko-va*
 night=LOC.M / then / DET.SG.F old.F person 3SG.F-GEN.M
kama elu-a te=gho; / aghava kake=gha
 already wake-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / four taro=PL
k-evo-a te=gho; / pa tosu
 3SG.F.O-burn-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / one container
l-omu l-au seghe-a
 3SG.M.O-fill.a.container 3SG.M.O-take be.full-SS
te=gho; subu-li-a te=gho; /
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM bung-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM /
l-ovu-ghu kama.
 3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ already
 ‘At night then, the old woman already woke up and she burned four taro tubers and she filled a container (with water) and she bunged it and she put it (aside).’ (ap_cs_sua_031)

This pattern is reminiscent of the intonation contour found with NPs coordinated by juxtaposition, that also often have pitch drops not between the NPs, but within the non-initial NPs (cf. example (275) and Fig. 16, page 152 in Sec. 5.3.1.1).

8.3.2. Same-subject marking

The same-subject marking in Savosavo is a switch-reference system. A general definition of ‘switch-reference’ is that it is “verbal inflection which indicates by a simple binary choice whether the subject of the marked verb is coreferential or not with the subject of some other verb” (Roberts 1997: 104). Many languages, and in particular many Papuan languages (cf. Foley 1986: 183ff., Longacre 1972), are known to have switch-reference systems.

In Savosavo, the suffix *-a* on the verb of a non-final clause in a clause chain marks that the syntactic subject of the preceding clause and the syntactic subject of the following clause are identical (645), or at least overlap to a sufficient degree (see below). If the subject changes, the verb remains unmarked (646).¹⁰⁹

- (645) *Sapi-ghi-a te=lo dai sou kiba*
 cut.into.slices-3SG.F.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM good banana leaf
zuvi-li-a te=lo ko polo
 cut.banana.leaves-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM DET.SG.F pig

109. In this section, \emptyset with the gloss ‘DS’ will be used to indicate the absence of an overt marking in the different-subject-condition.

*savusavu-a-ghi*¹¹⁰ *k-ovu-a* *te=lo*
 cover-EP-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-put-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM

lo-va *eghu* *bata-li-ghu=e*.

3SG.M-GEN.M fireplace line.up.stones-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH

‘(He) cut her into slices, and he collected a good banana leaf and he put down (and) covered the pig and he built an oven.’ (ap_cs_sua_049)

(646) *Te=ghe* *tagha tei* *zau~zaugha-li-Ø*
 CONJ=1DU.EX.NOM up be.like.this REDUP~show-3SG.M.O-DS

te lo *pevu sua vaka=na* *ba-i*.

CONJ DET.SG.M fly ATT ship=NOM come-FIN

‘Then the two of us gave a signal up like this and the airplane came.’

(png_WWII_3_135)

Although switch-reference marking is employed consistently in most cases, occasionally the same-subject marker *-a* is left out even though subject reference remains the same.

(647) *Lo* *ba-i-a* *te=lo* *ota Kalaka pa*
 3SG.M[GEN] come-EP-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM there Kalaka one

musanga=la *lo-va* *epi-a te=lo*

evening=LOC.M 3SG.M-GEN.M sit-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM

kulo *qele bo-Ø* *te=lo* *kulo* *Leosa; kulo*

seawards look go-DS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM seawards Leosa seawards

Aba=la *lo* *keda lo* *pudopudo*

Guadalcanal=LOC.M DET.SG.M fire 3SG.M[GEN] spark

l-ovu-ghu *l-eghe-a* *te=lo* *ngai*

3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ 3SG.M.O-see-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM big

toa oma gnuba ghase-ghu.

really no child be.happy-NMLZ

‘He came and one evening he sat there at Kalaka and looked seawards towards Leosa on Guadalcanal, and he saw the sparks of a fire and he was very happy.’ (jn_lotu_114)

Very rarely, the same-subject marker *-a* is used although there is a switch in subject reference (648). The reasons for these inconsistencies remain unclear to date.

110. Some verbs have a kind of epenthetic /a/ inserted between the stem and the object suffix, cf. fn. 12, p. 34.

- (648) *Te=gne lo edo-nipiti sua mapa=gha pale*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM DET.PL two-teen ATT person=PL inside
some-a te=ze z-au bo-i.
 throw.3.PL.O-SS CONJ=3PL.NOM 3PL.O-take go-FIN
 ‘Then I put the twelve people inside [the ship that came to pick them up]
 and they took them away.’ (png_WWII_1_026)

If there is some overlap between the subject referent(s) of the preceding and the following clause, the same-subject marker can also be used, e.g. when the subject referent of the preceding clause is singular, and included in the plural subject of the following clause (649, 650). The reverse case, with a plural subject in the preceding clause that includes the singular subject of the following clause, is probably also possible, but it is currently not attested in the data.

- (649) *Apoi agni ighe ae-a te=ve ghoma*
 because 1SG recently be.married-SS CONJ=1PL.EX.NOM not
pa tuvi pala pale-i.
 one house make.3SG.M stay-FIN
 ‘Because I had just married and we had not yet built a house to stay in.’
 (as_WWII_036)
- (650) *Lo=na pa sekese*ni* l-au-a te=ze*
 3SG.M=NOM one section 3SG.M.O-take-SS CONJ=3PL.NOM
Luga l-ali tei(-i).
 Luga 3SG.M.O-hit want.to.do(-FIN)
 ‘He (a Japanese military leader) took one area (on Guadalcanal) and then
 they wanted to attack Luga (from there).’ (png_WWII_3_175)

As mentioned earlier, such a systematic extension of same-subject marking is not unusual cross-linguistically, and neither are asymmetric switch-reference systems (cf. Longacre 1972; Reesink 1983). The typologically unusual aspect of the Savosavo switch-reference system is that it has overt marking for the same-subject condition, but no marking for the different subject condition (cf. Roberts 1997). A possible explanation for the development of this marking pattern could be that the morpheme *-a* used for same-subject marking is either the same as the morpheme *-a* used to mark simultaneity, or that they at least have a common origin. The semantic core they share is a notion of continuity. In simultaneous clauses, where no linking device is used, the continuity is interpreted as pertaining to the temporal setting, i.e. the preceding event is simultaneous with the following event. Whether the subject participant is the same as well is of no concern. It can also be used in independent verbal clauses that consist of a verb complex and an enclitic personal pronoun only (see Sec. 7.1.1, p. 200), where it

forces a present tense interpretation, i.e. simultaneity with the speech situation. In clause chaining constructions, on the other hand, where the cosubordinators *te* and *ke* already mark the fact that the events are consecutive, this continuity refers to the main syntactic argument, the subject.

8.3.3. Scope of verbal morphology in the final clause

The future marker *ta* has so far only been found at the end of a clause chain with *ze* (see example (636) above), which is not surprising because the main function of clause chains with *te* or *ke* is to report and talk about past events. Not attested at the end of clause chains yet are the background imperfective suffixes *-ale* and *-atu* and the corresponding serial verb constructions with *pale* or *patu*.

All other TAM and finiteness morphemes have scope over the whole clause chain. For example, (634) above shows the finiteness suffix *-i* on the last verb of the clause chain. In example (635), the past imperfective suffix *-zu* also has scope over the whole chain. The irrealis suffix *-ale*, which is only used in prohibitions and in the apodosis of counterfactual (651) or hypothetical conditional clauses (652), also clearly has scope over the whole clause chain.

- (651) *Sika=no* *ghoi buringa=ka* *qele ze=no*
 don't=2SG.NOM also back=LOC.F look CONJ.SS=2SG.NOM
zaugha-li-ale!
 show-3SG.M.O-IRR
 'Don't you look back and hold it out (to her)!', lit. 'Don't you also look
 back and show it?' (ap_cs_saraputu_160)
- (652) *No* *ghoma gn-evo-ghu* *monei=gne* *n-ou*
 2SG[GEN] not 1O-burn-NMLZ if.only=1SG.NOM 2SG.O-eat
te=lo *no-va* *tovolo=na* *sere-ale*.
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 2SG-GEN.M bone=NOM be.white-IRR
 'If only you hadn't burned me, I would have eaten you and your bones
 would be white.' (jr_cs_soghe_072)

In (652), the whole chain functions as the main clause, the apodosis, and the irrealis marking marks both events of the chain as counterfactual. Similarly, in (651), both events of the chain are forbidden, marked by the prohibitive particle *sika* in the first and the irrealis marking in the final clause.

Another morpheme that often has scope over the whole clause chain is the nominalizing suffix *-ghu*. It can be used to turn whole clause chains into NP-equivalent structures. To achieve this, *-ghu* is added to the last verb, which then cannot take any TAM or finiteness marking, and the first subject mentioned has to be genitive. In (653), the nominalized clause chain is used as the predicate of

a non-verbal clause. As the subject in both clauses of the chain is first person singular, the genitive encoding in the first clause as well as the nominative encoding in the second clause are clearly recognizable.

- (653) *Dai=e* [*ai=va* *lo* *toghi-li*
 good=EMPH 1SG.GEN-GEN.M 3SG.M cut.rope-3SG.M.O
ze=gne *supurongo due* *mane*
 CONJ.SS=1SG.NOM many bamboo.segment consecutively
aqutu-li]-ghu_{NP...}
 work-3SG.M.O-NMLZ
 ‘It would be good if I cut it off and then made (i.e. prepared and cooked)
 many bamboo segments (full of it).’ (ap_cs_sua_094)

A whole nominalized clause chain can also be used like any other nominalized verbal clause (NVC) in a non-verbal clause frame (see Sec. 7.1.2.3 and Sec. 9.6), and is then optionally followed by a dummy subject (654). But it is more common to drop this subject NP, see for example (642) above.

- (654) *To=va* *k=ate-a* *te=to*
 3DU-GEN.M 3SG.F.O-hold-SS CONJ=3DU.NOM
piti-ghi-ghu=e *lo=na.*
 tie-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘They held her and they tied her up.’, lit. ‘Their holding her and tying
 her up (was) it.’ (bi_cs_kakula_114)

The nominalization of the whole chain again requires the first subject to be encoded in the genitive. In short chains with two or three clauses this is quite consistent, with only a few deviant cases. The probability of a mismatch, i.e. a genitive subject without nominalization at the end, or a nominative subject together with nominalization at the end, gets bigger the longer the chain becomes. Of course this is true in general: the longer a clause chain becomes, the more likely is it that the sentence is abandoned midstream or that errors, false starts and repairs occur. Still, there are also examples with quite long nominalized clause chains (see example (644), repeated here for convenience).

- (644) *Muzi=la* / *tulola*, / *ko* *daki mapa ko=va*
 night=LOC.M / then / DET.SG.F old.F person 3SG.F-GEN.M
kama elu-a te=gho; / *aghava kake=gha*
 already wake-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / four taro=PL
k=evo-a te=gho; / *pa tosu*
 3SG.F.O-burn-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / one container

l-omu *l-au* *seghe-a*
 3SG.M.O-fill.a.container 3SG.M.O-take be.full-SS
te=gho; *subu-li-a* *te=gho;* /
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM bung-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM /
l-ovu-ghu *kama.*
3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ already

‘At night then, the old woman already woke up and she burned four taro tubers and she filled a container (with water) and she bunged it and she put it (aside).’
 (ap_cs_sua_031)

In such nominalizations, the subjects of any intermediate medial clauses and often that of the final clause are nominative, and usually expressed by means of enclitic personal pronouns. Occasionally, a genitive pronoun is used in the final clause, either exclusively or in combination with an enclitic pronoun (655).

(655) *Lo* *dulo tuvi=la=gho* *ale-a*
 DET.PL all house=LOC.M=3SG.F.NOM enter-SS
te[=gho_A [*lo* *lakavi=la* *sua korikori=gha]*_O
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM DET.PL wild.taro=LOC.M ATT pudding=PL
ko-va_A *z-ou-ghu]*_{NVC}=e.
3SG.F-GEN.M 3PL.O-eat-NMLZ=EMPH

‘She entered all the houses and she ate the puddings made of wild taro.’
 (ap_cs_sekuna_019)

The best analysis of this sentence is that the nominalization has only scope over the final clause, i.e. that a NVC in a non-verbal clause frame is used as the final clause. Evidence for this is that the first subject in this example is not genitive.

To summarize: when a clause chain is nominalized, the first subject will be expressed as genitive, while every other subject, remains nominative, usually including the final clause subject. This is the main difference between nominalization of a clause chain and nominalization of a complex clause containing a subordinate adverbial clause. Recall that for conditional, temporal and simultaneous clauses, it is the form of the main clause which is controlled by the form of the main predicate. The form of the subordinate clause subject is also often influenced by it, so that usually both subjects in such a complex clause correspond in case, but the main influence is clearly exerted on the closest subject, that of the main clause. In clause chains, however, especially in short chains of two or three clauses, the main influence is exerted on the **initial** clause subject, not on the **final** clause subject, which would be closest to the predicate.

Nominalization in Savosavo thus does not necessarily have an influence on all subjects in its scope, but seems to focus on the one furthest to the left that

is on the same syntactic level. It thereby signals and brackets the extent of the construction. Based on this hypothesis, the differences described above reflect the difference between subordination and cosubordination: in subordination, the two clauses are not on the same level syntactically, so the subject of the main clause is the one that is influenced most by nominalization. In contrast, cosubordinate clauses are dependent, but coordinated, i.e. syntactically they are on the same level. The leftmost subject will thus be the one in the initial clause, not that in the final clause.

8.3.4. Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage, following the definition by de Vries, “is a way to connect clause chains in which the last clause of a chain is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next chain” (de Vries 2005: 363). In Savosavo, usually only the last verb or SVC is repeated at the beginning of the next chain (656).

- (656) a. *Te=lo* / *lo* *sua lo*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M[GEN]
l-eghe l-au ba-ghu=e.
 3SG.M.O-see 3SG.M.O-take come-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And he, the giant looked towards (them).’ (st_cs_vangazua_066)
- b. *L-eghe l-au ba te=lo* /
 3SG.M.O-see 3SG.M.O-take come CONJ=3SG.M.NOM /
lo-va tei-ghu=e...
 3SG.M-GEN.M say-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘(He) looked towards (them) and he said...’ (st_cs_vangazua_067)

A variant of this is that *l-aju* ‘finish’ is added, to mark that the action denoted by the verbal predicate of the preceding clause is completed before something else happened.

In this particular type of initial clause the subject is usually absent. In addition, same-subject marking is often omitted, as in example (656). However, occasionally same-subject marking is used in tail-head linkage (657).

- (657) a. *Kulo bo sara te=gho* / *lo-va* *sopa*
 seawards go reach CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / 3SG.M-GEN.M top.end
qeneqene=la bo epi(-i).
 tip=LOC.M go sit(-FIN)
 ‘(She) arrived seawards and she went (and) sat at its (i.e., a tree branch) very end.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_176)

- b. *Epi-a te=gho neu qele~qele / kozi-a*
 sit-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM down REDUP~ look / face-SS
te=gho...
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM
 ‘(She) sat (down) and she looked down and she...’
 (ws_cs_ghulia_177)

Tail-head linkage is not only found with clause chains, but also with adverbial conditional clauses (658) or temporal clauses with *tulola*, see Section 8.2.2.3.

- (658) a. *Kia no qazu l-ovi l-aju kia*
 when 2SG ripe.coconut 3SG.M.O-scrape 3SG.M.O-finish when
no-va lusi-li-ghu=e.
 2SG-GEN.M squeeze-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then when you finished scraping the coconut, you squeeze it.’
 (bd_korikori_058)
- b. *Lusi-li l-aju kia no-va*
 squeeze-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-finish if 2SG-GEN.M
l-evo-ghu=e lo=na.
 3SG.M.O-burn-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘When finished squeezing it, then you burn it.’ (bd_korikori_059)

Chapter 9

Nominalization with *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’

Nominalization with *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ is a prevalent feature of Savosavo.¹¹¹ The nominalization suffix *-ghu* only attaches to verbs. There are various types of *-ghu*-nominalizations which form a continuum from sentential to nominal constructions and are used in different contexts. The context determines the degree of nominalization. The semantics of *-ghu*-nominalizations ranges from denoting a non-propositional abstract notion to expressing a proposition. Of special interest is the use of nominalized verbal clauses (NVCs), as the most sentential *-ghu*-nominalization possible: they function as predicates of non-verbal presentational clauses, which are then used instead of a finite verbal clause.

The first section of this chapter (9.1) provides some theoretical background. After that, the functions and syntactic contexts of *-ghu*-nominalizations in Savosavo are presented:

- Derivation of nouns (9.2)
- Nominalizations in a support verb construction (9.3)
- Nominalizations as state-of-affairs complements (9.4)
- Nominalizations in subject or predicate position (9.5)
- NVCs in a presentational construction (9.6)

The chapter will be concluded by a summary (9.7).

9.1. Theoretical background on ‘nominalization’

Nominalization is a scalar phenomenon; this has been recognized and commented upon by a number of authors (cf. Ross 2004[1973]; Comrie 1976; Lehmann 1982, 1988; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993; Comrie and Thompson 2007; Malchukov 2004). Although the term ‘nominalization’ can be used for the derivation of nouns from all kinds of different word classes, the following review focuses on the nominalization of verbs.

The term ‘nominalization’ has been used in different ways; the common denominator of all usages is this: ‘nominalization’ refers to a derivation, the result of which is more similar to a noun than the base is. In this characterization of nominalization, the expression ‘more similar to a noun’ is to be understood in

111. Nominalization by means of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ is the most common, and for most verbs the only, possibility. Some verbs can be nominalized by reduplication (cf. Sec. 4.1, p. 50).

a rather generous way. For some authors, a word form that lacks typical verbal properties such as TAM marking already counts as nominalized, regardless of whether or not it exhibits any nominal properties (Lehmann 1982; Dik 1997). Thus, a verb form in a subordinate clause that cannot mark the full range of TAM categories available in the language is considered nominalized, albeit to a minor degree.

Nominalization of a verb involves two components (cf. Malchukov 2004: 6): **decategorization** and **recategorization**. The nominalized form is decategorized in that it has fewer or no verbal features compared to the original verb, and it is recategorized in that it has more or all features associated with nouns in the language under discussion. The term 'features' will be used to refer to morphological and syntactic characteristics of a word form, namely the kind of:

- bound morphology it can occur with,
- dependents it can take (internal syntax), and
- syntactic functions a phrase with the word form as head can have (external syntax¹¹²).

Features relevant for nominalization are those that distinguish a verb from a noun. The highest degree of nominalization will derive a word form with all nominal features and no verbal features. Word forms nominalized to a lesser degree will have a set of features consisting of both nominal and verbal features. A language can have a variety of means of nominalization, which derive different types of nominalization. It is also possible to have just one nominalization device for constructions with different feature sets. This is the case, e.g., in Tokelauan (Hooper 1996), and also in Savosavo. Nominalizations with *-ghu* 'NMLZ' have different sets of verbal and nominal features depending on which context they are used in. The features that distinguish nouns from verbs in Savosavo are listed in Table 57.

This way of characterizing a word form is primarily based on a distinction in form, by distinguishing bound morphology from free morphemes being used as dependents, and only secondarily takes into account what grammatical categories are thus expressed. Another approach is to take grammatical categories (e.g. number, tense, case) or lexical properties (e.g. valency, gender) as the point of departure, and then identify the respective means of expression. With respect to valency in Savosavo, for example, one would investigate whether or not nominalizations of transitive verbs inherit the indexing of objects on the verb form and the overt expression of accusative object.

112. The terms 'internal' and 'external syntax' are used following Haspelmath (1996: 52).

Table 57. Verbal and nominal features relevant for nominalization in Savosavo

Morphology:	
Bound morphemes attaching to the word form	
Verb	Noun
object affixes	DU/PL-marking enclitics
transitivity-changing suffixes	verbalizing suffix <i>-sa</i>
TAM affixes	
finiteness suffix <i>-i</i>	
nominalizing suffix <i>-ghu</i>	
Internal syntax:	
Potential dependents/modifiers of the word form	
Verb	Noun
nominative subject NP	genitive NP
accusative object NP	nouns, adjectives, quantifiers
locational adjunct NP	<i>sua/lava</i> -phrase
postpositional phrase adjunct	<i>pono</i> 'only'
negation by means of <i>oma</i>	determiners, demonstrative
<i>te</i> 'EMPH'	<i>-tu</i> -relative clause
External syntax:	
Syntactic contexts of a phrase headed by the word form	
Verb	Noun
independent clause	argument (verbal clause)
main clause in a complex clause	subject or predicate (non-verbal clause)
(i.e., a clause containing a subordinate clause or being the final clause of a clause chain)	locative adjunct
	complement of a postposition
	complement of <i>lava</i>
	complement of <i>zepo</i>
	part of an appositional construction
	can be host for case enclitics
	and <i>=e</i> 'EMPH' ¹¹³
	subset NP in an inclusory construction

113. One might ask whether this feature should not better be listed under 'morphology', as it concerns bound morphemes. However, the case enclitics as well as the enclitic *=e* 'EMPH' do not attach to the word form, but to the phrase headed by it, and are thus listed under 'external syntax'.

9.1.1. Lexical vs. clausal nominalization

Seiler (1986: 29) points out that the term 'nominalization' can be "understood in a narrower or in a wider sense. In the narrower sense it means deverbative derivation of substantive nouns, in the wider sense it may include whole clauses that act as NPs in superordinated clauses." This has given rise to the distinction between 'lexical' and 'clausal' nominalization found in many publications, e.g. in Comrie and Thompson (2007), or Comrie and Koptjevskaja-Tamm's work on action nominalizations (Comrie 1976; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993), which deal only with those instances of nominalization that are classified as 'lexical' by the authors.

'Lexical' is used for nominalization that "involves the head, causing a change of its categorial status as compared to independent clauses" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993: 49). Using the distinction between levels of morphology, internal and external syntax introduced above, the canonical lexical nominalization can be described as follows:

- Morphology: a bound nominalization morpheme is attached to the verb root, forming a stem that can take all available nominal morphology, but no verbal morphology.
- Internal syntax: all nominal dependents are available, but no verbal ones.
- External syntax: the phrase headed by the derived word form can occur in all syntactic functions available to noun phrases in the language.

In contrast, in 'clausal' nominalization, "there is no evidence in favor of viewing [the] head as a lexical noun[, it] typically has no nominal characteristics" (Comrie and Thompson 2007: 376). Looking again at what this means in terms of features on all three levels, a canonical clausal nominalization can be described as follows:

- Morphology: the head of the structure can take all or most morphology available to verbs, and none available for nouns.
- Internal syntax: all verbal dependents are available, but no nominal dependents; derivation is achieved by a free morpheme added to the clausal structure as a whole.
- External syntax: the nominalized construction can occur in all syntactic functions available for noun phrases in the language.

These are characterizations of the canonical instances of lexical and clausal nominalization. What is called lexical or clausal nominalization in a given language may correspond more or less to these characterizations.

Although these canonical cases seem to be very distinct, there are many intermediate structures in the world's languages, and it is often quite difficult to

decide whether a given structure should be classified as clausal or lexical nominalization. A very interesting case in this respect is Tokelauan. In her paper on nominalization in Tokelauan, Hooper briefly discusses the difficulties that arise when one attempts to define and apply clear cut-off points between lexical and clausal (‘syntactic’ in her terminology) nominalization, and comes to the conclusion that “the category boundary between syntactic and lexical nominalisation seems to be a fluid one, and although there are clear cases of both kinds, any substantial body of text in Tokelauan contains some distinctly fuzzy cases which defy categorisation” (Hooper 1996: 224).

The discussion in Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993: 49ff.) shows that the author encountered similar difficulties. She provides examples for what she counts as lexical or clausal nominalization, as well as some borderline cases, and ends by saying that “there is probably no sharp boundary between clausal nominalizations and ANCs [action nominal constructions]. Some languages have clausal nominalizations, some have lexical nominalizations, some have both types, and, finally, some do not distinguish between the two types” (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993: 52). For Malchukov, there is definitely no sharp boundary between lexical and clausal nominalizations: “lexical nominalizations and clausal nominalizations are viewed as two points on the noun-verb (resp. NP-clause) continuum, on which particular nominalizations will be located depending on the degree of their decategorization/recategorization” (Malchukov 2004: 26). I would prefer to say that ‘lexical nominalization’ and ‘clausal nominalization’ are labels which can be applied to certain parts of the continuum, not just to two specific points, otherwise this is the view that is taken in this grammar as well. Accordingly, the focus of Sections 9.2 to 9.6 is not on classifying different instances of *-ghu*-nominalizations as ‘lexical’ or ‘clausal’, but on characterizing them in terms of their features.

9.2. Derivation of nouns

Nouns derived by means of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ from a verb stem function as the head of an NP. All dependents available to nouns can be used with these derived nouns, e.g. numerals (659), genitive NPs (660, 661) and nouns (661).¹¹⁴

114. In the examples of this and the following section, the nominalization is marked by bold print, and the NP that is headed by it is delimited by square brackets. After this, from Section 9.4 onwards, square brackets are used to mark the scope of the nominalization. This is because, for more clausal *-ghu*-nominalizations, it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish between an NP with a nominalized head and a clausal nominalization that can replace NPs as a whole. In some examples, there is evidence for one of these analyses, but in other examples both analyses are possible. Therefore it is more appropriate for the description to mark the scope of

- (659) [Pa **iva-ghu**]_{NP}=la edo tada zuba=lo=tona
 one **become.day-NMLZ**=LOC.M two man child=DU=NOM.DU
 ba-i-a te=to...
 come-EP-SS CONJ=3DU.NOM
 ‘One day two boys came and they...’ (ap_cs_kakula_002)
- (660) neu [lo nato lo **zui-ghu**]_{NP}=la
 down DET.SG.M leg 3SG.M[GEN] **end-NMLZ**=LOC.M
 ‘down at the end of the leg’ (ap_qiluqilu_111)
- (661) [[Pa vata **vui-li-ghu**]_{NP} lo
 one kind **blow-3SG.M.O-NMLZ** 3SG.M[GEN]
ngei-za-ghu]_{NP}=na ekati lo zaghata lo
cry-DETR-NMLZ=NOM CERT DET.SG.M war 3SG.M[GEN]
 mapa=gha z-au madoke ta-i...
 person=PL 3PL.O-take know FUT-FIN
 ‘The sounding of one kind of signal (lit. blowing it) will let the warriors
 (lit. the people of war) know...’ (ap_headhunt_021)

This is the only type of nominalization that can occur with determiners and the demonstrative *ai* (662).

- (662) Zu [**ai lo iva-ghu**]_{NP}=la
 but **this DET.SG.M become.day-NMLZ**=LOC.M
 pali~pali=gha=na baighoza-i.
 REDUP~ law=PL=NOM **not.exist**-FIN
 ‘But today (i.e. on this day) different customary laws don’t exist any
 more.’ (ap_custom_062)

The nominalization can take a genitive NP that corresponds to the subject argument of the nominalized verb. It is not possible to encode an object referent as genitive modifier of a nominalized verb, as in English *the city’s destruction*.

When a transitive verb is nominalized, the object agreement morphology is retained, but takes the default third person singular masculine form. Furthermore, transitivity-changing morphology can be found on a nominalized verb (661). Nouns derived with *-ghu* are occasionally also found with the plural enclitic =*gha* (663, 664).

- (663) Mapa=gha ze-va [alea **iva-ghu=gha**]_{NP}=la
 person=PL 3PL-GEN.M all **become.day-NMLZ**=PL=LOC.M
 rughu ta bo tuka...
 go.to.bush FUT go whenever

the nominalization, which can be identified much more easily, and not to anticipate the analysis of it as either part of an NP or as replacing an NP.

‘Whenever the people went to go into the bush every day...’

(ap_cs_sekuna_002)

- (664) *Tei-ghu=la=tu* *ngai toa* *madoke-li-ghu*
 be.like.this-NMLZ=LOC.M=ABL big really know-3SG.M.O-NMLZ
lava=e *agni=na*, [*lo* *tuvi* *lo-va*
 PROPR.SG.M=EMPH 1SG=NOM DET.SG.M house 3SG.M-GEN.M
alea boi *ba-ghu=gha*]_{NP} *boragha so=gha*
 all go.through come-NMLZ=PL be.black ATT=PL
mai-va *tuvi pala-ghu*.
 1NSG.IN-GEN.M house make.3SG.M.O-NMLZ
 ‘From that I have a really big knowledge of it, all the (things having to)
 do with the house, the house making of us black people.’ (jd_house_025)

The use of the plural enclitic shows the high degree of nominalization, as the derived forms refer to entities that can be counted. These are the only examples in the corpus where the plural enclitic is found with -ghu-nominalization.

The external syntax of NPs headed by these nominalizations is also that of normal nouns: they can for example be used as a subject (661), possessor (661), adjunct (659, 660) or object (see (664) below).

There are no clear-cut boundaries between the strongest nominalizations presented e.g. in examples (659), (663) and (664), and nominalizations that have more verbal characteristics. The retention of object agreement and transitivity-changing morphology can be seen as evidence that the greatest likeness to canonical lexical nominalization can only be reached by a nominalization of intransitive verbs. It is then just a small step from having only object agreement morphology without an overt object NP to a situation like (665).

- (665) *Tei* *sue* [*no-va* *ene-li* *tei-tu*
 be.like.this ATT.EMPH 2SG-GEN.M hear-3SG.M.O want-REL
lo *maitei sua* *vata mapa qilu-li-ghu*]_{NMLZ}_{NP}
 DET.SG.M be.how ATT.SG.M kind person bury-3SG.M.O-NMLZ
 ‘Like that (were) the different kinds of burial of humans that you wanted
 to hear.’, lit. ‘Like that (was) your hearing wanting any kind person bury-
 ing.’ (ap_qilulu_131)

This can be analyzed in two ways: either *mapa* ‘person’ is seen as an unmarked object NP ([*mapa qiluli-ghu*]), or as a noun modifying the nominalized verb in a compound ([*mapa*] [*qiluli-ghu*]). As there is object agreement morphology present on the nominalized verb, it would not be surprising if it was possible to have an object NP as well. But it could also be the case that the object agreement morphology on a nominalized verb is present solely because the object marker

position is part of the lexeme that has to be filled even if there is no object present or implied.

While *mapa* ‘person’ in (665) could still be explained as being a nominal modifier instead of a sentential object, this is impossible in (666).

- (666) *Mai koka mapa=gha [ze-va ngai toa*
 1NSG.IN[GEN] ancestors person=PL 3PL-GEN.M big really
lo=la pali-ghu]_{NP} lava=e.
3SG.M=LOC.M respect-NMLZ PROPR.SG.M=EMPH
 ‘Our ancestors had very big respect for it.’, lit. ‘Our ancestors (were)
 their very big respect for it having.’ (ap_custom_012)

Here the locative-marked NP has to be recognized as a sentential constituent because locative-marked NPs cannot be used directly as modifiers in NPs. Thus, this instance of *-ghu*-nominalization is more dissimilar to canonical lexical nominalization than the ones we have seen before. Still, its semantics is quite abstract. One may ask whether this example should not better be translated as ‘respected it very much’, in particular as it was mentioned above that nominal modifiers are used instead of adverbs of degree. However, to convey this meaning a specific support verb construction would have to be used (which is discussed in the next section), and the Savosavo equivalent of ‘respected it very much’ would be (667).

- (667) *Ngai toa lo=la pali-ghu=ze te*
 big really 3SG.M=LOC.M respect-NMLZ=3PL.NOM EMPH
pala-i.
 make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘They respected it very much.’, lit. ‘They made a very big respecting it.’
 (020_003_sgb)

To summarize, the *-ghu*-nominalizations presented in this section, especially those of intransitive verbs, are very close to canonical lexical nominalization. With respect to morphology, internal and external syntax, the nominalized forms behave in almost all aspects like underived nouns: they can (at least occasionally) take the plural suffix *-gha*, occur with all possible nominal dependents, and the phrase they are heading can occur in all possible syntactic positions of an NP. A difference in relation to canonical lexical nominalization is that the nominalized forms can contain object agreement morphology when the verb stem is transitive. Furthermore, some forms seem to allow unspecific object NPs, and possibly even adjuncts, but this is exceptional.

Corresponding to the nominal character of these nominalizations, they do not express propositions but concepts, referring to generalized types of events

rather than a specific state of affairs located in time and space. If any arguments or adjuncts are encoded, they serve to individuate the nominalized verb much like the nominal modifiers. They are not obligatory and do not anchor the event as much in a specific situation as arguments of a main clause would. But this is gradual; the nominalization becomes less generic and more specific the more arguments and adjuncts are encoded, and in particular the more specifically the subject of the verb is identified in the genitive NP.

9.3. Nominalizations in a support verb construction

Speakers of Savosavo make use of a support verb construction with *pala* ‘make (3SG.M)’ when they want to modify a verbal predicate in specific ways. Some meanings can only be expressed by means of nominal modifiers, because Savosavo does not have equivalent adverbs. Thus, the verb or SVC that is to be modified is nominalized and forms an NP together with the respective nominal modifiers. The whole NP is then taken as the object of *pala* ‘make (3SG.M)’. Table 58 lists the most common adverbial meanings expressed by nominal modifiers in this way; some examples are (668–672).

Table 58. Nominal modifiers commonly used to modify nominalized propositions

Meaning	Nominal modifier used	Example
‘just’	<i>pono</i> ‘only’	(668)
‘how’	<i>maitei sua</i> ‘being how’ <i>apoi vata</i> ‘what kind’	(669)
‘plenty’	<i>daivata</i> ‘plenty’	(670)
‘(very) well’	<i>dai (toa)</i> ‘(very) good’	(674)
‘(very) badly’	<i>isarongo (toa)</i> ‘(very) bad’	(671)
‘very much’	<i>ngai (toa/torongo)</i> ‘(very) big’	(672)
‘like that’	<i>tei sua</i> ‘being thus’	

- (668) *Jeff=na betu~betu-i. Oma=lo “Ghoma”*
 Jeff=NOM REDUP~ move.head-FIN no=3SG.M.NOM no
tei(-i). Zu [betu~betu-ghu pono]_{NP}=lo
 say(-FIN) but REDUP~ move.head-NMLZ only=3SG.M.NOM
te pala-i.
 EMPH make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘[She asked him: ‘Are you invited?'] Jeff nodded. He didn’t say “No”.
 But he just nodded.’, lit. ‘...but he made only nodding.’ (ap_jeff_beki_086)

- (669) [**Lo maitei sua vuni-ghu**]_{NP}=*gne* *oma*
 3SG.M[GEN] be.how ATT start-NMLZ=1SG.NOM not
savu-li(-i), oma=gne l-olomi(-i).
 tell-3SG.M.O(-FIN) not=1SG.NOM 3SG.M.O-know(-FIN)
 ‘How it started I didn’t tell, I don’t know it.’ (to_karaghau_524)
- (670) *Kama [daivata sughu ba-ghu]*_{NP}=*me*
 already plenty **be.far come-NMLZ**=1NSG.IN.NOM
pala-zu; lo mai-va tei~tei
 make.3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV DET.SG.M 1NSG.IN-GEN.M REDUP~ do
keva-ghu=la
 do.all.about-NMLZ=LOC.M
 ‘We have come very far already; on our walk¹¹⁵.’ (bd_cs_tonelo_107)
- (671) *Ei kukua=gha; [isarongo toa zaghezaghe-ghu]*_{NP}=*gne*
 ei gen.2=PL bad really **tremble-NMLZ**=1SG.NOM
pala-i.
 make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘Ei grannies, I was trembling really badly.’, lit. ‘I was making a really bad trembling.’ (bi_cs_kakula_041)
- (672) *Zu [ngai toa korigha-gni-ghu]*_{NP}=*ze*
 But big really **cheat-1SG.O-NMLZ**=3PL.NOM
pala-i.
 make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘But they tricked me really badly.’ (ap_jeff_beki_613)

The nominalized verb can be agentive, as in the examples above, or stative (673).

- (673) [*Ngai toa keke-ghu*]_{NP}=*lo* *pala-i.*
 big really.M **be.sad-NMLZ**=3SG.M.NOM make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘He was very sad.’, lit. ‘He made a really big being sad.’
 (es_cs_kakamora_181)

It is possible to use the negation *oma* in such a support verb construction (674).

- (674) ...*moka lo-va kinghe=na oma [dai*
 maybe 3SG.M-GEN.M brain=NOM **not** good
ghana-li-ghu] *pala(-a) te...*
think-3SG.M.O-NMLZ make.3SG.M.O(-SS) CONJ
 ‘...maybe his brain didn’t think it through well and...’
 (tra_cs_likuliku_056)

115. *Teitei keva* is a fixed expression used for ‘to go for a walk’.

Notice that *oma* 'not' in (674) could be analyzed as being outside or inside of the NP, i.e. roughly meaning 'his brain did not make good thinking' vs. 'his brain made no good thinking'.

In addition to the most commonly used modifiers listed above, the nominalizations can also be modified by *sua*-phrases (cf. Sec. 4.8.1; (675)).

- (675) ...[*mai-va* *kastom=la* *sua* *vata*
 1NSG.IN-GEN.M custom=LOC.M ATT.SG.M kind
ae-ghu]_{NP} *no* *pala* *ze=no...*
 be.married-NMLZ 2SG[GEN] make.3SG.M.O CONJ.SS=2SG.NOM
 '...(when) you marry according to our custom and you...', lit. 'you make
 a marriage being of the kind of our custom...' (ap_aeghu_053)

It is not possible to use determiners. The nominalization is always indefinite.

In this type of *-ghu*-nominalizations, serial verb constructions can be used (670). Additional adverbs are not possible, but locationals can apparently be used (676).

- (676) *Te=gho* *ko* *vola=la* *koi* *ale-a*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F[GEN] shape=LOC.M board enter-SS
ke=gho [*ela sua* *bo kulo* *sogha-ghu*]_{NP}
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM one ATT.SG.M go seawards jump-NMLZ
pala(-a) *gnuba=na* *ngei(-i)*.
 make.3SG.M.O(-SIM) child=NOM cry(-FIN)
 'And as she went into her (dolphin) shape and she went (and) jumped
 seawards (in the sea) for the first time, (the) child cried.'
 (wr_cs_poghorog_huliagha_152)

When the nominalized verb is transitive, its object agreement cross-references its object (672), but so far no example with an overt object NP has been found.

This support verb construction employs *pala* 'make' as a matrix verb and the nominalization of another verb as its object. The subject of the matrix verb is coreferential with the implied subject of the nominalization and cannot again be expressed by a genitive pronoun modifying the nominalized verb.

In contrast to the lexical nominalizations discussed above, nominalizations in support verb constructions denote specific states of affairs, located in time and space.

Sometimes, usually with modification by *pono* 'only' as in (677) and (678b), the support verb is omitted.

- (677) *Zu ko* *adaki=kona* [*ngei-ghu pono*]_{NP}
 but DET.SG.F woman=NOM.F cry-NMLZ only
 'But the woman just cried.' (bd_cs_tonelo_311)

- (678) a. *Lo lapeli sua mapa=gha.*
 DET.PL cover.with.apron ATT person=PL
 ‘(They were) people wearing aprons.’ (mp_mapagha_042)
- b. *Muzi ivaghu=la ka [lapeli-ghu pono]_{NP}*
 night day=LOC.M already **cover.with.apron-NMLZ** only
 ‘Night (and) day just wearing aprons.’ (mp_mapagha_043)

To summarize, the nominalizations in this support-verb construction have some nominal, but only very few verbal characteristics. They can be modified by nouns, adjectives, quantifiers and *sua*-phrases, but not by determiners or genitive NPs.¹¹⁶ Number marking enclitics cannot be used. The use of adverbs is not possible and there is no example yet with an overt object NP or an adjunct except for locationals, but object agreement affixes can be present. Still, semantically the nominalized verb is the main predicate of the clause, which is a feature of support verb constructions in general. It still refers to one specific state of affairs, located in time and space, and is not generalized or abstracted in any way.

9.4. Nominalizations as state-of-affairs complements

Nominalizations with *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ can function as clausal complements of complement-taking verbs like, for example, *mata-li* ‘want’ (679), *tau-li* ‘wait’ (680), *l-eghe* ‘see’ and *l-olomi* ‘know’ (for other ways of complementation see Sec. 8.2.3). Of these, *mata-li* ‘want’ is the most common one.¹¹⁷

- (679) *Agni oma [boto sua erongo vunu-li-ghu]*
 1SG not stink ATT.SG.M something smell-3SG.M.O-NMLZ
mata-li.
want-3SG.M.O
 ‘I don’t want to smell something that stinks.’ (ap_qilulu_087)
- (680) [*No malanga-ghu*]=*gne te*
 2SG[GEN] agree-NMLZ=1SG.NOM EMPH
tau-li-tu.
wait-3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV
 ‘I am waiting for your agreeing (i.e. your consent).’ (ap_jeff_beki_269)

116. The inability of the nominalization to occur with a determiner is not restricted to this context of *-ghu*-nominalizations, but is also found in all of the three contexts discussed in Sections 9.4 to 9.6.

117. In the examples of this and the following sections, square brackets are used to mark the extent of the nominalization, see fn. 114, p. 302. Sometimes, constituents within the nominalization are also marked by square brackets; then the syntactic function of the constituent is indicated on the closing bracket.

Example (680) is ambiguous between a more lexical interpretation, with *mala-ngaghu* a derived form denoting an abstract referent, or a more clausal interpretation, with *malangaghu* denoting the action of agreeing. Both interpretations are possible, only the presence of verbal or nominal modifiers would disambiguate the construction.

The nominalization appears in pre-verbal object position (679–681), but occasionally it follows the verb (682).

- (681) *Tada=e; lo pia*
gigantic=EMPH 3SG.M[GEN] move.up
ghoghola-li kia=no [lo
carry.on.one.shoulder-3SG.M.O when=2SG.NOM 3SG.M[GEN]
tovolo lo gheteghete-ghu] l-eghe ta-i.
bone 3SG.M[GEN] stick.out-NMLZ 3SG.M.O-see FUT-FIN
'(He was) gigantic; when he carried it up you would see his bones [mean-
ing his muscles] stick out.'
(bk_WWII_195)

- (682) *Te=gne l-au ite suaza-i [ai*
CONJ=1SG.NOM 3SG.M.O-take be.true come.out-FIN 1SG.GEN
ghana-ni pale-ghu].
think-2SG.O stay-NMLZ
'Then I will make¹¹⁸ it true that I keep thinking of you.', lit. '...my keep-
ing thinking of you.'
(ap_jeff_beki_509)

In the pre-verbal object position, the nominalization cannot be modified by a genitive NP if the subject of the nominalized verb is identical to that of the main clause (679). If the subjects are different, the subject of the verb that is nominalized is expressed by a genitive pronoun (683).

- (683) *Zu agni oma [no fosi-mu-gni-ghu] mata-li.*
but 1SG not 2SG[GEN] force-TR-1SG.O-NMLZ want-3SG.M.O
'But I don't want you to force me.', lit. 'I don't want your forcing me.'
(ap_jeff_beki_632)

When the nominalization follows the clause, the nominalization usually contains a genitive pronoun denoting the subject of the nominalized verb, even if it is identical to the main clause subject (682).

In examples (683) and (680), the object suffixes on the matrix verb agree with the nominalization in object position. But when the subject of the nominalized proposition is raised and functions syntactically as the object of the matrix verb, the matrix verb agrees with the raised subject. The nominalization then

118. This is a causative verb construction, cf. Sec. 6.5.3.2.

follows the clause, and it is no longer an argument in the narrow sense, as it is syntactically neither the subject nor the object of the clause (684). Yet, it is an obligatory constituent.

- (684) *Agni oma no mata-ni-zu* [no-va
1SG not 2SG want-2SG.O-PST.IPFV 2SG-GEN.M
ai-va zuba l-au-ghu.
1SG.GEN-GEN.M child 3SG.M.O-take-NMLZ
'I don't want you to take (i.e. marry) my child.', lit. 'I don't want you
your taking of my child.' (ap_jeff_beki_300)

The verb *l-olomi* 'know' can take a finite clause or a nominalization as its complement ((685, 686); for examples with a finite complement clause see Sec. 8.2.3).

- (685) ...*te=gne oma l-olomi(-i)* [ai-va
CONJ=1SG.NOM not 3SG.M.O-know(-FIN) 1SG.GEN-GEN.M
ala bo-ghu.
where go-NMLZ
'... and then I didn't know where I should go.' (agh_png_062)
- (686) *Ave kati bo kia=gne oma l-olomi(-i)*
1PK.EX[GEN] CERT go if=1SG.NOM not 3SG.M.O-know(-FIN)
[kati ai ala bo izi-ghu].
CERT 1SG.GEN where go sleep-NMLZ
'If we go I don't know where I will go (and) sleep.' (jv_tarai_110)

The subject can be identical or different. If it is different, the nominalization can also occur pre-verbally (687).

- (687) [Lo japani=gha ze-va ala=tu
DET.PL Japanese=PL 3PL-GEN.M where=ABL
bo-ghu]=gne te ghoma l-olomi...
go-NMLZ=1SG.NOM EMPH not 3SG.M.O-know
'Where the Japanese went I don't know...' (pk_WWII_059)

When a nominalized complement of *l-olomi* 'know' is used in pre-verbal position, and the subject of the nominalized clause and the main clause are identical, the clause expresses a general competence or ability to do something (688, 689). The subject is then not encoded in the nominalization.

- (688) ...*oma raskolo=na* [ø ota ale-ghu] l-olomi.
not criminal=NOM ø there enter-NMLZ 3SG.M.O-know
'...the criminals couldn't enter there.', lit. '...the criminals didn't know
entering there.' (agh_png_217)

- (689) *Ka* [*lo polo pono te l-ou-ghu*]
 already DET.SG.M pig only EMPH 3SG.M.O-eat-NMLZ
l-olomi sue agni.
 3SG.M.O-know ATT=EMPH 1SG
 ‘I am only used to eating pork.’, lit. ‘One who knows eating of the pig
 only (am) I.’ (ej_cs_botoli_055)

When a *-ghu*-nominalization functions as complement of a verbal clause, it can contain object NPs (679, 684), locationals (688), other adjuncts (687), and even the emphatic particle *te* (689). Clause chaining constructions can also be nominalized. If a clause chaining construction is nominalized, only the very first subject in the chain is omitted (690).

- (690) *Kati=ze* [\emptyset *l-ali ze=ze*]
 CERT=3PL \emptyset 3SG.M.O-hit CONJ.SS=3PL.NOM
ghuro-li-ghu] mata-li ta-i.
 chase-3SG.M.O-NMLZ want-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘They will want to beat and chase him.’ (jn_lotu_132)

Even though the subject of the matrix clause in (690) is identical to that of both clauses in the nominalized clause chain, only the subject expression of the first clause in the chain is omitted. The second clause contains a normal sentential nominative enclitic subject pronoun. In other contexts, when there is no subject identity between the matrix and the nominalized clause (see sections below), it is only the subject of the first clause in a clause chain that has to be encoded as genitive, while all other clauses have nominative subjects. This shows that the scope of the nominalization indeed covers the whole clause chain (cf. Sec. 8.3.3).

The only nominal feature of *-ghu*-nominalizations in this function is that the subject of the nominalized verb can be encoded as a genitive NP. Similar to nominalizations used in a support verb construction (see Sec. 9.3 above), determiners have not been found to modify nominalizations in this context, and also not in any of the following contexts (see Sec. 9.5 and Sec. 9.6 below).

The time reference of a nominalized complement depends on the matrix verb or the context. The encoding of the arguments of the verb in the nominalization is obligatory as it is in independent verbal clauses (with the exception that the subject in a pre-verbal nominalized complement is not encoded when it is identical to the main clause subject).

9.5. Nominalizations in subject or predicate position

Nominalizations with *-ghu* are used to make statements about states of affairs, to express that something is desirable or impossible, or should have been done etc.

It is always the evaluated state of affairs that is expressed by a nominalization. Depending on the lexemes used for evaluation, the *-ghu*-nominalizations appear as the subject of a verbal clause or the subject or the predicate of a non-verbal clause. The internal features of *-ghu*-nominalizations are the same for both contexts and will be summarized at the end of Section 9.5.2.

9.5.1. Subject of a verbal clause

When the evaluation is done by means of a state verb, the nominalization functions syntactically as the subject of the clause. Only occasionally does it occur in the normal subject position at the beginning of the clause (691); it is far more common that an enclitic pronoun functions as a substitute, and the nominalization then follows the clause like an afterthought (692). In the latter case the subject marking is occasionally omitted (693).

- (691) [Lo lo tei qolo-ghu]=na
 3SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] be.like.this be.broken-NMLZ=NOM
 dai-sa patu?
 good-VBLZ BG.IPFV
 '[About a part of a palm frond for a mat that cracked:] Is it ok that it
 broke like this?', lit. 'His breaking like that is still ok?' (jk_mat_030)
- (692) Dada ze=ve; zu sasi ze=lo [ave=va
 be.afraid PA=1PL.EXS but be.hard PA=3SG.M.NOM 1PL.EX-GEN.M
 apoi pala-ghu]=na.
 what make.3SG.M-NMLZ=NOM
 'We were frightened; but it was impossible for us to do something' or
 '...but there was nothing we could do.', lit. '...but it was impossible, our
 doing something. (su_WWII.079)
- (693) Kamati=lo sughu-i [Kaoqele bo-ghu].
 very.much=3SG.M.NOM be.far-FIN Kaogele go-NMLZ
 'It is very far, going to Kaogele.' (jn_lotu_098)

The use of an anticipatory pronominal subject as in (692, 693) as a substitute for the clausal complement is not unusual, it is for example also found in possible English translations of these examples: *Is it OK that it broke?*, *It was impossible for us to do anything*, and *It is very far to go to Kaogele*.

The nominalization can contain an object NP (692) and a locative adjunct (693). Semantically, the nominalized state of affairs can be rather general (692, 693) or quite specific and already realized (691).

9.5.2. Constituent of a non-verbal clause

In an alternative construction of evaluation, the evaluated state of affairs, again encoded by a *-ghu*-nominalization, functions as either subject or predicate of a non-verbal clause. The evaluation is then expressed by a nominal lexeme or constituent. In this case, the proposition in question will always refer to a state of affairs that did not come about (yet). The evaluation is done by a constituent, functioning as either subject or object, which is usually marked with the emphatic enclitic =*e*. The evaluating nominal constituent can actually be derived from a verb, as in (694) to (696).

- (694) *Sasi sue [no lo boi*
 be.hard ATT.EMPH 2SG[GEN] 3SG.M[GEN] go.through
ba-ghu rongorongoli l-aju-ghu.
 come-NMLZ tell.story-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-finish-NMLZ
 'It is impossible to tell everything about its ways', lit. 'An impossible thing (is) your finishing the telling of its ways.' (bk_WWII_155)
- (695) *Ata kulo=e sasi sue [alu-ghu]=na.*
 here seawards=EMPH be.hard ATT.EMPH stand-NMLZ=NOM
 'Here seawards (it was) difficult/impossible to stand [because of oil on the water and beach].' (png_WWII_3_078)
- (696) *Tei sue [lo tada mapa lo-va ai*
 be.like.this ATT.EMPH DET.SG.M old.M person 3SG.M-GEN.M this
lo sua peqoa-li-a te=lo
 DET.SG.M giant deceive-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM
l-ali l-ave-li-ghu]=na.
 3SG.M.O-hit 3SG.M.O-kill-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=NOM
 'Like that (was) the old man's tricking the giant and killing him.'
 (ap_cs_sua_102)

The verb *sasi* 'be.hard' is found in verbal ((692) above) as well as non-verbal clauses (694, 695), in both contexts used for evaluation of a state of affairs. The semantic differences are subtle: the verbal encoding is tied closer to one specific situation ('in that specific situation, we could not do anything'), while the nominal encoding with the attributive marker *sua*, leads to a more general claim, making a statement valid for an extended period of time ('in general, during this time, standing there was impossible'). This is due to the fact that *sua*-phrases are used to express rather time-stable properties.

There are four lexemes that are often used in speech formulas for the evaluation of a state of events, see Table 59.

Table 59. Lexemes often used in speech formulas to evaluate states of affairs.

Lexeme	Evaluation	Example
<i>dai</i> ‘good’	‘X would be desirable’	(697, 698)
<i>manana</i> ‘appropriate’	‘X would be appropriate, should happen’	(699)
<i>baigho</i> ‘non-existent’	‘X never happened’	(700, 701)
<i>pade</i> ‘one’	‘it’s one, it’s the same, no matter if X’	(702)

Dai ‘good’ is commonly used to express that it would be good or desirable for something to happen (697), often meant as a suggestion (698).

- (697) *Poragha, dai=e* [mai-va ai lo tada
 friends.PL good=EMPH 1NSG.IN-GEN.M this DET.SG.M old.M
mapa lo-va kabu solo-ghu]=na
 person 3SG.M-GEN.M heap throw.3SG.M-NMLZ=NOM
 ‘Friends, it would be good for us to put together this old man’s heap (of gifts).’¹¹⁹ (ap_cs_sua_117)

- (698) *Dai=e* [no buata-ghu].
 good=EMPH 2SG[GEN] go.ANT-NMLZ
 ‘It would be good if you went (away) for now.’ (ap_jeff_beki_035)

Manana ‘appropriate’ expresses that something should have happened. Example (699) is from a story about the arrival of two catechists on Savo, and the speaker just said that the men sent the old women down to look who they were and what they wanted. It would have been much more appropriate if the men had gone down, and this is expressed by means of *manana*.

- (699) *Manana=e* [lo tada=gha ze te
 appropriate=EMPH DET.PL man=PL 3PL[GEN] EMPH
raghe-vi-ti-ghu].
 run-TR-3DU.O-NMLZ
 ‘The men should have run to them (two).’, lit. ‘Appropriate (would have been) the men’s running to them.’ (jn_lotu_019)

The nominal lexeme *baigho* ‘non-existent’ can be used to assert that something never happened. To use this way of negating a state of affairs instead of *oma* ‘not’ is more emphatic. The nominal is again usually followed by =e ‘EMPH’, and forms a non-verbal clause with a nominalized predicate (700, 701).

119. This refers to a ceremony where a heap of food and gifts is presented to someone, usually as a compensation. The speaker and the people he talks to are indebted to the old man because he killed a giant they fled from.

- (700) *Baigho=e* [lo lo-va ko-gha=la
not.exist=EMPH 3SG.M 3SG.M-GEN.M 3SG.F-?=LOC.M
ngou-ghu].
worry-NMLZ
‘He did not worry about her.’, lit. ‘Not existent (was) his worrying about her.’
(ap_jeff_beki_281)
- (701) *Baigho=e* [pa lo ba sigo-ghi-ghu].
not.exist=EMPH one 3SG.M[GEN] come visit-3SG.F.O-NMLZ
‘No one visits her.’, lit. ‘Non existent (is) a visit of someone for her.’
(ap_jeff_beki_440)

Finally, *pade* ‘one, same’ expresses that it would not matter, or would not have mattered, if something had happened or had been the case (702)

- (702) *Pade(=e)* [no tada-sa-ghu].
one(=EMPH) 2SG[GEN] man-VBLZ-NMLZ
‘It doesn’t matter (i.e. it is the same) that you are a man.’, lit. ‘One (is) your being a man.’
(agh_png_258)

The nominalizations in these examples contain a number of verbal characteristics, with the only nominal characteristic being the genitive subject. Modification by means of nominal modifiers or determiners is not possible. In contrast, they can contain object NPs (694), which can be quite complex (697), as well as adjuncts (700), and even the emphatic particle *te* can be used (699). Furthermore, the suffix *-ata* ‘ANT’ is found to occur in nominalizations used in these contexts (698). Examples (696) above as well as (703) and (704) below show that the nominalized constituent can also be a clause chaining construction of considerable complexity. When a clause chaining construction is nominalized, usually only the subject of the first clause in the chain is encoded as genitive, all other clauses have nominative subjects (cf. Sec. 8.3.3).

- (703) *Dai=e* [ai-va lo toghi-li
good=EMPH 1SG.GEN-GEN.M 3SG.M cut.rope-3SG.M.O
ze=gne *supurongo due* *mane*
CONJ.SS=1SG.NOM many bamboo.segment consecutively
aqutu-li-ghu]...
work-3SG.M.O-NMLZ
‘It would be good if I cut it off and then made (i.e. prepared and cooked) many bamboo segments (full of it).’
(ap_cs_sua_094)

- (704) *Dai=e* [pa mola mai l-ovu l-au
 good=EMPH one canoe 1NSG.IN[GEN] 3SG.M.O-put 3SG.M.O-take
bo te=lo bo lo keda azu
 go CONJ=3SG.M.NOM go DET.SG.M fire smoke
l-eghe-ghu]=na.
 3SG.M.O-see-NMLZ=NOM
 ‘[The people see smoke of a fire on the island:] It would be good if
 we send out a canoe and it goes and checks on the smoke.’, lit. ‘Good
 (would be) our sending a canoe and its going seeing the fire smoke.’
 (ap_cs_sua_127)

Another verbal characteristic of *-ghu*-nominalizations in this context is that negation by means of (*gh*)*oma* ‘not’ is possible (705, 706).

- (705) *Manana=e* *Beki* [no **oma** ave-ghu].
 appropriate=EMPH Becky 2SG[GEN] **not** die-NMLZ
 ‘You should not have died, Becky.’, lit. ‘Appropriate (would have been)
 your not dying.’ (ap_jeff_beki_502)
- (706) *Pade(=e)* [no *ghoma no* *apoi*
 one(=EMPH) 2SG[GEN] not 2SG[GEN] everything
l-au-ghu]=na...
 3SG.M.O-take-NMLZ=NOM
 ‘No matter if you didn’t take all your things...’ (bd_cs_tonelo_268)

To summarize, *-ghu*-nominalizations in this context are very similar to verbal clauses. The availability of the emphatic particle *te*, negation by means of *oma* ‘not’, as well as the possibility to nominalize clause chains are evidence for the clausal character of these nominalizations. The only verbal characteristics they lack are the nominative subject (having a genitive subject instead), TAM markers other than *-ata* ‘ANT’, and the finiteness suffix *-i*. Semantically, the states of affairs encoded in the nominalization are often not (yet) realized. Still, the nominalization expresses a proposition with specific participants rather than an abstracted generic concept.

9.6. Nominalized verbal clauses (NVCs) in a presentational construction

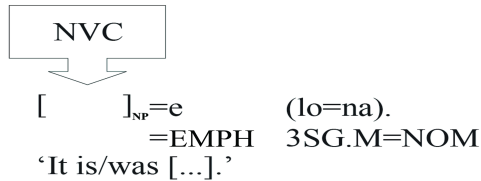
The most important function of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ in Savosavo is to derive nominalized verbal clauses (NVCs) which function as predicates of a non-verbal clause frame, usually marked by the emphatic enclitic *=e* ‘EMPH’ (see Sec. 7.2.1). The non-verbal clause with the NVC predicate is used in many contexts where finite verbal clauses are found: they can be used as independent clauses, as main clause

in a complex subordinate construction, or as final clause of a clause chain. The abbreviation 'NVC' will be exclusively used for -ghu-nominalizations employed in this context.

This section will first provide a discussion of the structural features of NVCs (9.6.1), followed by a short section on thethetic character of NVCs (9.6.2). NVCs are also mentioned in passing in the chapters on non-verbal clauses (Ch. 7.1.2.3) and the emphatic enclitic =e (Ch. 7.2.1.2), including some examples.

9.6.1. Internal structure of NVCs

On the level of the matrix clause, a NVC is equivalent to an NP. NVCs are used embedded in a non-verbal clause frame, with a semantically empty third person singular masculine subject (see also the description of non-verbal clauses with a NVC predicate, Sec. 7.1.2.3). In this clause frame, the NVC functions as the predicate, marked with =e 'EMPH', and precedes the subject pronoun, which can also be omitted:



The non-verbal clause with the NVC predicate serves to present the state of affairs expressed in the NVC. The head of a NVC is a verb or SVC marked with -ghu 'NMLZ'. Word order in NVCs is rather strict SV/AOV, but the object can be fronted for emphasis (see below). The subject of a NVC is genitive and represented by a genitive-marked NP, minimally one personal pronoun ((707); cf. Sec. 5.2.3). Overt mention of the subject is obligatory.¹²⁰

- (707) *Tulola [ze-va zaba-ghu]=e lo=na.*
 then 3PL-GEN.M become.visible-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘And then they went home.’, lit. ‘And then their becoming visible (was) it.’
(ap_kukui_045)

The genitive NP can also be complex (708).

120. This is to say that speakers would usually judge a NVC without an overtly encoded subject as incomplete and ungrammatical; however, in normal discourse it does happen that a clause without overt subject is found, even though there are only few examples of this in the corpus.

- (708) [[*Lo ighia vaka=gha ze samu lo*]_s
 DET.PL three ship=PL 3PL[GEN] food 3SG.M[GEN]
tave-ghu]=*e*.
 float-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘The food of the three ships (was) floating (around).’, ‘The three ships’
 food’s floating (was it).’ (bk_WWII_065)

NVCs with a transitive verb/SVC can contain object NPs. These NPs appear in the same form as in basic verbal clauses, and like ordinary objects they are not case-marked (709). As in independent verbal clauses, object NPs are not obligatory (710).

- (709) *Ghuasa togho te [lo-va [ela erongo]_o ghoi*
 rest CONJ 3SG.M-GEN.M some something also
sile-li-ghu]=*e*.
 write-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘(We) rested and then he also wrote something.’, lit. ‘...his writing some-
 thing (was it).’ (mp_biti_079)

- (710) *Te [ai l-au ba-ghu]=e lo=na.*
 CONJ 1SG.GEN 3SG.M.O-take come-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘Then I brought him (here).’, lit. ‘Then my taking him coming (was) it.’
 (png_WWII_3_327)

Occasionally the object is fronted and precedes the subject; thereby some extra emphasis is placed on the object referent (711).

- (711) [[*Vuza*]_o *ze piti-li-ghu*]=*e*.
Vuza 3PL[GEN] tie-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘**Vuza** they tied up.’, lit. ‘Their tying Vuza (was it).’ (png_WWII_3_200)

All kinds of adjuncts can be used in NVCs, for example locative-marked NPs (712), adverbs and locationals (713), and it is also possible to use the emphatic particle *te* (713).

- (712) *Te [lo [mane=la sua keghi]_{Adjunct}=la*
 CONJ 3SG.M[GEN] side=LOC.M ATT.SG.M coconut.tree=LOC.M
piti-li-ghu]=*e lo=na.*
 tie-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘Then he tied it to an adjacent coconut.’, lit. ‘Then his tying it to an at-
 the-side-being coconut (was) it.’ (png_WWII_3_074)

- (713) [Ze te mane_{Adverb} [lo~lo qana=gha]_o
 3PL[GEN] EMPH consecutively REDUP~ DET.SG.M gun=PL
 kulo_{Adjunct} bo vata-mi-ghu]=e.
 seawards go line.up-3PL.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 'Then they went and installed those guns seawards.', lit. '(It was) their
 then going (and) lining up those guns seawards.' (bk_WWII109)

A NVC can also be formed by nominalizing a clause chain consisting of two or more clauses (714, 715).

- (714) [Ai-va_A [ai lo ivaghu]_{Adjunct}=la [ai-va
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M this DET.SG.M day=LOC.M 1SG.GEN-GEN.M
 tone]_o l-oghoni ae ze=gne [gheza
 brother 3SG.M.O-be.like be.married CONJ=1SG.NOM own
 magnigha]_o l-oghoa-li-ghu]=e.
 homestead 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 'Today I will be married and having a home of myself like my brother.',
 lit. 'My at this day like my brother marrying and my own home owning
 (is it).' (ap_cs_saraputu_262)
- (715) Te [lo-va [qaomane l-omata]_{Adjunct} [vere]_o
 CONJ 3SG.M-GEN.M government 3SG.M-at word
 solo te=ze l-au malanga
 throw.3SG.M.O CONJ=3PL.NOM 3SG.M.O-take agree
 te=lo ba-ghu]=e.
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM come-NMLZ=EMPH
 'And then he sent word to the government and they allowed it and he
 came.' (mp_biti_030)

As described above in Section 9.5, the first subject expression will be the genitive pronoun, while the subjects of all subsequent clauses in the chain are encoded as enclitic nominative subject pronouns. The nominalization has scope over the clause chain as a whole, but only requires the first subject to be genitive (see discussion on the scope of morphology in clause chaining constructions, Sec. 8.3.3). In (716), the subordinate clause also has a genitive subject, but this is not necessarily the case and may be independent of the nominalization of the main clause predicate, see Section 8.2.2.1.

- (716) Tutu taotao=e, no-va eh_o l-oqo
 kind.of.pudding=EMPH 2SG-GEN.M ngali.nut 3SG.M.O-collect
 kia [no-va l-obu ze=no
 when 2SG-GEN.M 3SG.M.O-crack.nut CONJ=2SG.NOM

kora-li-ghu]=e.

skin-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH

‘(As for) *tutu taotao*, when you collect Ngali nuts, you crack and skin them.’, lit. ‘...your cracking it and your skinning it (is it).’

(*ss-cl_pudding_090*)

Both the anticipatory suffix *-ata* and the background imperfective suffix *-ale* are attested in NVCs (717, 718).

(717) *...te [aghe-va samu-ata-ghu]=e.*

CONJ 1DU.EX-GEN.M have.meal-ANT-NMLZ=EMPH

‘...and we had a meal first (before doing something else).’ (*mp_biti_208*)

(718) *Tulola, [ze-va lo ivaghu=la ota*

then 3PL-GEN.M DET.SG.M day=LOC.M there

taunga-(a)le-ghu]=e.

remain-BG.IPFV-NMLZ=EMPH

‘And then they were staying there that day.’ (*ap_cs_saraputu_148*)

It is also possible to nominalize a negated clause and thus have the negation particle *oma* in a NVC (719).

(719) *Tuka [lo-va oma voda-ghu]=e.*

whenever 3SG.M-GEN.M not explode-NMLZ=EMPH

‘[Whenever they did that ritual] then it (i.e. the volcano) didn’t erupt.’

(*ap_biti_025*)

The emphatic enclitic *=e* is never used inside of any subordinate, cosubordinate or nominalized clause, and this is true for NVCs as well. The emphatic particle *te*, however, does appear in some types of subordinate clause (e.g. relative clauses, see Sec. 8.2.1) and in cosubordinate clauses, and is quite often found in NVCs (713, 720, 721).

(720) [*Ko ghulia ko mama ko te*

DET.SG.F dolphin 3SG.F[GEN] mother 3SG.F[GEN] EMPH

lo=la kasanga-ghu]=e.

3SG.M=LOC.M be.angry-NMLZ=EMPH

‘Ghulia’s mother was angry about that.’ (*ws_cs_ghulia_100*)

(721) *Viri-li kia [no-va lo penu te*

coil-3SG.M.O when 2SG-GEN.M DET.SG.M coconut.husk EMPH

l-au-ghu]=e lo=na.

3SG.M.O-take-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM

‘When (you have) coiled it up, you take the coconut husk.’ (*se_kite_006*)

Finally, it is possible to nominalize content questions (722, 723).

- (722) *Zu kia [agni-va vili~vili lo*
 but if 1SG-GEN.M REDUP~ choose 3G.M[GEN]
ake-ghu]=e.
 be.what-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘But if (that is so, then) what about **my** choice?’, lit. ‘...my choice its
 being what (is it)?’ (ap_jeff_beki_133)
- (723) *E; [apoi toa lo ba-ghu]=e lo=na.*
 e what really 3SG.M[GEN] come-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘E, what the heck is coming (here)?’ (wr_cs_vulaole_100)

NVCs are those *-ghu*-nominalizations that are closest to canonical clausal nominalization. The subject is genitive, and it is still not possible to use most TAM morphology or the finiteness suffix *-i*, but the anticipatory suffix *-ata* and the background imperfective suffix *-ale* are available. Furthermore, negation, the emphatic particle *te* and clause chaining constructions can be found in NVCs.

In the case of NVCs, the nominalization with *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ does not serve to increase referentiality, it does not derive a term referring to an abstracted, less concrete type of event by deducting the active, acute and current character of an event. On the contrary, this very concrete instance of the event is actually emphasized and put in the center of attention.

9.6.2. NVCs as athetic structure

The NVCs function as a non-verbal predicate in a non-verbal clause frame which serves to assert the existence of the state of affairs encoded in the nominalized clause. The Savosavo NVCs used in this kind of clause frame can be described as **event-central thetic** structures.

The terms **thetic** and **categorical** have a long tradition in philosophy, where they are used to distinguish between two types of logical statements. ‘Thetic’ was used for the **simple judgment**, which “merely expressed an event or a state or situation” (Sasse 1987: 512), and ‘categorical’ was used for the **double judgment**, which “was assumed to be constituted of two successive acts: naming an entity and making a statement about it” (Sasse 1987: 512). Later, the distinction became a topic of discussion in linguistics.¹²¹ The terms and the relation between the thetic–categorical distinction and information structural categories such as topic, comment and focus are not uncontroversial, see for example the discussion in Sasse (1987), Lambrecht (1987), Lambrecht (1994) and Sasse (2006).

121. For an overview of earlier work on these terms, see Sasse (1987).

Sasse (1987) discusses clause structure equivalents of the thematic-categorical distinction. Categorical clause structures are typical topic-comment clauses, i.e. clauses that express a predication, that aim at making a statement about a certain topic. In contrast, thematic clauses are those that present a state of affairs in its entirety, not split up in a topic and a statement about this topic: “[t]hematic utterances may be said to assert the existence of a state of affairs, but they do not predicate it” (Sasse 1987: 556). Sasse uses English to make the difference very clear:

(724) *God exists.* (Sasse 1987: 556, ex. (117))

(725) *There is a God.* (Sasse 1987: 556, ex. (116))

(724) is a categorical utterance, making a predication (‘X exists’) about an entity (X), while (725) “is not a statement about an entity, but asserts the existence of some entity” (Sasse 1987: 556). Utterances like this, which assert the existence of an entity, have also been called ‘presentational construction’, e.g. by Lambrecht (1994: 177).

While some languages mark the difference between thematic and categorical utterances only by intonation, other languages have strategies to form syntactic structures specifically for thematic utterances, e.g. subject incorporation, cleft structures or verb nominalization (cf. Sasse 1987, 2006). All of these strategies serve to encode the whole state of affairs, participants as well as the predicate, in one constituent, signalling the thematic perspective on the state of affairs in its entirety. Sasse (1987) makes the important distinction between **entity-central** and **event-central** clause structures: “an entity-central thematic statement is a type of utterance stating the existence of an entity, while an event-central thematic statement is one which states the existence of an event” (Sasse 1987: 526). Structurally, entity-central thematic utterances retain the main participant on the highest structural level, but downgrade the predicate, for example by placing it into a relative clause that modifies the main participant, as for example in French (726).

(726) *Que se passe-t-il? – Le chat qui est tombé par la fenêtre.*

‘What’s happening? The cat has fallen out of the window.’ (Sasse 1987: 539, ex. (69))

In contrast, event-central structures downgrade the participants, for example by incorporating the participants into the predicate, or by nominalizing the clause, and this is exactly what happens in the formation of NVCs in Savosavo. Interestingly, Sasse emphasizes that particularly the Austronesian languages make use of verb nominalization to form thematic clauses, “these constructions subordinate the element denoting the entity to the element denoting the event” (Sasse 1987: 552). (727) is one example of this from Tongan.

(727) *ko e ui 'ae tangata*
 EXIST DEF call AP-DEF man

'there is the man's calling', i.e. 'the MAN is calling' (Sasse 1987: 552, ex. (111a); DEF = definitizer, AP = alienable possession marker)

This example is quite parallel to the NVCs embedded in a presentational non-verbal clause in Savosavo.

In a recent paper with a focus on theticity in European languages, Sasse emphasizes that there is no "simple thetic-categorial distinction", that "[t]hetic constructions always stand in opposition to a variety of other constructions which are not easily subsumed under a label of 'categoricity'" (Sasse 2006: 300). But what distinguishes thetic constructions from other construction types is still that the state of affairs is presented as a unity. As for the function of thetic constructions, while it is difficult to generalize across languages, it can be said that they "are connected with an additional act of assertion which explicitly signals the low presuppositionality of the state of affairs expressed" (Sasse 2006: 300).

9.6.3. Discourse function of NVCs

NVCs are found in almost all text genres represented in the corpus. They are particularly common in narratives or longer stretches of discourse, and often found to be used for climactic events in a storyline. The notable exceptions are responses elicited with certain stimulus materials. Those stimulus materials that did elicit responses with NVCs consisted, for example, of video clips showing different reciprocal actions (Reciprocals stimulus material (Evans et al. 2004)), or included longer clips with one or more people performing a number of activities (Staged Events stimulus material (Staden et al. 2001)). As soon as the video clips of a set showed a range of different activities, or there was more than one action performed in one clip, or more than one person acting, the speakers started to use NVCs (728).

(728) [*To mapamapa l-aka lupi-ghu*]=*e*.
 3DU RECIP 3SG.M-with embrace-NMLZ=EMPH

'The two of them embrace each other.' (058_sl_rec)

(729) a. *Lo pa tada koko=gne te*
 DET.SG.M one man boy=1SG.NOM EMPH
l-eghe-tu.
 3SG.M.O-see-PRS.IPFV

'I am seeing that one boy.' (ap_dr_se_205)

- b. *Lo sou=lo te kora-li(-i);*
 DET.SG.M banana=3SG.M.NOM EMPH skin-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 [*lo-va l-ou-ghu*]=*e lo=na.*
 3SG.M-GEN.M 3SG.M.O-eat-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘He peels the banana; he eats it.’ (ap_dr_se_206)

However, even for these stimulus materials, there were speakers that did not use a single NVC in their responses.

Some materials did not result in any NVC responses. In some cases this is due to the fact that the material elicited non-verbal clauses, e.g. the Topological Relations Picture Series, where speakers had to describe locations of objects in relation to a ground object (Bowerman and Pederson 1993). The prerequisite for using NVCs is that the event that is described is encoded by a verbal clause, which can then be nominalized, therefore one would not expect the use of NVCs in a task aimed at eliciting non-verbal clauses. But also some of the other stimulus materials, which had mostly finite verbal clause responses, elicited few or no NVCs. This is true in particular for those materials that focussed on certain types of events, and were used to elicit rather short answers of often only one sentence. Examples for stimulus sets of this kind are the Put & Take video clips (Bowerman et al. 2004), showing placement and removal of different objects, and the Cut & Break video clips (Bohnenmeyer et al. 2001), short clips showing a person cutting or breaking different objects, using different instruments (730).

- (730) *Lo aqe=lo te duku-li*
 DET.SG.M branch=3SG.M.NOM EMPH cut-3SG.M.O
sodu-li-tu.
 cut.in.two-3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV
 ‘He is cutting the branch in two.’ (03a-ws_cb)

No speaker describing the clips of these particular sets used any NVC. This can be explained by the fact that all events were events of cutting and breaking, or of placement and removal, so the major focus in describing these scenes was on the objects that were handled, the instruments that were used, and the locations that were involved, while the activities of cutting, breaking, placing or removing as such did not attract much attention.

In the non-elicited texts of the corpus, NVCs are a lot more frequent than in the elicited data, but the proportion of NVCs in relation to finite verbal clauses varies greatly between texts, both within and across different genres, from 3% to approximately 79%. I have selected eight texts from the non-elicited part of the corpus, from different genres, to illustrate these differences. Also included are responses to the Reciprocals stimulus set from two participants (agh_rec and

sl_rec), as well as one Man & Tree game played by two participants. Table 60 provides detailed information on these eleven texts, and Figure 23 shows the results of counting finite verbal clauses and NVCs in these eleven texts. The median value for verbal clauses across these texts is 43.87%, and that for NVCs is 56.13%.

Table 60. The eleven texts that were selected from the corpus. For each text, the name, the number of speakers involved, the topic and the number of clauses considered are provided. The bolded texts are either fully (ap_cs_polupolu) or partly (jp_ji_mt, description of 8 pictures; ss_cl_pudding, making of one type of pudding) provided in the Appendix (A.1–A.3). The last columns list the number of finite (VC) and nominalized (NVC) verbal clauses, and the corresponding percentages (cf. Fig. 23).

Text	# of Speakers	Genre	# of Clauses		VC %	NVC %
			VC	NVC		
jp_ji_mt	2	photo stimuli	335	324	96.7%	11 3.3%
sl_rec	1	video stimuli	75	57	76.0%	18 24.0%
tt_bd_war	2	history	66	50	75.8%	16 24.2%
ap_cs_polupolu	1	traditional story	80	60	75.0%	20 25.0%
sapeka	5	current events	79	36	45.6%	43 54.4%
js_marine	1	life story	310	136	43.9%	174 56.1%
da_cs_kosakosa	1	traditional story	114	49	43.0%	65 57.0%
agh_rec	1	video stimuli	107	38	35.5%	69 64.5%
cgh_bon	1	tuna fishing	52	18	34.6%	34 65.4%
ss_cl_pudding	2	pudding making	166	44	26.5%	122 73.5%
rr_house	1	house building	34	7	20.6%	27 79.4%
TOTAL:			1418	819	57.8%	599 42.2%

As far as can be said on the basis of such a small sample, especially procedural texts seem to have a high proportion of NVCs, which could be explained by the strong focus on contrasting the different activities that are involved in, e.g., building a house or making different types of pudding. Another possible explanation lies in the generic nature of procedural texts: they describe different activities not performed by a specific person at a specific time, but by anybody at any time who builds a house or makes a pudding. But further research is needed for a better understanding of what influences the choice of employing a NVC instead of a finite verbal clause and vice versa.

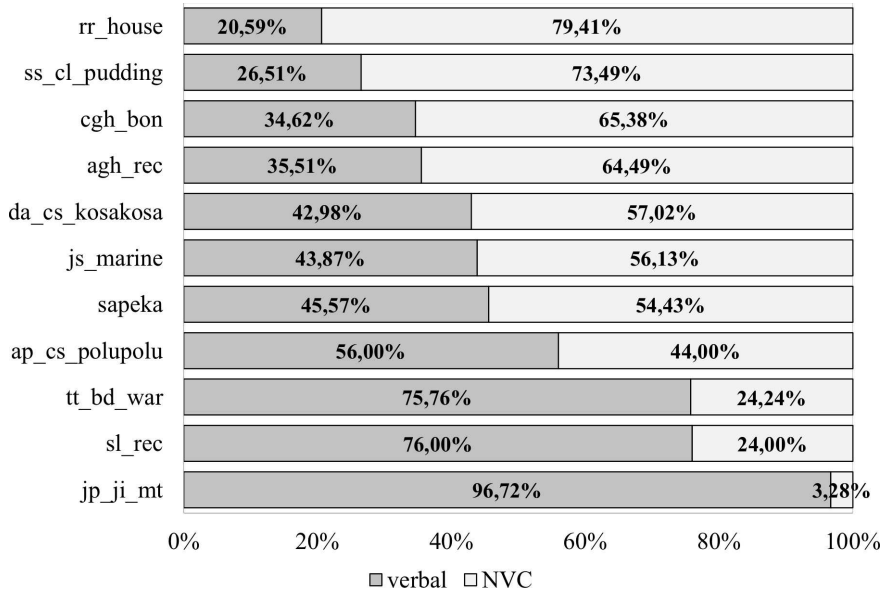


Figure 23. Count of finite verbal clauses vs. NVCs in the eleven selected texts

9.7. Summary: The continuum between lexical and clausal nominalization

The preceding sections have shown that *-ghu*-nominalizations, depending on their context, have different sets of features, and that lexical and clausal nominalization are not dichotomous categories in Savosavo, but rather constitute the extremes of a continuum, as was suggested in Section 9.1.1. The nominalizing suffix *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ can be used to achieve a more lexical or a more clausal nominalization.

Not surprisingly, the nominalizations with the most abstracted, generic meaning are those that are most similar to nouns and have the fewest verbal characteristics left (the derivation of nouns, Sec. 9.2). Over the range of functions fulfilled by *-ghu*-nominalizations, the more verbal characteristics are retained, the closer is the semantics to that of an independent verbal clause.

The continuum between lexical and clausal derivation is best described in terms of internal and external syntax of the nominalized verbal predicate: On the lexical end, there is virtually no internal syntax, the derived structure consists only of the verb and the nominalizing morpheme or derivative marker. The structure can be used as head or modifier in an NP, it can take number marking and it can be modified by determiners and other adnominal modifiers (731).

(731) *[ai-va [tabu sua] [togho-ghu]_{NMLZ}]_{NP}*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M be.whole ATT.SG.M live-NMLZ
 ‘my whole life’ (ap_jeff_beki_263)

In this context, the derivational morpheme has scope only over one lexical item, the verb.

On the clausal end, the derived structure can contain several sentential constituents such as a subject encoded by a genitive NP, an object, and possibly adjuncts, adverbs, the emphatic particle *te* or negation. In the case of *-ghu* the resulting structure is a nominalized verbal clause that, instead of fulfilling a function within an NP, takes the place of an NP (732).

- (732) [[*no-va* *ghoi elu* *qazu* *ghobu=la*
2SG-GEN.M also ngali.nut ripe.coconut middle=LOC.M
l-ovu]-*ghu*]_{NVC}
3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ
 ‘you also put Ngali nut (and) ripe coconut in the middle’, lit. ‘your also Ngali nut (and) ripe coconut in the middle putting’ (ss_cl_pudding_211)

As was described above, nominalizations marked by *-ghu* can be even more complex and can contain clause chaining constructions. In these contexts the derivative morpheme has scope over a whole phrasal or clausal structure.

But nominalization by *-ghu* not only yields these almost fully lexical and clausal nominalization structures. There are also intermediate structures that exhibit both nominal and verbal features. In (733), for example, a verbal feature is the presence of an overt object NP, while nominal features are the genitive subject and the modifier *pono* ‘only’.

- (733) ...[[*ze-va* [*apoi vata ghanaghana*]_{obj} *solo*
3PL-GEN.M what kind thought **throw.3SG.M.O**
l-au *ba*]-*ghu*_{NVC} *pono*]_{NP}
3SG.M.O-take come-NMLZ only
 ‘...they just contributed any thought (they had)’, lit. ‘...their just bringing and throwing any thoughts’ (ap_headhunt_029)

Especially with these intermediate structures, it is sometimes difficult or even impossible to determine where the scope of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ ends. For example, there are two alternative analyses of example (734), represented by the different bracketing in (734) and (734’).

- (734) *Ze=no* *manamana-li* [*lo* *no-va*
 CONJ=2SG.NOM prepare-3SG.M.O DET.SG.M 2SG-GEN.M
 [*kao* *bo*]-*ghu*_{NMLZ}]_{NP}
bushwards go-NMLZ
 ‘So that you prepare your going bushwards.’ (ap_cs_sua_034)

- (734') *Ze=no manamana-li [lo [no-va*
 CONJ=2SG.NOM prepare-3SG.M.O DET.SG.M **2SG-GEN.M**
kao bo]-ghu_{NMLZ}]_{NP}
bushwards go-NMLZ
 'So that you prepare your going bushwards.' (ap_cs_sua_034)

The difference is that in (734), the subject is counted as an adnominal modifier outside of the scope of *-ghu* 'NMLZ', while it is analyzed as inside of the scope of *-ghu* 'NMLZ' and part of a nominalized clausal structure in (734'). Many examples can be analyzed either way, but in some cases there are additional formal features that disambiguate the construction. For example, in (731), the nominal modifier between the genitive pronoun and the head supports its analysis as a nominal modifier, outside of the scope of *-ghu* 'NMLZ'. In contrast, an example like (735), with a sentential adjunct and the emphatic particle *te* preceding the genitive pronoun, supports the analysis of the genitive pronoun as part of a clausal structure that is inside of the scope of *-ghu* 'NMLZ'.

- (735) [[*Pa manga*]_{Adjunct}=*la te lo-va k-aka*
 one day=LOC.M EMPH 3SG.M-GEN.M 3SG.F-to
savu-li]-ghu_{NP}=e.
 tell-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 'One day he told her.', lit. 'One day his her telling it (was it).'
 (es_cs_kakamora_093)

But when there is no disambiguating constituent present, both analyses are possible. Probably, for analysis as well as speakers, the place on the continuum can be uncertain - like many aspects of grammar, distinctions here are ultimately graded.

Appendix A

Example texts

A.1. *Koi Polupolu* (told by Anthony Pisupisu)

The following text is a traditional folk story recorded July 29, 2003. It starts and ends with traditional formulas that are used only in the context of legends and customary folk tales like this one, and the meaning of which is partly opaque. The story starts with *Kapisitu toneo*, probably meaning something like ‘telling a legend, brother’, answered by *Kerekeredongau*, the meaning of which is unknown. The formula at the end is *Gnero ko puto, talo ko javu*, the first part of which can be literally translated as ‘bottom of a megapode’. The meaning of the second part is unclear. The audio file of this story can be found on the publisher’s website at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9783110289657.fm>.

- (1) *Kapisitu toneo*.
- (2) [CW:] *Kerekeredongau*.
- (3) *Pa magnigha=la*.
one village=LOC.M
‘In a village.’
- (4) *Lo mapa=gha=na rughu zui-zu*.
DET.PL person=PL=NOM go.to.bush end-PST.IPFV
‘The people had gone to work in the garden.’
- (5) *Zu pa / daki mapa ko ghajia magnigha=la pale-i*.
but one / old.F person 3SG.F[GEN] self village=LOC.M stay-FIN
‘But one old woman stayed on her own in the village.’
- (6) *Ko nini=e, / koi polupolu*.
3SG.F[GEN] name=EMPH / DET.SG.F Polupolu¹²²
‘Her name (was) Polupolu.’
- (7) *Te=gho, / ko tuvi=la patu, / pa*
CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / 3SG.F[GEN] house=LOC.M stay.BG.IPFV / one
sua=na ba-zu.
giant=NOM come-PST.IPFV
‘While she was staying at her house a giant came.’

122. *Polupolu* is the name of an insect species which lives in the ground, and is also found in houses. When digging a hole, it throws up the ground.

- (8) *Ba-i-a te=lo ba tuvi lo-va / ko*
 come-EP-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM come house 3SG.M-GEN.M / 3SG.F[GEN]
tuvi lo-va data / ba alu-a te=lo “Hoi”
 house 3SG.M-POSS.M outside / come stand-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM hoi
tei-zu.
 say-PST.IPFV
 ‘Came and came to stand outside her house and “Hoi!” (he) said.’
- (9) *Te ko=na pale=tu / “Hou; / ai=na;” / tei(-i).*
 CONJ 3SG.F=NOM inside=ABL / hou / who=NOM / say(-FIN)
 ‘Then she said from the inside: “Hou, who is it?”’
- (10) *Te lo sua=na / tei-zu: / “Agni=gne.*
 CONJ DET.SG.M giant=NOM / say-PST.IPFV / 1SG=EMPH.1SG
 ‘Then the giant said: “It’s me.”’
- (11) *Qaqela(-a).”*
 open(-IMP.SG)
 ‘Open.’’
- (12) *Te=gho / l-aka tei(-i): / “Ba-i-a.”*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / 3SG.M-to say(-FIN) / come-EP-IMP.SG
 ‘And she said to him: “Come.”’
- (13) *Te lo sua=na / lo qola qaqela-li-a*
 CONJ DET.SG.M giant=NOM / DET.SG.M door open-3SG.M.O-SS
te=lo; / ale ba, / qele keva, / ghoma pa mapa
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / enter come / look do.all.about / no one person
l-eghe-i.
 3SG.M.O-see-FIN
 ‘Then the giant opened the door and he went in, looked around, and didn’t see anyone.’
- (14) *Te=lo zua-zu: / “Zu ala te=no.”*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM ask-PST.IPFV / but where PA=3SG.NOM
 ‘Then he asked: “But where are you?”’
- (15) *Te ko Polupolu=kona didi=la=tu: “Ata didi=la*
 CONJ DET.SG.F Polupolu=NOM.F wall=LOC.M=ABL here wall=LOC.M
te=gne” tei(-i); / tei(-i).
 PA=1SG.NOM say(-FIN) / say(-FIN)
 ‘And Polupolu said from the wall: “I’m here at the wall.”’
- (16) *Te=lo didi=la qele keva, / o- ghoma / pa mapa*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM wall=LOC.M look do.all.about / o- not / one person
lo qeleqele l-eghe-i.
 3SG.M[GEN] look 3SG.M.O-see-FIN
 ‘And he looked around at the wall, he didn’t see anyone.’

- (17) *Te=lo lo zine / lo lo /*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM DET.SG.M mat / DET.SG.M DET.SG.M /
pelea-li-a te=lo; / tatavi
 lift.woven.material-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / basket
pelea-li-a te=lo; / kola sake-li-a
 lift.woven.material-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / stick lift-3SG.M.O-SS
te=lo; / “Zu ai no=n(a) te ata; ve- ai ai
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / but who you=NOM EMPH here ve- who who
no=na te ata vere-tu” tei(-i); / tei(-i).
 2SG=NOM EMPH here speak-PRS.IPFV say(-FIN) / say(-FIN)
 ‘Then he lifted the mat, and he lifted the basket, and he lifted the firewood and he said: “But who are you, talking here?”’
- (18) *Te=gho “Z- / zu agni=na ata; agni n-eghe-tu”*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM z- / but 1SG=NOM here 1SG 2SG.O-see-PRS.IPFV
tei(-i) ko=na.
 say(-FIN) 3SG.F=NOM
 ‘And she ”But I am here; I am watching you.” she said.’
- (19) *Te “E bo ni ghoi; / vere ni” tei(-i).*
 CONJ e go AFF also / speak AFF say(-FIN)
 ‘And (he) said: “Come again, talk.”’
- (20) *Te=gho ko Polupolu=kona tei(-i): “Gn-eghe-a*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM DET.SG.F Polupolu=NOM.F say(-FIN) 1O-see-IMP.SG
na,” tei(-i).
 AFF say(-FIN)
 ‘And Polupolu said: ”See me!” (she) said.’
- (21) *“Ai-va lo doi vusi-li l-au*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M DET.SG.M ground throw.up-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take
pia kia, / agni agni=na” tei(-i).
 move.up when / 1SG 1SG=NOM say(-FIN)
 ‘ “When I throw up the ground, that’s me.” (she) said.’
- (22) *Tulola, ko-va lo doi vusi-li tulola, /*
 then 3SG.F-GEN.M DET.SG.M ground throw.up-3SG.M.O then /
lo-va / kama / k-au, / saku-a-ghi, / pale
 3SG.M-GEN.M / already / 3SG.F.O-take / grab.quickly-EP-3SG.F.O / inside
napu=la, / lo soko-ghu ka
 mouth=LOC.M / 3SG.M[GEN] throw.SG.F.O-NMLZ already
qutu-ghi-ghu=e.
 swallow-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And then she threw up the ground and he grabbed her, threw her into his mouth and swallowed her.’

- (23) *Tulola ko Polupolu ko kama pale / lo sua*
 then DET.SG.F Polupolu 3SG.F[GEN] already inside / DET.SG.M giant
lo pika=la kama / ale-ghu kama.
 3SG.M[GEN] belly=LOC.M already / enter-NMLZ already
 ‘And then Polupolu went into the giant’s belly.’
- (24) *Lo ka kao lo-va / baba=la, / ka kozi*
 3SG.M[GEN] already bushwards 3SG.M-GEN.M / hole=LOC.M / already face
bo-ghu=e.
 go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘He went bushwards towards his cave.’
- (25) *Keva=la to bo-ghu=la ko Polupolu=kona*
 path=LOC.M 3DU[GEN] go-NMLZ=LOC.M DET.SG.F Polupolu=NOM.F
pale lo pika=la=tu / leka(-a) te=gho; /
 inside 3SG.M[GEN] belly=LOC.M=ABL / laugh(-SS) CONJ=3SG.F.NOM /
ghase-a te=gho; / leka manikilo-a te=gho; /
 be.happy-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / laugh cheer-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM /
tei(-i).
 do.thus(-FIN)
 ‘On the way, while they went, Polupolu laughed inside his belly, and she was happy and she cheered and so on.’
- (26) *Te lo sua lo-va / ghana-li l-au*
 CONJ DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M-GEN.M / think-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take
sasi-ghu=e.
 be.wrong-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And the giant felt that something was wrong.’
- (27) *“Ai / zu ai ko mapa=gne k-ou-zu; zu ake*
 ai / but this DET.SG.F person=1SG.NOM 3SG.F.O-eat-PST.IPFV but be.what
ze=gho te ai-v(a) pika=la=tu vere-tu”
 PA=3SG.F.NOM EMPH 1SG-GEN.M belly=LOC.M=ABL speak-PRS.IPFV
tei(-i).
 say(-FIN)
 ‘“Ai, but I ate this woman. But why is she talking from my belly?” (he) said.’
- (28) *Te ko Polupolu=kona tei(-i): “Eo; / ai lo*
 CONJ DET.SG.F Polupolu=NOM.F say(-FIN) yes / this DET.SG.M
ivaghu=la=gne elakati / no pika lo / pale ai
 day=LOC.M=1SG.NOM CERT / 2SG[GEN] belly 3SG.M[GEN] / inside this
lo no pika=la=gne pale ze=gne
 DET.SG.M 2SG[GEN] belly=LOC.M=1SG.NOM stay CONJ=1SG.NOM
no boli l-ou / tara~taraghati-li ta-i”
 2SG[GEN] intestines 3SG.M.O-eat / REDUP~ rip.to.pieces-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
tei(-i).
 say(-FIN)

‘And Polupolu said: “Yes. Today I will tear apart you intestines in this your belly.” (she) said.’

- (29) *Te lo sua lo-va dada-ghu=e.*
 CONJ DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M-GEN.M be.afraid-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then the giant was afraid.’
- (30) “*Ei / kukua; sika=no ai boli l-ou*
ei / gen.2 don’t=2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN intestines 3SG.M.O-eat
pata~pata-li-ale.
 REDUP~ separate.rope-3SG.M.O-IRR
 ‘“Ei grandmother! Don’t tear apart my intestines!”
- (31) *Ai-va ave-le” tei(-i).*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M die-APPR say(-FIN)
 ‘Lest I die!’ (he) said.’
- (32) *Te ko Polupolu=kona tei(-i): “Ghoma kama.*
 CONJ DET.SG.F Polupolu=NOM.F say(-FIN) no already
 ‘And Polupolu said: “No way.’
- (33) *Ai lo ivaghu=la=e ai-va no te*
 this DET.SG.M day=LOC.M=EMPH 1SG.GEN-GEN.M 2SG EMPH
n-ou sua” tei(-i).
 2SG.O-eat ATT.SG.M say(-FIN)
 ‘Today I will eat you.’ (she) said.’
- (34) “*Apoi ai lo / molumolu lo mapa=gha=e n- /*
 because this DET.SG.M / island 3SG.M[GEN] person=PL=EMPH n- /
ai-va ene-a no=na te z-ou
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M hear-SIM 2SG=NOM EMPH 3PL.O-eat
z-ave-mi-zu” tei(-i).
 3PL.O-kill-3PL.O-PST.IPFV say(-FIN)
 ‘“Because the people of this island, I heard that you ate and killed them.” (she) said.’
- (35) “*Z-ou z-aju-i” tei(-i).*
 3PL.O-eat 3PL.O-finish-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘“Ate them all” (she) said.’
- (36) *Te lo sua lo-va ngai toa dada-ghu*
 CONJ DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M-GEN.M big very.M be.afraid-NMLZ
pala-ghu=e.
 make.3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then the giant was very afraid.’
- (37) “*Kia=gne ake ta-i” tei(-i).*
 if=1SG.NOM be.what FUT-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘“If (so), what will I do?” (he) said.’

- (38) *“Kia=gne mane / kia=gne n-au togho ta-i”*
 if=1SG.NOM consecutively / if=1SG.NOM 2SG.O-take live FUT-FIN
tei(-i).
 say(-FIN)
 ‘If (so) I / if (so) I will save your life’ (she) said.’
- (39) *“No-va bo- te=gne n-aka tei kia n- mai-va*
 2SG-GEN.M bo- CONJ=1SG.NOM 2SG-to say if n- 1NSG.IN-GEN.M
no baba=la sara no mapa=gha z-emata sara /
 2SG[GEN] hole=LOC.M reach 2SG[GEN] person=PL 3PL-at reach /
kao no baba=la sara kia, / no mapa=gha
 bushwards 2SG[GEN] hole=LOC.M reach when / 2SG[GEN] person=PL
no z-aka savu-li-ghu=e.
 2SG[GEN] 3PL-to tell-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘If bo- you want me to help you, when we arrive at your cave at your people’s
 place you tell them.’
- (40) *Ke lo pa=na / pa savanga sua kola duku-li*
 CONJ DET.SG.M one=NOM / one be.long ATT.SG.M stick cut-3SG.M.O
ze=lo bali-li.
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM sharpen-3SG.M.O
 ‘So that one cuts a long stick and sharpens it.’
- (41) *Kia no napu l-au aka kia, / lo-va*
 when 2SG[GEN] mouth 3SG.M.O-take be.open when / 3SG.M-GEN.M
no napu gharo~gharo-li-ghu=e.
 2SG[GEN] mouth REDUP~ poke-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then, when you open the mouth, he pokes your mouth.’
- (42) *Kia elakati k- ai-va kama avu-ghu=e.”*
 if CERT k- 1SG.GEN-GEN.M already exit-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘If (so, then) I will come out.’’
- (43) *Tei ze=gho, / ko Polupolu=kona lo sua l-aka.*
 say PA=3SG.F.NOM / DET.SG.F Polupolu=NOM.F DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M-to
 ‘She said, Polupolu, to the giant.’
- (44) *Tulola, to bo kao sua lo-va baba=la sara*
 then 3DU[GEN] go bushwards giant 3SG.M-GEN.M hole=LOC.M reach
te lo-va / vudu=gha z-aka tei-ghu=e: / “Ei /
 CONJ 3SG.M-GEN.M / friend=PL 3PL-to say-NMLZ=EMPH / ei /
ai mapa=gha me.
 1SG.GEN person=PL 2PL
 ‘And then they went and arrived bushwards at the giant’s cave and he said to his
 friends: “Ei, you my people!’
- (45) *Agni lo ave sue agni=na” tei(-i).*
 1SG DET.SG.M die ATT.SG.M.EMPH 1SG=NOM say(-FIN)
 ‘Me, I am a dead one!’ (he) said.’

- (46) “*Ake ze=no*” *tei(-i)*.
be.what PA=2SG.NOM say(-FIN)
‘“What is with you?” (they) said.’
- (47) “*Ghoma; zu pa perongo=kona ai pika=la*.
no but one thing=NOM.F 1SG.GEN belly=LOC.M
‘“No; but something is in my belly.’
- (48) *K-ou k-au sisi ze=gne*” *tei(-i); / tei(-i)*.
3SG.F.O-eat 3SG.F.O-take be.wrong PA=1SG.NOM say(-FIN) / say(-FIN)
‘I mistakenly ate her.’ (he) said; (he) said.’
- (49) “*Pale ai pika=la=gho te levolevo-a*
inside 1SG.GEN belly=LOC.M=3SG.F.NOM EMPH talk-SS
te=gho; / doke~dokere te=gne dada-i.
CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / REDUP~ be.joyful CONJ=1SG.NOM be.afraid-FIN
‘“In my belly she talked and was happy and I was afraid.’
- (50) *Te=gho gn-aka savu-li(-i) elakati=gho / pale*
CONJ=3SG.F.NOM 1-to tell-3SG.M.O(-FIN) CERT=3SG.F.NOM / inside
ai boli l-ou / tara~taraghati-li ta-i.
1SG.GEN intestines 3SG.M.O-eat / REDUP~ rip.to.pieces-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
‘And she told me she would tear apart my intestines inside.’
- (51) *Kia ai-va ave-ghu=e lo=na*” *tei(-i)*.
if 1SG.GEN-GEN.M die-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM say(-FIN)
‘If so I die!’ (he) said.’
- (52) “*Te=gho te gn-aka savu-li(-i), / te=gne*
CONJ=3SG.F.NOM EMPH 1-to tell-3SG.M.O(-FIN) / CONJ=1SG.NOM
ba m-aka savu-li te=me / teke~teke pa=na bo
come 2PL-to tell-3SG.M.O CONJ=2PL.NOM / REDUP~ hurry one=NOM go
kola duku-li ze=lo bali-li l-au
stick cut-3SG.M.O CONJ=3SG.M.NOM sharpen-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take
nenemali ze=lo / ai-va aka kia lo
be.sharp CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / 1SG.GEN-GEN.M open when 3SG.M[GEN]
ai-va napu gharo~gharo-li kia=gho elakati
1SG.GEN-GEN.M mouth REDUP~ poke-3SG.M.O when=3SG.F.NOM CERT
avu ta-i tei ze=gho.”
exit FUT-FIN say PA=3SG.F.NOM
‘“And she told me to come and tell you that one quickly goes, cuts a stick and sharpens it and, when I open (my mouth), when he pokes my mouth then she will come out, she said.”’
- (53) *Tulola, / ze kama ene-a te=ze* “*Dai-sa*
then / 3PL[GEN] already hear-SS CONJ=3PL.NOM good-VBLZ
patu=lo;” */ tei-ghu=e lo=na*.
BG.IPFV=3SG.M.NOM / say-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
‘And then they heard that and they said “It’s all right.”’

- (54) *Ze pa vudu lo-va bo raghe kola duku-li-a*
 3PL[GEN] one friend 3SG.M-GEN.M go run stick cut-3SG.M.O-SS
te=lo; / teke=la=tu bali-li l-au
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / hurry=LOC.M=ABL sharpen-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take
nenemali-a te=lo / ba lo / lo vudu
 be.sharp-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / come 3SG.M[GEN] / 3SG.M[GEN] friend
sua l-aka tei-ghu; / "Bua no napu l-au
 giant 3SG.M-to say-NMLZ / go.IMP.SG 2SG[GEN] mouth 3SG.M.O-take
aka(-a)" tei(-i).
 open(-IMP.SG) say(-FIN)
 'One of their friends ran and cut a stick and he quickly sharpened it and he came and said to his giant friend "Go ahead, open your mouth!" (he) said.'
- (55) *Tulola, lo sua lo-va napu l-au aka tulola, /*
 then DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M-GEN.M mouth 3SG.M.O-take open then /
lo lo vudu sua lo-va / lo s- savanga
 DET.SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] friend giant 3SG.M-GEN.M / DET.SG.M s- be.long
sua kola / bali-li-tu lo kola l-au /
 ATT.SG.M stick / sharpen-3SG.M.O-REL DET.SG.M stick 3SG.M.O-take /
lo-va / vudu lo napu gharo~gharo-li tulola, /
 3SG.M-GEN.M / friend 3SG.M[GEN] mouth REDUP~ poke-3SG.M.O then /
ko Polupolu ko-va / lo sua lo
 DET.SG.F Polupolu 3SG.F-GEN.N / DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M[GEN]
vezi=la=tu ka suaza avu-ghu=e.
 anus=LOC.M=ABL already come.out exit-NMLZ=EMPH
 'And then when the giant opened his mouth, and his giant friend took the long stick, the sharpened stick and poked his friend's mouth, Polupolu came out from the giant's anus.'
- (56) *Ko=na suaza avu tulola ko ka kulo*
 3SG.F=NOM come.out exit then 3SG.F[GEN] already seawards
magnigha=la ghoi ko-va tuvi=la ka liaza
 village=LOC.M also 3SG.F-GEN.M house=LOC.M already return
te=gho; / ghase-a / leka poiali-a te=gho
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / be.happy-SS / laugh.out.loud-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM
tei(-i): "Tei sue agni=na," tei ze=gho.
 say(-FIN) be.like.this ATT.SG.M.EMPH 1SG=NOM say PA=3SG.F.NOM
 'When she came out she went back seawards to the village and to her house and she was happy and laughed out loud and she said: "That's me!" she said.'
- (57) *"Ai-va / pego~pego-a-li te, / ze vudu*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M / REDUP~ deceive-EP-3SG.M.O CONJ / 3PL[GEN] friend
/ ze ghajia ze-va / tou~tougha-li,
 / 3PL[GEN] self 3PL-GEN.M / REDUP~ stab-3SG.M.O
kaba~kaba-li, l-ave-li-ghu=e
 REDUP~ pierce-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-kill-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH

lo=na” *tei(-i)*.

3SG.M=NOM say(-FIN)

‘“I tricked him and his friends themselves stabbed and pierced and killed him!”
(she) said.’

- (58) *Tulola, ko mapa=gha ze-va / musanga=la*
then 3SG.F[GEN] person=PL 3PL-GEN.M / evening=LOC.M
zaba tulola / ko z-au rongorongo-ghu=e.
become.visible then / 3SG.F[GEN] 3PL.O-take tell.story-NMLZ=EMPH
‘And then when her people came home in the evening she told them the story.’

- (59) *Te=gho tei(-i): / “Poima; / azigha kuvala=la /*
CONJ=3SG.F.NOM say(-FIN) / men / earlier.today afternoon=LOC.M /
=gne ata patu, / lo taunga qolaqola-tu
=1SG.NOM here stay.PRS.IPFV / DET.SG.M do.always eat.alive-REL
lo sua=na ba ata vere, / tulola=gne l-aka
DET.SG.M giant=NOM come here speak / then=1SG.NOM 3SG.M.O-to
savu-li te=lo ale ba / tuka gn- / =lo
tell-3SG.M.O CONJ=3SG.M.NOM enter come / whenever ny- / =3SG.M.NOM
oma gn-olomi-tu ai- ai-va ala=lia pale-ghu.
not 1O-know-PRS.IPFV ai- 1SG.GEN-GEN.M where=about stay-NMLZ
‘And she said: “People! Earlier today in the afternoon while I was staying here
and the giant who used to haunt (this island) came and talked here and I told him
to come in, then he didn’t know where I was.’

- (60) *Te=gne mane l-aka savu-li(-i): “Ai*
CONJ=1SG.NOM consecutively 3SG.M-to tell-3SG.M.O(-FIN) 1SG.GEN
lo doi vusi-li kia, agni agni=na” tei(-i).
DET.SG.M earth throw.up-3SG.M.O when 1SG 1SG=NOM say(-FIN)
‘And I then said to him: “When I throw up ground, that’s me” (I) said.’

- (61) *Tulola=lo / gn-eghe-a=gne lo doi vusi-li*
then=3SG.M.NOM / 1O-see-a=1SG.NOM DET.SG.M earth throw.up-3SG.M.O
tulola, / lo ba saku-a-gni / kama gn-au pale
then / 3SG.M[GEN] come grab.quickly-EP-1SG.O / already 1O-take inside
napu=la sogne gn-omaga bo-ghu=e.
mouth=LOC.M throw.1SG.O 1O-carry go-NMLZ=EMPH
‘And then he saw me throwing up the ground, and at that he came, grabbed me
quickly, already took me, threw me into his mouth and went away carrying me
(in his belly).’

- (62) *Tulola=gne, / l-aka savu-li ‘te=no togho-i tei kia,*
then=1SG.NOM / 3SG.M-to tell-3SG.M.O CONJ=2SG.NOM live-FIN say if
/ no vudu=gha bo z-aka savu-li-a te pa=na
/ 2SG[GEN] friend=PL go 3PL-to tell-3SG.M.O-IMP.SG CONJ one=NOM
kola l-au ze=lo, / no aka kia / no
stick 3SG.M.O-take CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / 2SG[GEN] open when / 2SG[GEN]

napu gharo-li; / kia, ai-va avu kia, no ka
 mouth poke-3SG.M.O / if 1SG.GEN-GEN.M exit when 2SG[GEN] already
togho-ghu=e lo=na' tei(-i).
 live-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM say(-FIN)

'And then I told him 'If you want to live you go and tell your friends that if one takes a stick and when you open (your mouth) he pokes your mouth, then when I come out you will survive.' (I) said.'

- (63) *Zu ala=e; / ze=na ai lo ghanaghana pala*
 But where=EMPH / 3PL=NOM this DET.SG.M thought make.3SG.M.O
sala tulola ze, / ze vudu lo napu /
 follow.3SG.M.O then 3PL[GEN] / 3PL[GEN] friend 3SG.M[GEN] mouth /
gharo~gharo-li, kaba~kaba-li,
 REDUP~ poke-3SG.M.O REDUP~ pierce-3SG.M.O
pata~pata-li, tulola lo-va ave-ghu=e
 REDUP~ separate.ropce-3SG.M.O then 3SG.M-GEN.M die-NMLZ=EMPH
lo=na.
 3SG.M=NOM

'But where, when they followed this idea and poked and pierced their friend's mouth, he died.'

- (64) *Agni kama suaza avu kama ata kulo ba-i pau*
 1SG already come.out exit already here seawards come-FIN lie
pale-ghu=e."
 stay-NMLZ=EMPH

'I had come out and came here seawards, lying down.'

- (65) *Tei soma=e ko Polupolu ko kapisi=kona.*
 be.like.this ATT.SG.F=EMPH DET.SG.F Polupolu 3SG.F[GEN] story=NOM.F
 'This is the story of Polupolu.'

- (66) *Gnero ko puto; talo ko javu.*

A.2. Man & Tree game (James Pulusala, John Itoro Patteson)

The following text is taken from the transcript of a recording of two men playing the Man & Tree game (recorded February 25, 2003), an elicitation game developed for elicitation of spatial language by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (Pederson et al. 1998), using the picture sets no. 1 and 4. Each set consists of twelve pictures, some of which only differ in small details such as the orientation of the depicted objects, or their position in relation to each other. In this session, the two participants were sitting side by side, separated by a blackboard, so that they could not see each other. Their left side was towards the sea. Each had a set of twelve pictures spread out in front of him. One of the participants, James Pulusala (JP), described one picture at a time, in whatever order he

preferred, to the other participant, John Itoro Patteson (JI), who then had to identify the picture in his own set. The following excerpt consists of descriptions of eight pictures, four from each set, in the order they were described: pictures 4, 3, 11 and 12 for set 1, and pictures 4, 9, 10 and 7 for set 4. If utterances in between were left out this is marked by [...]. The corresponding audio files can be found on the publisher's website at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9783110289657.fm>.



Figure 24. Picture 1.4

(1) #1.4, JP:

- a. *Ai ela sua / pisa l-ate-ghu=e.*
 1SG.GEN one ATT.SG.M / picture 3SG.M.O-hold-NMLZ=EMPH
 'I'm holding a first picture.'
- b. *Pa ulunga, / pa popo k-oghoni soma, / edo kakau=gha*
 one pillow / one bowl 3SG.F.O-be.like ATT.SG.F / two arm=PL
lama / pera lo qelegele lava / gnari
 PROPR.SG.F / basket 3SG.M[GEN] appearance PROPR.SG.M / small
kontena=e.
 container=EMPH
 'A pillow, a small container like a bowl, having two handles, having the appearance of a basket.'
- c. *Zu pa kabu ita; / te lo mane=la.*
 and one heap rubbish / TE 3SG.M[GEN] side=LOC.M
 'And a heap of rubbish (is) at its side.'
- d. *No-va / sodoa-li kia, / no-va l-au*
 2SG-GEN.M / find-3SG.M.O if / 2SG-GEN.M 3SG.M.O-take
kia=no savu-li l-au ba.
 if=2SG.NOM tell-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take come
 'If you find it, if you take it, say it.'

e. *Teke~teke-a.*

REDUP~ hurry-IMP.SG

‘Hurry.’

(jp-ji_mt_002)

(2) #1.4, JI:

Data lo popo ita lo-va / data te lo
 outside DET.SG.M bowl rubbish 3SG.M-GEN.M / outside TE DET.SG.M
ita=na.
 rubbish=NOM

‘At the outside, at the outside of the bowl of rubbish (is) the rubbish?’

(jp-ji_mt_003)

(3) #1.4, JP:

Padenge mavutu=la te=ze.
 only.one place=LOC.M TE=3PL.NOM

‘They (are) in one place.’

(jp-ji_mt_004)

(4) #1.4, JI:

a. *Ata te=lo kama.*
 here TE=3SG.M.NOM already

‘Here it (is) already.’

b. *Pa popo zu pa ulunga zu lo kabu ita.*
 one bowl and one pillow and DET.SG.M heap rubbish

‘A bowl and a pillow and a heap of rubbish.’

(jp-ji_mt_005)

(5) #1.4, JP:

L-au negha l-ovu-a.
 3SG.M.O-take somewhere.else 3SG.M.O-put-IMP.SG

‘Take it (and) put it aside.’

(jp-ji_mt_006)



Figure 25. Picture 1.3

(6) #1.3, JP:

Pameve ghoi la=na.

another.one also 3SG.M.PROX=NOM

‘This (is) another one.’

(jp-ji_mt_007)

(7) #1.3, JI:

Bua; savu-li l-au ba-i-a.

go.IMP.SG tell-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take come-EP-IMP.SG

‘Go ahead; say it.’

(jp-ji_mt_008)

(8) #1.3, JP:

a. *Lo i- / kabu ita=e / ze ghobu=la*
 DET.SG.M i- / heap rubbish=EMPH / 3PL[GEN] middle=LOC.M
levua-li sua.
 separate-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M

‘The r- heap of rubbish, they split in the middle.’

b. *Kata lo / papale ko gnari kabu.*
 bushwards.side DET.SG.M / side DET.SG.F small heap

‘The half bushwards (is) a small heap.’

c. *Ko popo k-oghoni-tu ko pera k-oghoni-tu*
 DET.SG.F bowl 3SG.F.O-be.like-REL 3SG.F basket 3SG.F.O-be.like-REL
ko / ko=na kuata.

3SG.F / 3SG.F=NOM seaward.side

‘The one like a bowl, the one like a basket, she (is) seawards.’

(jp-ji_mt_009)

(9) #1.3, JP:

a. *Te lo ulunga lo taghata te=gho pa*
 CONJ DET.SG.M pillow 3SG.M[GEN] on.top TE=3SG.F.NOM one
qola kiba l-oghoni soma, / maghani=kona.
 green 3SG.M.O-be.like ATT.SG.F / decoration=NOM.F

‘And on top of the pillow (is) a decoration that is like green.’

b. *No l-au ze=no tei kia=no, /*
 2SG[GEN] 3SG.M.O-take CONJ=2SG.NOM do if=2SG.NOM /
savu-li l-au ba.
 tell-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take come

‘If you take it and do thus you say it.’

(jp-ji_mt_010)

(10) #1.3, JI:

a. *Pa gnari kabu ita, / pa ngai~ngai kabu ita, zu pa ulunga,*
 one small heap rubbish / one REDUP~ big heap rubbish and one pillow
zu pa / maghani, / zu pa popo.
 and one / decoration / and one bowl

‘The small heap of rubbish, a little bit bigger heap of rubbish, and a pillow, and a decoration, and a bowl.’

- b. *A eo; ata te=lo; l-au ze=gne kama.*
 a yes here TE=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.O-take PA=1SG.NOM already
 ‘A yes, here it (is), I already took it.’ (jp-ji_mt_011)

(11) #1.3, JP:

- L-au negha l-ovu-a.*
 3SG.M.O-take somewhere.else 3SG.M.O-put-IMP.SG
 ‘Take it (and) put it aside.’ (jp-ji_mt_012)



Figure 26. Picture 1.11

(12) #1.11, JP:

- Pa=e la=na ghoi.*
 one=EMPH 3SG.M.PROX=NOM also
 ‘This is also one.’ (jp-ji_mt_013)

(13) #1.11, JI:

- Savu-li l-au ba-i-a.*
 tell-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take come-EP-IMP.SG
 ‘Say it.’ (jp-ji_mt_014)

(14) #1.11, JP:

- a. *Pa tarake.*
 one truck
 ‘A truck.’
 b. *Ko-va terela=e sisi.*
 3SG.F-GEN.M trailer=EMPH be.red
 ‘Her trailer is red.’

c. *Ko tarake ko tuvi lo taghata*
 DET.SG.F truck 3SG.F[GEN] house 3SG.M[GEN] on.top
te=lo / pa buluka=na.
 TE=3SG.M.NOM / one cow=NOM
 ‘On top of the house of the truck (is) a cow.’

d. *Lo tarake lo kuata neuta te=lo /*
 DET.SG.M truck 3SG.M[GEN] seaward.side under TE=3SG.M.NOM /
pa ulunga=kona.
 one pillow=NOM.F
 ‘Under the truck’s seawards side (is) a pillow.’ (jp-ji_mt.015)

(15) #1.11, JP:

a. *Ko ulunga ko taghata te=lo pa*
 DET.SG.F pillow 3SG.F[GEN] on.top TE=3SG.M.NOM one
maghani=na.
 decoration=NOM
 ‘On top of the pillow (is) a decoration.’

b. *Lo-va / qola kiba=e lo-va / qeleqele=na.*
 3SG.M-GEN.M / green=EMPH 3SG.M-GEN.M / appearance=NOM
 ‘Its / green (is) its appearance.’ (jp-ji_mt.016)

(16) #1.11, JI:

a. *Ata te=lo.*
 here TE=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘Here it (is).’

b. *Pa ulunga, zu m- / lo-va maghani, zu posovata taea*
 one pillow and m- / 3SG.M-GEN.M decoration and yellow tire
lava=e.
 PROPR.SG.=EMPH
 ‘A pillow, and d- / its decoration, and one with yellow tires.’

c. *Zu qola kiba mijila, zu sisi terela;*
 and green body and be.red trailer
 ‘And a green body, and a red trailer.’

d. *te ko buluka=kona taghata;*
 CONJ DET.SG.F cow=NOM.F on.top
 ‘and the cow (is) on top.’

e. *te=gne ka l-au kabu-i; ata*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM already 3SG.M.O-take move.away-FIN here
te=lo.
 TE=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘and I already took it away; here it (is).’ (jp-ji_mt.017)

(17) #1.12, JP:

a. *Pa=e ghoi la=na.*
 one=EMPH also 3SG.M.PROX=NOM
 ‘This is also one.’



Figure 27. Picture 1.12

- b. *Padenge aje qelegele laghe=lo=e.*
 only.one be.straight appearance PROPR.DU=DU=EMPH
 ‘(They) look the same (lit. they (are) having only one parallel appearance).’
- c. *Lo-va negha suaza-ghu=e, / lo*
 3SG.M-GEN.M somewhere.else come.out-NMLZ=EMPH / DET.SG.M
buluka=na ai lo manga=la / pale lo m- / tarake
 cow=NOM this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M / inside DET.SG.M m- / truck
lo-va / lu~luja sua, / popo=la; / te alu
 3SG.M-GEN.M / REDUP~ load ATT.SG.M / bowl=LOC.M / EMPH stand
data qele-i.
 outside look-FIN
 ‘Its difference (is that) the cow this time stands in the m- / truck’s trailer (lit. bowl which is loaded) (and) looks outside.’ (jp_ji_mt_018)

(18) #1.12, JI:

- a. *O; zu agni ghoi tei sua lava.*
 o but 1SG also be.like.this ATT.SG.M PROPR.SG.M
 ‘O; but I also have one like that.’
- b. *Ko buluka=kona pale lo lo popo=la alu*
 DET.SG.F cow=NOM.F inside 3SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] bowl=LOC.M stand
data qele-i.
 outside look-FIN
 ‘The cow stands in its bowl (and) looks outside.’
- c. *Lo lo-va / popo=e sisi.*
 3SG.M 3SG.M-GEN.M / bowl=EMPH be.red
 ‘Its bowl (is) red.’
- d. *Te lo mijila=e / qola kiba.*
 CONJ 3SG.M[GEN] body=EMPH / green
 ‘And its body green.’

- e. *Lo-va / neu lo lo-va talighu sua*
 3SG.M-GEN.M / down 3SG.M 3SG.M-GEN.M go.around ATT.SG.M
nato=e posovata.
 leg=EMPH yellow
 ‘Its / its round leg (i.e. tire) below (is) yellow.’
- f. *Te lo lo-va data neu abara=la=e,*
 CONJ 3SG.M 3SG.M-GEN.M outside down side=LOC.M=EMPH
lo ulunga, zu ko maghani.
 DET.SG.M pillow and DET.SG.F decoration
 ‘And on its outside down at (the) side, the pillow, and the decoration.’
- g. *Ata te=lo; l-au kabu ze=gne kama.*
 here TE=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.O-take move.away PA=1SG.NOM already
 ‘Here it (is); I have taken it away already.’ (jp-ji_mt_019)

[...]

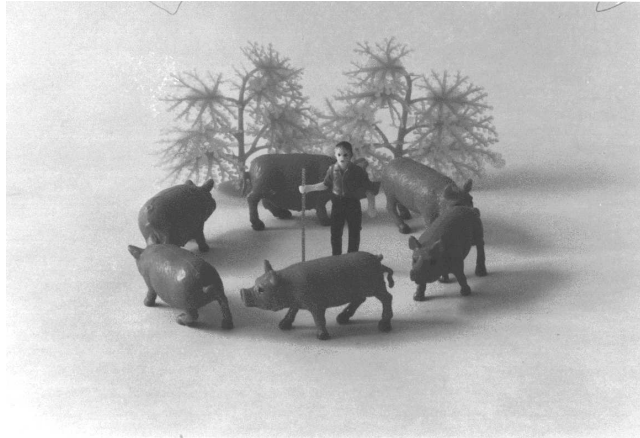


Figure 28. Picture 4.4

(19) #4.4, JP:

- a. *Ai lo=le, / pa / kabu polo=gha.*
 this 3SG.M=EMPH.M / one / heap pig=PL
 ‘This (is) a heap of pigs.’
- b. *Bani l-oghoni=ze te alu talighu-i.*
 fence 3SG.M.O-be.like=3PL.NOM EMPH stand go.around-FIN
 ‘They are standing around like a fence.’
- c. *Pa mapa=na pale lo / bani l-oghoni-tu lo*
 one person=NOM inside DET.PL / fence 3SG.M.O-be.like-REL DET.PL
polo=gha ze-va ghobu=la.
 pig=PL 3PL-GEN.M middle=LOC.M
 ‘A man (is) in the middle of the pigs that are like a fence.’

- d. *Lo-va tovi kakau=la=lo te lo /*
 3SG.M-GEN.M right hand=LOC.M=3SG.M.NOM EMPH DET.SG.M /
lo-va itoro / l-ate-i.
 3SG.M-GEN.M walking.stick / 3SG.M.O-hold-FIN
 ‘In his right hand he is holding his walking stick.’
- e. *Ze-va potopoto=la=e, / edo kola=zalo=tona te ota.*
 3PL-GEN.M back=LOC.M=EMPH / two tree=DU=NOM.DU EMPH there
 ‘Behind them, two trees (are) there.’ (jp-ji_mt_135)

(20) #4.4, JP:

- a. *Qola kiba-sa sua qeleqele laghe=lo=e, to*
 green-VBLZ ATT.SG.M appearance PROPR.DU=DU=EMPH DET.DU
kola=lo=tona.
 tree=DU=NOM.DU
 ‘The two trees have a green appearance.’
- b. *Lo polo=gha ze-va / qeleqele(=e), sisi.*
 DET.PL pig=PL 3PL-GEN.M / appearance(=EMPH) be.red
 ‘The appearance of the pigs (is) red.’
- c. *Zu / kulo / papale=la=tu=ze te talighu bo*
 and / seawards / side=LOC.M=ABL=3PL.NOM EMPH go.around go
sua vata z-eghe-ghu pala-i.
 ATT.SG.M kind 3PL.O-see-NMLZ make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘And they look like they are going around from seawards at the side.’
 (jp-ji_mt_136)

(21) #4.4, JP:

- a. *Pozogho no no-va / z-eghe z-au bo kia, / no-va*
 basically 2SG 2SG-GEN.M / 3PL.O-see 3PL.O-take go if / 2SG-GEN.M
male papale=la=ze te ze-va / gnokignoki
 left side=LOC.M=3PL.NOM EMPH 3PL-GEN.M / nose.tip
l-ovu-i.
 3SG.M.O-put-FIN
 ‘Basically if you look towards them, they put their snout to your left side.’
- b. *Lo / itoro-tu lo mapa lo-va / tovi*
 DET.SG.M / walking.stick-REL DET.SG.M person 3SG.M-GEN.M / right
papale=la=tu=ze te lo bani pozogho /
 side=LOC.M=ABL=3PL.NOM EMPH DET.SG.M fence basically /
pala l-au talighu-i.
 make.3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take go.around-FIN
 ‘From the right side of the man holding a walking stick they basically form a
 fence going around in a circle.’ (jp-ji_mt_137)

(22) #4.4, JI:

- a. *Eo; agni ghoi l-ogha-li sua; ata te=lo.*
 yes 1SG also 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M here TE=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘Yes; I also own it; here it (is).’

b. *Pa mapa=na lo / bani polo lo ghobu=la*
 one person=NOM DET.SG.M / fence pig 3SG.M[GEN] middle=LOC.M
te alu-i.

EMPH stand-FIN

‘A man stands in the middle of the fence (formed by the) pigs.’

c. *Ma; lo polo=gha=na bani l-oghoni / alu*
 PA DET.PL pig=PL=NOM fence 3SG.M.O-be.like / stand
talighu-li-zu; lo mapa.
 go.around-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV DET.SG.M person

‘Ma, the pigs stand like a fence around him; the man.’

d. *Boboragha pogha=lo te l-au zaghe-i.*
 black cloth=3SG.M.NOM EMPH 3SG.M.O-take wear-FIN

‘He is wearing a black cloth.’

e. *Bulou petapeta lava=e.*
 blue shirt PROPR.SG.M=EMPH

‘(He) has a blue shirt.’

(jp-ji_mt_138)

(23) #4.4, JI:

a. *Te=lo pa itoro te lo tovi*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM one walking.stick EMPH DET.SG.M right
kakau=la l-ate-i.
 hand=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-hold-FIN

‘And he holds a walking stick in the right hand.’

b. *Lo / polo=gha=e, sisi zui so=gha.*
 DET.PL / pig=PL=EMPH be.red end ATT.SG.M=PL

‘The pigs (are) completely red ones.’

c. *Zu ze mala~malabo sue boragha sua.*
 And 3PL[GEN] REDUP~ footprint ATT.SG.M.EMPH be.black ATT.SG.M

‘And the bottom of their feet (is) black.’

d. *Zu edo / qola kiba kola=gha=na te / lo mapa*
 And two / green tree=PL=NOM EMPH / DET.SG.M person
lo buringa=la data alu-i.
 3SG.M[GEN] back=LOC.M outside stand-FIN

‘And two green trees stand outside at the back of the man.’

e. *Te / ai ka l-au kabu-ghu=e; ata*
 CONJ / 1SG.GEN already 3SG.M.O-take move.away-NMLZ=EMPH here
te=lo.

TE=3SG.M.NOM

‘And I already took it away; here it (is).’

(jp-ji_mt_139)

(24) #4.4, JP:

Lo polo=gha=na male papale=la=tu te talighu sua
 DET.PL pig=PL=NOM left side=LOC.M=ABL EMPH go.around ATT.SG.M

vata bo-ghu pala-i.

kind go-NMLZ make.3SG.M.O-FIN

‘The pigs are standing in a way like going around from the left side.’

(jp-ji_mt_140)

(25) #4.4, JI:

Eo.

yes

‘Yes.’

(jp-ji_mt_141)

[...]

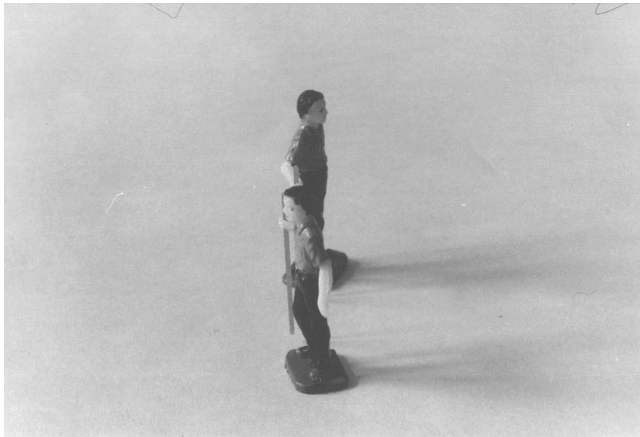


Figure 29. Picture 4.9

(26) #4.9, JP:

a. *Pa=e la=na ghoi.*

one=EMPH 3SG.M.PROX=NOM also

‘This is also one.’

b. *Edo tada koko=zalo=e.*

two male boy=DU=EMPH

‘Two boys.’

c. *Te=to / pa=na kulo te alu kozi(-i); /*
CONJ=3DU.NOM / one=NOM seawards EMPH stand face(-FIN) /

pa=na kao alu kozi(-i).

one=NOM bushwards stand face(-FIN)

‘And they / one stands facing seawards; one stands facing bushwards.’

d. *Gn-omata / kozi-tu ai lo=na te kulo kozi(-i).*
1-at / face-REL this 3SG.M=NOM EMPH seawards face(-FIN)

Lo-va taghata lo=na te kao alu kozi(-i).

3SG.M-GEN.M on.top 3SG.M=NOM EMPH bushwards stand face(-FIN)

‘This one facing towards me faces seawards. The one above him stands facing bushwards.’

e. *Zu /zazagha sua alu-ghu=to te*
 And / be.in.line ATT.SG.M stand-NMLZ=3DU.NOM EMPH
pala-i.
 make.3SG.M.O-FIN

‘And they are standing in a line.’

(jp-ji_mt_165)

(27) #4.9, JI:

a. *L-oghoa-li sue agni=na; ghoi ata*
 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M.EMPH 1SG=NOM also here
te=lo.
 TE=3SG.M.NOM

‘I have it; it (is) here as well.’

b. *Zua-ni sera-ni gn-au bo-ghu=gne te ghoi*
 ask-2SG.O do.properly-2SG.O 1O-take go-NMLZ=1SG.NOM EMPH also
mata-li-zu.
 want-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV

‘I wanted to ask you properly as well.’

c. *A / memere / alu / lighi sua vata*
 a / little.bit / stand / be.little.bit.tilted ATT.SG.M kind

alu-ghu=to te pala-zu, / bo ghoma.
 stand-NMLZ=3DU.NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV / or not

‘A, / a little bit / standing / tilted kind of standing are they making, or not?’

(jp-ji_mt_166)

(28) #4.9, JP:

Ghoma; kama zazagha, dai toa zazagha
 no already be.in.line good really.M be.in.line
sesere-ghu=e.
 REDUP-do.properly-NMLZ=EMPH

‘No; being in line, really properly being in line.’

(jp-ji_mt_167)

(29) #4.9, JI:

a. *Eo; ata te=lo.*
 yes here TE=3SG.M.NOM

‘Yes; here it (is).’

b. *L-ogha=li sue agni=na.*
 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M.EMPH 1SG=NOM

‘I have it.’

(jp-ji_mt_168)

(30) #4.10, JP:

a. *Ai lo=le ghoi edo / tada koko=zalo.*
 this 3SG.M=EMPH.M also two / male boy=DU

‘This (are) also two boys.’

b. *Kama / ghoi lo vata*
 already / also DET.SG.M kind

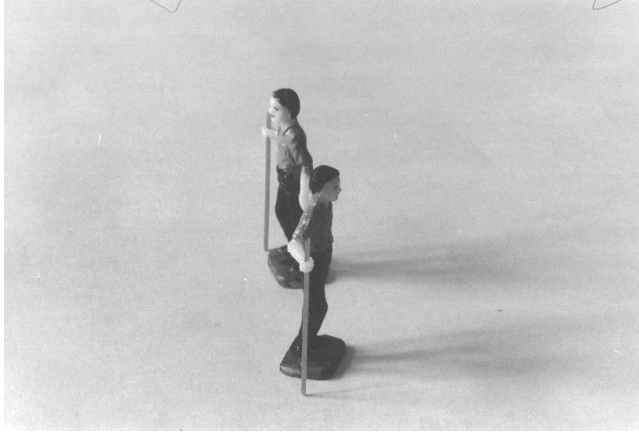


Figure 30. Picture 4.10

zazagha-ghu=to te pala patu.
 be.in.line-NMLZ=3DU.NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O BG.IPFV

‘They are also still doing that kind of in-line-standing.’

- c. *Zu ai lo manga=la=to / memere*
 but this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M=3DU.NOM / little.bit
righa-za-zu.
 offset-DETR-PST.IPFV

‘But this time they are a bit offset.’

- d. *Gnaghoa=la lo=na, / memere / gharu kuli(-i).*
 front=LOC.M 3SG.M=NOM / little.bit / move move.seawards(-FIN)

‘At the front that one has moved a bit seawards.’ (jp-ji_mt-169)

(31) #4.10, JP:

- a. *Te=lo ata gn-omata=ti ai lo=na memere gharu*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM here 1-at=PROX this 3SG.M=NOM little.bit move
ka-i.
 move.bushwards-FIN

‘And this one here close to me has moved a little bit bushwards.’

- b. *Te=lo lo to-va zazagha-ghu=na*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM DET.SG.M 3DU-GEN.M be.in.line-NMLZ=NOM
pozogho bo ngeo-za kulo kozi(-i).
 basically go bend-DETR seawards face(-FIN)

‘And their standing-in-line is basically a bit bent (and) faces seawards.’

- c. *To-va itoro=na kama to kakau=la.*
 3DU-GEN.M walking.stick=NOM already DET.DU hand=LOC.M

‘Their walking stick (is) in their hand.’ (jp-ji_mt-170)

(32) #4.10, JI:

- a. *Eo; l-ogha-li patu=gne ata.*
yes 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O BG.IPFV=1 SG.NOM here
'Yes; I am having it here.'
- b. *Edo / qola kiba ulunga=gha=la=to te ghoi alu-i.*
two / green pillow=PL=LOC.M=3DU.NOM EMPH also stand-FIN
'They are also standing on two green pillows'
- c. *Te=to du to=na to tovi kakau=gha=la, /*
CONJ=3DU.NOM all 3DU=NOM 3DU[GEN] right hand=PL=LOC.M /
to=va itoro l-ate-i.
3DU-GEN.M walking.stick 3SG.M.O-hold-FIN
'And they both hold their walking stick in their right hands.'
- d. *Zu lo lo negha-sa sua qeleqele*
but 3SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] somewhere.else-VBLZ ATT.SG.M appearance
pala-ghu=e, / lo pa=na te kao
make.3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH / DET.SG.M one=NOM EMPH bushwards
alu kozi(-i).
stand face(-FIN)
'But its different appearance, the one stands facing bushwards.'
- e. *Te lo pa=na te kulo gnagnui=la alu kozi(-i).*
CONJ DET.SG.M one=NOM EMPH seawards sea=LOC.M stand face(-FIN)
'And the other stands facing seawards to the sea.'
- f. *Te / ai ka l-au-ghu=e lo=na;*
CONJ / 1SG.GEN already 3SG.M.O-take-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
ata te=lo.
here TE=3SG.M.NOM
'And I already took it; here it (is).'

(jp_ji_mt_171)

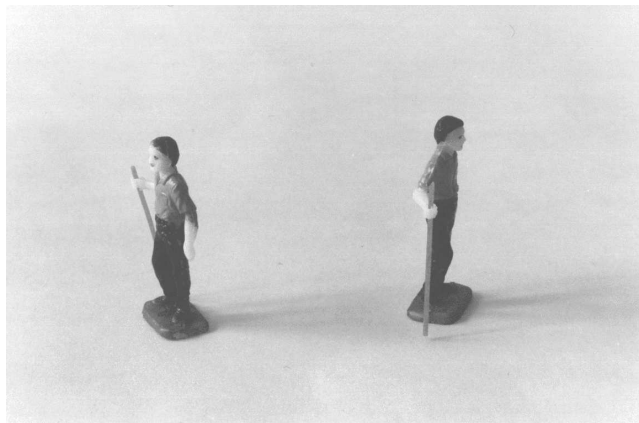


Figure 31. Picture 4.7

(33) #4.7, JP:

- a. *Ai lo=le ghoi pa=e la=na.*
 this 3SG.M=EMPH.M also one=EMPH 3SG.M.PROX=NOM
 ‘This, this (is) also one.’
- b. *Edo koko=zalo=e.*
 two boy=DU=EMPH
 ‘Two boys.’
- c. *Pa=na / kulo alu kozi(-i).*
 one=NOM / seawards stand face(-FIN)
 ‘One stands facing seawards.’
- d. *Pa=na kao alu kozi(-i).*
 one=NOM bushwards stand face(-FIN)
 ‘One stands facing bushwards.’
- e. *Ai lo manga=la to-va itoro=e, /*
 this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M 3DU-GEN.M walking.stick=EMPH /
tei sua te l-eghe-ghu lava.
 be.like.this ATT.SG.M EMPH 3SG.M.O-see-NMLZ PROPR.SG.M
 ‘This time their walking stick looks like this.’
- f. *Kao alu kozi-tu lo loloe, / lo*
 bushwards stand face-REL 3SG.M 3SG.M.POSS.M.EMPH / 3SG.M[GEN]
mijila l-aka aje / pia sua.
 body 3SG.M.O-with be.straight / move.up ATT.SG.M
 ‘The one of him who is standing facing bushwards (is) going up parallel to his body.’
- g. *Zu kulo alu kozi-tu lo loloe, / memere*
 and seawards stand face-REL 3SG.M 3SG.M.POSS.M.EMPH / little.bit
l-au kulo=lo te ghoi poro
 3SG.M.O-take seawards=3SG.M.NOM EMPH also bend.down
kozi-zu.
 face-PST.IPFV
 ‘And the one of him who is standing facing seawards, took it a little bit, he also bent it down facing seawards.’ (jp-ji_mt_172)

(34) #4.7, JI:

- a. *Ke=gne ghoi zua-li.*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM also ask-3SG.M.O
 ‘Let me ask this.’
- b. *Lo-va mijila=na memere lo lo-va itoro*
 3SG.M-GEN.M body=NOM little.bit 3SG.M 3SG.M-GEN.M walking.stick
/ l-ozu-zu, bo ghoma.
/ 3SG.M.O-occlude-PST.IPFV or no
 ‘His body occludes his walking stick a little bit, or not?’ (jp-ji_mt_173)

(35) #4.7, JP:

- a. *Lo-va mijila=na lo-va itoro /*
 3SG.M-GEN.M body=NOM 3SG.M-GEN.M walking.stick /
ghobu=la=tu neu au-ghu
 middle=LOC.M=ABL down move.down-NMLZ
pono=la=lo te lo-va nato=na
 only=LOC.M=3SG.M.NOM EMPH 3SG.M-GEN.M leg=NOM
l-ozu.
 3SG.M.O-occlude
 ‘His body, his walking stick, from the middle going down only does his leg occlude it.’
- b. *Ghobu=la=tu pia ba-ghu=la=lo*
 middle=LOC.M=ABL move.up come-NMLZ=LOC.M=3SG.M.NOM
lo lo-va itoro=na manga patu.
 DET.SG.M 3SG.M-GEN.M walking.stick=NOM be.clear BG.IPFV
 ‘From the middle going up his walking stick is clear.’
- c. *Lo-va l-ate-tu ota sara-ghu.*
 3SG.M-GEN.M 3SG.M.O-hold-REL there reach-NMLZ
 ‘Reaching where he holds it.’ (jp-ji_mt-174)

(36) #4.7, JI:

- a. *L-ogha-li sue agni=na; ata*
 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M.EMPH 1SG=NOM here
te=lo.
 TE=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘I have it; here it (is).’
- b. *L-au ze=gne kama.*
 3SG.M.O-take PA=1SG.NOM already
 ‘I took it already.’ (jp-ji_mt-175)

A.3. Making *poporaghi* pudding (Sabina Sauramo, Claudette Vangere)

In the following text, two women are talking about the preparation of a certain kind of pudding, recorded June 24, 2005. This is an excerpt; they discussed several types of pudding in the recording session. Claudette Vangere (CV) asks about the procedure, and Sabina Sauramo (SS) explains how it is done. The audio file of this conversation can be found on the publisher’s website at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9783110289657.fm>.

(1) CL:

- Zu lo poporaghi=e te maitei sua.*
 and DET.SG.M kind.of.pudding=EMPH EMPH how ATT.SG.M
 ‘And how (is) the poporaghi pudding done?’ (ss-cl-pudding_062)

- (2) SS:
Poporaghi=e, / no-va kola uvi l-au-a
 kind.of.pudding=EMPH / 2SG-GEN.M cassava 3SG.M.O-take-SS
ke=no kira-li ze=no kuro-li(-i);
 CONJ=2SG.NOM peel-3SG.M.O CONJ=2SG.NOM cook-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
tomai kuro-li(-i).
 just cook-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘Poporaghi pudding, you take cassava and you peel and you cook it; just cook it.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_063)
- (3) *Kia no-va qazu l-ovi-ghu=e lo=na.*
 when 2SG-GEN.M ripe.coconut 3SG.M.O-scrape-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘When (you did that then) you grate coconuts.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_064)
- (4) *L-ovi ze=no, / pa besini=la l-ovu*
 3SG.M.O-scrape CONJ=2SG.NOM / one basin=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-put
ze=no, / sosa: besini lo; / kato l-ovo
 CONJ=2SG.NOM / saucer basin DET.SG.M / stone 3SG.M.O-burn
ze=no no-va / lo / no l-ovi-tu
 CONJ=2SG.NOM 2SG-GEN.M / DET.SG.M / 2SG 3SG.M.O-scrape-REL
lo qazu=la no-va pale
 DET.SG.M ripe.coconut=LOC.M 2SG-GEN.M inside
l-ovu-ghu=e; lo rasaniu=la.
 3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ=EMPH DET.SG.M grated.coconut=LOC.M
 ‘Scrape it and you put it in a basin and you / saucer, basin, something like that / heat
 a stone and you put it in the coconut that you have grated; in the grated coconut.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_065)
- (5) *Lo=le no ghoma lusi-li sua.*
 3SG.M=EMPH.M 2SG[GEN] no squeeze-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M
 ‘That (i.e. the grated coconut) you don’t squeeze.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_066)
- (6) *Lo bona rasa- ei lo rasaniu; no ka*
 DET.SG.M plain rasa- ei DET.SG.M grated.coconut 2SG[GEN] already
l-ovi-tu lo rasaniu.
 3SG.M.O-scrape-REL DET.SG.M grated.coconut
 ‘The plain gr- ei, the grated coconut; the grated coconut that you have already
 grated.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_067)
- (7) *Kia no pale l-ovu; ze=no lo / poi; /*
 when 2SG[GEN] inside 3SG.M.O-put CONJ=2SG.NOM DET.SG.M / thing /
kato no te pale l-ovu-ghu=e.
 stone 2SG[GEN] EMPH inside 3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When (you did that then) you put it inside, and you put the thing, the stone inside.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_068)

(8) CV:

Lo rasaniu=la l-ovu.
 DET.SG.M grated.coconut=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-put

‘Put it in the grated coconut?’

(ss_cl_pudding_069)

(9) SS:

M. Gngoa=la=ti solo / oma solo lou- kagnika l-u-a
 m front=LOC.M=PROX salt / no salt lou- too.much 3SG.M.O-eat-SIM
pale-tu lo taemu=la gnagnui; tuka=no memere
 stay-REL DET.SG.M time=LOC.M sea whenever=2SG.NOM little.bit
gnagnui zao-li kia / ma; lo kato
 sea scoop-3SG.M.O if / PA 3SG.M[GEN] stone
zui-li-ghu=e lo=na.
 cool.down-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM

‘M. A bit earlier salt / the time one didn’t eat too much salt yet sea water; whenever (you did this then) when you scooped a little bit sea water / ma; it cooled down the stone.’

(ss_cl_pudding_070-071)

(10) CV:

Ke=lo lo=la=le gnagnui-sa-i lo...
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M=LOC.M=ABL sea-VBLZ-FIN DET.SG.M

‘So that it is salty because of that, the...’

(ss_cl_pudding_072)

(11) SS:

M; / poi=na; rasaniu=na.
 m / thing=NOM grated.coconut=NOM

‘M; the thing; grated coconut.’

(ss_cl_pudding_073)

(12) CV:

...rasaniu=na.
 grated.coconut=NOM

‘...grated coconut.’

(ss_cl_pudding_074)

(13) SS:

Kia=no lo kato l-au kabu
 when=2SG.NOM DET.SG.M stone 3SG.M.O-take move.away
kia=no lo kola uvi l-au tagha
 when=2SG.NOM DET.SG.M cassava 3SG.M.O-take up
solo-i / no kama tutupara-li-ghu=e;
 throw.3SG.M.O-FIN / 2SG[GEN] already squash-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
lo / l-poi; rasaniu tutupara-li l-aju
 DET.SG.M / l- thing grated.coconut squash-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-finish
ze=no / no-va kama memere rasaniu pale /
 CONJ=2SG.NOM / 2SG-GEN.M already little.bit grated.coconut inside /
tutu=la l-ovu ze=no
 mortar=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-put CONJ=2SG.NOM

kola uvi sodu~sodu-li *pale solo* / *no*
 cassava REDUP~ cut.in.two-3SG.M.O inside throw.3SG.M.O / 2SG[GEN]

kama tutupara-li-ghu=e.
 already squash-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH

‘When (you did this then) when you take away the stone, you take cassava (and) throw it on top / you already squash it; the / l- thing; finished squashing the grated coconut and you / you already put a little bit grated coconut in / the mortar and you cut cassava in pieces (and) throw it in / you already squash it.’ (ss_cl_pudding_075)

- (14) *Kia=no mane ghoi elave rasanu l-au*
 when=2SG.NOM consecutively also some.more grated.coconut 3SG.M.O-take
pale / poi=la solo-ghu=e; / ma; lo
 inside / thing=LOC.M throw.3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH / PA DET.SG.M
tutu=la.
 mortar=LOC.M

‘When (you did this then) you again take some more grated coconut (and) throw it in the thing; / ma; the mortar.’ (ss_cl_pudding_076)

- (15) CV:
Lo=le lo / poporaghi=na; ni.
 3SG.M=EMPH.M DET.SG.M / kind.of.pudding=NOM AFF
 ‘That (is) the / poporaghi pudding; isn’t it.’ (ss_cl_pudding_077)

- (16) SS:
M.
m
 ‘M.’ (ss_cl_pudding_078)

- (17) CV:
Zu / ela manga=la...
 but / some time=LOC.M
 ‘But / sometimes...’ (ss_cl_pudding_079)

- (18) SS:
Qola qazu=la no-va ghoi poporaghi
 raw ripe.coconut=LOC.M 2SG-GEN.M also make.poporaghi.pudding
sua.
 ATT.SG.M
 ‘You use raw coconut to make poporaghi pudding.’ (ss_cl_pudding_080)

- (19) CV:
Eo.
 yes
 ‘Yes.’ (ss_cl_pudding_081)

(20) SS:

No-va l-evo ka ave~ave kia, no kama /
 2SG-GEN.M 3SG.M.O-burn already REDUP~ die if 2SG[GEN] already /
l-ovi l-aju kia, no kama tutu
 3SG.M.O-scrape 3SG.M.O-finish when 2SG[GEN] already mortar
l-au kama / tutupara-li-ghu=e; kola uvi / no
 3SG.M.O-take already / squash-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH cassava / 2SG
ka tutupara-li-ghu=e.
 already squash-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH

‘If you are unmotivated to burn it, when you have finished scraping it, you already take (the) mortar (and) / squash it; cassava / you already squash.’

(ss_cl_pudding_082)

(21) CV:

Lo qola qazu=la.
 DET.SG.M raw ripe.coconut=LOC.M

‘With the raw coconut.’

(ss_cl_pudding_083)

(22) SS:

Qola qazu=la.
 raw ripe.coconut=LOC.M

‘With raw coconut.’

(ss_cl_pudding_084)

(23) *Tutupara-li l-aju kia no ka*
 squash-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-finish when 2SG[GEN] already
samu-ghu=e.
 have.meal-NMLZ=EMPH

‘When finished squashing it, you already eat.’

(ss_cl_pudding_085)

(24) *Oma ghoi lo tatagho-li-ghu=e lo lo.*
 no also 3SG.M bake.in.oven-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M 3SG.M

‘Won’t bake it in the oven, that one.’

(ss_cl_pudding_086)

Appendix B

List of lexemes

This appendix provides a list of all morphemes and words that appear in the grammatical description and the texts in Appendix A. For each morpheme with more than one syllable, a phonemic transcription indicating the position of primary and (if applicable) secondary stress is provided. With some ambitransitive verbs, the stress pattern is different in intransitive and transitive uses. In these cases, two phonemic transcriptions are provided, the first showing the stress pattern of the intransitively used form and the second the pattern of the transitively used form. The part of speech abbreviations used in this section are listed in Table 61:

Table 61. Parts of speech abbreviations and references to corresponding sections in the grammar.

adj	adjective	see Chapter 4.3.1
adv	adverb	see Chapter 4.12
clitic	clitic	see Chapter 3.2.1
conj	conjunction	see Chapters 5.3.1 and 8.1
cosub	cosubordinator	see Chapter 8.3
dem	demonstrative	see Chapter 4.6
det	determiner	see Chapter 4.6
emphpr	emphatic personal pronoun	see Chapter 4.5.3
interj	interjection	see Chapter 4.14
loc	locational	see Chapter 4.7
mod	modifier	see Chapters 4.10 and 4.11
n	noun	see Chapter 4.2
n (f)	noun with always female referent	see Chapter 4.2.1.1
n (m)	noun with always male referent	see Chapter 4.2.1.1
pa	particle	see Chapter 4.13
perspr	personal pronoun	see Chapter 4.5.1
posspr	independent possessive pronoun	see Chapter 4.5.2
postp	postposition	see Chapter 4.9
pref	agreement prefix	see Chapter 3.2.1
quan	quantifier	see Chapter 4.4.1
sub	subordinator	see Chapter 8.2

suf	suffix attaching to hosts other than verbs	see Chapter 3.2.1
va	ambitransitive verb	see Chapter 4.1.1.3
vi	intransitive verb	see Chapter 4.1.1.2
vsuf	suffix attaching to verbs	see Chapter 3.2.1
vtr	transitive verb	see Chapter 4.1.1.1
vtr.p	prefixing	
vtr.s	suffixing	
vtr.ps	taking both prefix and suffix	
vtr.mod	stem modification	

The order of words and morphemes follows the practical orthography applied throughout this grammar (see Sections 1.5 and 2.1).

-a₁ *vsuf* singular imperative suffix

-a₂ *vsuf* same-subject suffix

-a₃ *vsuf* simultaneity suffix

-a₄ *vsuf* epenthetic vowel, inserted between some verb roots and object suffixes

Aba ['aba] *n* Savosavo name for Guadalcanal

Abaaba [,aba'aba] *n* Ghari language (a language spoken on Guadalcanal)

vi to speak the Ghari language

abara ['abara] *n* side, e.g. of a hill

abeni(-) [,a'beni] *va* to request (someone or something)

abuzaghi [,abu'zauʔi] *vi* to blink

adaki ['adaki] *n* (*f*) woman

ae ['ae] *vi* to be married

-agha ['auʔa] *vtr.p* to marry someone

-aghalu ['auʔalu] *vtr.p* to erect something

aghava [,a'ʔaʔa] *quan* four

aghavaleza [,auʔa'ʔaleza] *quan* fourty

aghavaza [,auʔa'ʔaza] *vi* to hang down

aghe ['auʔe] *perspr* first person dual exclusive personal pronoun

aghea [,a'ʔea] *posspr* ours (dual exclusive; masculine possessum)

aghema [,a'ʔema] *posspr* ours (dual exclusive; feminine possessum)

aghi- [,a'ʔi] *vtr.s* to pull something or someone

agni [,a'ʔi] *perspr* first person singular personal pronoun; with genitive marking, the alternative form **ai** is usually used

agnia [,a'ʔia] *posspr* mine (masculine possessum)

agnima [,a'ʔima] *posspr* mine (feminine possessum)

ai₁ ['ai] *n* 1) who, 2) whoever, anyone

ai₂ ['ai] *perspr* genitive form of the first person singular personal pronoun, *see agni*

ai₃ ['ai] *dem* proximal demonstrative

-aivo ['aiʔo] *vtr.p* to fuck someone

- aje** ['aʒe] *vi* to be straight
-aju ['aju] *vt.r.p* 1) to finish something, 2) completive aspect in serial verb constructions
-aka₁ ['aka] *vt.r.p* to help someone
-aka₂ ['aka] *postp* with, to
aka ['aka] *vi* to be opened
-akaghaze ['aka'uʒaze] *vt.r.p* to chide someone
ake(-) ['ake] *va* 1) to do what, to do how or be how, 2) to do whatever, be whatever way
ala ['ala] *loc* where; wherever
alati ['alati] *loc* 1) where (proximal), 2) wherever (proximal)
ale(-) ['ale], ['a'le-] *va* to enter (something)
-ale₁ *vsuf* irrealis suffix
-ale₂ *vsuf* background imperfective suffix
alea ['alea] *quan* 1) how many, 2) however many
-ali ['ali] *vt.r.p* to hit someone or something
alu ['alu] *vi* 1) stand, 2) ingressive aspect in serial verb constructions
-ame- ['a'me] *vt.r.ps* 1) to give something to someone (prefix shows agreement with the thing given, suffix shows agreement with the recipient), 2) benefactive in serial verb constructions; *variant*: **-eme-**
-ane ['ane] *vt.r.p* to bite the skin off a betel nut
apoi₁ ['a'poi] *n* 1) what 2) whatever
apoi₂ ['a'poi] *conj* because
aqasoru- ['aga'soru] *vt.r.s* to consume all of something
aqe ['age] *n* branch, twig
-aqi ['agi] *vt.r.p* to order someone (to do something)
aqoza(-) ['a'goza] *va* to take (something as) prey, to fish or to hunt (something)
aqoza ['a'goza] *n* 1) prey, 2) hunting technique
aqutu(-) ['a'gutu] *va* to work; transitive meaning: to build something
aqutu ['a'gutu] *n* a work or a job
ara ['ara] *quan* five
aratale ['a'ratale] *quan* fifty
are- ['a're] *vt.r.s* 1) to plan something, 2) to command someone, to order someone
ari(-) ['ari] *va* to fish by paddling out sitting in a canoe, having the fishing line tied to one leg and pulling it behind the canoe
ari ['a'ri] *interj* Ouch!
ata ['ata] *loc* here
-ata *vsuf* anticipatory suffix
atale ['atale] *quan* ten
atati ['atati] *loc* here (proximal), i.e. close to here
-ate ['ate] *vt.r.p* to hold someone or something
-atu *vsuf* background imperfective suffix
au ['au] *vi* to move down(wards)
-au ['au] *vt.r.p* 1) to take something or someone, 2) causative in serial verb constructions
-augh₁ ['auuʒi] *vt.r.p* to exceed someone in something
-augh₂ ['auuʒi] *postp* out of (complement must have non-singular referent)
-avagha ['aβauʒa] *vt.r.p* to hang something up
avasa ['aβasa] *adv* 1) when, 2) whenever, anytime

- ave**₁ [ˈaβe] *perspr* first person plural exclusive personal pronoun
ave₂ [ˈaβe] *vi* to die
-ave- [ˈaβe] *vtr.ps* to kill someone
avea [ˈaβea] *posspr* ours (plural exclusive, masculine possessum)
avema [ˈaβema] *posspr* ours (plural exclusive, feminine possessum)
avu [ˈaβu] *vi* to exit, to move out
azeaze [ˈazeˈaze] *vi* to breathe
azigha [ˈaziŋa] *adv* earlier today
azu [ˈazu] *n* smoke
ba [ˈba] *vi* come
baba [ˈbaba] *n* a hollow space or cavity, e.g. a hole in a tree trunk
babo [ˈbabo] *vi* to go past
baigho [ˈbaiŋo] *pa* not existent
bali- [ˈbaˈli] *vtr.s* to sharpen a stick, or to cut a tree or a board diagonally, so that it is pointed at one side
bani(-) [ˈbani] *va* to fence (something) in
bani [ˈbani] *n* fence
barata₁ [ˈbaˈrata] *n* hillside
barata₂ [ˈbaˈrata] *n* monasterial brother; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
basi [ˈbasi] *vi* to vanish
bata- [ˈbata] *vtr.s* to line up stones, e.g. for making an oven
batisimu(-) [ˈbatisimu] *va* to be baptized; transitive meaning: to baptize someone; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
batu [ˈbatu] *n* head
baza [ˈbaza] *n (f)* sow
bebeula [ˈbebeˈula] *n* butterfly
bekeni [ˈbeˈkeni] *n* betel nut
bela [ˈbela] *n* elevated floor
bela- [ˈbela] *vtr.s* to lay something down on a surface
besini [ˈbeˈsini] *n* basin; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
betu [ˈbetu] *vi* to nod, to bow one's head
bia [ˈbia] *n* beer; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
bibiu [ˈbiˈbiu] *n* reciprocal kinship term for great-grandparents and -children
bilikokio [ˈbilikoˈkio] *n* kind of bird
biti [ˈbiti] *n* volcano
bo₁ [ˈbo] *vi* go
bo₂ *conj* or
boboragha [ˈboboˈrauŋa] *adj* black
bogha [ˈbouŋa] *vtr.mod* to shoot her with bow and arrow or with a gun
bogheghigni [ˈbouŋe.ŋiŋi] *vtr.mod* to shoot us two (dual exclusive) with bow and arrow or with a gun; *variant: boghegni*
boghegni [ˈboˈŋeŋi] *see bogheghigni*
bogho [ˈbouŋo] *n* scrotum
bogne [ˈboŋe] *vtr.mod* to shoot me with bow and arrow or with a gun
boko [ˈboko] *n* dry river bed, drainage area for flood waters after heavy rains

- bola** ['bola] *vt:mod* to shoot someone or something with bow and arrow or with a gun
(third person singular masculine form)
- boli** ['boli] *n* intestines
- boli-** ['boli] *vt:s* to disembowel someone or something, remove the intestines of something or someone
- bolo** ['bolo] *n* 1) ball, 2) bullet; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- bolotangana** [ˌbolotaŋana] *n* gun
- bome** ['bome] *vt:mod* 1) to shoot you (plural) with bow and arrow or with a gun, 2) to shoot them (plural) with bow and arrow or with a gun
- bomemigni** ['bome,miɲi] *vt:mod* to shoot us (dual or plural inclusive) with bow and arrow or with a gun
- bomevigni** ['bome,βiɲi] *vt:mod* to shoot us (plural exclusive) with bow and arrow or with a gun
- bomu** ['bomu] *n* bomb; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- bomu-** ['bomu] *vt:s* to bomb someone or something; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- bona**₁ ['bona] *adj* plain
- bona**₂ ['bona] *vi* to be wet
- bone** ['bone] *vt:mod* to shoot you (singular) with bow and arrow or with a gun
- bope** ['bope] *vt:mod* to shoot you two with bow and arrow or with a gun
- boragha** [ˌboˈraʉa] *vi* to be black
- bosi** ['bosi] *n* long basket, usually quite big, for collecting food in the garden
- boso-** [ˌboˈso] *vt:s* to leave something or someone
- bote** ['bote] *vt:mod* to shoot them (two) with bow and arrow or with a gun
- boti** ['boti] *n* boat; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- boto** ['boto] *vi* to stink
n stench
- bou** ['bou] *n* heel
- boze** ['boze] *vi* to be heavy
- buara** [ˌbuˈara] *n* root
- buka** ['buka] *n* book; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- bulikaku** [ˌbuliˈkaku] *n* elbow
- buluka** [ˌbuˈluka] *n* cow; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- buringa** ['buriŋa] *n* back
- burongo-** [ˌbuˈroŋo] *vt:s* to squeeze something out of its skin, e.g. a Ngali nut
- buzu** ['buzu] *n* breadfruit
- dada** ['dada] *vi* to be afraid
- daeva(-)** [ˈdaeβa] *va* to dive (for something)
- dai** ['dai] *adj* good
- daivata** [ˌdaiˈβata] *quan* plenty
- daki** ['daki] *adj* old (for women)
- dakidakili** [ˌdakiˈdakili] *n* big black ant
- dala** ['dala] *n* kite
v to fish with a kite
- data** ['data] *loc* outside
- de** *pa* take this, there you are

dele(-) ['dele] *va* to dance (a dance)

dele ['dele] *n* dance

didi ['didi] *n* wall

dikidiki [,diki'diki] *vi* to knock

dikidoko [,diki'doko] *vi* to rattle

diko- ['diko] *vt:r:s* to pinch something or someone

dodoe [,do'doe] *n* reciprocal kinship term for great-great-grandparents and great-great-grandchildren

dodopa [,do'dopa] *see* **dopadopa**

doi ['doi] *n* earth

dokere [,do'kere] *vi* to be joyful, to be very happy

dokta ['dokta] *n* doctor; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin

dole ['dole] *n* louse

dolo- ['dolo] *vt:r:s* to be friends with someone, to know someone

dopadopa [,dopa'dopa] *mod* only (post-nuclear modifier in quantifier phrases); *variant:*
dodopa

du(lo) ['dulo] *quan* all

duadua [,dua'dua] *vt:r:s* to drown someone or something

dudurongo [,dudu'ronjo] *n* thing; *variants:* **perongo**, **erongo**

due ['due] *n* bamboo segment

duku- ['duku] *vt:r:s* to cut a standing tree or bamboo with an axe, knife or chainsaw

duzi ['duzi] *adj* elder

e *interj* Hey there!

=**e** *clitic* emphasis

eareti [,ea'reti] *n* air raid alarm; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin

edo ['edo] *quan* two

egha(-) ['eʔa] *va* to clear an area for a garden

eghata ['eʔata] *adv* the day after tomorrow

eghe ['eʔe] *n* Ngali nut tree

-eghe ['eʔe] *vt:r:p* to see something or someone

-egheta [e'ʔeta] *vt:r:p* to give birth to someone

eghu ['eʔu] *n* fireplace

ekati ['ekati] *see* **elakati**

eko ['eko] *adj* green/blue

ela kalele ['ela ka'lele] *adv* little by little, slowly but steadily

ela₁ ['ela] *quan* 1) one (numeral used in counting and ordinal numbers); *see* **pa(de)**, 2) some

ela₂ ['ela] *see* **elamoka**

elakati [,ela'kati] *adv* certainty marker, sometimes shortened to **ekati** or **kati**

elamoka [,ela'moka] *pa* maybe, sometimes shortened to **ela** or **moka**

elave ['elaʔe] *quan* some more

elegho ['eleʔo] *n* year

elu₁ ['elu] *n* Ngali nut

elu₂ ['elu] *vi* to wake up

-emata ['emata] *see* **-omata**

-eme- [e'me] *see* **-ame-**

- emiti** [ˈemiti] *see -omiti*
- ena(-)** [ˈena] *va* to chew betel nut
- ene(-)** [ˈene] *va* to hear (something or someone)
- enemi** [ˈenemi] *n* enemy; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- eo** [ˈeo] *pa* yes
- eo-** [ˈeo] *vtr.s* to hang something on a hanger or hook
- eo eo** [ˈeoˈeo] *n* hanger
- epi** [ˈepi] *vi* to sit
- epi-** [ˈepi] *vtr.s* to hit someone or something, a target; also used to ask what caused an injury, or metaphorically to say that something fits, e.g. a T-shirt
- eri-** [ˈeːri] *vtr.s* to move something by pushing it
- erongo** [ˈerɔŋo] *see* **dudurongo**
- esangi-** [eˈsɑŋi] *vtr.ps* to spoil someone or something (prefix plus first vowel /e/ is always reduplicated, e.g. **le-l-eˈsangi-li** for a third person singular masculine object)
- evo** [ˈeβo] *vtr.p* to burn something or someone
- evu** [ˈeβu] *vi* to be cooked
- fiuli** [fiˈuli] *n* fuel; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- fosi** [ˈfosi] *vi* to force; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- gha₁** *vsuf* nominalizing suffix only found on verbs in **lava**-phrases
- gha₂** *suf* unclear meaning, suffix on personal pronouns referring to humans in adjuncts marked with the multi-functional case clitic =**la** expressing topic or reason
- =**gha** *clitic* number marker for plural
- ghagha(-)** [ˈʔaʔa], [ˈʔaˈʔa-] *va* to pull (a vine) off
- ghaioko** [ˈʔaiˈoko] *n* dugout canoe
- ghajia** [ˈʔaʝia] *n* self, own
- ghana-** [ˈʔaˈna] *vtr.s* to think something, or to think about someone or something
- ghanaghana** [ˈʔanaˈʔana] *vi* to think
n thought
- gharani-** [ˈʔarani] *vtr.s* to injure someone or something
- ghari-** [ˈʔari] *vtr.s* to tear something
- gharo** [ˈʔaro] *n* gecko
- gharo-** [ˈʔaˈro] *vtr.s* to poke something into something
- gharu** [ˈʔaru] *vi* to move (over)
- ghase** [ˈʔase] *vi* to be happy
- ghau** [ˈʔau] *n* fishing bamboo
- ghaule** [ˈʔaule] *vi* to be cold
- ghavi(-)** [ˈʔaβi] *va* to paddle (a canoe)
- =**ghe₁** *clitic* first person dual exclusive personal pronoun
- =**ghe₂** *clitic* emphasis, allomorph of =**e** on first person dual exclusive personal pronouns
- ghede** [ˈʔede] *vi* 1) to turn yellow, e.g. used for dying leaves, but also to express that something is ready for harvest, 2) to be beautiful
- gheteghete** [ˈʔeteˈʔete] *vi* to stick out
- gheza** [ˈʔeza] *adj* own
- ghi** *vsuf* third person singular feminine object marking suffix
- ghigni** [ˈʔiɲi] *vsuf* first person dual exclusive object marking suffix
- =**gho** *clitic* third person singular feminine personal pronoun

- ghobu** [ˈʉɔbu] *n* middle
- ghogho** [ˈʉɔʉɔ] *vi* to splash
- ghogho-** [ˈʉɔʉɔ] *vtr.s* to swear at someone
- ghoghoana** [ˈʉɔʉɔˈana] *n* bush
- ghoghola(-)** [ˈʉɔˈʉɔla] *va* to carry (something) tied to a stick, over with the stick resting on one's shoulder
- ghoi** [ˈʉɔi] *adv* also, again
- ghoita** [ˈʉɔita] *loc* near
- ghoitati** [ˈʉɔitati] *loc* near (proximal)
- gholigholi(-)** [ˈʉɔliˈʉɔli] *va* to scrape (something), e.g. coconut meat out of the shell or bark from the tree; *from* Gela
- ghoma** [ˈʉɔma] *pa* no, not; *variant: oma*
- ghora** [ˈʉɔra] *n* shield
- ghu** *vsuf* nominalizing suffix
- ghuasa togho** [ˈʉɔasa ˈtoʉɔ] *vi* to rest
- ghuba** [ˈʉɔuba] *n* front of the canoe
- ghubaro** [ʉɔˈbaro] *n (f)* female heron
- ghulia** [ˈʉɔˈlia] *n* dolphin
- ghura(-)** [ˈʉɔra] *va* to (use something for) making sweet potato soup
- ghura** [ˈʉɔra] *n* sweet potato soup
- ghuraghura** [ˈʉɔraˈʉɔra] *n* whale
- ghuro-** [ʉɔˈro] *vtr.s* to chase someone or something
- gn-** *pref* first person object or complement marking prefix
- gnagho(-)** [ˈɲaʉɔ] *va* to be first (in something), to lead (something)
- gnaghoa** [ˈɲaʉɔa] *n* front; *variant: gnangoa*
- gnagnai** [ˈɲaˈɲai] *adj* tiny; reduplicated form of **gnari**
- gnagnui** [ˈɲaˈɲui] *n* 1) sea, 2) salt
- gnakengo(-)** [ˈɲaˈkeŋɔ] *va* to (use something for) making a pudding made from taro and nuts
- gnakengo** [ˈɲaˈkeŋɔ] *n* pudding made from taro and nuts
- gnangoa** [ˈɲaŋɔa] *see gnaghoa*
- gnari** [ˈɲari] *adj* small
- =gne₁** *clitic* first person singular personal pronoun
- =gne₂** *clitic* emphasis, allomorph of **=e** on first person singular personal pronouns
- gneqa** [ˈɲega] *vi* to be long
- gnero** [ˈɲero] *n* megapode bird
- gni** *vsuf* first person singular object marking suffix
- gnoko puti** [ˈɲoko ˈputi] *n* nostril
- gnoko** [ˈɲoko] *n* nose
- gnori(-)** [ˈɲori] *va* to take a bite (of something)
- gnuba** [ˈɲuba] *n* child; *variant: zuba*
- i₁** *vsuf* finiteness suffix
- i₂** *vsuf* epenthetic vowel, inserted between monosyllabic verb roots ending in /a/ when suffixed with -a
- ida** [ˈida] *n* pana, a small kind of yams
- ighe** [ˈiʉɛ] *adv* recently

- ighia** [i'ɪɪa] *see* **ighiva**
- ighiva loghala** [i'ɪɪβa 'louɣala] *adv* two days after tomorrow
- ighiva** [i'ɪɪβa] *quan* three, in some syntactic contexts shortened to **ighia**
- ighivaleza** [i'ɪɪβaleza] *quan* thirty
- ighoka** [i'ɪɪoka] *adv* before, long time ago
- ilaghi** [i'lauɪ] *n* basket
- ilaghi-** [i'lauɪ] *vtr.s* to put something in a basket
- isanga** [i'saŋa] *vi* to be bad, to be broken
- isarongo** [i'sa'roŋo] *adj* bad
- ita** [i'ta] *n* rubbish; *variant:* **itita**
- itita** [i'tita] *see* **ita**
- itoro** [i'toro] *n* walking stick
- iva** [i'iva] *vi* to become day
- ivaghu** [i'βauɥu] *n* day
- izi** [i'izi] *vi* to sleep
- jai** [ʒai] *n* river
- jaka-** [ʒa'ka] *vtr.s* to close a passage or a door with materials like coconut leaves, e.g. to keep the wind out
- japani** [ʒa'pani] *n* Japanese; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- jiamani** [ʒiamani] *n* Germany; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- jira-** [ʒira] *vtr.s* to break a container, also used for boats, anything with an enclosed space
- jojokuli** [ʒoʒo'kuli] *n* customary compensation payment
vi to make a compensation payment
- jolangi-** [ʒola'ŋi] *vtr.s* to mix something
- jotoa-** [ʒoto'a] *vtr.s* to push firewood together, so that the fire burns more strongly
- jurake-** [ʒura'ke] *vtr.s* to shatter something
- k-** *pref* third person singular feminine object or complement marking prefix
- ka₁** *see* **kama**
- ka₂** [ka] *vi* to move bushwards, to go ashore
- =ka** *clitic* feminine form of the multi-functional case marker **=la**
- kaba** [kaba] *n* shell
- kaba-** [kaba] *vtr.s* to pierce something, to make a hole in something
- kabu₁** [kabu] *vi* to run away, to flee
- kabu₂** [kabu] *n* heap
- kadora** [ka'dora] *n* possum
- kagnika** [kaɲika] *adv* too much
- kaka** [kaka] *vi* to be tight
- kakado** [ka'kado] *n* bamboo bottle for collecting and transporting water
- kakai** [ka'kai] *n* (*f*) girl
- kakala** [kakala] *n* white parrot
- kakami(-)** [ka'kami] *v* to play (something)
- kakami** ka'kami *n* game
- kakau** [ka'kau] *n* a term for the whole arm including the hand
- kake** [kake] *n* taro
- kalugha** [kaluuɣa] *n* money

- kama**₁ ['kama] *adv* already, sometimes shortened to **ka**
kama₂ ['kama] *n* armpit
kamati ['kamati] *adv* very much
kanita ['kanita] *n* a school of tuna
kanga(-) ['kaŋa], [ka'ŋa-] *va* to shout (to someone or something)
kao ['kao] *loc* bushwards, inland (adverbial form)
kapisi(-) ['kapisi] *va* to narrate, to tell (a customary folk story)
kapisi₁ ['kapisi] *n* thing
kapisi₂ ['kapisi] *n* customary folks story, legend
kapisivatu [kapisiβatu] *n* kind of shell
kapu₁ ['kapu] *vi* to be full
kapu₂ ['kapu] *n* cup; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
karango [ka'raŋo] *n* 1) reef, 2) low tide
karu ['karu] *n* edge
kasanga(-) ['kasana] *va* to be angry (about someone or something)
kasimu [ka'simu] *n* kind of vine
kastom ['kastom] *n* custom; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
kata ['kata] *loc* bushwards, inland (attributive form)
kati₁ ['kati] *loc* bushwards, inland (proximal)
kati₂ ['kati] *see* **elakati**
kato ['kato] *n* 1) stone, 2) seed, 3) chicken stomach
kato- ['kato] *vtr.s* to cook something by putting a hot stone in it, e.g. get coconut milk to boil, or cook cabbage
kaunga ['kauŋa] *n* chief, elder
kaungarongo [kauŋa'roŋo] *adj* great
kaupebeta [kaupeβeta] *n* kind of pandanus
kavekave [kaβe'kaβe] *n* reciprocal term for great-great-great-great-grandparents and -children
kavua- [kaβu'a] *vtr.s* to spread something out
ke *cosub* cosubordinator
sub purposive subordinator
=ke *clitic* emphasis, allomorph of =e on third person singular feminine personal pronouns
keda ['keda] *n* fire
kede ['kede] *see* **kode(nge)**
keghi ['keuŋi] *n* 1) coconut, 2) coconut plantation
kejegha ['kejeŋa] *v, adj* to be brave
keke ['keke] *vi* to be sad
kekeve [ke'keβe] *n* necklace
kela ['kela] *quan* hundred
kelatu ['kelatu] *adv* luckily, fortunately
kemo ['kemo] *n* sugarcane
kenaghuli [kena'uŋuli] *n* fishing hook
keukeu [keu'keu] *vi* to make a loud, high noise
keva₁ ['keβa] *n* path, road, way
keva₂ ['keβa] *vi* to do all about, do in several places in a random or unplanned fashion

- kia** ['kia] *sub* if, when
kiba ['kiba] *n* leaf
kibo ['kibo] *n* sin
vi to be guilty
kila ['kila] *n* stone knife
kilekile ['kile'kile] *n* a small, light axe, used for fighting
kilorua ['kilo'rua] *n* a kind of altar
kineghe ['kineʉe] *n* brain
kinu ['kinu] *n* smell
kira- [ki'ra] *vtr.s* to peel something
kise(-) ['kise] *va* to fight (a fight or a battle)
kise ['kise] *n* fight
ko₁ *perspr* third person singular feminine personal pronoun
ko₂ *det* determiner, singular feminine
koata [ko'ata] *adv* before, long time ago
kobakoba [koba'koba] *vi* to be empty
kobi ['kobi] *n* crab
kode(nge) ['kodeŋe] *mod* only (pre-nuclear modifier in quantifier phrases, only used with quantifiers referring to more than one referent); *variant kede*
koghili ['kouʒili] *vi* to be sick
kognola- [koŋo'la] *vtr.s* to have mercy with someone, to be sympathetic with someone
koi(-) ['koi], [k'oi-] *va* to board (a boat or floating object)
koi ['koi] *det* determiner, singular feminine with female proper names; also used with numbers
koio ['koio] *n, interj* woman (used to address a woman)
koka ['koka] *n* ancestor
koko ['koko] *n (m)* boy
kokoa [ko'koa] *posspr* hers (masculine possessum)
kokoilo [koko'ilo] *n* ball nut tree
kokoma [ko'koma] *posspr* hers (feminine possessum)
kokopa [ko'kopa] *n* ridge cap
kokoqa [ko'koga] *n* stick
kokoroko [koko'roko] *n* chicken; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
kola uvi ['kola 'uβi] *n* cassava
kola ['kola] *n* 1) tree, 2) stick
kolei [ko'lei] *n* megapode egg
kolo- [ko'lo] *vtr.s* to light a fire
kolobu ['kolobu] *adj* unripe
=kona [kona] *clitic* third person singular feminine nominative case marker, third person dual form **=tona**, form for all other person-number combinations **=na**
konga ['koŋa] *vtr.s* to worship someone or something
koqa ['koga] *n* the frame of the walls of a house
koqa- ['koga] *vtr.s* to erect posts for the walling of a house
kora- [ko'ra] *vtr.s* to remove the skin of something
korakora [kora'kora] *n* skin
kori ['kori] *n* lie

- korigha-** [ˌkɔriˈuʦa] *vtr.s* to cheat someone
korikori bulake [ˌkɔriˈkɔri ˌbuˈlake] *n* a type of traditional pudding
korikori(-) [ˌkɔriˈkɔri] *va* to (use something for) making pudding
korikori [ˌkɔriˈkɔri] *n* pudding
korodikolo [ˌkɔroˈdikolo] *n* small lizard
koropi- [ˌkɔroˈpi] *vtr.s* to claw at something or someone
kosi [ˈkɔsi] *n* course; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
kosu [ˈkɔsu] *n* bird, used for all animals that can fly high in the air (not insects)
koti [ˈkɔti] *loc* seawards (proximal)
koto(-) [ˈkɔto], [ˌkɔˈto-] *va* to shake (something or someone)
koto [ˈkɔto] *vi* to move in one place, without changing position
kove [ˈkɔʔe] *n* rainbow
kozi [ˈkɔzi] *vi* to face
kua [ˈkua] *quan* ten when counting megapode eggs, **pa kua kolei** ‘ten megapode eggs’
kuala [ˌkuˈala] *n* quarters
kuaragna [ˌkuaˈraŋa] *n* distant past
kuata [ˌkuˈata] *loc* seawards (attributive form)
kuava [ˌkuˈaʔa] *quan* nine
kuavatale [ˌkuaˈʔatale] *quan* ninety
kudia [ˌkuˈdia] *n* fin on the back of a fish, thin fin line from the fin on the back to the tail of a fish
kudo [ˈkudo] *n (f)* hen
kughe [ˈkuuʔe] *n* 1) moon, 2) month
kui [ˈkui] *quan* eight
kuiatale [ˌkuiˈatale] *quan* eighty
kuikui [ˌkuiˈkui] *n* point, headland
kuili(-) [ˌkuˈili] *va* to shout (for or at someone or something)
kuji [ˈkuʦi] *n* bamboo (for picking apples), with a split in the side at one end, held open by something and thereby forming an opening
kuki(-) [ˈkuki] *va* to cook (something); *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
kukua [ˌkuˈkua] *n* reciprocal kinship term for grandparents and grandchildren
kukuro [ˌkuˈkuro] *n* gun
kula [ˈkula] *vi* to be short
kulagha [ˌkuˈlauʦa] *n* maternal uncle, child of a man’s sister
kulakulapapa [ˌkulaˌkulaˈpapa] *vi* to put your arms around your neighbors’ shoulders
kuli [ˈkuli] *vi* to move seawards
kulisogha(-) [ˌkuliˈsouʦa] *va* 1) to go down to the beach, if used transitively the object suffix refers to the reason for coming down to the beach 2) to come home from the garden
kulo [ˈkulo] *loc* seawards (adverbial form)
kuma [ˈkuma] *n* rain
kumara [ˌkuˈmara] *n* sweet potato
kunua- [ˌkunuˈa] *vtr.s* to influence someone or something with a weak smell
kurakurape [ˌkuraˈkuraʔe] *n* frog
kurighidi [ˌkuriˈuʦidi] *n* fly
kuro(-) [ˈkuro] *va* to cook (something)

- kuro** ['kuro] *n* pot
- kuvala** ['kuβala] *n* afternoon
- kuvi-** [ku'βi] *vtr:s* to cover something or someone
- kuvikuvi** [kuβi'kuβi] *n* lid
- l-** *pref* third person singular masculine object or complement marking prefix
- =la** *clitic* multi-functional case marker, feminine form **=ka**
- labu** ['labu] *n* belly button
- laghaso** [la'ʔaso] *n* a portion of food
- laghe** ['laʔe] *pa* dual form of the proprietive marker **lava**
- lakavi** ['lakaβi] *n* wild taro
- lama** ['lama] *pa* singular feminine form of the proprietive marker **lava**
- lame** ['lame] *pa* plural form of the proprietive marker **lava**
- lapeli(-)** [la'peli] *va* to cover (one's private parts) with something used as an apron
- lapi** ['lapi] *n* tongue
- laqa** ['laga] *vi* to be strong
- lava** [laβa] *pa* proprietive marker, singular feminine form **lama**, dual form **laghe**, plural form **lame**
- lavu** ['laβu] *n* place
- le** *vsuf* apprehensive suffix
- =le₁** *clitic* ablative case marker
- =le₂** *clitic* emphasis, allomorph of **=e** on third person singular masculine personal pronouns
- leka poiali** ['leka .poi'ali] *vi* to laugh out loud
- leka(-)** ['leka] *va* to laugh (about someone or something)
- lela** ['lela] *vi* to stroll; *from* Ghari
- levolevo(-)** [leβo'leβo] *va* to talk (about something)
- levolevo** [leβo'leβo] *n* talk
- li** *vsuf* third person singular masculine object marking suffix
- =lia** [lia] *clitic* about, roughly (attaches to locationals and to some temporal adverbs to express that the location or time is not precisely known)
- liaza** [li'aza] *vi* to return, to move back in the direction one came from
- lighi** ['liʔi] *vi* to be a little bit tilted
- lilikia** [lili'kia] *n* ant
- livu(-)** ['liβu] *va* to carry something
- lo₁** *perspr* third person singular masculine personal pronoun
- lo₂** *det* determiner, singular masculine and plural
- =lo₁** *clitic* third person singular masculine personal pronoun
- =lo₂** *clitic* number marker for dual; *variants: =zalo, =to*
- loloa** [lo'loa] *posspr* his (masculine possessum)
- loloma** [lo'loma] *posspr* his (feminine possessum)
- loloto** [lo'loto] *vi* to be straight, to be at right angles to something else
- lotu** ['lotu] *vi* to pray; *from* Ghari
- lu** *vsuf* plural imperative suffix
- luja-** ['luja] *vtr:s* to load something, the object is either the things loaded or the object loaded with something (e.g. a boat)

- lumu** ['lumu] *adj* dirty, old
lupi ['lupi] *vi* to embrace
lusi- ['lusi] *vtr.s* to squeeze something
m- *pref* second person plural object or complement marking prefix
ma *pa* comitative particle
-ma *suf* genitive case suffix (singular feminine possessum), *see -va*
madaki ['madaki] *n (f)* wife
madoke(-) [ma'doke] *va* to know (something), to have knowledge (about something)
maghani [ma'ʔani] *n* decoration
magnigha [ma'niʔa] *n* village, homestead, place
mai ['mai] *perspr* first person non-singular inclusive personal pronoun
maia ['maia] *posspr* ours (non-singular inclusive; masculine possessum)
maima ['maima] *posspr* ours (non-singular inclusive; feminine possessum)
maitei(-) [maitei] *va* 1) to do what, to be how, 2) to do whatever, be somehow, anyhow;
transitive meaning: to do what about something or someone
maivana ['maivana] *emphpr* we (non-singular inclusive) as well, again (emphatic pronoun)
majali 'majali *n* ghost, spirit, heathen god
mala ['mala] *loc* along the coast (adverbial form)
malabo [ma'labo] *n* footprint
malanga(-) [ma'laŋa] *va* to agree with someone or approve a suggestion, or to allow something
male ['male] *n* left
mali ['mali] *vi* to be similar, be like
mama(-) ['mama], [ma'ma-] *va* to be sour; transitive meaning: to make something sour
mama₁ ['mama] *n (f)* mother
mama₂ ['mama] *n (m)* priest, Father; *from* Gela
mama- ['mama] *vtr.s* to refer to someone as mother or aunt, to have someone as mother or aunt
mamapa [ma'mapa] *see mapamapa*
manamana- [mana'mana] *vtr.s* to prepare something
manana [ma'nana] *n* something adequate, appropriate
mane₁ ['mane] *n* side
mane₂ ['mane] *adv* consecutively
manikilo(-) [mani'kilo] *va* to cheer (about something)
manga₁ ['maŋa] *n* 1) time, 2) day
manga₂ ['maŋa] *vi* to be clear, not occluded or blocked
mapa ['mapa] *n* person
mapamapa [mapa'mapa] *n* each other (marking reciprocity); *variant: mamapa*
maqo ['mago] *n* mango; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
maramane [mara'mane] *n* world
marara [ma'rara] *vi* 1) to be bright, 2) to be clean
mare(-) ['mare] *va* to joke, make jokes (about someone)
mare ['mare] *n* joke
mata ['mata] *loc* along the coast (attributive form)
mata- ['mata] *vtr.s* to want something or someone

- mategna** [ˌmaˈteŋa] *n* value, price
- mati** [ˈmati] *loc* along the coast (proximal)
- mau** [ˈmau] *n (m)* father, paternal uncle
- me** *perspr* second person plural personal pronoun
- =me₁** *clitic* 1) first person non-singular inclusive personal pronoun, 2) second person plural personal pronoun
- =me₂** *clitic* emphasis, allomorph of =e on 1) first person non-singular inclusive personal pronouns, 2) second person plural personal pronouns
- melo** [ˈmelo] *n* bonito, tuna fish
- memea** [ˌmeˈmea] *posspr* yours (plural; masculine possessum)
- memema** [ˌmeˈmema] *posspr* yours (plural; feminine possessum)
- memere** [ˈmemere] *mod* a little bit
- mevana** [ˈmeβana] *emphpr* you (plural) as well, again (emphatic pronoun)
- mi** [ˈmi] *n* fish
- mi** *vsuf* 1) second person plural object marking suffix, 2) third person plural object marking suffix
- migni** [ˌmiŋi] *vsuf* first person non-singular inclusive object marking suffix
- mijila** [ˌmiˈjila] *n* body
- mili** [ˈmili] *n* 1) general term for a vine, 2) string (traditionally made from vines)
- mimi** [ˈmimi] *n* bladder
- mimi-** [ˈmimi] *vt:s* to urinate on something or someone
- misu** [ˈmisu] *n* dog
- moaba qolota** [ˌmoˈaba goˈlota] *adv* two days before yesterday
- moaba** [ˌmoˈaba] *adv* the day before yesterday
- moibia** [ˌmoˈibia] *adv* yesterday
- moka** [ˈmoka] *see elamoka*
- mola₁** [ˈmola] *n* canoe
- mola₂** [ˈmola] *quan* million; *from* Gela
- molo** [ˈmolo] *n* 1) bamboo, 2) knife
- molumolu₁** [ˌmoluˈmolu] *n* island
- molumolu₂** [ˌmoluˈmolu] *n* reciprocal term for great-great-great-grandparents and -children
- monei₁** [ˌmoˈnei] *adv* nearly
- monei₂** [ˌmoˈnei] *sub* if only
- mu** *vsuf* transitivizing suffix; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- mudu** [ˈmudu] *n (f)* friend (only used for a singular referent), *see vudu*
- musanga** [ˈmusɑŋa] *n* evening
vi to become evening
- muzi** [ˈmuzi] *n* 1) night, 2) cloud
- muzikavili** [ˌmuziˈkaβili] *vi* to be dark
n darkness
- n-** *pref* second person singular object or complement marking prefix
- =na** *clitic* nominative case marker, third person singular feminine form =**kona**, third person dual form =**tona**
- naba** [ˈnaba] *n* number; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- nale** [ˈnale] *n* tooth
- napu** [ˈnapu] *n* mouth

- nata** ['nata] *vi* to be flat, level
n flat, level area
- nato** ['nato] *n* a word for the whole leg including the foot
 =**ne** *clitic* emphasis, allomorph of =**e** on second person singular personal pronouns
- nebolo** ['nebolo] *quan* twenty
- negha** ['neʝa] *loc* somewhere else
- nenemali** [,nene'mali] *vi* to be sharp
- neti** ['neti] *loc* under, counterclockwise (proximal)
- neu** ['neu] *loc* down, counterclockwise along the coast (adverbial form)
- neuta** ['neuta] *loc* under, counterclockwise (attributive form)
- ni** *pa* question tag particle, requesting affirmation
- ni** *vsuf* second person singular object marking suffix
- nini** ['nini] *n* name
- nipiti** [ni,piti] *suf* -teen, attaches to numbers one to ten to form numbers between ten and twenty
- nito** ['nito] *n* eye
- nitognoko** [,nito'ɲoko] *n* face
- no** *perspr* second person singular personal pronoun
 =**no** *clitic* second person singular personal pronoun
- nogho(-)** ['nouɣo] *va* to divide (something), to share (something)
- nogho** ['nouɣo] *n* share of something that is divided and distributed
- nonoa** [,no'noa] *posspr* yours (masculine possessum)
- nonoma** [,no'noma] *posspr* yours (feminine possessum)
- novana** ['noβana] *emphpr* you (singular) as well, again (emphatic pronoun)
- noveba** [,no'βeba] *n* November; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- ngai** ['ŋai] *adj* big
- ngangarasa(-)** [ŋaŋa'rasa] *va* to scream out of fear or fright (of something or someone)
- ngasi** ['ŋasi] *vi* to be hard, strong (material, substance)
- ngei** ['ŋei] *vi* to cry
- ngeo-** [ŋe'o] *vtr:s* to bend something
- ngitu** ['ŋitu] *n* breadfruit seed
- ngoa** ['ŋoa] *n* chin, jaw
- ngoi-** [ŋo'i] *vtr:s* 1) to call someone, 2) to name someone, to give someone a particular name
- ngolangola** [ŋola'ŋola] *n* beard
- ngori** ['ŋori] *vi* to snore
- ngou** ['ŋou] *vi* to worry
- obu** ['obu] *vtr:p* to crack something (nuts)
- ogha** ['ouɣa] *vtr:p* to weave something
- oghai** ['ouɣai] *adv* as if
- ogho-** [o'uɣo] *vtr:ps* to fill something, e.g. a bag or basket
- oghoa-** [ouɣo'a] *vtr:ps* to own something
- oghoni** ['ouɣoni] *vtr:p* to be like someone or something
- ogno** ['oɲo] *vtr:p* to hide something or someone
- oloa-** [olo'a] *vtr:s* to shake something
- olomane** [olo'mane] *n* old man; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin

- olomi** ['olomi] *vtr.p* to know something or someone
oma natu ['oma 'natu] *adv* not yet
oma ['oma] *see ghoma*
omadai [,oma'dai] *adv* lest, lit. not good
-omaqa ['omaga] *vtr.p* to carry something or someone
-omata ['omata] *postp* at, to(wards), from; *variant: -emata*
-omiti ['omiti] *postp* for, on behalf of; *variant: -emiti*
-omu ['omu] *vtr.p* to fill something (a container)
-one ['one] *vtr.p* to sharpen something
onea(-) [,o'nea] *va* to listen (to someone or something)
-oqo ['ogo] *vtr.p* to collect something
ora ['ora] *vi* 1) to burn, to be burning, 2) to be wide open (used only for eyes)
oru ['oru] *vi* to roll
ota ['ota] *loc* there
otati ['otati] *loc* there (proximal), i.e. close to over there
-ou ['ou] *vtr.p* to eat something or someone
-ova- ['oβa] *vtr.ps* to bite something or someone
-ovata ['oβata] *vtr.p* to cut firewood
-ovi ['oβi] *vtr.p* to scrape something
ovi [,o'βi] *interj* Oops! Dear me! Oh no!
-ovogho ['oβoŋo] *vtr.p* to move over something or someone
-ovu ['oβu] *vtr.p* to put something or someone
ovuovu(-) [,oβu'oβu] *va* to steam (something)
ovuovu [,oβu'oβu] *n* steam, gas
-ozi ['ozi] *vtr.p* to occlude something or someone
-ozigha ['oziŋa] *vtr.p* to dry something in the sun
p- *pref* second person dual object or complement marking prefix
pa(de) ['pade] *quan* one, also used as indefinite article; in counting and in cardinal numbers **ela** is used instead
pada- [,pa'da] *vtr.s* 1) to count something, to measure something, 2) to plan something, 3) to read something
pada ['pada] *n* thunder
padenge ['padeŋe] *quan* only one
paeta ['paeta] *loc* in (attributive form)
pagheghigni ['paŋe,ŋiŋi] *vtr.mod* to make or create us two (dual exclusive)
pagne ['paŋe] *vtr.mod* to make or create me
pai ['pai] *vi* to do something (unspecified)
paka ['paka] *vtr.mod* to make or create her
pala ['pala] *vtr.mod* to make or create something (third person singular masculine form)
pale₁ ['pale] *vi* 1) stay, 2) background imperfective aspect in serial verb constructions
pale₂ ['pale] *loc* inside (adverbial form)
palea ['palea] *see paleva*
paleva [,pa'leβa] *quan* (a) few; *variant: palea*
pali(-) ['pali], [,pa'li-] *va* 1) to respect (someone or something), 2) to avoid (someone or something)

- pali** ['pali] *n* customary law
- pame(ve)** ['pameβe] *quan* one more
- pame** ['pame] *vtr.mod* 1) to make or create you (plural), 2) to make or create them (plural)
- pamemigni** ['pame,mijni] *vtr.mod* to make or create us (dual or plural inclusive)
- pamevigni** ['pame,βijni] *vtr.mod* to make or create us (plural exclusive); *variant*: **pavevigni**
- pane** ['pane] *vtr.mod* to make or create you (singular)
- papale** ['papale] *n* one side of something, or one half of a group
- pape** ['pape] *vtr.mod* to make or create you two
- paqati** [pa'gati] *n* palm frond
- paso-** ['paso] *vtr.s* to take the skin off something (a stick or branch)
- pata(-)** ['pata], [pa'ta-] *va* to be cut or torn (rope or string); transitive meaning: to cut or tear rope or string
- pate** ['pate] *vtr.mod* to make or create them (two)
- patu** ['patu] *vi* 1) stay (with background imperfective aspect; basic form **pale**), 2) background imperfective aspect in serial verb constructions
- pavevigni** ['paβe,βijni] *see pamevigni*
- Pavughi** [paβuʉi] *n* Savosavo name for the main island of the Russell Islands
- pazale** [pa'zale] *n* beach
- pazu** ['pazu] *n* palm leaf
- pazu-** ['pazu] *vtr.s* to make the roof of a house
- pazuzu** [pa'zuzu] *vi* to give birth
- pe** *perspr* second person dual personal pronoun
- =pe₁** *clitic* second person dual personal pronoun
- peje** ['peje] *vi* to be averse to something
- pelea-** ['pelea] *vtr.s* to lift woven material, like a mat or a piece of cloth
- peleni** ['peleni] *n* plane; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- pemana** ['pemana] *emphpr* you (dual) as well, again (emphatic pronoun); *potential variant*: **pevana**
- penu** ['penu] *n* coconut husk
- pepa** ['pepa] *n* paper; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- pepea** [pe'pea] *posspr* yours (dual; masculine possessum)
- pepema** [pe'pema] *posspr* yours (dual; feminine possessum)
- peqoa-** [pego'a] *vtr.s* to deceive someone; *from* Gela
- pera** ['pera] *n* big round basket used to transport market goods, used to serve food etc.
- perongo** ['perongo] *n* something; *variants*: **erongo**, **dudurongo**
- petapeta** [peta'peta] *n* shirt, t-shirt
- pevana** ['peβana] *see pemana*
- pevu** [peβu] *vi* to fly
- pi** ['pi] *n* green coconut
- pi** *vsuf* second person dual object marking suffix
- pia(-)** ['pia], [pi'a-] *va* to move up, climb up (on something)
- pika** ['pika] *n* belly
- pili-** [pi'li] *vtr.s* to turn something or someone around

- pio** [ˈpio] *n, interj* mate, dude (addressing one person, dual form **poito**, plural form **poima**)
- pipisa** [ˈpiˈpisa] *n* beach
- piqu** [ˈpiqu] *quan* ten when counting ripe coconuts, **pa piqu qazu** ‘ten ripe coconuts’
- pisa** [ˈpisa] *n* picture; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- pise** [ˈpise] *n* closure between two compartments of bamboo
- piti-** [ˈpiˈti] *vt.r.s* to tie something or someone
- piupiu** [ˈpiuˈpiu] *n* betel nut in the first stage of ripeness
- piva** [ˈpiβa] *n* 1) liquid, water 2) well
- pizo(-)** [ˈpizo] *va* to drink (something)
- poghoa** [ˈpouɔoa] *quan* six
- poghoatale** [ˈpouɔoˈatale] *quan* sixty
- poghorō** [ˈpouɔoro] *quan* seven
- poghorōatale** [ˈpouɔoroˈatale] *quan* seventy
- poi** [ˈpoi] *n* thing
- poima** [ˈpoima] *n, interj* guys (addressing more than two people, plural form of **pio**)
- poito** [ˈpoito] *n, interj* guys (addressing two people, dual form of **pio**)
- poke** [ˈpoke] *n* betel lime, made from burnt dead coral
- poketi** [ˈpoketi] *n* pocket; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- polo** [ˈpolo] *n* pig
- polupolu** [ˈpoluˈpolu] *n* small insect that lives in the ground, sometimes living close to house posts and walls
- pono** [ˈpono] *mod* just, only
- popo** [ˈpopo] *n* 1) bowl, 2) valley
- popole** [ˈpoˈpole] *n* blanket
- poporaghi** [ˈpopoˈrauɿ] *n* kind of pudding
vi to make **poporaghi** pudding
- poqala** [ˈpogala] *adv* tomorrow
- poragha** [ˈpoˈrauɿa] *n, interj* 1) friends (used to address several people, plural form of **porau**), 2) interjection signalling disapproval
- porau** [ˈpoˈrau] *n, interj* friend (used to address one person, plural form **poragha**)
- poro** [ˈporo] *vi* to bend down
- posovata** [ˈposoˈβata] *n* ginger
adj yellow
- potopoto** [ˈpotoˈpoto] *n* back
- pozogho** [ˈpozouɔo] *n* bottom, base
adv basically
- pudopudo lovu** [ˈpudoˈpudo ˈloβu] *vi* to send up sparks, e.g. of a fire
- pugne** [ˈpupe] *vi* to bath, to wash oneself
- pukupuku(-)** [ˈpukuˈpuku] *va* to (use something for) making breadfruit pudding
- pukupuku** [ˈpukuˈpuku] *n* breadfruit pudding
- puti** [ˈputi] *n* hole
- puto** [ˈputo] *n* bottom
- putu(-)** [ˈputu], [ˈpuˈtu-] *va* to pass, to go past (something or someone)
- putu-** [ˈpuˈtu] *vt.r.s* to wipe something, e.g. the floor, or one’s feet before entering the house

- puzu** ['puzu] *n* waist
qale ['gale] *vi* to be quick
qana ['gana] *n* gun; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
qaomane [ˌgao'mane] *n* government; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
qaqela(-) [ˌga'gela] *va* to open (something)
qaru- ['garu] *vtr.s* to crunch something, to noisily eat something hard and crunchy
qaruqaru [ˌqaru'qaru] *vi* to be hard
qasi(-) ['gasi], [ˌga'si-] *va* to be closed; transitive meaning: to close something
qazu ['gazu] *n* ripe coconut
Qelaghi ['gelauqi] *n* Savosavo name for the Florida Islands
qele ['gele] *vi* look
qelegele [ˌgele'gele] *v* to look
n look, appearance
geneqene [ˌgene'gene] *n* tip
geto- ['geto] *vtr.s* to capsize something (a container)
qilasi [ˌgi'lasɪ] *n* glass; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
qilu- ['gili] *vtr.s* to bury someone or something
qola kiba ['gola 'kiba] *adj* green, lit. unripe leaf
qola₁ ['gola] *n* door, doorway
qola₂ ['gola] *vi* 1) to be unripe, 2) to be raw, uncooked
qolaqola [ˌgola'gola] *vi* to eat alive or raw things
qolo ['golo] *vi* to be broken (something stick-like like a branch or bone)
qolo- [ˌgo'lo] *vtr.s* to break something stick-like
qore- ['gore] *vtr.s* to dig out something or someone
qori ['gori] *n* a kind of big frog, living by the water
qozi(-) ['gozi], [ˌgo'zi-] *va* to fart (on something)
qulo- [ˌgu'lo] *vtr.s* to spear someone or something
qutu- [ˌgu'tu] *vtr.s* to swallow something
raghe ['rauqe] *vi* to run (can be transitivized by **-vi**, meaning to run for something or someone)
raghi- [ˌra'uqi] *vtr.s* to pull something continuously and steadily
rajea- [ˌra'jea] *vtr.s* to stroke someone or something
raju ['raju] *n* a leveled area
raju- ['raju] *vtr.s* to level an area
rami- [ˌra'mi] *vtr.s* to pelt someone or something
rangi- ['raŋi] *vtr.s* to heat something, also used e.g. for drying one's hands over fire
rara(-) ['rara], [ˌra'ra-] *va* to crawl (on or for something)
raragho(-) [ˌrara'ʔo] *va* to reach into a space through an opening to hold something
rasaniu [ˌrasa'niu] *n* grated coconut; *from* Gela
raskolo ['raskolo] *n* criminal; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
rata ['rata] *vi* to be slippery
ravu ['raβu] *n* tribe
reka ['reka] *n* dust, ground
righa- ['riŋa] *vtr.s* to put something a bit out of line, to offset something
ringi₁ ['riŋi] *n* ring; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
ringi₂ ['riŋi] *vi* to make a telephone call; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin

- ringimu-** ['riŋimu] *vtr.s* to give someone a call; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- roi** ['roi] *vi* to sink
- roi-** ['ro'i] *vtr.s* to draw (out) something, to pull (out) something, like a knife or a cigarette from a case
- roko** ['roko] *n* plank canoe; *variant*: **roroko**
- rongorongo(-)** ['roŋo'roŋo] *va* to tell (a story), to talk (about someone or something)
- rongorongo** ['roŋo'roŋo] *n* story
- ropo** ['ropo] *n* morning
- roroko** ['ro'roko] *see* **roko**
- rughu** ['ruuqu] *vi* to go to the bush, to go diving
- rumu** ['rumu] *n* room; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- sa** *suf* verbalizing suffix
- sabesabera** ['sabesa'bera] *vi* to hang somewhere naturally
- sabmarini** ['sab'marini] *n* submarine; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- sade** ['sade] *n* Saturday; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- sagheghigni** ['sauŋe,ŋiŋi] *vtr.mod* to follow us two (dual exclusive); *variant*: **saghegni**
- saghegni** ['sa'ŋeŋi] *see* **sagheghigni**
- sagne** ['sagne] *vtr.mod* to follow me
- saka** ['saka] *vtr.mod* to follow her
- sake-** ['sa'ke] *vtr.s* to lift something up
- saku-** ['saku] *vtr.s* to grab or catch someone or something quickly
- sala** ['sala] *vtr.mod* to follow him or it
- sali(-)** ['sali] *va* to wash (something) away
- salu** ['salu] *n* climber piper leaf, chewed with betel nut and lime
- same** ['same] *vtr.mod* 1) to follow you (plural), 2) to follow them (plural)
- samemigni** ['same,migni] *vtr.mod* to follow us (dual or plural inclusive)
- samevigni** ['same,βiŋi] *vtr.mod* to follow us (plural exclusive); *variant*: **savevigni**
- samu** ['samu] *vi* to have a meal
n food
- sane** ['sane] *vtr.mod* to follow you (singular)
- sangava** ['sa'ŋaβa] *see* **savanga**
- sape** ['sape] *vtr.mod* to follow you two
- sapi-** ['sapi] *vtr.s* to cut something into slices
- saqito** ['saqito] *n* married couple
- sara** ['sara] *vi* to arrive, reach (can be transitivized by **-vi**, meaning to reach something or someone)
- sasi** ['sasi] *vi* 1) to be wrong, 2) to be impossible
- sate** ['sate] *vtr.mod* to follow them (two)
- savanga(-)** ['sa'βaŋa] *va* to be long; transitive meaning: to measure something; *variant*
sangava
- savanga** ['sa'βaŋa] *n* 1) length, 2) fathom; *variant*: **sangava**
- savea** ['sa'βea] *n* fin (on the side of a fish)
- savevigni** ['saβe,βiŋi] *see* **samevigni**
- savosavo** ['saβo'saβo] *n* Savosavo language
vi to speak Savosavo

- savu-** ['saβu] *vtr.s* to say or tell something about someone or something
- se** *interj* Hey! (signalling disapproval, often used for small children)
- seghe** ['seuqe] *vi* to be full
- sekeseⁿⁱ** [,seke'seni] *n* section; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- sera-** [,se'ra] *vtr.s* to do something properly; intransitive version **sesere**
- sere** ['sere] *vi* to be white
- sesere** [,se'sere] *vi* to do something properly; transitive version **sera-**
- seu** ['seu] *n* container
- sidi** ['sidi] *n* piglet
- sigho-** [,si'ʉo] *vtr.s* to visit someone or something
- sika** ['sika] *pa* don't
- siko(-)** ['siko], [,si'ko-] *va* to steer (something)
- sile-** [,si'le] *vtr.s* to write something
- sinesineⁱ** [,sine'sinei] *n* Solomon Islands Pijin; *from* English 'Sidney'
vi to speak Solomon Islands Pijin; *from* English 'Sidney'
- singe** ['siŋe] *n* a kind of vine
- sinoqo** [,si'nogo] *n* cork, stopper
- sisi kalugha** ['sisi 'kaluʉa] *n* traditional shell money, made from small shell discs
- sisi₁** ['sisi] *n* ornamental flower
- sisi₂** ['sisi] *vi* to be red
- sista** ['sista] *n* sister; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- siu** ['siu] *vi* 1) to be mature, 2) to be edible, but not ripe yet, used for apple, mango, banana, guava, five corner fruit, pineapple, cutnut, Ngali nut; used for breadfruit for all stages of ripeness after it becomes edible; used for cassava that is ready for harvest
- sivi** ['siβi] *interj* Hey! (signalling disapproval, used for dogs)
- sivugha** ['siβuʉa] *n* hair, fur, feather
- so** ['so] *vi* to saw; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- soa** ['soa] *see* **sua₂**
- sobo** ['sobo] *vi* to float
- sodoa-** ['sodoa] *vtr.s* 1) to find someone or something, 2) to meet someone or something
- sodu** ['sodu] *n* piece
vi to be cut in two
- sodu-** ['sodu] *vtr.s* to cut something in two
- sogha₁** ['souʉa] *vi* to jump (can be transitivized by **-vi**, meaning to jump for or at something or someone)
- sogha₂** ['souʉa] *pa* plural form of the attributive marker **sua**, short form of **sua=gha** 'ATT=PL'
- soghe** ['souqe] *n* shark
- sogheghigni** ['souqe,ʉiŋi] *vtr.mod* to throw us two (dual exclusive); *variant*: **soghegni**
- soghegni** [,so'ʉeŋi] *see* **sogheghigni**
- sogne** ['soŋe] *vtr.mod* to throw me
- soing** ['soiŋ] *n* sewing; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- sokasoka(-)** [,soka'soka] *va* to comb (someone or something)
- sokasoka** [,soka'soka] *n* comb
- soko** ['soko] *vtr.mod* to throw her

- solo**₁ ['solo] *vtr.mod* to throw something or someone (third person singular masculine form)
- solo**₂ ['solo] *pa* dual form of the attributive marker **sua**, short form of **sua=lo** 'ATT=DU'
- solo**₃ ['solo] *n* salt; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- soma** ['soma] *see* **suama**
- some** ['some] *vtr.mod* 1) to throw you (plural), 2) to throw them (plural)
- somemigni** ['some,mɪni] *vtr.mod* to throw us (dual or plural inclusive)
- somevigni** ['some,βɪni] *vtr.mod* to throw us (plural exclusive); *variant*: **sovevigni**
- sone** ['sone] *vtr.mod* to throw you (singular)
- sopa** ['sopa] *n* top end
- sope** ['sope] *vtr.mod* to throw you two
- sosa** ['sosa] *n* saucer; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- sota** ['sota] *vi* to be calm (of the sea)
- sote** ['sote] *vtr.mod* to throw them (two)
- sou** ['sou] *n* banana
- sovevigni** ['soβe,βɪni] *see* **somevigni**
- sua**₁ ['sua] *n* giant, monster
- sua**₂ ['sua] *pa* attributive marker, singular feminine form **suama**; *variant*: **soa**
- sua-** [su'a] *vtr.s* to take something off or pull something out, e.g. clothes, nail, teeth; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- suama** [su'ama] *pa* singular feminine form of the attributive marker **sua**; short form is **soma**
- suasua(-)** [sua'sua] *va* to spit (on something or someone)
- suasua** [sua'sua] *n* 1) lungs 2) saliva
- suaza** [su'aza] *vi* 1) to come out, 2) to stick out
- suba(-)** ['suba] *va* to plant (something)
- suba** ['suba] *n* garden
- subu-** ['subu] *vtr.s* to bung something up
- sughu** [suuqu] *vi* to be far away
n distance
- suki-** ['suki] *vtr.s* 1) to push a sharp pointed object in something or someone, like a needle, used e.g. for sewing or injecting, 2) to point to someone or something, using mouth, eyes or finger
- sukulu** ['sukulu] *n* school
vi to go to school, receive school education; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- supu** ['supu] *vi* to be many
- supurongo** [supu'roŋo] *adj* many
- susuru** [su'suru] *vi* to be pregnant
- suti** ['suti] *n* torch, spotlight; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- t-** *pref* third person dual object or complement marking prefix
- ta** *pa* future marking particle
- tabu** ['tabu] *vi* to be whole
- tabua-** ['tabua] *vtr.s* 1) to put a taboo on something or someone, 2) to bless something or someone
- tada**₁ ['tada] *n* (*m*) 1) man, 2) husband
adj old (for men)

- tada**₂ ['tada] *adj* huge, gigantic
- taemu** ['taemu] *n* time; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- tagha** ['tauqa] *loc* up, clockwise along the coast (adverbial form)
- taghala** ['tauqala] *n* betel nut tree
- taghata** [ˌtaˈuqata] *loc* on top, clockwise (attributive form)
- taghati** [ˌtaˈuqati] *loc* on top, clockwise (proximal)
- talighu** [ˌtaˈliuqu] *va* to be or go around (something)
- tamalu-** [ˌtaˈmalu] *vtr.s* to fear of someone or something, to be afraid of someone or something
- taraghati-** [ˌtarauqaˈti] *vtr.s* to rip something or someone into pieces
- tarai** ['tarai] *vi* to pray; *from* Gela
- tarake** ['tarake] *n* truck; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- tatagho** [ˌtaˈtauqo] *n* oven
- tatagho-** [ˌtaˈtauqo] *vtr.s* to bake or cook food in the oven
- tatavi** [ˌtaˈtaβi] *n* basket
- tate** ['tate] *vi* to show; *from* Gela
- tau** ['tau] *vi* to fall
- tau-** ['tau] *vtr.s* 1) to wait for someone or something, 2) to look after someone or something
- taunga** ['tauŋa] *vi* 1) to remain in a place, 2) to do something always
- tavatu** [ˌtaˈβatu] *vi* to traverse, cross over
- tave** ['taβe] *vi* to float
- te**₁ *cosub* cosubordinator
sub purposive subordinator
- te**₂ *pa* emphasis
- te**₃ *pa* host particle for clitic personal pronouns in predicate-first locational clauses
- =te** *clitic* emphasis, allomorph of **=e** on third person dual personal pronouns
- tei** ['tei] *vi* 1) say, 2) be thus, be like
- tei(-)** ['tei] *va* to do thus, act that way (on something)
- teke** ['teke] *vi* to hurry
- tequlu** ['tequlu] *n* bonito lure, made of a shaped pearl-shell body and a hook from turtle carapace
- terela** [ˌteˈrela] *n* trailer; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- tete** ['tete] *vi* to balance (can be transitivized by **-vi**, meaning to balance on something)
- tetegha** [ˌteˈteuqa] *n* mountain
- ti** ['ti] *n* tea; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- ti** *vsuf* third person dual object marking suffix
- =ti** *clitic* proximal marker
- fiatiakoqa** [ˌtiaˈtiaˈkoga] *vi* to swallow water involuntarily, when starting to drown
- tite** ['tite] *see* **tuite**
- to**₁ *perspr* third person dual personal pronoun
- to**₂ *det* determiner, dual
- =to**₁ *clitic* third person dual personal pronoun
- =to**₂ *see* **=lo**₂
- toa** ['toa] *mod* really (intensifying); feminine form **toma**, verbal form **toali**, locative form **toala**

- toala** [ˌtoˈala] *mod* exactly, precisely; locative form of **toa**
- toali** [ˌtoˈali] *mod* absolutely, really; verbal form of **toa**
- todo** [ˈtodo] *vi* to be immobile, still, quiet
- togha** [ˈtoŋa] *quan* thousand
- toghi-** [ˌtoˈŋi] *vt:r:s* to cut something (a rope, or a rope-like thing)
- togho** [ˈtoŋo] *vi* to live, to be alive
- toka** [ˈtoka] *n* cross-sex sibling, sister of a man or brother of a woman; *see* **tone** ‘brother (man speaking)’, **totoa**₂ ‘sister (woman speaking)’
- toka-** [ˈtoka] *vt:r:s* to refer to someone as cross-sex sibling, to have someone as cross-sex sibling
- toko** [ˈtoko] *vi* to arrive
- toma** [ˈtoma] *mod* feminine form of **toa**, only used for singular referents
- tomai** [ˈtomai] *adv* just, plainly
- tomoko** [ˌtoˈmoko] *n* canoe with two prows
- =tona** *clitic* third person dual nominative case marker, third person singular feminine form **=kona**, form for all other person-number combinations **=na**
- tone** [ˈtone] *n (m)* brother (when a man is speaking); *see* **toka** ‘cross-sex sibling’, **totoa** ‘sister (woman speaking)’
- topotopo** [ˌtopoˈtopo] *vi* to bubble
- torongo** [ˌtoroŋo] *mod* very (post-nuclear modifier in adjective phrases)
- tosu** [ˈtosu] *n* container
- totoa**₁ [ˌtoˈtoa] *posspr* theirs (dual; masculine possessum)
- totoa**₂ [ˌtoˈtoa] *n* sister (when a woman is speaking; today sometimes also used by men to refer to their sisters); *see* **tone** ‘brother (man speaking)’, **toka** ‘cross-sex sibling’
- totolo** [ˈtotolo] *n* kind of vine, also used for strings of customary shell money
- totoma** [ˌtoˈtoma] *posspr* theirs (dual; feminine possessum)
- totomate** [ˌtotoˈmate] *n* plan
- tougha-** [ˌtoʊŋali] *vt:r:s* to stab or spear someone or something, with a pointed object
- tovi** [ˈtovi] *n* right
- tovoa-** [ˌtoβoˈa] *vt:r:s* to try something
- tovolo** [ˈtoβolo] *n* bone
- tozo** [ˈtozo] *n* piece
- tozo-** [ˈtozo] *vt:r:s* to cut something
- tu**₁ *vsuf* present imperfective suffix
- tu**₂ *vsuf* relative clause suffix
- =tu** *clitic* ablative case marker
- tua** [ˈtua] *n* neck
- tubitubi** [ˌtubiˈtubi] *n* custom sign, a part of a plant, like the top part of a coconut leaf, is cut and erected
- tuite** [ˌtuˈite] *vi* be.thus
- tuka** [ˈtuka] *sub* whenever
- tulola** [ˌtuˈlola] *sub* then
- tungi-** [ˈtuŋi] *vt:r:s* to put fire to something
- tunuva** [ˌtuˈnuβa] *adj* to be inherited
- tuqana** [ˈtuqana] *adj* mighty
- tutu taotao** [ˈtutu ˌtaoˈtao] *n* a kind of pudding

- tutu** ['tutu] *n* mortar
- tutupara(-)** [ˌtutuˈpara] *va* to smash (something) in a mortar, e.g. when making certain types of pudding
- tuvi** [ˈtuβi] *n* house
- uelesi** [ˌueˈlesi] *n* wireless; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- ugha** [ˈuuɣa] *vtr.mod* to pull her up or out
- ugheghigni** [ˈuuɣe, ɰiɰi] *vtr.mod* to pull us two (dual exclusive) up or out; *variant*: **ughegni**
- ughegni** [ˌuˈɰeɰi] *see* **ugheghigni**
- ugne** [ˈuɰe] *vtr.mod* to pull me up or out
- uikeni** [ˌuˈikeni] *n* weekend; *from* English, Solomon Islands Pijin
- ukalele** [ˌukaˈlele] *n* ukulele
vi to play ukulele
- ula** [ˈula] *vtr.mod* to pull something or someone up or out with a string or stick, e.g. to pull a fish on a hook out of the water (third person singular masculine form)
- ulula** [ˌuˈlula] *n* fishing bamboo
vi to pull fish with a fishing bamboo
- ulunga** [ˌuˈluŋa] *n* pillow
- uma** [ˈuma] *vtr.p* to feed something or someone
- ume** [ˈume] *vtr.mod* 1) to pull you (plural) up or out, 2) to pull them (plural) up or out
- umemigni** [ˈume, miɰi] *vtr.mod* to pull us (dual or plural inclusive) up or out
- umevigni** [ˈume, βiɰi] *vtr.mod* to pull us (plural exclusive) up or out
- una** [ˈuna] *n* 1) carapace of a turtle 2) earrings made from turtle carapace
- une** [ˈune] *vtr.mod* to pull you (singular) up or out
- unu** [ˈunu] *vi* to swell
- upe** [ˈupe] *vtr.mod* to pull you two up or out
- ura** [ˈura] *n* crayfish
- ururu** [ˌuˈruru] *n* a nice scent
vi to be fragrant, to have a sweet smell
- ute** [ˈute] *vtr.mod* to pull them (two) up or out
- uvani** [ˈuβani] *vtr.p* to wash someone
- uvi** [ˈuβi] *n* yams
- va** *suf* genitive case suffix (singular masculine, dual or plural possessum), singular feminine form **-ma**
- vaitula** [ˈβaitula] *n* servant
- vaka** [ˈβaka] *n* ship
- vali** [ˈβali] *n* stingray
- vane-** [ˈβane] *vtr.s* to pick fruits, e.g. mango, breadfruit, apples etc.
- vanovano** [ˌβanoˈβano] *vi* to walk
- varatalu** [ˌβaraˈtalu] *n* cutnut tree, *Barringtonia procera*; *variant*: **paratalu**
- varavi(-)** [ˈβaraβi] *va* to lean (towards something or someone), to approach (someone or something)
- varuru(-)** [ˌβaˈruru] *va* to stare (at someone or something)
- vasikaka** [ˌβasiˈkaka] *vi* to be ungenerous
- vata**₁ [ˈβata] *pa* wait; *variant*: **vataita**

- vata**₂ [ˈβata] *n* kind, type
- vata-** [ˈβata] *vtr.s* to line something up, to put something up in a line
- vataita** [ˈβataˈita] *see vata*
- vazu** [ˈβazu] *vi* to bud
- =**ve**₁ *clitic* first person plural exclusive personal pronoun
- =**ve**₂ *clitic* emphasis, allomorph of =**e** on first person plural exclusive personal pronouns
- veghoa-** [ˈβeɣoa] *vtr.s* to take something apart
- veji** [ˈβeji] *n* a kind of bamboo
- vere** [ˈβere] *vi* to speak
n 1) speech, 3) word, 2) language
- vezi** [ˈβezi] *n* anus
- vi** *vsuf* transitivizing suffix, not productive, so far only found with four intransitive verbs: **sogha** ‘to jump’, **raghe** ‘to run’, **sara** ‘to reach’, and **tete** ‘to balance’
- vigni** [ˈβigni] *vsuf* first person plural exclusive object marking suffix
- vila** [ˈβila] *n* lightning
- vili-** [ˈβiˈli] *vtr.s* to choose something or someone
- virī-** [ˈβiri] *vtr.s* to coil something
- voda** [ˈβoda] *vi* to explode
n explosion
- vognu** [ˈβoɣu] *n* turtle
- vola** [ˈβola] *n* shape
- voli-** [ˈβoli] *vtr.s* to buy something
- vorau** [ˈβoˈrau] *n* raft
- vodu** [ˈβudu] *n* friend (masculine in the singular, but with plural marking used for both men and women)
- vui-** [ˈβuˈi] *vtr.s* to blow something (e.g. a cone shell or a pan pipe), to blow on something (e.g. fire)
- vuni** [ˈβuni] *vi* to start
- vunu-** [ˈβunu] *vtr.s* to smell something
- vurai** [ˈβuˈrai] *n* spring water
- vusi-** [ˈβusi] *vtr.s* to throw ground up
- z-** *pref* third person plural object or complement marking prefix
- za** *vsuf* detransitivizing suffix
- zaba** [ˈzaba] *vi* to become visible
- zaghata** [ˈzaˈɣata] *n* war
- zaghezaghe** [ˈzaɣeˈzaɣe] *vi* to tremble
- zaghorō** [ˈzaˈɣoro] *vi* to pack up all that is necessary, or all one’s belongings
- zala-** [ˈzala] *vtr.s* to search for something or someone
- =**zalo** [ˈzalo] *see =lo*₂
- zao-** [ˈzao] *vtr.s* to scoop something up, often used for scooping up water
- zaravua** [ˈzaraˈβua] *n* reciprocal kinship term for great-great-great-great-grandparents and -children

- zari-** ['zari] *vtr.s* to tear something in pieces
zauḡha- [ˌzauˈuḡa] *vtr.s* to show something, to present something
zazagha [ˌzaˈzauḡa] *vi* to be in line
ze(po) ['zɛpo] *perspr* third person plural personal pronoun
ze *cosub* cosubordinator
=ze *clitic* second person plural personal pronoun
zɛpo ['zɛpo] *pa* privative marker
zevana [ˌzɛβana] *emphpr* they (plural) as well, again (emphatic pronoun)
zezea [ˌzɛˈzɛa] *posspr* theirs (plural; masculine possessum)
zezema [ˌzɛˈzɛma] *posspr* theirs (plural; feminine possessum)
zili- ['zili] *vtr.s* to take something (a root crop) out of the ground
zine ['zine] *n* mat
zove ['zoβɛ] *vi* to be unwilling
zovea- [ˌzoβɛˈali] *vtr.s* to forbid something, to refuse something
zu *conj* and, but
-zu *vsuf* past imperfective suffix
zua(-) ['zua] *va* to ask (someone)
zuba ['zuba] *see gnuba*
zugha ['zuuḡa] *n* faeces
zugha- ['zuuḡa] *vtr.s* to defecate on something
zughu ['zuuḡu] *vi* to disagree, argue
zui ['zui] *vi* to end
zuvi- [ˌzuβi] *vtr.s* to cut banana leaves

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