# Grammar of Kove: an Austronesian language of the West New Britain province, Papua New Guinea

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By

Hiroko Sato

Dissertation Committee:

Robert Blust, Chairperson
Lyle Campbell
Alex Golub
Yuko Otsuka
Kenneth Rehg

Dedicated to Elizabeth Mete

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# Abstract

This dissertation is a descriptive grammar of Kove, an Austronesian language spoken in the West New Britain Province of Papua New Guinea. Kove is primarily spoken in 18 villages, including some on the small islands north of New Britain. There are about 9,000 people living in the area, but many are not fluent speakers of Kove.

The dissertation presents an analysis of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Kove. The analysis is based on elicitation and texts in a corpus, which were collected during six field trips between 2001 to 2011. The grammar takes a functional approach, and illustrates how each component works with other elements and what kind of functions each component has. Kove grammar includes many typologically interesting aspects; in particular, the articles, possessive constructions, system of possessive nominalization, mechanisms for valency change, plural markers, and serial verb constructions involve grammatical elements of special interest. Given that very little documentation of Kove and related languages currently exists, the data and analysis in this dissertation will benefit both academic scholars and the Kove community.

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# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| / | either |
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| ADJ | adjective |
| ADV | adverb |
| ART | article |
| A.POSS | A. possessive marker |
| CAU | causative |
| COMP | complimentizer |
| CONJ | conjunction |
| CPL | completive |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| DDIR | distal directional |
| DISJ | disjunction |
| DIST.FUT | distant future |
| DU | dual |
| EXCL | exclusive |
| FUT | future |
| GROUP | group (non-family) pronoun |
| INCL | inclusive |
| INTR | intransitive (verb) |
| IPFV | imperfective aspect |
| LE.POSS | Le.possessive |
| LOC | locative |
| NEG | negation |
| NONFUT | non-future |
| OBJ | object |
| PTC | particle |
| PERS | person |
| PL | plural |
| POSS | possessive |
| POSTP | postposition |
| PRED | predicate |
| PREP | preposition |
| RECIP | reciprocal |
| RED | reduplication |
| SBJ | subject |
| SG | singular |
| SVU | serialed verb unifier |
| TR | transitive (verb) |
| TRI | trio |
| VENT | vent |

| | |
|---|---|
| X | unsure |

# Chapter 1

# Introduction

## 1.1 The Kove area

Kove is an Austronesian language spoken in West New Britain province, Papua New Guinea.

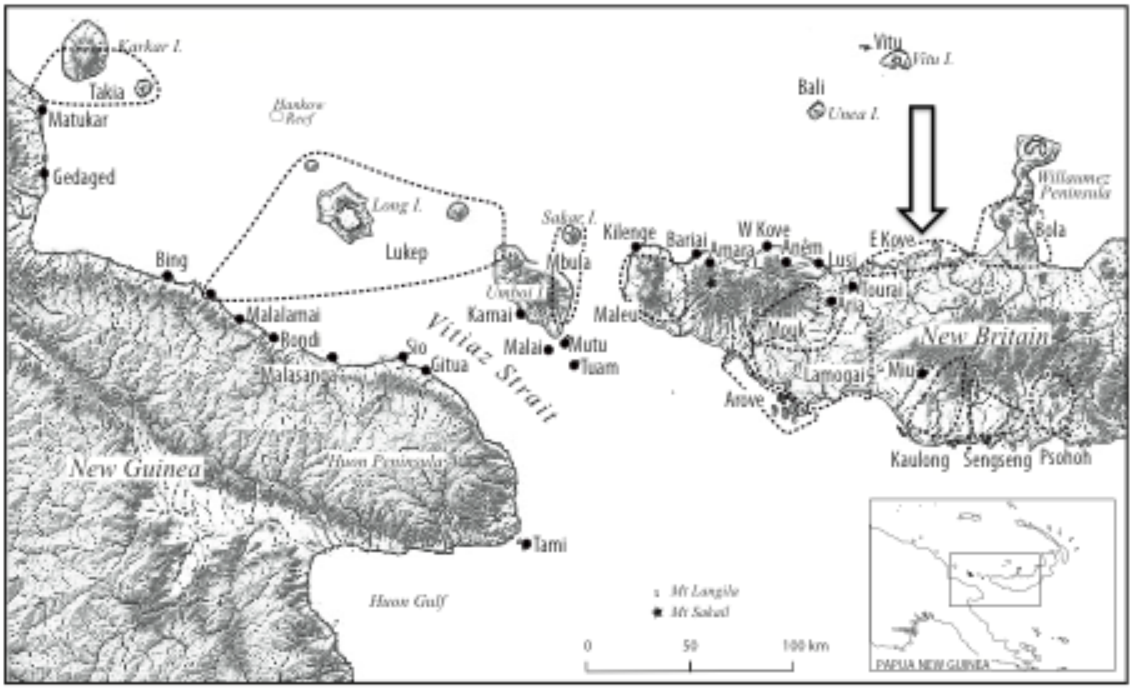
Karkar I.
Takia
Matukar
Gedaged
Hankow Reef
Long I.
Lukep
Bing
Malalamai
Bondi
Malasanga
Sio
Gitua
Vitiaz Strait
Sakar I.
Mbula
Umboi I.
Kamai
Malai
Mutu
Tuam
Vitu
Vitu I.
Bali
Unea I.
Willaumez Peninsula
Bola
Kilenge
Bariai
Amara
W Kove
Anêm
Lusi
E Kove
Tourai
Aria
Maleu
Mouk
New Britain
Lamogai
Miu
Arove
Kaulong
Sengseng
Psohoh
New Guinea
Huon Peninsula
Tami
Huon Gulf
Mt Langila
Mt Sakal
0
50
100 km
PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Figure 1.1: West New Britain

(Cited from Ross to appear)

The Kove area (known as Kombe by non-Kove people) is located about 50 miles west of the provincial capital of Kimbe, at around 5.33 degrees south latitude and 149.30 degrees east longitude (Rangihi). It extends some 35 miles from east to west, and includes 18 main villages. Fourteen of these villages are on adjacent islands, while four are on the coast of mainland New Britain. The area can conveniently be divided into three sections: East Kove, Central Kove, and West Kove. East Kove includes eight villages (Kou-Makati on Map 1), Central Kove four villages, and West Kove six villages (Nukakau-Nutanovua).[1]

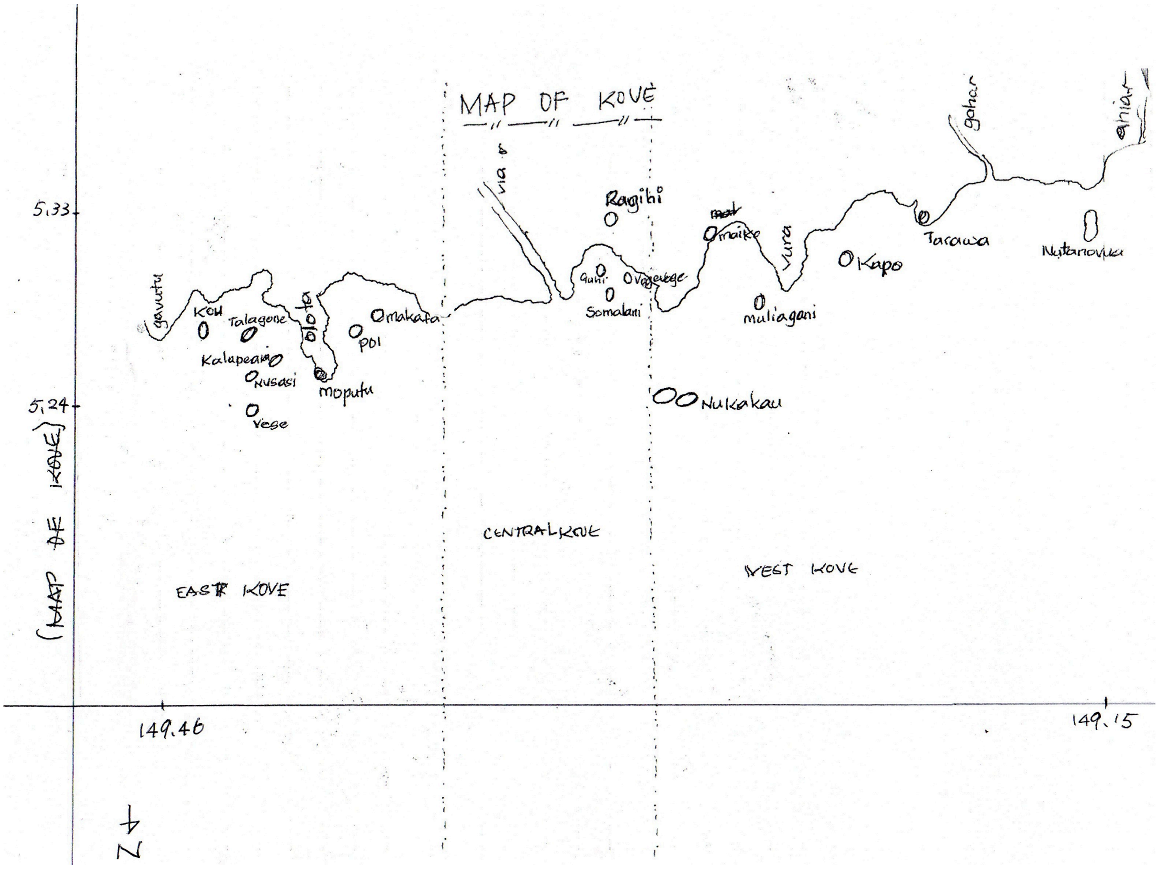
MAP OF KOVE
5.33
5.24
(MAP OF KOVE)
gavutu
KOU
Talagone
Kalapeam
Kusasi
Vese
Bilo'to
Moputu
Poi
Makata
Via
Ragihi
Gulu
Vagevage
Somalani
~~mat~~
Maike
Vura
Muliagani
Kapo
Tarawa
Gahar
Nutanovua
Ghiar
Nukakau
CENTRAL KOVE
WEST KOVE
EAST KOVE
149.46
149.15
N

Figure 1.2: Kove (1)

(drawn by Luke Mara)

## 1.2 The Kove community.

A Kove origin myth says that the Kove people originated in an area called *Vokumu*, which is on the coast in the Central Kove region. According to this tradition, a tribal war broke out and dispersed the *Vokumu* settlement, sending people out in search of a new settlement area.

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[1] In addition to these 18 main villages, there are two islands where the Kove language is spoken in Bariai (see Section 1.4).

According to the 2011 national census the total population in Kove is 9,809.[2] Comparison with the 2007 census shows an increase of 25%. However, the number of people who self-identify as Kove does not reflect the number of speakers, because many members of the community no longer speak their heritage language fluently. Rather, most Kove people have begun to use Tok Pisin, the lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, in their daily life (see chapter 2).

Most island villages are tiny and flat. They are basically places where people sleep, eat, and participate in social events. For daily work and practical needs, such as water supply, laundry, or cultivation of a garden, people travel to the mainland of New Britain by canoe.

Life in the Kove area is based on a subsistence economy. There are no stores. Fishing is men's work, and women go daily to work in the gardens or swamps. Recently, some people have become engaged in cacao plantations or logging projects, which introduces some elements of a monetary economy to Kove society. People have also begun to form new "sub-villages" outside their own village.[3] One reason for this is population increase, since landholdings are growing smaller, and there are very few places in the village where people can build a new house. Another reason for relocating is that some parts of the island villages are becoming submerged because of rising sea levels. In fact, this is becoming a serious matter. Some Kove who I have spoken to say that certain villages will be submerged in the very near future.

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[2] I am grateful to Takaaki Kato who visited the statistics office of the provincial government of West New Britain several times to obtain this data. The number is based on government documents, which will be officially announced soon.

[3] This is based on the village where I stayed, Nutanovua, but it is common in many island villages.

Kove people traditionally have had social interaction and a flourishing trading system with other areas. In the past they would sail along the north coast of New Britain and trade with areas such as the Talasea peninsula, Bariai, Kilenge or the Siassi islands, and they not only received material goods like wooden bowls, but they also adopted dances and songs, which are commonly used during ceremonies nowadays. More recently they have had a wider range of social interactions with people in the interior or south coast of New Britain, such as the Kaulong. Also, they often travel to the provincial capital of Kimbe. The Kove area still does not have a well-maintained road access from other areas, or from Kimbe town, so the only transportation is by canoe or dinghy, and it sometimes takes a few days to reach a destination. Once people reach their destination, they usually stay in the area for awhile before returning home.

## 1.3 Kove culture

The Kove people still retain some features of traditional culture, including the payment of bride price, initiation ceremonies (circumcision),[4] mourning, end of the mourning period, and so on. These ceremonies include dancing and singing, sometimes with spirit masks, and may last for weeks or even months. Since all dances and songs are borrowed from other groups, the Kove people do not understand the meaning of the songs. The Kove community nonetheless keeps these ceremonies very active, which creates strong ties among them. In this section I will discuss two particular aspects of Kove culture.

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[4] In addition to circumcision, they formerly had a ceremony of earlobe-slitting, but they have abandoned this practice.

### 1.3.1 Kove people and culture

Ann Chowning, an anthropologist who conducted fieldwork in Kove as well as two other areas in West New Britain, reported that “the Kove (or Kombe) have the reputation of being the most difficult people in the large island of New Britain, and they rejoice in it (Chowning 1972:3).” Forty years later this reputation still persists. For example, the wife of a Kove man who is from a neighboring area told me that her mother cried for weeks when she found out that her daughter had gotten married to a Kove man. She was concerned about difficulties in her future. When the Kove man went to the village of his future wife’s family to ask their consent to the marriage, her mother was not in the village. They married with only the consent of her father, and her mother found out about it later. The wife said that she would not have been allowed to marry the Kove man if her mother had been there. This was not because of his personality, but rather because of the reputation of the Kove community for being highly demanding. Similarly, an anthropologist working in a neighboring area in West New Britain told me that the community members of that area claim that they would not let their daughters marry Kove men. In fact, this reputation has spread even further than the island of New Britain. People who have worked or had social interactions with Kove people know the difficulty of getting along with them.

Although this reputation is perhaps deserved, it is linked to specific features of their culture. One of the reasons behind this reputation is the wealth exchange system of the Kove, to which their finances are tied. Kove culture includes “an endless round of wealth exchanges (Chowning 1972:4).” A Kove man becomes involved in this “endless round” immediately after his marriage, and in particular on the many occasions marking the development of his first-born child. For instance, when his first-born child is born and enters to the village for the first time (*matapapau*), when the child leaves a place, when the child builds a house, when the child does something for the first time, or even when the child makes others happy, the family holds a ceremony and initiates a process of exchanging gifts with their relatives and other community members, which can include strings of shell money, a wooden bowl, a pig, and, nowadays, often a bag of rice, or cash. To ensure a successful ceremony all relatives must help the host. Most Kove people are involved in many ceremonies that include wealth exchanges, and this makes their lives financially difficult. In fact, some Kove people have told me that if they were in the village they would be poor, because they would always be involved in ceremonies with various relatives and other people. Because parents of areas neighboring Kove know about this cultural system, and see how their daughters could suffer from it, they resist letting their daughters marry Kove men.

Another reason for the bad reputation the Kove people have among neighboring groups is their seemingly endless expectation of obtaining things from others. Many Kove people want to “acquire reputations as a ‘rich man’” by public displays of wealth (Chowning 1972:4; Chowning personal communication).[5] In order to acquire a reputation for being rich, they do not hesitate to ask others for financial support. This often takes the form of asking others to “lend” them something. However, their concept of lending can easily be misunderstood by non-Kove, since (1) although they may ask to “borrow” something, they never return it, and (2) if you are asked to lend something, you don’t have the option of refusing.

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[5] According to one of my consultants, hosting a ceremony provides a chance to enhance one’s reputation of being rich, and people usually challenge others to host a bigger ceremony. Kove culture thus has some features that resemble the classic ‘potlatch’ of the Northwest culture area of native North America.

The last reason, based on my own observation, is that they simply help each other. The Kove people are strongly tied to each other. People who have some wealth care for and support others in their society. Because of this support, people may naturally have expectations from others who have greater wealth.

Because the knowledge of these cultural differences is widespread in New Britain, and in the rest of Papua New Guinea, the Kove people are thought to be extremely demanding of others. With these behaviors, foreign researchers as well as non-Kove Papua New Guineans often find staying in Kove difficult. However, the behavior of individual Kove is based on the cultural norms and mores of the society, which assumes that each person has an obligation to help others who need assistance.

### 1.3.2 Kove identity

When one describes Kove society, their strong ties cannot be ignored. The Kove people are strongly tied to each other on the bases of family > relatives > men's house > village > divisions of the area (East, Central and West) > Kove area. For example, if two people from different clans get into a fight, clan members support one another regardless of the cause. Likewise, when people travel and stay overnight, they always stay with members from the same men's house or the same village. It is also interesting to observe how bonds of kinship or community affect the manner in which people use transportation in the provincial capital. When people return to the Kove area from Kimbe town, they first take a public bus (truck) to get to the shore, where they take a canoe or dinghy to travel to their village. Since this "bus" does not run regularly, people must look for and hire a bus, and once they find one, they share it with others. However, "others" very often refers only to people from the same village. Even if there is space, they will tell people from another village that the bus is full. Ideally, then, the bus should be shared by people from the same village. If there is excess space, they may allow people from another village to share it. However, they are unlikely to take it with non-Kove people.

One of the foundations for strong ties in the Kove community derives from the social institution of the men's house. The men's house is a place that only initiated men may enter. While the institution of the men's house is declining in neighboring areas, the Kove still retain it. Each village has several men's houses, and each family belongs to a certain men's house.[6] Initiated men stay in their own men's house, and are not supposed to stay in other men's houses. Each men's house has its own clan and ancestor story. Also, each has its own special symbol, as well as a distinctive spirit mask, which plays an important role in ceremonies. Ideally, each men's house is exclusive and separate from others. Kove society is patrilineal,[7] so a descendant adopts the men's house of the father's side. All discussions and decisions are made in a men's house. Any ceremony is conducted at a men's house level. If somebody makes a ceremony, all members who belong to the men's house of the person must get involved and support him. Traditionally, initiated boys always stay and sleep in their men's house, rather than their family house, especially when they are young. They spend a lot of time in the men's house, where they acquire traditional knowledge and skills, rituals, stories, conventions and so on. The involvement in men's house society thus emphasizes the unity of its members and their exclusivity from others, and appears to create a strong sense of social identity. Thus, based on their society of a men's house, people create strong ties and identity in their social group.

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[6] A family house has to be built in front of their men's house.

[7] Despite being in a society with patrilineal descent groups, girls reportedly receive more ceremonial attention than boys (Chowning 1972:5).

## 1.4 Kove language

### 1.4.1 Dialects

Kove is the primary language spoken in the Kove area. Native speakers recognize three dialects: East Kove, Central Kove and West Kove. Kove people consider Central Kove "standard" Kove because it is spoken in the original settlement area, and also has been less influenced by other languages. On the other hand, both East Kove and West Kove have some influence from neighboring languages (Bakovi and Lusi respectively). Structural differences between East and West Kove are small, but some vocabulary, including basic vocabulary, may be different.

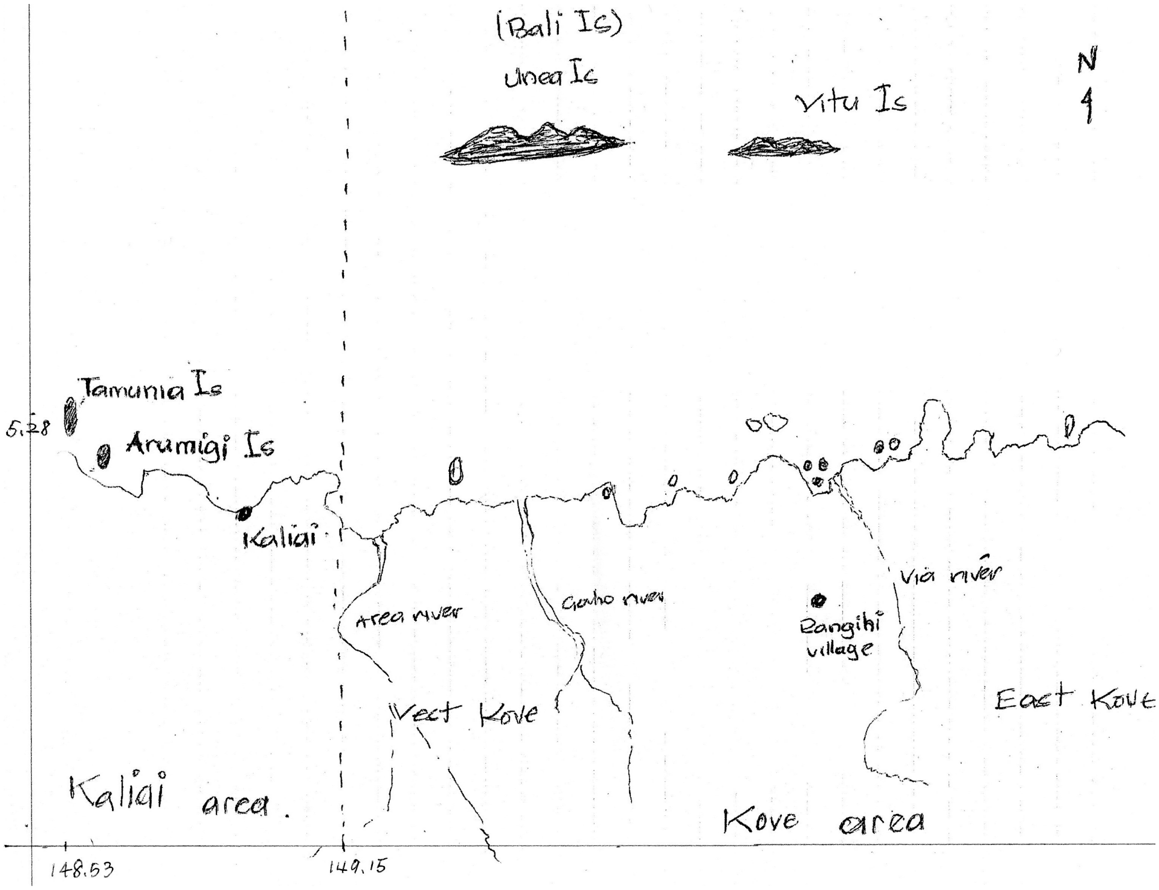
(Bali Is)
Unea Is
Vitu Is
N
Tamunia Is
5.28
Arumigi Is
Kaliai
Area river
Gaho river
Via river
Bangihi village
West Kove
East Kove
Kaliai area.
Kove area
148.53
149.15

Figure 1.3: Kove (2)

(drawn by Luke Mara)

Despite this generally clear picture there are a few issues concerning Kove dialects. One issue concerns Kove that is spoken outside the Kove area. Kove is spoken on two islands in the Kaliai area, which is west of Kove: Tamuniai Island and Arumigi Island. According to Kove people, some people from Nukakau village migrated to these two islands several decades ago. Since no linguistic data is available for these two language communities it is unclear how similar or different they are from other forms of Kove. However, according to a few Kove people who formerly lived on of the islands; Tamuniai island, the language of Tamuniai island is mutually intelligible with other forms of Kove, although it has some distinctive characteristics. It is more similar to the Kove language than to the Lusi language spoken in the Kaliai area, and the Kove community therefore calls this language "Kove". They do not make a distinction between Kove spoken in the Kove area and the one spoken on the two islands. If they specify the Kove on the islands, they simply refer it to "Kove on Tamuniai and Arumigi". However, Haywood and Haywood (1980:41) distinguish two languages. They call Kove in the Kove area "Kombe", and Kove on the islands "Kove",[8] possibly because local government councils that were established in the 1980s were called Kove East and Kove West (Thurston 1987). However, as far as I know, these councils do not exist any more, and the distinction between "Kove" and "Kombe" or "East Kove" and "West Kove" must be considered problematic. As mentioned earlier, the name, "Kombe", is used by non-Kove to refer to Kove people. The difference between "Kombe" and "Kove" is thus based on speaker perspective, not on language differences.

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[8] Ross (to appear) also makes a distinction, calling Kove in the Kove area 'East Kove', and Kove on the two islands of Kaliai 'West Kove'.

In short, the language on the two islands is classified as Kove, but has been distinguished linguistically just because it is spoken in a different administrative region.

Another issue connected with dialects of Kove is the relationship of Kove to the Lusi language, which Counts (1969) calls Kaliai-Kove. Counts mentions that Kove and Lusi are mutually intelligible, though they are different enough so that misunderstandings sometimes occur. Since they are very closely related, both Counts (1969) and Chowning (1972) have called them dialects of a single language. However, members of both communities strongly resist this claim, insisting that they speak different languages, and not dialects of a single language.

Based on native speaker reaction, then, I recognize four major Kove dialects: 1. East Kove, 2. Central Kove, 3. West Kove and 4. Kove on Tamunia and Arumigi islands.

## 1.4.2 Genetic relationship

### 1.4.2.1 Languages in West New Britain

Thirty languages are spoken in West New Britain province (Ethnologue). While most of these are Austronesian, Anem and Ata are classified as Papuan. Anem and Ata are sister languages, even though Anem is located in northwest New Britain and Ata lies about 124 miles to the east (Ross to appear:4).[9] Since there is no published material available, nothing more can be said at this point about them.

As elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, Papuan groups were the first settlers in New Britain. Archeological evidence shows that human habitation in New Britain dates from at least 35,000 BP (Spriggs 1997:47; Ross to appear:4). However, Specht suggests that the earliest settlement may not have survived, and resettlements occurred around 20,000 years ago (Ross to appear:4). Then, Austronesian speakers arrived about 3400 years ago (Ross to appear:4).

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[9] I am grateful to Dr. Malcolm Ross for sharing his paper which will be published in the Journal of Historical Linguistics in 2013. The page proofs are not yet available, so I indicate the page numbers of his manuscript.

Although Austronesian speakers arrived much later than Papuan groups, most of the inhabited areas in West New Britain are occupied by their descendants. According to Ross (to appear:4–5), this situation can be explained by both archeological and linguistic evidence. Austronesian speakers were more mobile, and had better skills for trading and farming. It is true that arboriculture appeared by about 20,000 years ago, but it is not certain if this developed into agriculture by the time Austronesian speakers arrived. In any case, the farming culture of Austronesian speakers must have been attractive to Papuan speakers, and they were able to recruit most Papuan speakers into Austronesian speaking communities.

New Britain is a part of the Bismarck Archipelago, which is generally assumed to be the homeland of Proto-Oceanic. The ancestors of Proto-Oceanic speakers migrated from eastern Indonesia through western Irian Jaya into the Bismarck archipelago, possibly around the Willaumez Peninsula (Talasea) in West New Britain between about 1400 BC and 1000 BC (Lynch 1998:56).

There are two high-order subgroups of Western Oceanic,[10] which is one of the primary brunches of Oceanic, in West New Britain (Ross 1988:19–27):

(1) Meso-Melanesian cluster

(2) North New Guinea cluster

Languages of the Meso-Melanesian cluster are mainly spoken in northeast New Britain as well as New Ireland, Bougainville and Santa Isabel in the Solomon Islands, while those of the North New Guinea cluster are spoken in northwest or southern New Britain along with languages in northeast New Guinea. Given the diversity of Austronesian languages in this region there have been several proposals, based on different types of evidence, that the Proto-Oceanic homeland included the island of New Britain (Ross 1988, Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002).[11]

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[10] Western Oceanic is made up of three clusters: Meso-Melanesian, Papuan Tip and North New Guinea.

### 1.4.2.2 The Kove language

Kove belongs to the Ngero/Vitiaz linkage, which is one of the three branches of the North New Guinea Cluster, as shown below:

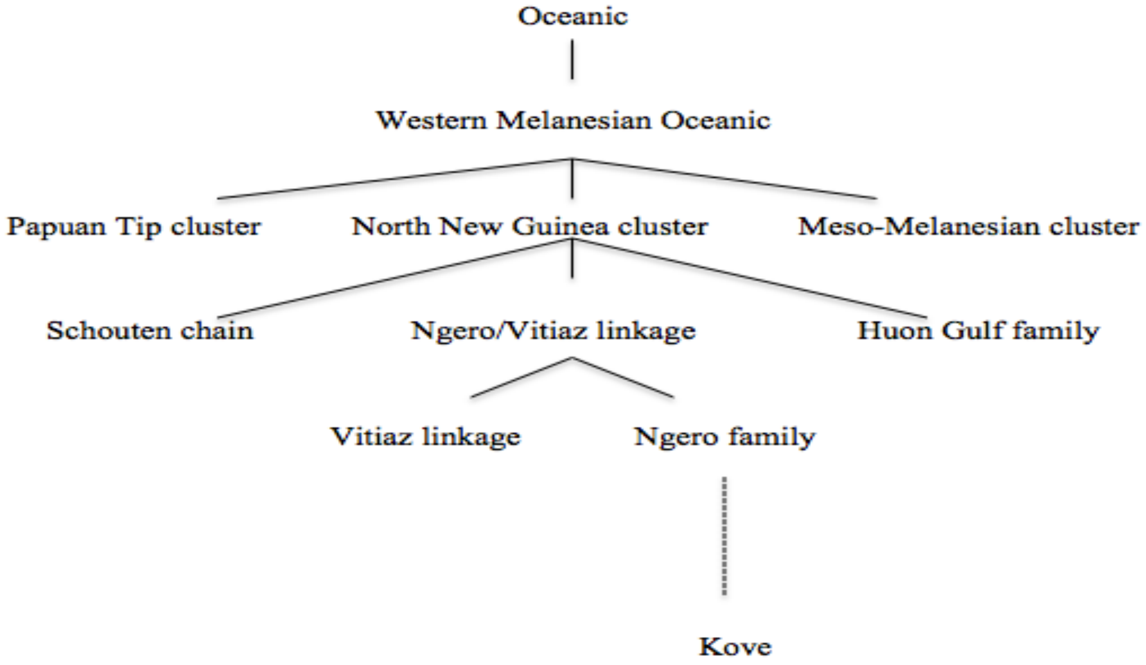
Oceanic
Western Melanesian Oceanic
Papuan Tip cluster
North New Guinea cluster
Meso-Melanesian cluster
Schouten chain
Ngero/Vitiaz linkage
Huon Gulf family
Vitiaz linkage
Ngero family
Kove

Figure 1.4: Genetic classification

(Ross 1988:122)

The Ngero/Vitiaz linkage splits into two groups: the Ngero family and Vitiaz linkage (Ross 1988:160). The Ngero family includes three languages in northwest New Britain,

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[11] Based on his lexicostatistical data, Dyen (1965) proposed that this region was the Proto-Austronesian homeland.

Bariai, Lusi and Kove, and some languages in northeast New Guinea linked by exclusively shared innovations, while the Vitiaz linkage is a collection of languages scattered along the northeast coast of New Guinea and the western part of New Britain.

The Ngero family contains eight languages: Gitua, Malalamai, Malai, Tuam, Mutu, Bariai, Lusi, and Kove (Ross 1988:160, 165). Bariai, Lusi, and Kove are spoken in northwest New Britain. Tuam, Mutu, and Malai are spoken on Umboi Island which is located between New Britain and New Guinea, and Gitua and Malalami are spoken on the Rai Coast of New Guinea. The Ngero languages are widely scattered (Ross to appear). Malalamai and Gitua are 56 miles apart, with other intervening Oceanic languages as well as Papuan languages. Furthermore, the straight-line distance between the westward extreme (Malalamai) and the eastward extreme (Kove) of this Ngero network is about 186 miles. According to Harding (1967:130–131), some people in this network had connections through a trade system, even after it broke up. Tuam and Mutu speakers operated a trade system with people in northwest and southwest New Britain. They usually voyaged to the Kilenge villages of northwest New Britain, which is the western most point of New Britain, and they met up with Kove people who brought obsidian from the Willaumez Peninsula. However, they occasionally travelled to Bariai and Kove villages.

The Ngero family consists of two groups. However, its grouping has two different proposals. The first proposal was made by Lincoln after his fieldwork on the Rai coast. He suggested that Malalamai, Gitua, Tuam and Mutu belong to one group called "eastern",[12] while Bariai, Lusi, and Kove belong to a different group called "western" (Chowning 1986:409). However, Ross classified Gitua, Tuam, Mutu, and Malai in a subgroup called the "Tuam Network" and Malalamai, Bariai, Lusi, and Kove in the "Bariai Chain" (Ross 1988:122):

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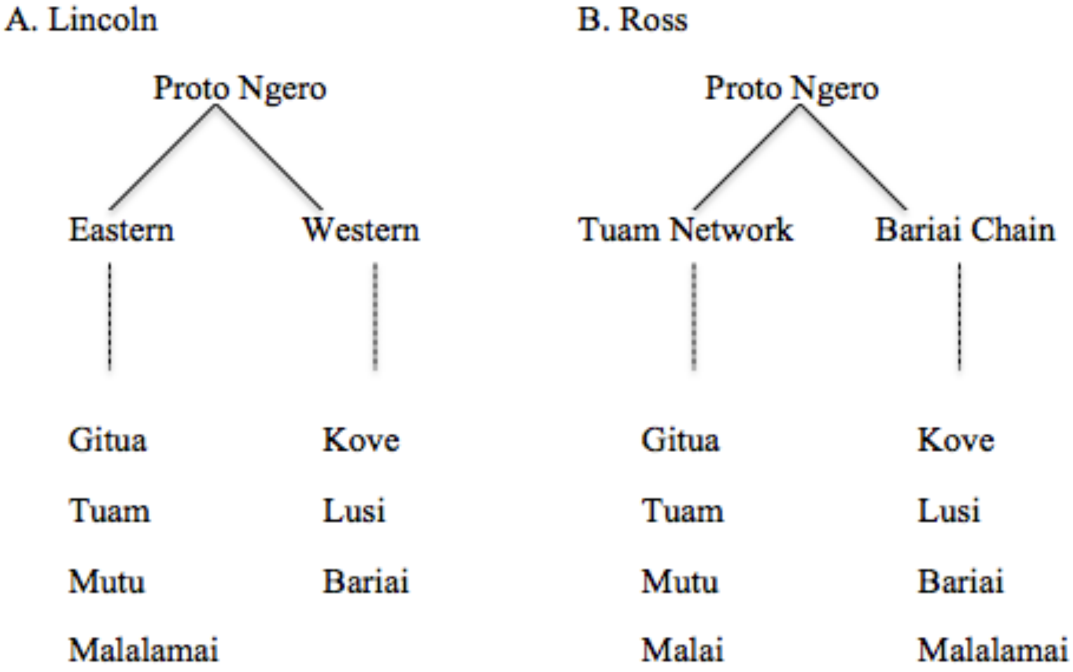
[12] Lincoln did not include Malai in the Ngero family.


A. Lincoln
Proto Ngero
Eastern
Western
Gitua
Tuam
Mutu
Malalamai
Kove
Lusi
Bariai
B. Ross
Proto Ngero
Tuam Network
Bariai Chain
Gitua
Tuam
Mutu
Malai
Kove
Lusi
Bariai
Malalamai

Based on my reconstruction of the proto Ngero, I propose that Malalamai is grouped with Gitua, Tuam, Mutu and Malai, supporting Lincoln's claim. This is based on a few shared innovations:

1. Final vowel deletion in the Tuam network: A final vowel is deleted in some lexical items in the Tuam network languages, while the final vowel remains in the Bariai chain languages.
2. A phonological innovation in **lima* 'hand' in Tuam network: The reflex of **lima* 'hand' is *nima* in all Tuam network languages, while the Bariai chain languages retain the proto form *lima*.

3. Some lexical innovations in the Tuam network: e.g. **tamine* ‘woman’ to *liwa, liβa, liβage*; **wanawana* ‘hot’ to *tuntun*, **pa* ‘give’ to *won, wam, wan*.

## 1.5 Previous work on Kove and neighboring languages

Although there exists a small amount of anthropological work, very little is known about Kove and related languages. A brief report about West New Britain appears in a survey conducted in 1926 by the provincial government in Papua New Guinea (Mack 1926). In the 1960s, the anthropologist Ann Chowning worked in the Kove area and produced articles about the language and culture. David Counts provided a grammar of Kaliai-Kove (Counts 1969). However, it is actually a grammar of Lusi (Kaliai), which is now considered a separate language from Kove. In 1988, Malcolm Ross published *Proto Oceanic and the Austronesian languages of Western Melanesia*, which gives a classification of the Western Oceanic languages including Kove. Recently, SIL produced a sketch grammar of Bariai, a related language in West New Britain (Gallagher and Baehr 2005). Thus, there are a few publications on Kove and related languages, but linguistic documentation is very limited.

## 1.6 Methods of data collection

All data used in this dissertation is exclusively based on data that I collected. I conducted six field trips and spent a total of 17 months in Papua New Guinea: October–November 2001, April–June 2002, July–September 2003, May–June 2007, July 2010–January 2011, May–August 2011. Although I have conducted fieldwork several times, the most extensive fieldwork was done in 2010 and 2011, which yielded the largest amount of data for this dissertation.

I primarily worked on Kapo village in West Kove, while I sometimes worked in Kimbe town. My first primary language consultant was the late Elizabeth Mete. I worked with her from 2001 through 2003, and collected and gathered information on phonology and grammatical structures of Kove, focusing on my analytical research on possessive structures. Sadly, Elizabeth Mete passed away in 2006. When I returned to Papua New Guinea in 2007, I worked with a few new language consultants from Kapo village who temporarily stayed in a Kove community in Kimbe town. For several reasons (c.f. Sato, forthcoming), I worked only in Kimbe town this time. Finally, I conducted two extensive fieldwork trips in 2010 and 2011 in the Kove area. When I returned to Papua New Guinea in 2010, I changed villages to Nutanovua village,[13] which is located in the extreme west of Kove because Kapo village was not as safe as before. Also, my first consultant, Elizabeth passed away and I had to find a new consultant. I chose Nutanovua village because (1) the family of Elizabeth in the village was willing to take care of me, (2) the host father (the spouse of the sister of the main consultant) is the head teacher of a primary school in the village and is respected by the community, and (3) Nutanovua village has been reported as the most safe and clean village in Kove by the provincial government. While several community members helped my work, I mainly worked with Luke Mara, Felix Mondo, John Vole and John Enos in Nutanovua village as well as Edward Meli in Kapo village. Among them, Luke Mara was the primary language consultant.

Through my fieldwork, I built a corpus of Kove. The corpus included audio and video recordings, photographs, and written texts. To build a balanced corpus, I collected audio and video recordings of narratives (myths, historical stories, legends, children's stories), public events (ceremonies, rituals), and conversations. Texts that the community allowed to be released have IPA transcriptions, interlinear glosses, and English translations. Also, some texts for the language community were annotated with a Tok Pisin translation in a Kove orthography established with the community. In addition to the corpus, I also elicited linguistic data and took notes based on observation of speakers.

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[13] Even after I change villages, I sometimes went back to Kapo village and collected data.

Naturalistic texts, elicited data, and observations have served as the basis of this dissertation.

## 1.7 Structures of the dissertation

The dissertation is a grammar of Kove that aims to describe the traditional Kove language, rather than the modern Kove that is widely used among members of the younger generation. This dissertation consists of two major parts: a descriptive grammar and a small dictionary, with some important features.

(1) Functional approach: The grammar takes a functional approach to information about phonology, phrases, sentences, and complex sentences, and it illustrates how each component works with other elements and what kind of function each component has.

(2) Rich dictionary entries: With the grammar, I provide a small dictionary. Entries in this dictionary are words that are used in the grammar, which are provided in the grammar. I include information on etymology, morphology, and semantic domains.

(3) User-friendly: I minimize the use of diacritics and special fonts. These are only used in Chapter 3 as a method of explaining the orthography. I use a phonemic

orthography to be developed in consultation with the community during my stay. This can allow the language community to use the grammar and dictionary.

The dissertation includes 11 chapters, as follows: chapter 2 discusses sociolinguistic perspectives and language endangerment. Chapter 3 presents phonology including the phonemes of the language, syllable structures, borrowing and sound changes. Chapter 4 provides a grammatical profile. Chapters 5, and 6 examine noun phrases, while chapters 7 and 8 look at verb phrases and prepositional phrases, respectively. Chapter 9 discusses verbless sentences. Finally, chapters 10 and 11 address simple sentences and complex sentences, respectively.

Along with the contribution to the field of linguistics, it is anticipated that the outcome of the project will directly benefit the Kove community in the long term. It is my hope that the grammar and dictionary will serve as the basis for their educational materials and will help promote literacy in the long term.

# Chapter 2
# Sociolinguistic perspectives and language endangerment

## 2.1 The linguistic situation in Kove

The Kove language was well maintained until recently. Although Kove people traditionally contacted others through trading, the Kove area was isolated and did not have much influence from outside. Therefore, the language was actively used in daily life in the past. However, the language situation has started to change very rapidly. As mentioned above (see 1.2), the total population in Kove is 9,809. However, this number does not reflect the number of speakers. Many members of the community no longer speak their heritage language fluently. Rather, most Kove people have begun to use English, and especially Tok Pisin in their daily life.

The elder or late middle-aged generations (over fifty) communicate among themselves and with their children and grandchildren in Kove. When they talk to their grandchildren, they may intermingle their first language with Tok Pisin, but they are more confortable using Kove. However, the early middle-aged and younger generations tend to switch to Tok Pisin, even when they communicate among themselves. In particular, when school age children speak among themselves, they mainly use Tok Pisin. Also, they may use it when speaking to their parents. Much parent-child communication involves code-switching between Kove and Tok Pisin.

One reason why people tend to use Tok Pisin in their daily life is an increased interaction with people who speak other languages as the result of transportation developments. Kove people have long had social interaction and a great trading system with other areas such as the Talasea peninsula, Bariai, Kilenge or the Siassi islands (see also 1.4). However, their purpose in the past was trade, and canoes were their only transportation. They experienced different weather and winds, depending on the season. Therefore, they would read the direction of the winds, and once they reached their destination, they stayed until the direction of the winds changed, which usually takes about 4 months. Given enough time to acquire a language, local languages probably were used as interethnic communication tools before Tok Pisin was widely available. Once Tok Pisin was spread out, they started to use it as a lingua franca. However, not all community members were involved in trading voyages. Only certain people, mainly males, were involved in trading. Therefore, most Kove people did not acquire Tok Pisin until recently, and it did not influence the Kove language.

However, recently, people have come to have greater mobility due to modern transportation. Although the Kove area still does not have maintained road access from other areas or the capital of West New Britain Province (Kimbe town), the development of marine transportation and greater access to fuel means that people now can easily get to areas where other languages are spoken, including the capital, where significant linguistic diversity is found. Nowadays, they often go to Kimbe town and stay there for long periods. While Kove people tend to stay in a Kove community while in Kimbe town, they nevertheless also have interactions with people from various areas, and their means of communication is Tok Pisin. Moreover, although they may use Kove in the Kove community of Kimbe town, the more time they spend in town, the more they tend to use Tok Pisin, even within the Kove community. This phenomenon is especially found among the younger generation who do not hesitate to use Tok Pisin when among Kove people. Thus, the developing marine transportation and increasing social interaction with non-Kove speakers means that use of the lingua franca is increasing, and further, it also accelerates use of the lingua franca in the home community.

Another reason for this language shift is educational development. During the period of Australian administration in colonial New Guinea, the language of schooling was exclusively English. This policy was carried over in 1975 when PNG became an independent state, and continued until recently. In 1993, PNG education policy shifted from using English exclusively to a system of vernacular instruction for the first three years of school (EFA 2000 Assessment Country Report). However, whether a school adopts this system or not, and also how it operates the system, depends on the individual community. In Kove, there are five primary schools for 18 villages, and there is no secondary school. The educational system is different in each school, and so cannot easily be summarized. However, a school near the village where I stay started using Kove as an educational language just a few years ago, and only for the first and second years. What's more, this does not mean that they teach the Kove language or Kove culture, but only that they use Kove as an instructional language, in addition to Tok Pisin, because they think that mother-tongue education helps students acquire literacy and other academic skills more easily. After the third year, they use only English in the classroom. Outside the classroom, they use Tok Pisin commonly. Although not all children go to school even today, and not many continue after primary school, more Kove do go to school now than in the past, but unfortunately, English is the language of instruction, and so people are more likely to learn English nowadays. This situation in a school society acts as a space where young people are detached from Kove.

The last reason to shift Tok Pisin is intermarriage. Some Kove are married to non-Kove speakers. They typically do not speak Kove at home, and their children grow up as first-language learners of Tok Pisin. For instance, one of the local school teachers is married to a non-Kove speaker. While his wife can understand Kove, they primarily use Tok pisin at home. As a result, their two children (3 and 5 years old) have grown up as first-language speaker of Tok Pisin. Since people outside the family know this situation, they, including their small friends, also primarily talk to the children in Tok Pisin.

Thus, Tok Pisin has begun threaten Kove in the daily life of the community. Indeed, Tok Pisin is the common language used in villages, particularly, on occasions when people gather, such as at schools, ceremonies, village council or Church.

## 2.2 Language endangerment

The development of increasing social interaction with non-Kove speakers and the development of English education, as well as increasing intermarriage are causing language change and language endangerment. In this section, I will discuss language endangerment as this affects Kove, focusing language ability and fluency, and community attitudes toward the language.

A UNESCO Ad-hoc expert group has discussed indicators for the assessment of language vitality and the language situation of an endangered language with reference to nine core factors (Brenzinger 2007:x–xi):

Table 2.1: The assessment of language vitality and the language situation

| | |
|---|---|
| Factor 1 | Intergenerational language transmission |
| Factor 2 | Absolute numbers of speakers |
| Factor 3 | Proportion of speakers within the total population |
| Factor 4 | Loss of existing language domains |
| Factor 5 | Response to new domains and media |
| Factor 6 | Materials for language education and literacy |
| Factor 7 | Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official language status and use |
| Factor 8 | Community members' attitudes towards their own language |
| (Factor 9) | (Amount and quality of documentation) |

By applying these factors, the UNESCO report has proposed a 5 to 0 grading scale: grade 5 shows that all members of the community are speakers of the heritage language, while grade 0 indicates that all speakers of the language have passed away.

I apply these indicators to Kove here. Furthermore, I compare the situation of 2011 with the situation of 1960s and see how the language situation has changed. Note that the comparison of contemporary grading to the situation of the 1960s is based on observations of one main language consultant:

Table 2.2: The assessment of language vitality and the language situation in Kove

| Factors | Grading (1960s) | Grading (2011) | Situation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Factor 1 | 5 | 3 | The language is not being learned at home, but yet, children may speak the language |
| Factor 2 | 5 | 3 | It is hard to provide the number of speakers; various level of fluency |
| Factor 3 | 5 | 2-3 | Half of the population still speaks the language properly |
| Factor 4 | 5 | 2 | Tok Pisin takes over as the main language in public domains |
| Factor 5 | - | 0 | It is not used in any new domains |
| Factor 6 | 0 | 0-1 | No language materials for language education except for the orthography that we established together |
| Factor 7 | 0 | 2 | PNG educationed policy allows vernacular instruction for the first three years of school |
| Factor 8 | - | 0-1 | Very few speakers are concerned with language loss |
| Factor 9 | 0 | 0 | There are no language materials |

Factors 1 to 3 indicate the ability and fluency of the speakers. It is hard to provide the proportion of speakers because their levels of fluency are varied. However, I estimate that half of the population still speaks the language "properly". Factors 4, 5 and 8 relate to the concerns of the speakers about their language. Unfortunately, we do not have any way to know the concerns of speakers in the 1960s. However, I assume that almost all people spoke the language, but nowadays, very few speakers are concerned with language change and loss. Most people are indifferent toward their language. Factors 6, 7, and 9 deal with the language policy and maintenance. Compared with the situation of the 1960s, the situation seems to be improving, although there are no language materials. From the results, it is obvious that the vitality of Kove is rapidly decreasing as a result of a switch to Tok Pisin, less fluency in the first language, limited domains of use and little concern about preservation. The main concerns for the future of Kove are the ability and fluency of the speakers, and their attitudes toward their language. In the next part, I will discuss these two main matters.

### 2.2.1 Language ability and fluency

During my fieldwork in Kove, I saw several indications that the language is threatened by Tok Pisin and English.

(1) One is that the languages spoken differ between generations and genders, as follows.

(K=Kove, T=Tok Pisin, E=English)

| | 0-10 | 20-30 | 30-40 | 40-65 | +65 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | T, K | (K), T, E | K, T, E | K, T, (E) | K, T |
| Female | T, K | (K), T, E | K, T, (E) | K, T | K (T) |

This chart tells us that the use of Tok Pisin and English has increased recently among Kove people. For example, an elderly woman may speak only the Kove language, a middle-aged woman may speak Kove and Tok Pisin, and some middle-aged men might speak English in addition to Kove and Tok Pisin. Among younger people, it is common to speak all three of these languages. However, it is noticeable that language competence in Kove, particularly, among people in their 20s and 30s is being lost, even though they acquired Kove when they were younger. They tend to use Tok Pisin with each other and to use both Tok Pisin and Kove in conversation. From my observations, community members, especially in the younger generation, are rapidly losing language competence in their heritage language.

(2) A second indication of language endangerment is the change in abilities of language performance and loss of language fluency demonstrated in daily life. The following chart was made both by my main consultant, Luke Mara, and me, based on our observations of the current situation.

(K=Kove, T=Tok Pisin, E=English; '<' indicates that the language on the right is stronger than the language on the left. '=' indicates that the language on the both sides is equally strong.)

| 0-10 | 10-20 | 20-30 | 30-40 | 40-50 | 50-60 | 60- |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| T=K | E<K<T | E<K<T | E<K<T | E<T<K | (E)<T<K | (T)<K |

Kove is still the primary language among most people in their 40s or above. However, most fluent speakers are in their 50s or older. Although people in their 40s still have some language competence in Kove, they can produce only basic vocabulary and simple sentences. Moreover, some of them may be more comfortable using Tok Pisin than Kove. As seen in the chart, the language proficiency of the younger and middle generations has shifted to Tok Pisin, though they still have acquired Kove. Since these generations are the parents of the children of 10 and younger, their children acquire both Kove and Tok Pisin equally, unlike in the past when Kove was the primary language among preschool children.

According to the consultant, this situation will change in the 2020s, and his assumption is that it will follow the pattern of the chart below:

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-10 | 10-20 | 20-30 | 30-40 | 40-50 | 50-60 | 60- |
| T | **(K)<E<T** | **K<E<T** | **K<E<T** | **K<E<T** | E<T<K | T<K |

The consultant made three points here: (1) Even though children who are younger than 10 are acquiring Kove right now, they will likely lose their competence in Kove in the next decade. (2) People between their teens and their 40s will likely use Tok Pisin or even English; furthermore, even if they still use Kove, their Kove may have lots of mistakes. (3) Although older people will likely keep Kove as their primary language, they will have difficulty correcting mistakes made by younger speakers.

Hence, Kove has started to experience domination by Tok Pisin or English, and so Kove has begun to be endangered. This situation has penetrated the daily life of the villages. My main consultant says that the daily conversation in the villages will be held only in Tok Pisin and English after 2020, and that the timing of my work on Kove is crucial.

## 2.3 The community's attitude toward language

In addition to a reduction in speaking fluency among younger people, another factor that can be used to judge the endangerment of Kove is the community's attitudes toward their own language. In my experience, it seems that most members of the community are indifferent and/or have a negative attitude toward their language. Parents avoide using Kove with their children and don't teach the language to them. People do not care whether the language is spoken or not. In this section I will describe my experiences and observations about their attitudes toward the language.

First, the indifferent language attitudes are found in the language use of parents to their children. One day, a consultant said the following sentence to her daughter who was about 8 years old:

(2-1) wasim ahe-mu
wash leg-2SG.POSS
'Wash your legs.'

While *ahe-mu* is a Kove word, *wasim* is a loanword from Tok Pisin. Obviously, she used both Kove and Tok Pisin to her daughter in one sentence. I asked her why she used both Tok Pisin and Kove in the same sentence. She answered that if she used only Kove, her daughter would not fully understand. She also noted that especially when she is angry with her children or when she wants to make a statement strongly, she uses Tok Pisin, rather than Kove. Otherwise, her children cannot understand what she tells them. Similarly, when another consultant was angry with his son, who was about 16 years old, he used only Tok Pisin in his argument. His son has good understanding of Kove. However, the consultant still used only Tok Pisin, instead of Kove, because he thought that his son had better understanding of Tok Pisin than Kove. In fact, this is true of many of the community members. In my corpus, when people are angry or have conversations on serious issues, they use Tok Pisin to their children or people of the younger generation. I asked several parents about their language use to their children. They said that they know that their children haven't acquired Kove fully. The important thing is that their children fully understand, in particular, when they scold or have serious conversations, so most parents must choose Tok Pisin for communication with their children. Although they notice the competence of their children in Kove, most of them are not interested in teaching them the language. My main language consultant teaches Kove and corrects mistakes to his children as well as others. However, nobody else does. They do not care whether their children speak Kove or Tok Pisin, because they can communicate with their children in any case.

Here is a more serious case that shows that the community is indifferent to the language. I talked to several speakers of the older generations about the language situation in Kove both in 2007 and 2010. I explained my observation that people, especially younger generation speakers, are losing Kove. They all agreed with my opinion. However, their reaction was: “What is wrong if they lose Kove?” They know that people are shifting to Tok Pisin, but they are not concerned. They do not care whether people speak Kove or not, and they are not interested in preserving Kove. They do not think anything changes even if they lose their language. I also talked to the school teachers about the language loss. They, like others, are aware of it. However, their reply was: “We cannot control the current situation and people are now creating a new mixed language.”

As in many other marginalized minority communities, many Kove people are not aware of the imminent threat to their language. There are some community members who have noticed that the language is losing speakers, but they do not care whether their language is spoken or not. They are not aware of the importance of the language. Even if they have noticed the endangerment of their language, they do not act to maintain it.

# Chapter 3

# Phonology

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the phonology of Kove, discussing the phonemes, syllable structure, stress, reduplication, and adaptive phonology in borrowing. I also examine sound changes from Proto Oceanic.

Kove has at least seventeen consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes, as seen in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Kove phonemes

Consonants:

| | Bilabial | Labiovelar | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stops | p b | | t d | | k g | |
| Prenasalized stops | (mb) | | (nd) | | | |
| Nasals | m | | n | | ŋ | |
| Fricatives | β | | s | | ɣ | h |
| Approximant[14] | | | ɹ | | | |
| Lateral approximant | | | l | | | |
| Glides | | w | | j | | |

Vowels:

| | Front | Central | Back |
|---|---|---|---|
| High | i | | u |
| Mid | e | | o |
| Low | | a | |

---

[14] This class does not include lateral approximants and glides (semivowels) here.

## 3.1 Orthography

Recently, some elementary schools in Kove have begun to implement vernacular language education in Kove, using an orthography that was established by elementary school teachers who were neither native speakers of Kove nor trained in linguistics. While conducting my fieldwork, I noticed that their orthographic system was a combination of phonemes and allophones that shows dialect mixture. In fact, some teachers at the elementary school in Nutanovua village, where I conducted fieldwork, were confused by it because some graphemes correspond to sounds that do not appear in the West Kove dialect that they speak. Therefore, in consultation with the teachers of the elementary school in Nutanovua village, I suggested spelling possibilities to choose from, and based on community insight, I created an orthographic system, which is shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Phoneme and grapheme correspondence

| Phoneme | /a/ | /e/ | /i/ | /o/ | /u/ | /p/ | /b/ | /t/ | /d/ | /k/ | /g/ | /mb/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grapheme | a | e | i | o | u | p | b | t | d | k | g | mb |
| Phoneme | /nd/ | /m/ | /n/ | /ŋ/ | / β / | /s/ | / ɣ / | / h / | /r/ | /l/ | /w/ | /j/ |
| Grapheme | nd | m | n | ng | v | s | gh | h | r | l | w | y |

Although I use phonetic symbols for phonetic representations, I use this orthography for phonemes throughout this dissertation. When Kove words are embedded in English text, I use italics to distinguish them, but in formal derivations I use phonemic or phonetic symbols.

## 3.2 Consonants

The discussion of Kove consonants is challenging because the language is undergoing sound change through the influence of Tok Pisin and English. Also, the status of a few phonemes listed here is debatable. Keeping these qualifications in mind, the consonants use six place features, and are discussed by manner of articulation in turn below.

### 3.2.1 Stops

None of the stops are aspirated. They contrast voicing at labial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation. Minimal pairs for the voiced stops and phonetically similar fricatives are given below.

b / v

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *bulo* | 'to tell a lie' | *vulo* | 'kidnap' |
| *bila* | 'habit' | *vila* | 'fish eggs' |

g / gh

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *galiki* | 'girl's name' | *ghaliki* | 'spider' |
| *gogo* | 'shame on you' | *ghogho* | 'chest' |

While each stop occurs with any vowel, my corpus contains very few voiced stops. In particular, the voiced velar stop *g* usually appears in non-basic vocabulary or personal names.[15]

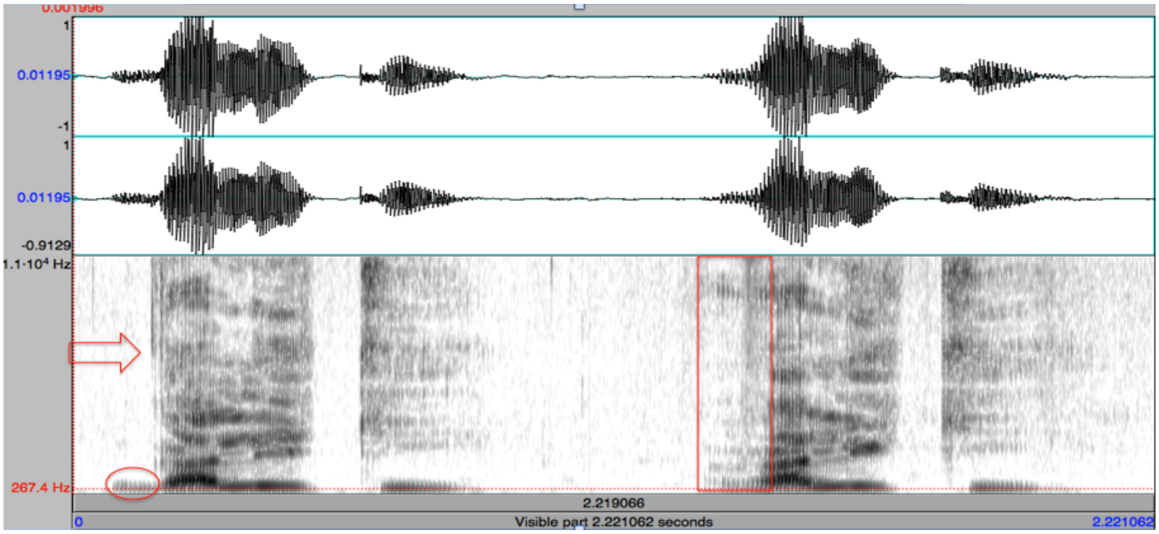
Based on my observations, while /b/ is clearly distinguished from /v/, the voiced velar stop *g* has begun to merge with the voiced velar fricative *gh*, especially among younger speakers. Since the voiced velar fricative is much more frequent than the voiced velar stop, people often unconsciously pronounce *g* as [ɣ].

---

[15] According to Counts (1969:39), the voiced velar stop and fricative in Lusi are allophones of a single phoneme that he writes as /ɣ/.

Figure 3.1 is a Praat spectrogram of a minimal pair, recorded by my main consultant, who is in his 50s. The left side is *galiki* 'girl's name', and the right side *ghaliki* 'spider'.

Figure 3.1: Praat representation of *galiki* and *ghaliki*



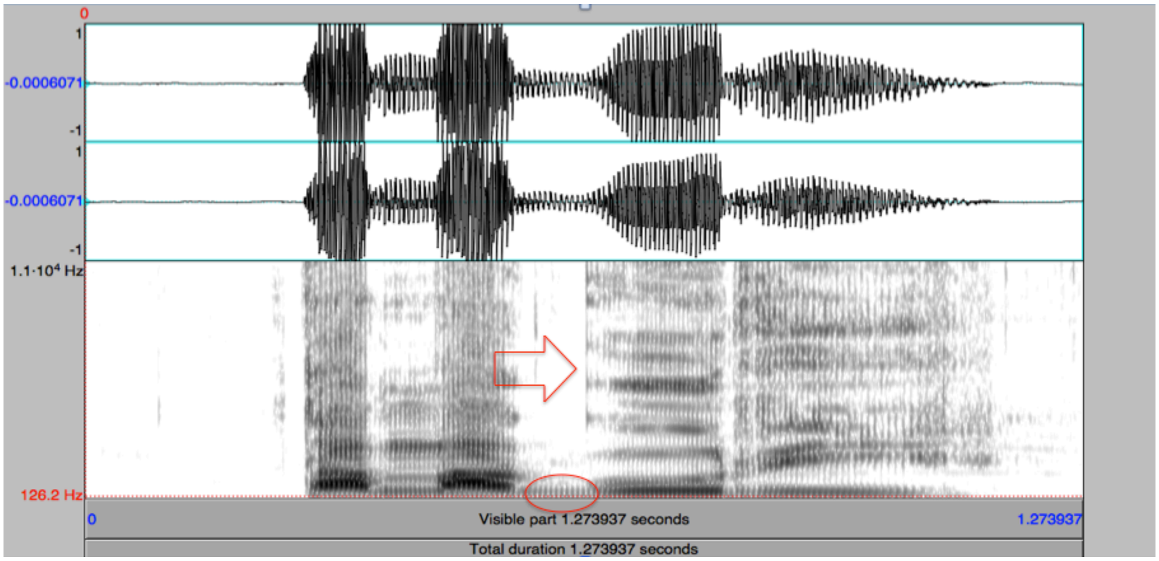
The spectrogram shows a clear distinction between *g* and *gh*:

(1) The first segment on the left side, *g*, has only the voiced bar, which is shown by a circle. Moreover, as marked by the arrow, it shows a sudden burst.

(2) The first segment on the right side, *gh*, has some formants, shown by a square, and it shows a gradual onset.

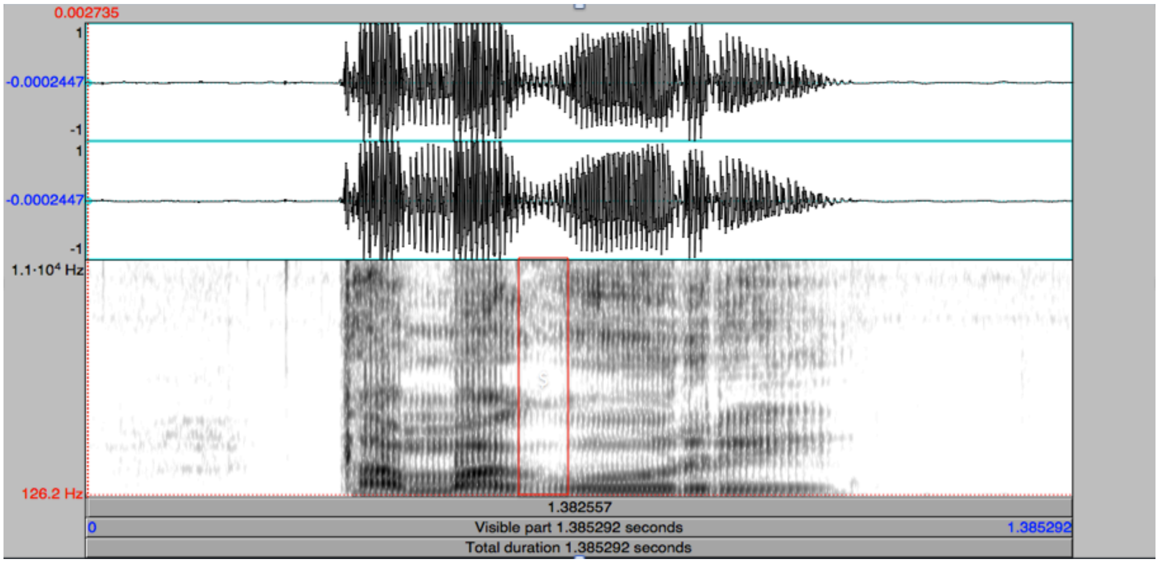
The features of *g* are also seen in the next figure, which is a spectrogram of *tamaguri* 'rainbow', recorded by the same consultant. Like the left side of Figure 3.1, Figure 3.2 has only the voiced bar and shows a sudden burst.

Figure 3.2: Praat representation of *tamaguri*: Older speaker


0
1
-0.0006071
-1
1
-0.0006071
-1
$1.1\cdot10^4$ Hz
126.2 Hz
0
Visible part 1.273937 seconds
1.273937
Total duration 1.273937 seconds

However, Figure 3.3 shows a different structure for the same word, *tamaguri*, recorded by a language consultant in his late 20s. As indicated by the square, the segment of *g* has more forms, and its structure is similar to that of a fricative. Note that both examples of *g* are in the same environment.

Figure 3.3: Praat representation of *tamaguri*: Younger speaker


0.002735
1
-0.0002447
-1
1
-0.0002447
-1
$1.1\cdot10^4$ Hz
126.2 Hz
1.382557
0
Visible part 1.385292 seconds
1.385292
Total duration 1.385292 seconds

Younger speakers who show the merger appear to lack awareness of it, and older speakers, who are aware of the difference between the two sounds, do not correct the mispronunciations of the young people. Although they still know what the distinction is when they see the sounds written, it is usual for the stop to change to the fricative in young people's speech, which is one of the indications of language change in Kove.

### 3.2.2 Prenasalized stop

Words containing prenasalized stops amount to less than 0.1% of my corpus. They are:

*kambu* 'paternal uncle, uncle (in general), friend, colleague'
*tambaka* 'old woman' (Note that this is sometimes pronounced [tabaka].)

Chowning (1973:194–95; 1986:410–411) analyzes the prenasalized stops as word-medial allophones of the plain voiced stops. However, this rule is not clearly supported in my data. First of all, as mentioned above, there is little data on either the plain voiced or prenasalized stops. Also, plain voiced stops usually occur initially, and only rarely in intervocalic position. Furthermore, contrary to what Chowning says, voiced stops in the following words may not be prenasalized:

*bubu* 'cloud'
*balubalu* 'chin'
*didinga* 'wall'
*gaugau* 'fog'
*tamaguri* 'rainbow'
*gogosala* 'epileptic seizure'

Although all of the above words are reduplicated, except for *tamaguri*, they should be prenasalized if there is a rule that prenasalizes voiced stops intervocalically. Chowning collected her data in the 1960s, and I conducted fieldwork between 2001 and 2011, so it is possible that the plain stops used to be prenasalized, but have since merged with their plain voiced counterparts. Given the limited data relevant to this question in my corpus, it is uncertain whether prenasalized stops are allophones of the plain stops or not.

While the status of prenasalized stops in Kove in unclear, some related languages do have such segments. For example, Lusi, spoken adjacent to Kove (see chapter 1), has three prenasalized stops $^{m}b$, $^{n}d$, $^{ŋ}g$ (Counts 1969:3–37). However, it does not have plain voiced stops. While most words containing prenasalized stops in Lusi are proper nouns such as personal names or place names, there are some very common nouns with prenasalized stops, which may correspond to either prenasalized stops, plain stops, or fricatives in Kove, as follows:

| | Lusi | Kove | meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| /mb/ | | | |
| mb – mb | kambu | kambu | ‘uncle’ |
| mb – b | mbumbu | bubu | ‘cloud’ |
| mb – v | mbomboŋi | vongivongi | ‘morning’ |
| /nd/ | | | |
| nd – d | ndoko | doko | ‘good’ |

I could not find a cognate set illustrating a Kove correspondence for the Lusi prenasalized velar stop.

Another closely related language that has prenasalized stops is Gitua, spoken on the Morobe coast of mainland New Guinea. Kove, Lusi, and Gitua belong to what has been called “the Ngero subfamily” (see 1.4.2). According to Chowning (1986:410–414), Gitua has four voiced prenasalized stops: *mb*$^w$, *mb*, *nd*, *ŋg*, but does not have voiced plain stops. These prenasalized stops correspond to fricatives in Kove except for *d*, which corresponds to *r*, as follows:[16]

| | Gitua | Kove | meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| mb – v | mbombokoro<br>mbaŋge<br>mbiaŋa | vovo<br>vaghevaghe<br>vianga | 'butterfly'<br>'wing'<br>'flying fox' |
| nd - r | -nda<br>ndoŋgi<br>pundi | -ra<br>roghi<br>puri | '1PL.INCL.POSS'<br>'betel pepper'<br>'banana' |
| ŋg - gh | ŋgaya<br>-ŋgu<br>waŋga | ghaya<br>-ghu<br>wagha | 'pig'<br>'1SG.POSS'<br>'canoe' |

Thus, while prenasalized stops are common in some related languages, Kove has very few examples of such segments, and it is debatable whether they are part of the phoneme inventory. Rather, since the prenasalized stops in related languages usually correspond to other phonemes in Kove, it is likely that prenasalized stops underwent sound changes in pre-Kove, and the current prenasalized stops in Kove are the result of borrowing.[17]

### 3.2.3 Nasals

Nasals contrast at bilabial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation: *m*, *n*, *ŋ*. They occur both word-initially and medially. Contrastive pairs are given below for the nasals and phonetically similar segments:

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[16] Gitua data were provided by Peter C. Lincoln. I have modified his orthography for the sake of uniformity.

[17] *kambu* 'paternal uncle, uncle, friend, colleague' and *tambaka* 'old woman' are used to refer to people in general, instead of kin terms.

m / n

| | |
|---|---|
| *momo* ‘sago’ | *nono* ‘cook’ |

n / ng

| | |
|---|---|
| *tani* ‘follow’ | *tangi* ‘cry’ |

ng / gh

| | |
|---|---|
| *nga* ‘preposition’ | *gha* ‘conjunction’ |
| *vongi* ‘night’ | *voghi* ‘tusk of a pig’ |
| *ngongo* ‘snivel’ | *ghogho* ‘chest’ |

## 3.2.4 Fricatives

The fricatives in Kove are *v*, *s*, *gh*, and *h*. The following are minimal pairs for *h* and zero (see 3.2.1 for minimal pairs with other fricatives):

h / Ø

| | |
|---|---|
| *hea* ‘sister-in-law (woman speaking)’ | ea ‘brother-in-law (man speaking)’ |
| *hai* ‘south-east winds from the bush to the sea’ | *ai*- ‘3SG.POSS’ |

Ross (1988:165) also lists the voiced alveolar fricative *z*. However, I have never heard this. Instead, *z* in Ross’s work corresponds to *r* in my data:

| Ross | Sato | Meaning |
|---|---|---|
| -zi | -ri | ‘3PL.OBJ’ ‘3PL.POSS’ |
| talize | talire | ‘nut tree sp. *Terminalia*’ |
| aziu | ariu | ‘adze’ |
| kaiza | kaira | ‘tongs’ |
| kozae | korae | ‘mango’ |

According to Ross (personal communication), his data are from a Kove speaker from Motuvu village in East Kove. However, it is unclear whether the East Kove dialect has the voiced alveolar fricative, since all of my language consultants said that no Kove dialect has it. Furthermore, *z* was not recorded even as an allophone of *r*. Therefore, it is uncertain whether Kove has a voiced alveolar fricative.

### 3.2.5 Liquids

Kove has two liquids, an alveolar lateral *l* and an alveolar approximant *r*. Contrastive pairs are as follows:

l / r

| | |
|---|---|
| *vula* 'shell necklace' | *vura* 'rotten meat' |
| *malo* 'clothes' | *maro* 'how' |

Chowning (1986) describes the Kove rhotic consonant as an alveolar fricative. However, I consider it an alveolar approximant or, alternatively, a retroflex approximant in the standard dialect (Central Kove, see 1.4.1). While it is an approximant in central Kove, it is very often pronounced as an alveolar trill in West Kove, where I conducted fieldwork. Indeed, speakers are also aware of this phenomenon.[18] The use of an alveolar trill in the Western dialect of Kove may be due in part to influence from Lusi, which is adjacent to West Kove. Lusi has two rhotic consonants, an alveolar flap *r* and an alveolar trill *r̃* (c.f. Counts 1969:44–48, whose orthography I follow here). While the alveolar flap

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[18] Interestingly, the dialect distinction in rhotic consonants seems to reflect local identity. One of the consultants from Central Kove, who has lived since 1969 in West Kove, still refuses to use the trill. He said that use of the approximant demonstrates his identification with his place of origin.

*ɾ* in Lusi corresponds to the alveolar approximant in Kove, the trill *r̃* in Lusi corresponds to *h* in Kove:

| | Kove | Lusi | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| r - ɾ | rara<br>rio | ɾaɾa<br>ɾio | ‘to pull’<br>‘to go down’ |
| h - r̃ | hai<br>hua | r̃ai<br>r̃ua | ‘south-east winds from the bush to the sea’<br>‘two’ |

In addition to the influence of Lusi, there may also be influence from Tok Pisin on the Kove rhotic consonant. I have observed that the rhotic consonant of Tok Pisin is a trill in the West New Britain area. Since most people have been exposed heavily to Tok Pisin, its trilled rhotic could influence their Kove.

In fact, the change of quality in the rhotic consonant is not a recent phenomenon. Chowning observed it during her fieldwork in the 1960s, and reported that “the trilled pronunciation may represent Kaliai (=Lusi) influence” (Chowning 1986:410). I assume that it had already begun in the 1960s due to the influence of Lusi, but has become more common recently because of the additional influence from Tok Pisin.

### 3.2.6 Glides

It is often very difficult to distinguish glides and vowels phonemically and phonetically (Odden 2005:26). Kove has two glides, the labiovelar *w* and the palatal *y*. Both sounds appear word-initially and intervocalically.

intervocalic /w/: /wagha/ ‘canoe’, /waro/ ‘sun’, /wahira/ ‘past’
Intervocalic /w/: /awa/ ‘mouth’, /hawa/ ‘grass skirt’, /awaha/ ‘rain’
Intervocalic /y/: /yangoyango/ ‘yellow’, /yau/ ‘1SG.IND’, /yai/ ‘locative’
Intervocalic /y/: /ghaya/ ‘pig’, /tamaya/ ‘fish sp.’ , /moyoyo/ ‘hung’

In my data, /w/ appears only before /a/, and /y/ appears only before /a/ and /o/.

Labiovelar and palatal glides are commonly allophones of *u* and *i* respectively, or are automatically inserted in certain environments in many languages. In fact, Kove native speakers do not have glides as phonemes in their mental lexicon. When I request them to write the language, they use “u” and “i” to write *w* and *y* respectively. Chowning (1986:411) states that “in Kove, /w/ certainly exists as a separate phoneme, but cannot usually be distinguished from pre-vocalic /u/, so that there is uncertainty about the spelling of some words. Kove /y/ may not be a separate phoneme, usually being heard as /e/ or /i/ in slow speech.” Therefore, it is debatable whether the glides I have written as /w/ and /y/ are phonemes, or if they are allophones of *u* and *i*. However, for the reasons given below, I posit labiovelar and palatal glides as phonemes, except where they occur as automatic transitions between vowels as a result of glide insertion.

### 3.2.6.1 Glides as phonemes

There are three reasons to treat glides as phonemes, as follows.

(1) Reflexes of Proto-Oceanic (POc):

The labiovelar and palatal glides are reflexes of Proto-Oceanic **w* and **y* respectively (see more detail in 3.8). According to Blust (2009:595), **w* and **y* are reconstructed in both Proto-Malayo-Polynesian and Proto-Oceanic, and they are inherited from Proto-Austronesian. However, **w* did not occur adjacent to a rounded vowel and **y* did not occur adjacent to a palatal vowel, a phonotactic constraint that is inherited in many daughter languages. Kove has a reflex of POc **w* and **y*, as follows. Furthermore, they inherited the phonotactic constraint.

POc **waga* > Kove *wagha* 'canoe', POc **waRoc* 'vine, liana' > Kove *waho* 'string, rope'
POc **waRisa* > Kove *wahira* 'day before yesterday'
POc **yaŋo* > Kove *yango* 'turmeric', POc **mayaq* > Kove *mamaya* 'shame'

(2) Non-derived forms:

The second reason to treat glides as phonemes is that some glides are not conditioned. They are not derived from the phonological processes which will be discussed in 3.2.6.2 and 3.3.2.

(3) Stress placement

The last reason is based on stress placement. Stress always falls on the penultimate syllable in Kove, as in [talíŋa] 'ear', [ejái] 'fire', and [ejáu] 'water' (see 3.5.1). However, if the penultimate element is a glide, stress falls on the preceding vowel, as in [áwa] 'mouth', [háwa] 'grass skirt', [ɣája] 'pig', and [mojójo] 'hung'. The glides never carry stress, and this clearly shows that these elements are not syllabic. Therefore, they are not allophones of /u/ and /i/, as would be the case in /*aua/, /*haua/, /*ghaia/, /*moioio/.

### 3.2.6.2 Glides as automatic transitions

While some glides are separate phonemes, others are automatic transitions, as seen below.

Labiovelar glide insertion:

Ø → [w] / $V_i$ _______ $V_{ii}$
+round -round
-high

/hua/ → [hu$^w$a] ‘two’
/oroa/→ [oro$^w$a] ‘grass skirt’

Palatal glide insertion:

Ø → [j] / $V_i$ _______ $V_{ii}$
-low
-round

haia→ [hai$^j$a] ‘ginger’
io → [i$^j$o] ‘a tool for processing sago’
amiu → [ami$^j$u] ‘2PL’

This insertion may occur at a morpheme boundary:

u-ani haninga → [u$^w$ani haniŋa] ‘You eat (ate) food.’
2SG.SBJ-eat food
i-ani haninga → [i$^j$ani haniŋa] ‘He/she/it eats (ate) food.’
3SG.SBJ-eat food

Thus, I recognize a glide insertion process, which produces a phonetic glide between a rounded vowel and an unrounded and non-high vowel. However, this is not an obligatory process, since a glide is not necessarily inserted in careful or slow speech.

## 3.3 Vowels

Like many Oceanic languages, Kove has a five-vowel system (see Table 3.1). The following figure is an impression space.[19]

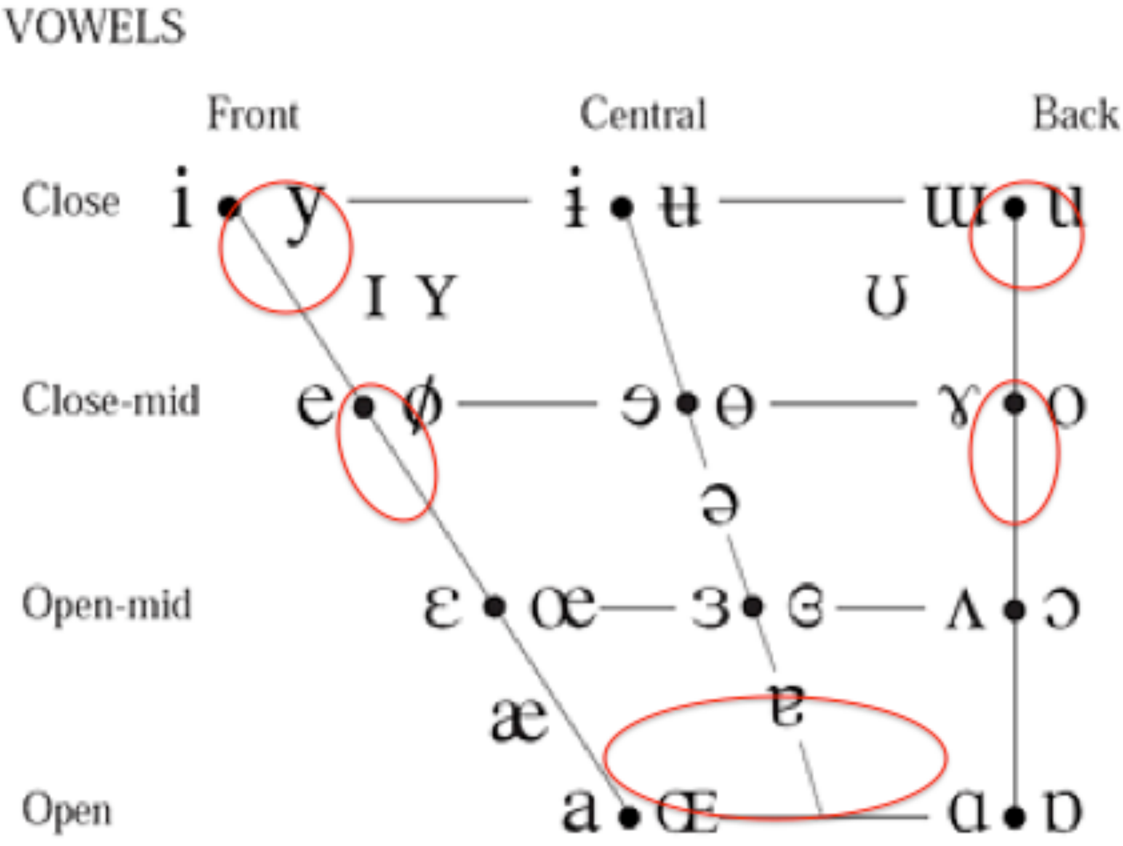
VOWELS
Front
Central
Back
Close
Close-mid
Open-mid
Open
i y
ɨ ʉ
ɯ u
ɪ ʏ
ʊ
e ø
ɘ ɵ
ɤ o
ə
ɛ œ
ɜ ɞ
ʌ ɔ
æ
ɐ
a ɶ
ɑ ɒ

Figure 3.4: Impression space

Back vowels *u* and *o* are produced with lip-rounding and front and central vowels *i*, *e*, *a* are produced without lip rounding. *i* and *u* particularly have a small oral opening, while *a* has a relatively wide oral opening.

There is no distinction in vowel length. It is not possible to have a long vowel even at morpheme boundaries (see 3.4.2). Here are some minimal pairs as evidence of the vowel phonemes:

---

[19] An impression space refers to the articulatory space for vowels based on perceptual impression.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| i/u | *eai* ‘fire’ | *eau* ‘water’ |
| | *i-* ‘3SG.SBJ’ | *u-* ‘2SG.SBJ’ |
| e/o | *mae* ‘tongue’ | *mao* ‘no’ |
| i/e | *moi* ‘taro’ | *moe* ‘sleeping mattress’ |
| a/o | *lua* ‘to help’ | *luo* ‘tooth’ |
| a/e | *gha* ‘nominal conjunction’ | *ghe* ‘particle’ |
| a/o | *kaha* ‘tree sp.’ | *kaho* ‘to scratch’ |
| a/i | *tina* ‘mother’ | *tini* ‘skin’ |
| a/u | *lao* ‘liana used as a rope’ | *luo* ‘tooth’ |

Some allophones of the vowels are described below.

### 3.3.1 Laxing

While all vowels except *a* have a [+tense] feature, they become [-tense] if they are followed by a velar nasal *ng*.

Table 3.3: Laxing of vowels

| Phoneme | Allophone | Example |
|---|---|---|
| i | ɪ | [kalɪŋa] ‘play’, [ŋɪŋi] ‘laugh’ |
| e | ɛ | [pelɛŋa] ‘comb’, [pepɛŋa] ‘story’ |
| o | ɔ | [mɔŋa] ‘garden’, [kapɔŋa] ‘round’ |
| u | ʊ | [tapʊŋa] ‘falling down’, [pupʊŋa] ‘blowing’ |

### 3.3.2 Glide formation: i → j

Allophones of vowel phonemes require further investigation. I have found a few examples of glide formation so far. All examples I found contain the prefix *ai-*.

### 3.3.2.1 ai-a(CV)

*i* becomes a glide [j] when preceding *a*. This is obligatory.

/ai-a/ → [ája] ‘3SG.POSS-A.POSS’
/3SG.POSS-A.POSS/

/ai-anunu/ → [àjanúnu] ‘shadow, dream, picture’
/3SG.POSS-shadow/

I propose two alternative derivations, neither of which is problem-free.

(1) Proposal 1: semivocalized *i* between a stressed *a* and an unstressed *a*

/i/ → [j] / á ________a

For this proposal, it is essential that stress placement precede affixation. Furthermore, stress shift is required after glide formation (see discussion on stress in 3.5.1). The left column shows that stress placement comes before affixation, while the right column shows that placing stress after affixation produces an incorrect result.

Table 3.4: Glide formation (1)

| | /ai/ + /a/ | /ai/ + /anunu/ |
|---|---|---|
| Stress placement | ái, a | ái, anúnu |
| Affixation | ái-a | ái-anúnu |
| Glide formation | áya | àyanúnu |
| Stress shift | - | - |
| Phonetic output | [ája] | [àjanúnu] |

| | /ai/ + /a/ | /ai/ + /anunu/ |
|---|---|---|
| Affixation | /ai-a/ | /ai-anunu/ |
| Stress placement | /aí-a/ | /aí-anùnu/ |
| Glide formation | - | - |
| Stress shift | - | - |
| Phonetic output | *[aía] | *[aìanúnu] |

(2) Proposal 2: semivocalized *i* at a morpheme boundary

The second proposal is a morphophonemic rule. Given that all examples of glide formation involve *ai*- '3SG.POSS', it may be considered that *i* is semivocalized at a morphoneme boundary.

/i/ → [j] / a ________ + a

In this proposal, affixation precedes glide formation, and stress placement comes at the last. Unlike the first proposal, stress shift is not required. This rule indicates that the morphophonemic rule is applied before lexical representation, and stress is assigned at the level of lexical representation.

Table 3.5: Glide formation (2)

| Underlying representation | | /ai/ + /a/ | /ai/ + /anunu/ |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Affixation | ai-a | ai-anunu |
| | glide formation | aya | ayanunu |
| Lexical representation | | aya | ayanunu |
| | Stress placement | áya | àyanúnu |
| Phonetic output | | [àya] | [àjanúnu] |

The first derivation appeals to a phontically more natural condition for semivocalization, namely that high vowels adjacent to another vowel are more likely to become glides when preceding a stressed vowel. However, the order assumed for stress placement and affixation is atypical. Given that stress is always applied after affixation for other affixes, it is problematic that *ai-* requires stress before affixation. Given that the second proposal shows phonological representations as UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION → (morphophonemic rule) → LEXICAL REPRESENTATION → (phonological processes) → PHONETIC REPRESENTATION, this proposal may be preferred.

A third interpretation is that the underlying form of the third person singular possessive pronoun is *ay-*, instead of *ai-*. However, there are two problems with this proposal. First, in examples such as *ai-sosola* 'middle finger' or *ai-liliu* 'his / her siblings', the stress pattern is [aìsosóla] or [aìlilíu]. Since secondary stress would not be expected to be on a glide, this argues against an underlying form with *–y*. Second, if this morpheme attaches to a word that begins with a consonant such as *ay-sosola* 'middle finger', or *ay-haninga* 'his / her food', there is a consonant cluster, which is not permitted in Kove. To resolve these issues further research is required.

Regardless of which proposal is accepted, there must be a phonological process which separates these examples from others such as *haia* [haíja] 'ginger', where the last three segments are underlying identical with those in /ai-a/ but the stress pattern differs because stress is applied to the penultimate syllable of the base.

PROPOSAL 1:

| | /haia/ 'ginger' | /ai-a/ '3SG.POSS-A.POSS' |
|---|---|---|
| Stress placement | haía | ái, á |
| Affixation | - | ái-a |
| Glide formation / Glide insertion | haíya | áya |
| Stress shift | - | - |
| Phonetic output | [haíja] | [ája] |

PROPOSAL 2:

| | /haia/ 'ginger' | /ai-a/ '3SG.POSS-A.POSS' |
|---|---|---|
| Affixation | - | ai-a |
| Glide formation / Glide insertion | haiya | aya |
| Stress placement | haíya | áya |
| Phonetic output | [haíja] | [ája] |

#### 3.3.2.2 ai-(C)VCV

The second type of glide formation is semivocalization of /i/ between two stressed syllables. Unlike the glide formation above, this is not obligatory. It is often seen in casual speech.

/i/ → [j] / à ________ (C)V́(C)V

/ai-mata/ → [àj-máta] ‘his / her / its eye’

/3SG.POSS-eye/

/i/ → [j] / à ________ (C)V́(C)V

/ai-uti/ → [àj-úti] ‘his penis’

/3SG.POSS-penis/

## 3.4 Phonotactics

### 3.4.1 The syllable

The syllable structure of Kove is overwhelmingly (C)V. Closed syllables are not permitted, except for a few cases, as in: *bonkiu* ‘pumpkin’, *markete* ‘spear’, *ansehe* ‘tree sp.’. It is unclear whether these cases are borrowings. Another exception is found in reduplication in casual speech where the medial unstressed vowel preceding a morpheme boundary is sometimes omitted (see 3.6, also):

*wanawana* → [wanwana] ‘hot’
*vongivong*→ [βoŋβoŋi] ‘morning’
*palekeleke* → [palekleke] ‘big wound’
*lavelave* → [lavlaβe] ‘testicle’
*meramera*→ [mermera] ‘fresh’

There may be vowel combinations with up to three vowels in a sequence, as follows (see more discussion in 3.4.2):

V V *to.u* ‘sugarcane’
*a.o.pu* ‘fish sp.’
*e.a* ‘brother-in-law (man speaking)’

| | |
|---|---|
| V V V | *hi.a.u* ‘bachelor’ |
| | *ro.a.i* ‘sit down’ |
| | *e.a.i* ‘fire’ |

In vowel sequences, each vowel belongs to a separate syllable, since any penultimate vowel can be stressed under appropriate circumstances (for stress patterns see 3.5.1):

| | |
|---|---|
| *tou* | [tóu] ‘sugarcane’ |
| *ea* | [éja] ‘brother-in-law (man speaking)’ |
| *hiau* | [hijáu] ‘bachelor’ |
| *eai* | [ejái] ‘fire’ |

As in other Oceanic languages, most words in Kove are disyllabic or trisyllabic. Most grammatical words are monosyllabic, but content words are rarely monosyllabic. In my corpus, there are only four monosyllabic content words: /la/ ‘go’, /pa/ ‘give’, /nu/ ‘island’, and /ku/ ‘crab sp.’. However, it is debatable whether the verbs /la/ ‘go’ and /pa/ ‘give’ are monosyllabic words, because verbs obligatorily take a subject prefix. Moreover, /pa/ ‘give’ always takes an object pronominal suffix as a recipient, and /la/ ‘go’ often takes a directional suffix. Consequently, they never occur alone. As for *nu* and *ku*, the lengthening rule is applied: they takes a long vowel in natural speech, as in /nu/ → [nuu], /ku/ → [kuu].

Table 3.6: Each canonical shape with a few examples

| | Non-grammatical words | Grammatical words |
|---|---|---|
| Monosyllables | pa 'give'<br>la 'go' | nga 'PREPOSITION'<br>pa 'CAUSATIVE' |
| Disyllables | mata 'eye'<br>lele 'blow' | mai '1PL.INC.POSS'<br>tona 'ARTICLE' |
| Trisyllables | tuanga 'village'<br>kahaku 'small' | tomanga 'PREPOSITION'<br>duwawa 'LOCATIVE DEMONSTRATIVE' |
| Quadrisyllables | ngongoroko 'snore'<br>peghepeghe 'skinny' | - |
| Others | ghalighalinga 'a tool for pounding betel nuts'<br>maramarani 'light' | - |

### 3.4.2 Distributions

In this section, I show the distribution of consonants and vowels, both singly and in combination with each other.

#### 3.4.2.1 Consonant distribution

All consonants may start a word or a syllable, as shown in Table 3.7. However, consonants normally cannot appear as codas, since closed syllables are generally not permitted in Kove. In addition, all consonants can combine with any vowel.

Table 3.7: Examples of consonant distribution

| Phoneme | Word initial | Word medium |
|---|---|---|
| p | paka ‘big’ | sapi ‘to carve’ |
| t | tari ‘sea’ | mata ‘eye’ |
| k | kalo ‘frog’ | vihiki ‘wake up’ |
| b | bulupa ‘bee’ | balubalu ‘beard’ |
| d | doko ‘good’ | didinga ‘wall’ |
| g | gaugau ‘fog’ | tamaguri ‘rainbow’ |
| m | malo ‘clothes’ | sama ‘to rub’ |
| n | niu ‘coconut’ | tano ‘ground’ |
| ng | ngongoroko ‘snort’ | monga ‘garden’ |
| s | sahu ‘bush’ | lusi ‘mountain’ |
| h | hahai ‘to crawl’ | awaha ‘rain’ |
| v | viri ‘yam’ | tuvehu ‘crest’ |
| gh | ghaya ‘pig’ | rughu ‘back (of the body)’ |
| l | launi ‘hair, feather’ | motala ‘star’ |
| r | rame ‘to lick’ | era ‘name’ |
| w | waho ‘rope; vein’ | awa ‘mouth’ |
| j | yauhu ‘breath’ | koya ‘sugar glider’ |

### 3.4.2.2 Vowel distribution

All vowels may start or end a word or a syllable.

Table 3.8: Examples of vowel distribution

| Phoneme | Word initial | Word final |
|---|---|---|
| i | iha ‘fish’ | launi ‘hair’ |
| e | ea ‘brother-in-law (man speaking)’ | tamone ‘man’ |
| a | anue ‘sea-cucumber’ | pelaka ‘lightning’ |
| o | oroa ‘grass skirt’ | lato ‘tree sp.’ |
| u | ulo ‘pot’ | ponu ‘turtle’ |

However, it is preferred that a word starts with a consonant, as seen in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9: Frequency of word initial consonants and vowels

| Consonant initial | Vowel initial |
|---|---|
| 94% | 6% |

Vowel combinations are often seen in Kove. Within a word, any two combinations are possible, with the exception of identical vowels.

Table 3.10: Examples of vowel pairs

| | i | e | a | o | u |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | ▨ | ? | sia<br>‘reef’ | rio<br>‘go down’ | ariu<br>‘adze’ |
| e | lelei<br>‘detour’ | ▨ | eai<br>‘fire’ | deo<br>‘God’ | eau<br>‘water’ |
| a | ai-<br>‘3SG.POSS’ | mae<br>‘tongue’ | ▨ | mao<br>‘no’ | lau<br>‘pole’ |
| o | moi<br>‘taro’ | poe<br>‘call’ | toa<br>‘older parallel sibling and cousin’ | ▨ | tou<br>‘sugarcane’ |
| u | lului<br>‘tie’ | tue<br>‘clam sp.’ | vua<br>‘betel nut’ | luo<br>‘tooth’ | ▨ |

Two identical vowels are prohibited in Kove, except in *ee* ‘yes’.[20] Two identical vowels may not occur even at a morpheme boundary. If two identical vowels become juxtaposed to each other through a morphological process, one of them is deleted:

$V_1V_1 \rightarrow V_1$

*nga-ani* (1SG.SBJ-eat) /ŋa-ani/ → [ŋáni] ‘I eat (something).’
*u-unu* (2SG.SBJ-drink) /u-unu/ → [únu] ‘You drink (something).’
*u-unu-unu* (2SG.SBJ-drink-RED) /u-unuunu/ → [unúnu] ‘You are drinking.’

There are also a few instances of three-vowel combinations. Examples of three vowels in a sequence are shown in Table 3.11. Note that *aua* and *aia* are phonetically [au$^{w}$a] and [ai$^{j}$a] respectively.

---

[20] It is not clear if *ee* ‘yes’ contains two identical vowels in sequence, since it can carry emotional overtones that make it natural for it to be pronounced with two moras phonetically.

Table 3.11: Three vowel combinations

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| iau | 4 | hiau ‘bachelor’ | uai | 2 | luai ‘return’ |
| eai | 3 | veai ‘2SG.IND’ | eau | 1 | eaunga ‘reward’ |
| eao | 1 | veao ‘3SG.IND’ | oai | 1 | roai ‘sit down’ |
| aia | 2 | haia ‘ginger’ | aua | 5 | kaua ‘dog’ |

## 3.5 Suprasegmental phonology

### 3.5.1 Stress

#### 3.5.1.1 Stress patterns

Two degrees of stress are distinguished in Kove: primary and secondary. Primary stress always falls on the penultimate syllable:

[á.he] ‘leg’
[βó.la] ‘head’
[pa.hí.ja] ‘brown-colored lizard’

[tó.u] ‘sugarcane’
[e.já.u] ‘water’
[βo.βó.βo] ‘butterfly’

Secondary stress falls on every second syllable to the left of the syllable receiving primary stress.

[βà.ɣe.βá.ɣe] ‘wing’ [à.wa.tó.lu] ‘sagogrub’ [e.jà.u.ní.ŋa] ‘reward’

In addition, both primary and secondary stresses can cross a morpheme boundary and apply at the word level. Here is a pair of examples where stress falls on a different vowel, depending on affixation:

/u-la/ [ú.la]
2SG.SBJ-go
‘Go away.’

/u-la-ti/ [u.lá.ti]
2SG-go-to you
‘good bye (for you)’

| | |
|---|---|
| /ea-ghu/  [e.já.ɣu] | /ai-ea/  [à.i.é.ja] |
| brother.in.law-1SG.POSS | 3SG.POSS-brother.in.law |
| ‘my brother-in-law (man speaking)’ | ‘his brother-in-law’ |

The stress rule in Kove is very strict. I have not found any exceptions, even where a low vowel is followed by a high vowel.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *yauhu* | [ja.ú.hu] | *[já.u.hu] | ‘breathe’ |
| *matauri* | [mà.ta.ú.ɹi] | *[ma.tá.u.ɹi] | ‘fear’ |

While Kove does not have phonemic vowel length, primary stress can lengthen a vowel in careful, slow, or hypercorrect speech. However, secondary stress does not lengthen the vowel.

tano  [tá:no]
ground
‘ground’

i-la-wa [i.lá:.wa]
3SG.SBJ-go-DDIR
‘He/she/it is gone (far away).’

nga-ghunui-ghau [ŋà.ɣu.nù.i.ɣá:.u]    *[ŋà:.ɣu.nù.i.ɣá:.u]
1SG.SBJ-stand.up-1SG.OBJ
‘I stood up.’

#### 3.5.1.2 Phonological processes with stress

Given that stress falls on the penultimate syllable, stress placement always involves syllable structures, so syllabification comes first. However, a phonological process with stress placement is debatable, depending on the glide formation process which are discussed in 3.3.2:

(1) Stress placement before glide formation

For the case that glide formation occurs between a stressed *a* and an unstressed *a* (proposal 1), stress placement comes before affixation, followed by glide formation. Furthermore, Stress falls at the word level, so stress shift is applied, if necessary. Table 3.12 summarizes stress placement in relation to some other phonological processes.

Table 3.12: Phonological processes that interact with stress placement (1)

| | /anunu/ + /ɣu/<br>(shadow + 1SG.POSS) | /ai/ + /anunu/<br>(3SG.POSS + shadow) | /kaua/<br>(dog) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Syllabification | a.nu.nu + ghu | a.i + a.nu.nu | ka. u. a |
| Stress placement | a.nú.nu + ghú | á.i + a.nú.nu | kaúa |
| Affixation | a.nú.nu.ghu | à.i.a.nú.nu | - |
| Glide formation or glide insertion | - | à.ya.nú.nu | kaú$^{w}$a |
| Stress shift | à.nu.nú.ghu | à.ya.nú.nu | - |
| Output | [ànunúɣu] | [à.ja.nú.nu] | [kaú$^{w}$a] |

(2) Stress placement after glide formation

If glide formation occurs at a morpheme boundary (proposal 2), stress placement occurs after affixation and glide formation.

Table 3.13: Phonological processes that interact with stress placement (2)

| | /anunu/ + /ɣu/<br>(shadow + 1SG.POSS) | /ai/ + /anunu/<br>(3SG.POSS + shadow) | /kaua/<br>(dog) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Syllabification | a.nu.nu + ghu | a.i + a.nu.nu | ka. u. a |
| Affixation | a.nu.nu.ghu | a.i.a.nu.nu | - |
| Glide formation or glide insertion | - | a.ya.nu.nu | kau$^w$a |
| Stress placement | à.nu.nú.ghu | à.ya.nú.nu | kaú$^w$a |
| Output | [ànunúɣu] | [à.ja.nú.nu] | [kaú$^w$a] |

### 3.5.2 Intonation

Different intonation patterns are found in different types of clauses, as discussed in the following subsections. Note that the following data were recorded from several different language consultants, but their intonation data are consistent.

#### 3.5.2.1 Declarative sentences:[21] Broadcast

A broadcast declarative sentence has a gradual falling intonation at the end. The first example is a non-verbal sentence and the second example is a verbal sentence.

| (3-1) | Yau | era-ghu | Luke | Mara. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1SG | name-1SG.POSS | Luke | Mara |

‘My name is Luke Mara.’

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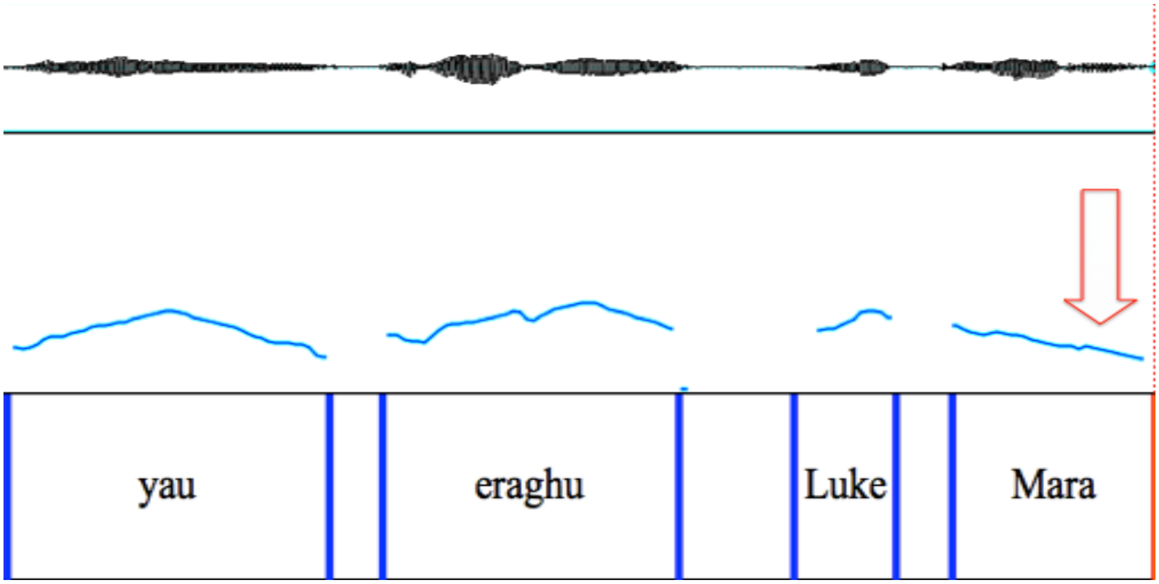
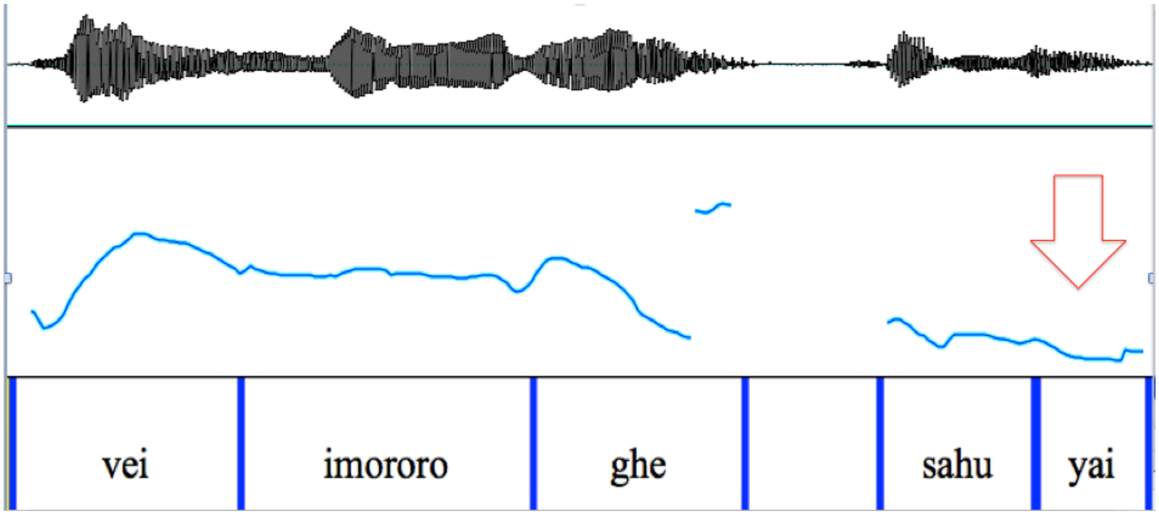
[21] I separate declarative sentences into two groups: broadcast and contrastive. Contrastive (or contrastive focus) refers to a focus that differentiates by using emphasis.



(3-2) Vei[22] i-mororo ghe sahu yai.
3SG 3SG.SBJ-stay PTC bush POSTP
'He/she is in the bush.'



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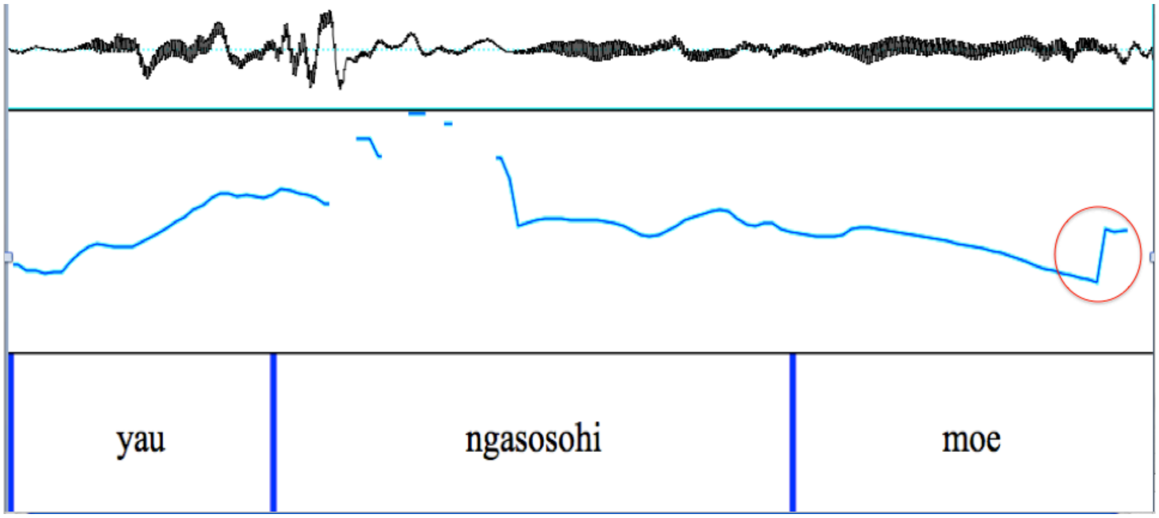
[22] *vei* is a shortened form of *veai*.

### 3.5.2.2 Declarative sentences: Contrastive

The intonation pattern of a contrastive declarative sentence is different from that of a broadcast declarative sentence. It gradually falls toward the end of the sentence, but it rises on the last syllable.

| (3-3) | Yau | nga-so-sohi | moe. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1SG | 1SG.SBJ-RED-remove | pandanus |

‘I am removing serrated edges of pandanus leaves.’ (lit., ‘I am removing pandanus.).



### 3.5.2.3 Complex declarative sentences

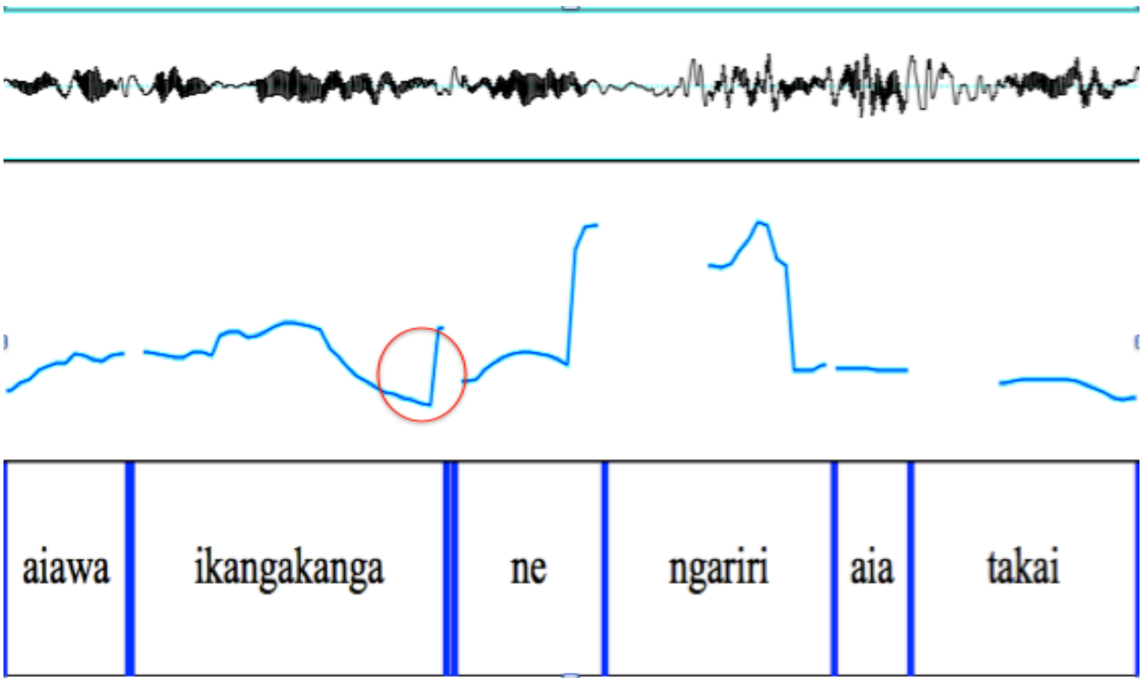
In complex declarative sentences, the intonation of each clause except for the last is a falling-rising pattern, as seen in the following two examples.

(3-4)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ai-awa | i-kangakanga, | ne | nga-riri | ai-a |
| 3SG.POSS-mouth[23] | 3SG.SBJ-white | PTC | 1SG.SBJ-sew | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

takai.
tear

'When its edge turns white, I will sew the torn part closed.'[24] (lit. When its open part turns white, I sew its tear.)



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[23] *Awa* basically means 'mouth'. However, it also refers to something that has an open part. Here, it refers to an edge.

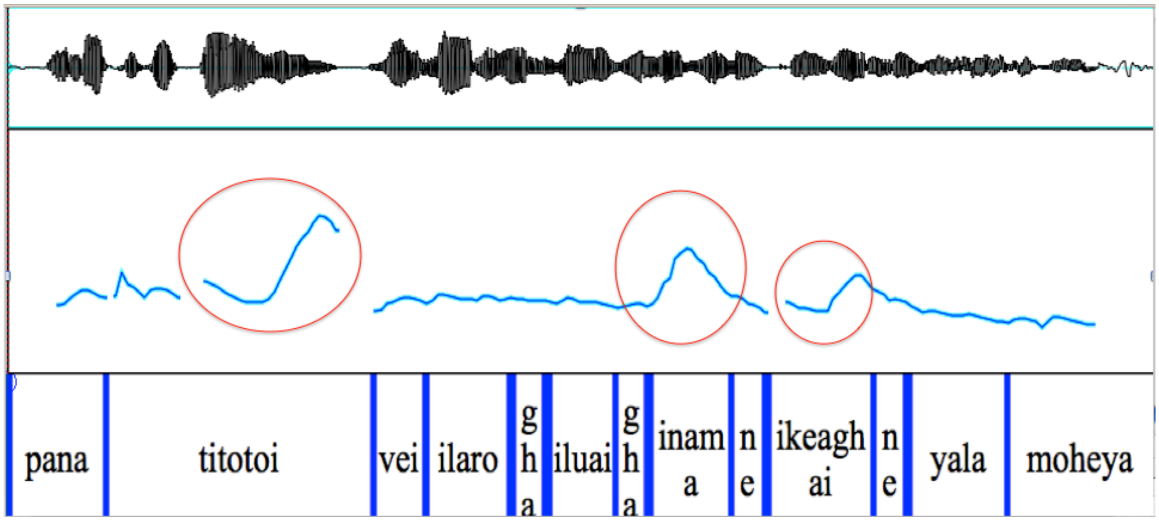
[24] This sentence was extracted from a text about how to make a sleeping mattress from pandanus, and describes part of the process: "[S]ome pieces of pandanus leaves are kept outside until they turn white in color. However, because of dryness, some parts may tear, so the tears will be sewed."

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (3-5) | Pana | ti-totoi, | vei | i-laro | gha | i-lua-i |
| | people | 3PLSBJ-slaughter | 3SG | 3SG.SBJ-run | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| gha | i-nama, | ne | i-kea-ghai |
| SVU | 3SG.SBJ-come | PTC | 3SG.SBJ-take-1PL.EXCL.OBJ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ne | ya-la | Mohea. |
| PTCP | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go | Mohea |

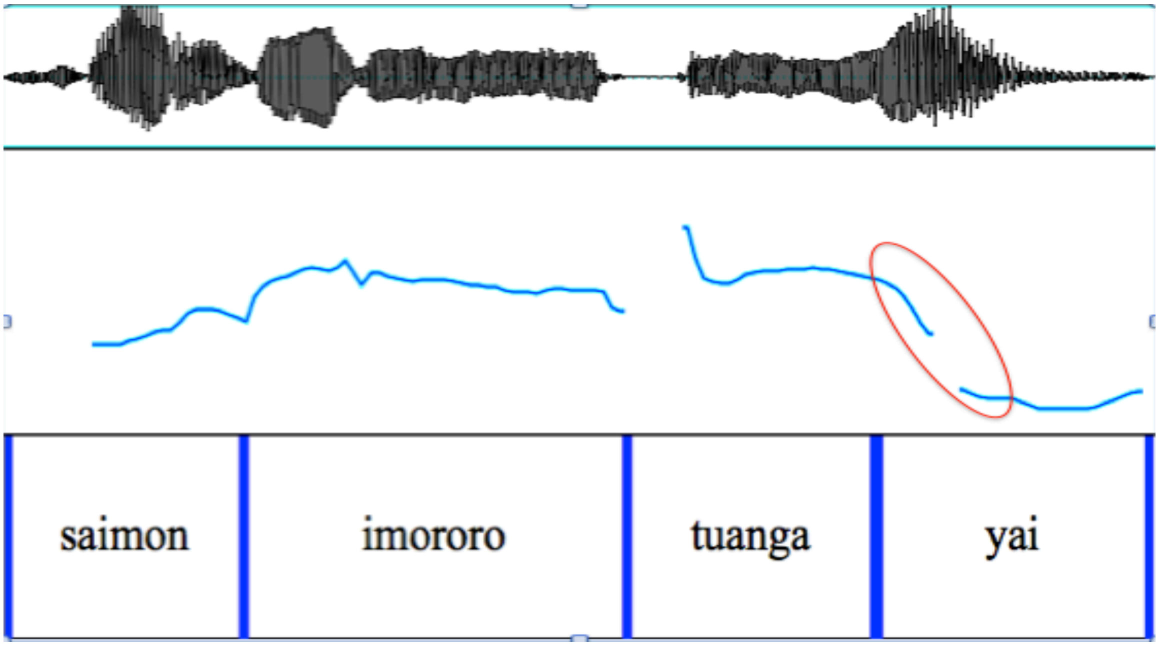
‘The people slaughtered (a pig), he returned, picked us up, (and) we went to Mohea.’



### 3.5.2.4 Yes-no questions

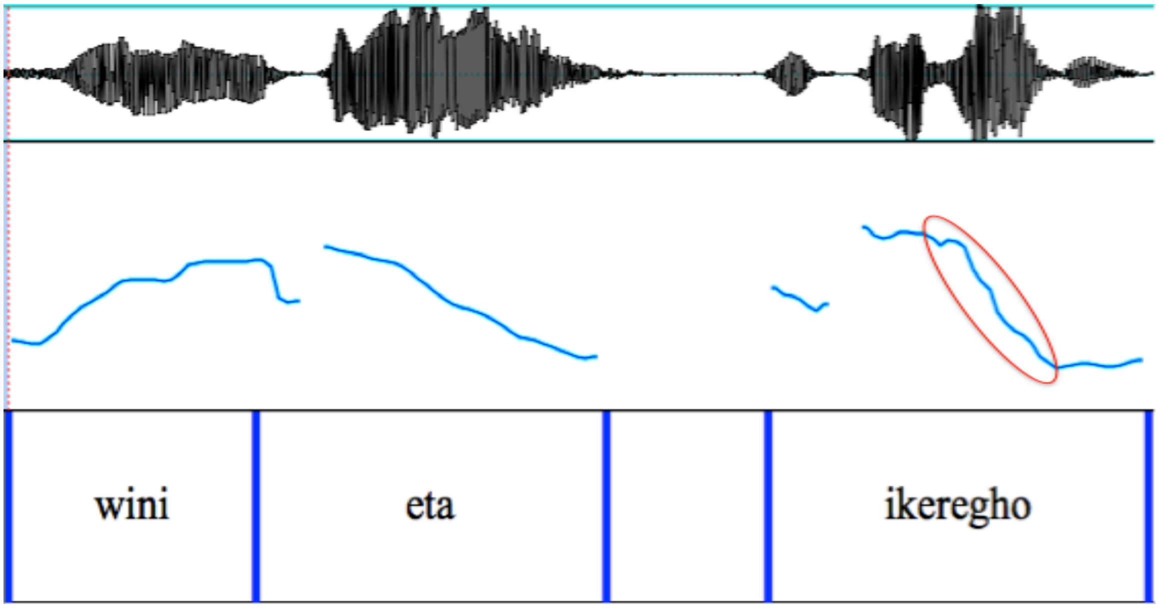
Intonation is very important in the distinction between a declarative sentence and a yes-no question sentence because there is no grammatical marking of the distinction. In a yes-no question sentence, the intonation suddenly falls on the penultimate syllable of the last word. In the following example, the intonation dynamically falls at *ya*, which is the penultimate syllable. Note the contrast with Example (3-2).

(3-6) Saimon i-mororo tuanga yai?
Saimon 3SG.SBJ-stay village POSTP
‘Is Saimon in the village?’



Here is one more example where the intonation falls at the penultimate syllable, /re/, of the last word.

(3-7) Wini eta i-kere-gho?
wind ART 3SG.SBJ-bring-2SG.OBJ
‘Did the wind bring you?’



### 3.5.2.5 Interrogative sentences

Kove interrogatives are distinguished from the corresponding declarative sentences only by intonation (see 10.2).

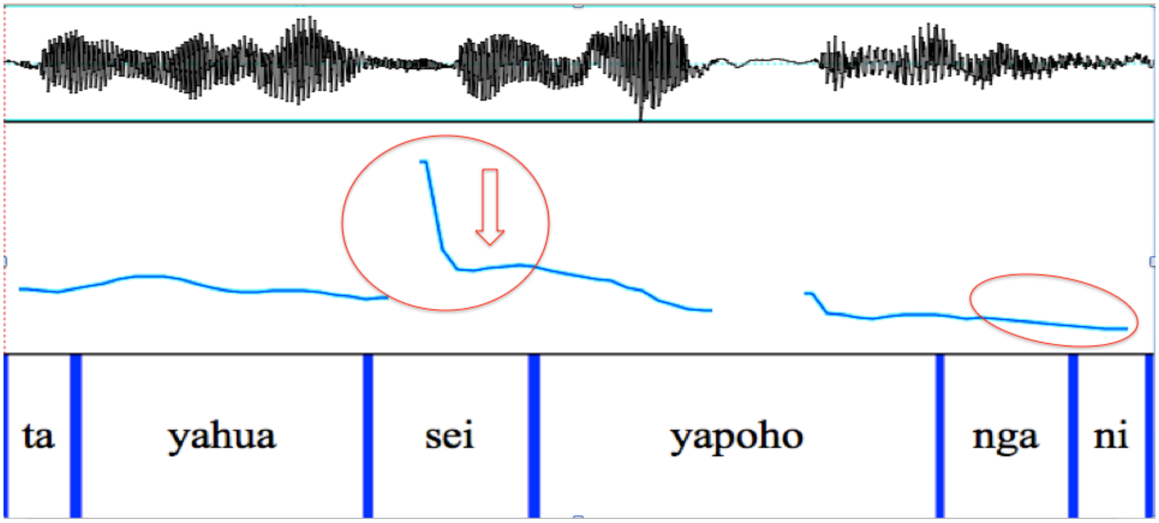
The basic intonation contour in an interrogative sentence is a falling-rising pattern at the interrogative element. If the interrogative element occurs in final position, the intonation falls on the penultimate syllable, and may or may not rise on the last syllable. On the other hand, the intonation likely rises on the last syllable of a non-final interrogative element after it falls on the penultimate syllable. Moreover, the intonation contour at the end of a sentence is not affected by the fact of the interrogative sentence. The sentence ends with a gradual falling pattern, which is the pattern of a broadcast declarative sentence.

In (3-8), the intonation starts high, dramatically falls on the first syllable of the interrogative element, *se*, and then rises slightly on the vowel of the last syllable of the interrogative element, *i*. The sentence-final intonation is a gradual fall.

(3-8) Ta yahua sei ya-poho nga-ni?

FUT 1DU.EXCL who.SG 1PL.EXC.SBJ-make.sago PREP-3SG.OBJ

‘Who will I work with in extracting flour in order to produce sago?’ (lit., ‘Will who and I work in extracting flour for it?’)

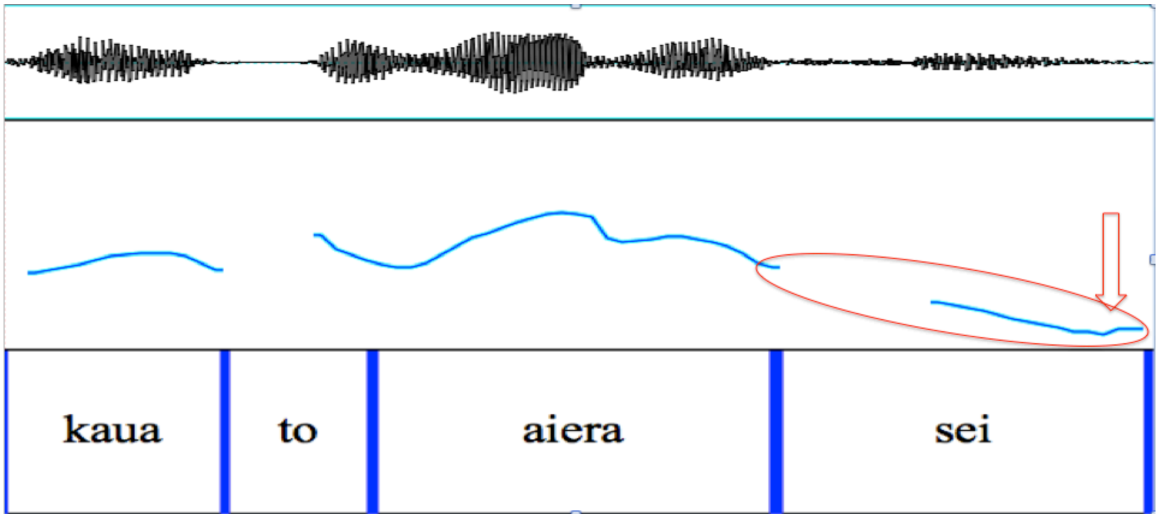


Example (3-9) is a case where the interrogative element is at the end of the sentence. After the intonation falls, it rises very slightly at the end.

(3-9) Kaua to ai-era sei?

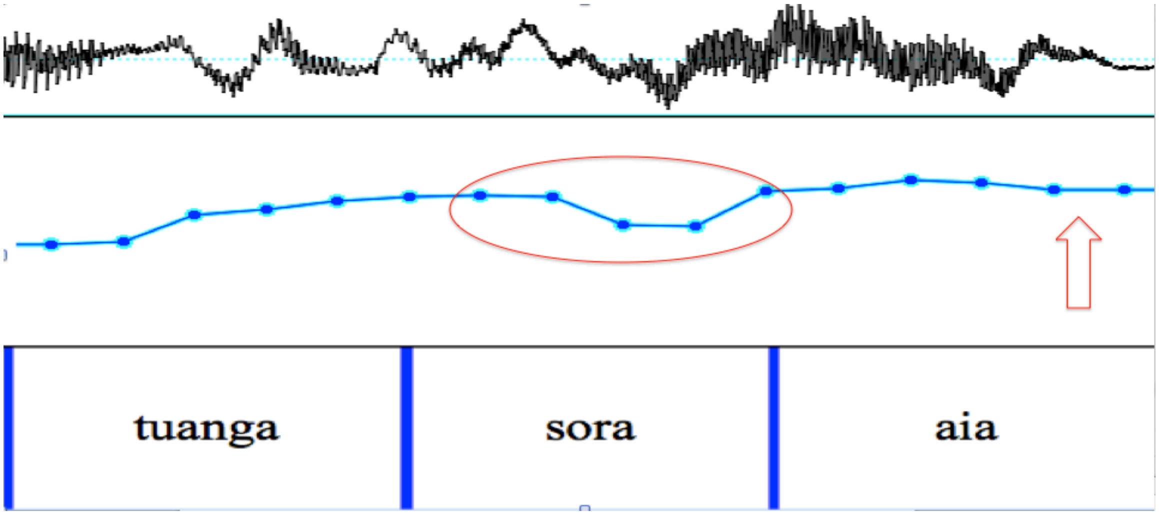
dog ART 3SG.POSS-name who.SG

‘What is the name of the dog (that I talked about previously)?’

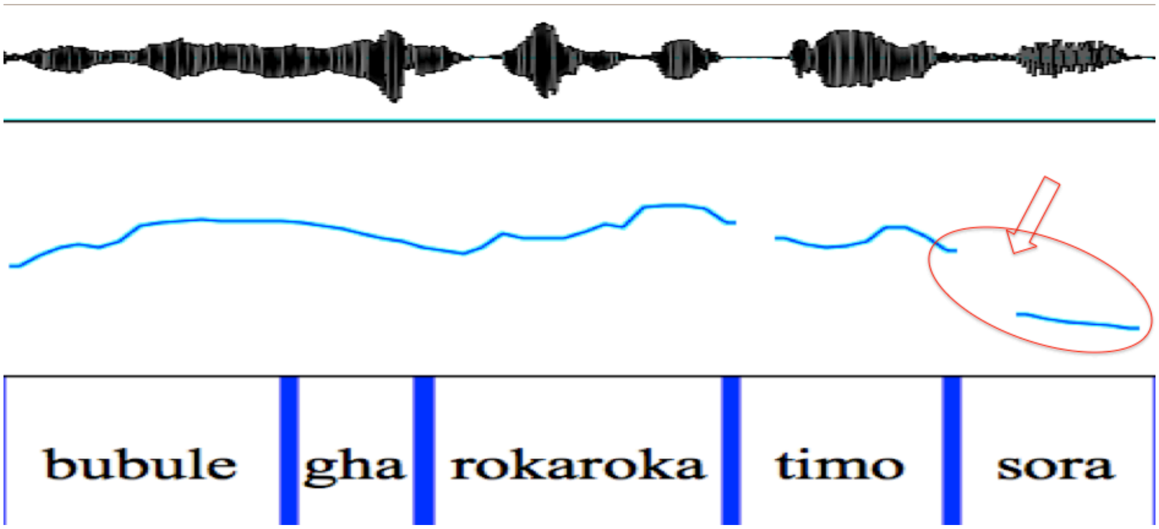


Here is one more pair of examples. These contain the interrogative element *sora* 'where'. While the intonation contour in (3-10) is falling-rising, in (3-11) it is falling.

| (3-10) | Tuanga | sora | ai-a? |
|---|---|---|---|
| | village | where | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |
| | 'Where is he/she from?' | | |

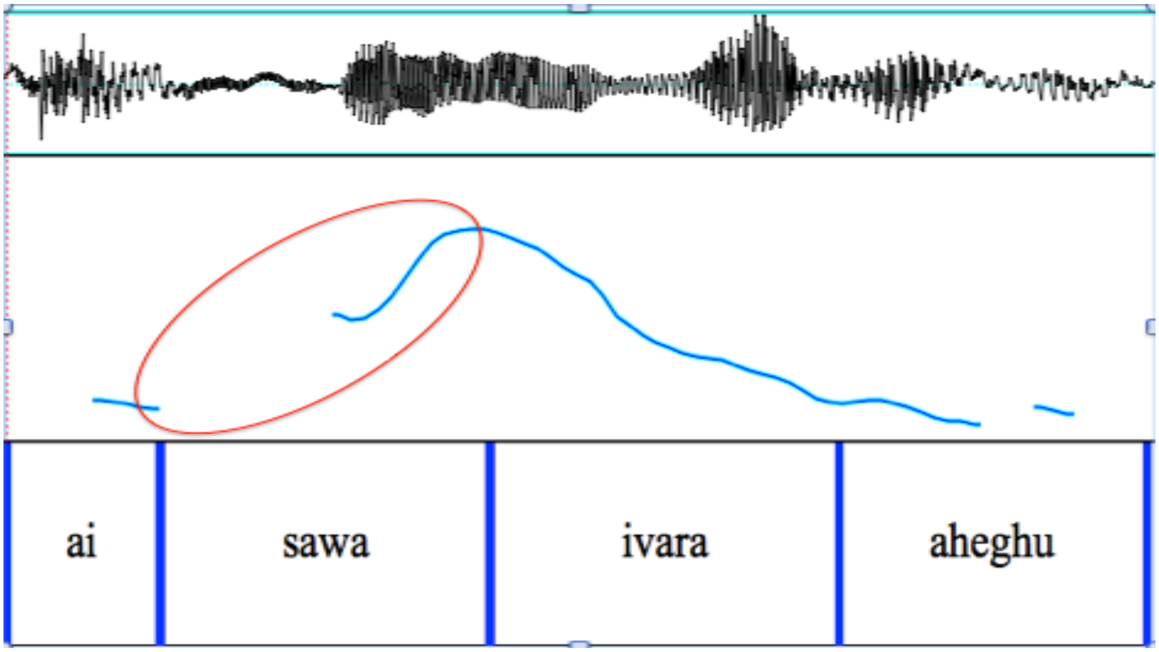


(3-11) Bubule gha Rokaroka ti-mo sora?
Bubule CONJ Rokaroka 3PL.SBJ-stay where
'Where are Bubule and Rokaroka?'



The degree of rising intonation on the last syllable of an interrogative element may depend on the strength of the speaker's emotion or feeling. If a speaker has more emotion or feeling, the intonation rises more. In the following example, the speaker was surprised at being held by something. As seen here, the intonation clearly rises.

(3-12) Ai, sawa i-vara ahe-ghu?
Oh what 3SG.SBJ-hold leg-1SG.POSS
'Oh, what is holding my leg?'



## 3.6 Reduplication

In this section, I will discuss the forms of reduplication (see Chapter 5 and 7 for its functions). As in many Oceanic languages (see Lynch 1998; Blust 2001), Kove has a large amount of reduplication. It has three patterns: (1) full reduplication, (2) rightward reduplication, and (3) leftward reduplication. However, rightward reduplication is not common, so it is not used for productive reduplication very much.

Table 3.14: Forms of reduplication

| | |
|---|---|
| Full reduplication | *tama* ‘father’ → *tamatama* ‘fathers’<br>*ani* ‘eat’ → *aniani* ‘be eating’<br>*doko* ‘good’ → *dokodoko* ‘good’ (the modified noun is plural) |
| Leftward reduplication | *pau* ‘new’ → *papau* ‘new’ (the modified noun is plural)<br>*tari* ‘younger parallel sibling and cousin’ → *tatari* ‘younger parallel siblings and cousins’<br>*liliu* ‘bathe’ → *lililiu* ‘be bathing’ |
| Rightward reduplication | ?no base → *selepelepe* ‘shellfish sp.’ |

Most reduplication involves complete copying of the base, and both rightward and leftward reduplication are unpredictable.

In reduplications that end with CV, the medial unstressed vowel is often omitted in casual speech, as seen in Table 3.13. While this deletion occurs with any preceding consonant except glides, it is very common for the preceding consonant to be either a nasal or an approximant.

Table 3.15: Examples of vowel deletion in reduplication

| Type of a preceding consonant | Base | Reduplication | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| Stop | sele**p**e[25] | selep**e**lepe [seleplepe] | ‘shellfish sp.’ |
| Fricative | sa**gh**o | sagh**o**sagho [saɣsaɣo] | ‘herb sp.’ |
| Nasal | vo**ng**i | vong**i**vongi [βoŋβoŋi] | ‘morning’ |
| Approximant[26] | ma**r**i | mar**i**mari [marmari] | ‘tree sp.’ |
| Lateral approximant | pu**l**i | pul**i**puli [pulpuli] | ‘cold’ |
| Glide | wa**y**a<br>ra**w**a | way**a**waya *[wajwaja]<br>raw**a**rawa *[rawrawa] | ‘swim’<br>‘parents-in-law, child-in-law, uncle- and aunt-in-law’ |

However, the vowel deletion does not occur if the final vowel is preceded by another vowel:

*tuatua*[27] *[tutua] ‘bone’, *liuliu* *[liliu] ‘cross siblings’, *raerae* *[rarae] ‘be getting up’

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[25] This is a hypothetical base, since no simplex form appears in my corpus.

[26] As with the phoneme chart in Table 3.1,I treat them as a separate class from lateral approximants and glides.

[27] A base form /tua/ was not recorded in my corpus.

## 3.7 Borrowing and adaptive phonology

Social contact between different language communities is a common phenomenon and has figured prominently in the history of Kove, since the Kove people have been part of an extensive trading system (see Chapter 1). In the past, neighboring language communities were either Austronesian or in the case of Anem, Papuan. When new objects were introduced, Kove borrowed words from these languages, such as *tavila* 'large wooden bowl for pounding taro', *amouru* 'rain tree sp. (found in the bush', *ahila* 'small-leafed rattan originating in the bush', *rodya* 'short and light yellow tapioca', and most of these have become accepted as Kove words over time.

Recently, the range of social contacts for Kove people has been expanding; people often go to Kimbe town, where they meet people from various places, and are also exposed to Western culture. In addition, a logging company from Southeast Asia is located at the border of the Kove and Kaliai area, and Kove people have frequent interaction with it through contractual work or retail sales. Due to contact with the culture of the outside world, many new items or concepts, including the monetary economy, have started to infiltrate Kove traditional life.

While new items or ideas used to be expressed by using Kove words, such as *wagha* 'canoe' > 'car', *manu* 'bird' > 'airplane', *launi* 'leaf' > 'paper', and *patu* 'stone' > 'money', it is more common nowadays for these new elements to be named with Tok Pisin words. In this section, I focus on contemporary borrowing, particularly looking at how Tok Pisin words are phonologically adapted in Kove.

When Kove takes in words from Tok Pisin, it often adapts them to its own phonology. One of the notable phonological changes is vowel insertion. As discussed in

3.4.1, neither consonant clusters nor closed syllables are normally permitted in Kove, except through vowel deletion in reduplication. Therefore, if a loanword contains a consonant cluster or a closed syllable, a copy of the closest vowel is inserted. It should be noted here that only one vowel is inserted. If it is a diphthong, only the closest vowel is copied: ***ai**s* > *ais**i*** ‘ice’, *tr**au**sis* > ***ta**rausisi* ‘trousers’, ***hau**s* > *haus**u*** ‘house’.

Initial consonant clusters are broken up by copying the first vowel, as seen in Table 3.16.

Table 3.16: Examples of vowel insertion (1)

| vowel | Tok Pisin | Kove | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| i | slipa[28] | s**i**lipa | slipper |
| e | plet | p**e**lete | plate |
| a | trausis | t**a**rausisi | trousers |
| o | klos | k**o**los**o** | clothes |
| u | spun | s**u**pun**u** | spoon |

Final consonants usually become onsets by copying the preceding vowel in final position, as shown in Table 3.17.

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[28] The original Tok Pisin word is *siu*. However, *slipa* is more widely used nowadays.

Table 3.17: Examples of vowel insertion (2)

| vowel | Tok Pisin | Kove | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| i | sisis<br>bokis | sisis**i**<br>bokis**i** | scissors<br>box |
| e | bek<br>pen | bek**e**<br>pen**e** | bag<br>pen |
| o | bot<br>fok | bot**o**<br>fok**o** | boat<br>fork |
| u | haus sik<br>balus | haus**u** siki<br>balus**u** | hospital/clinic<br>airplane |

However, the low vowel *a* cannot be copied into the final position. If the adjacent vowel is *a*, the inserted final vowel is a high vowel, either *u* or *i*, depending on the preceding consonant: *u* is inserted if a final consonant is (bi)labial, while *i* is inserted if it is coronal.[29]

Table 3.18: Examples of vowel insertion (3)

| vowel | Tok Pisin | Kove | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| u | lam<br>kap | lam**u**<br>kap**u** | lamp/lantern<br>cup |
| i | kar<br>bal<br>hat<br>gras | kar**i**<br>bal**i**<br>hat**i**<br>garas**i** | car<br>ball<br>hat<br>grass |

However, this does not mean that *a* does not occur word-finally in loanwords, as seen in examples such as *palawa* 'flower', *silipa* 'slipper', *tisa* 'teacher'. However, these word-final vowels are in the original Tok Pisin words, *palaua*, *slipa*, and *tisa* respectively.

---

[29] I found very few examples of final velars. However, it seems that /i/ is inserted after a velar consonant as in *palangi* < *paling* 'timber paling' (= picket fence).

Thus, vowel insertion through the copying of an adjacent vowel is applied to avoid consonant clusters or closed syllables in Kove. The choice of a vowel for the final position depends on the quality of a preceding consonant. However, this may not be an absolute rule. There are some examples where this rule is not applied. For example, there are a few cases where an inserted vowel is not a copy of an adjacent vowel, such as in *s**i**k**u**l* < *skul* 'school', *s**i**k**e**t**i*** < sket 'skirt',[30] *sav**o**l**o*** < *sovel* 'shovel', or *baket**i*** < *baket* 'bucket'. Furthermore, there are a few examples in which a vowel is not inserted in a consonant cluster: *so**sp**eni* < *saspan* 'saucepan', *be**t-s**iti* < *bet-sit* (**betesiti*) 'bed-sheet',[31] *bera**nd**a* < *beranda* 'verandah', and *pala**st**iki (beke)* < *plastic (bek)* 'plastic bag'. The motivation for keeping a consonant cluster in these examples is unclear, but they were given consistently by my consultants.

Another result of borrowing is the introduction of new sounds. All Tok Pisin sounds except for the labiodental fricative *v* are sounds that are in Kove.[32] It is common for Kove to adopt Tok Pisin words with the labiodental fricative /v/ such as in *sa**v**olo* < *sovel* 'shovel' and *tu**v**una* < *tuvuna* 'ancestor'. Furthermore, Kove has begun to adopt some English sounds like *tʃ*, which in Tok Pisin is replaced by *s*, as in *tisa* 'teacher' and *sia* 'chair'. Nowadays, this *s* is re-replaced by the original English sound *tʃ*, hence *titʃa* and *tʃea*. This is commonly found among younger speakers.

Given that Kove people have long had a trading system, lexical borrowing is not a new matter. However, due to heavy contact with Western culture and the influence of

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[30] The Tok Pisin word referring to skirt is originally *klos*, but nowadays, *sket* is more commonly used.

[31] The original Tok Pisin word is *bet-sit*.

[32] Note that orthographic *v* in Kove represents a bilabial fricative (see Table 3.2).

Tok Pisin, Kove has borrowed many words from Tok Pisin, generally adapting loanwords to its own phonology but also introducing some new sounds. Recently, some loanwords have even replaced native Kove words, as in *vuivui* 'grass' > *garasi*, *pa-moyoyo* (CAU-hang) 'swing' > *pa-seesaw* 'seesaw', *liliu* 'wash' > *wasim*, and any type of wind (e.g. *hai, namule, saguava* and so on) > *wini* 'wind'.

## 3.8 Sound changes from Proto-Oceanic

### 3.8.1 Obstruents

I will discuss regular sound changes from Proto-Oceanic (POc) in this section.

(1) *p$^w$

Along with *m$^w$ and *b$^w$, *p$^w$ is reconstructed as a phoneme in POc. However, according to Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002:65) words containing a labiovelar were likely borrowed into POc from neighboring Papuan languages. Given that there are very few words with labiovelars, I cannot find a reflex of POc *p$^w$ in Kove.

(2) *p

*p has two reflexes in Kove: *p is retained as *p* initially, and lost intervocalically.

| | |
|---|---|
| *p > p / #_____ | *pani > *pa* 'give', *paRi > *pali* 'stingray',<br>*patu > *patu* 'stone, *pudi > *puri* 'banana' |
| *p > Ø / V ______ V | *topu > *tou* 'sugarcane', *saŋapulu > *sangaulu* 'ten'<br>*api > *eai* 'fire', *Ropok > *ho-ho*[33] 'fly' |

Besides the oral grade/nasal grade contrast, Ross (1988) proposed a fortis/lenis contrast for reflexes of POc *p, *s, and *k, though he states that this distinction is not reconstructible for POc, but lenition occurred independently after the break-up of POc.

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[33] The reflex is *ho*, but it is reduplicated.

One of the strong pieces of evidence for the fortis/lenis contrast is reflexes in the Ngero/Vitiaz Strait language group (PNs), to which Kove belongs. Ross recognized that word initial POc *p has two reflexes, a fortis set and a lenis set, while word medial and final POc *p has only a lenis reflex. He states that the fortis reflex of POc *p is retained as Proto Ngero (PNg) *p, and the lenis reflex is PNg *v, which is lost in Kove, as shown below (Ross 1988:49):

| POc | *p- | *p- | *-p- |
|---|---|---|---|
| PNg | *p- (fortis) | *v- (lenis) | *-v- (lenis) |
| Kove | p | Ø | Ø |

It is true that POc *-p- is lost in my data. However, I cannot find examples of *p- > Ø. Instead, *p- seems to be always retained as a voiceless bilabial stop. Therefore, although Ross claims (1988:48-49) that POc word-initial *p- underwent lenition in some cases, and there are two correspondences sets (a fortis set and a lenis set), it is uncertain whether POc word-initial *p- has fortis and lenis reflexes in Kove.

(3) *t

*t is retained as *t* in Kove.

| | |
|---|---|
| *t > t | *tolu > *tolu* ‘three’, *taliŋa > *talinga* ‘ear’<br>*natu > *natu* ‘child’, *mate > *mate* ‘die’ |

(4) *c

POc *c seems to be reflected as *r* in Kove.

| | |
|---|---|
| *c > r | *pica > *pira* ‘how many?’, qaco > *waro* ‘sun’[34]<br>*taci > *tari* ‘younger sibling’ |

---

[34] *q is usually reflected as Ø. Therefore, it is unclear how *w* is inserted here.

(5) *k

As already noted, Ross (1988:63) recognizes a fortis/lenis contrast in reflexes of POc *k. As with POc *p, POc initial *k- has two sets of sound correspondences in the Ngero/Vitiaz group: fortis *k- was retained as **k* in PNg, and lenis *k- underwent lenition resulting in loss (1988:173). POc intervocalic or final *-k(-) underwent lenition to PNg *-ɣ-. Furthermore, Ross (1988:63–70, 166) says that PNg *-ɣ- is reflected either as Ø, *h*, or *l*[35] in Kove[36]:

| POc | *k- | *k- | *-k- | *-k- |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PNg | *k- (fortis) | * Ø - (lenis) | *-ɣ- (lenis) | *-ɣ- (lenis) |
| Kove | k- | Ø - | - Ø -, -h- | -l- |

However, my data show slightly different sound correspondences:

| | |
|---|---|
| *k- > Ø | *kani > *ani* 'eat', *kataman > *atama* 'door, entrance to house'<br>*ka 'alimentary possessive classifier' > *a* 'POSS.A.MRK' |
| *-k- > Ø | *sake > *rae* 'rise', *nuku 'sandy ground' > *nu* 'island' |

As seen above, *k- is regularly lost initially and intervocalically. Ross includes *k* and *h* as reflexes of *k- and *-k- respectively. It is true that *k is reflected as *k* in *kusupeq > *kuruke* 'rat' and *h* in *ikan > *iha* 'fish' and *kani > pa-hani[37] 'make a causee eat', but these are the only examples of these changes. Therefore, it is uncertain if they are native words or loans.

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[35] A reflex of *-k- as *l* is unclear. First, while Ross does not list *l* as a reflex of *-k- on page 64, he lists it on page 166 (1988). I myself did not find any example of *k > *l*.

[36] However, Kove has the phoneme *k,* and its origin is unclear.

[37] While the reflex verb form of *kani 'eat' is *ani*, the verb with the causative prefix and its noun are *pa-hani* 'make a causee eat' and *haninga* (hani-nga [eat-*nmlz*]) 'food' respectively.

Based on my data, which lacks other examples of *k- > *k*, it is unclear whether Kove shows a fortis/lenis contrast in reflexes of POc *k.

(6) *q

POc *q is lost in Kove, although Ross (1988:166) states that it was retained in PNg.

| | |
|---|---|
| *q > Ø | *qawa > *awa* 'mouth', *qeno > *eno* 'sleep'<br>*maqasin 'be salty' > *masimasi* 'salty', *paqoRu > *pau* 'new' |

In addition to *q > Ø, there is one example of *q > h in *taqe > *tahe* 'feces'.

(7) $*b^w$

I could not find a reflex of $*b^w$.

(8) *b

| | |
|---|---|
| *b > v | *bebe > *veve* 'butterfly', *boŋi > *vongi* 'night'<br>*bage > *vaghevaghe* 'wing' |

*b is reflected as *v* in most cases in my data.

(9) *d

There is only one known reflex of POc *d: POc *pudi > *puri* 'banana', and I therefore cannot conclude whether it is regular or not.

(10) *j

I could not find any reflex of POc containing *j.

(11) g

*g is reflected as *gh*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *g > gh | *gu > *ghu* '1SG.POSS', *waga > *wagha* 'canoe'<br>*bage > *vaghevaghe* 'wing' |

(12) *s

The reflex of *s is either *s* or *r*, as seen below. Furthermore, as far as I can determine these reflexes are unconditioned.

| | |
|---|---|
| * s > s | *sipo > *sio* 'go down', *sake > *sae* 'up', *sai > *sei* 'who'<br>*saRum > *salumu* 'needle', *qasu > *vosu* 'smoke' |
| *s > r | *sawa > *erawa* 'spouse', *kusupeq > *kuruke* 'rat'<br>*asan > *era* 'name', *tasik > *tari* 'sea' |

These two reflex patterns can be explained as two different pairs of reconstructed features: *s and *ns in Grace 1969 or fortis and lenis *s in Ross 1988. Grace had *ns as the nasal grade corresponding to the oral grade *s, in addition to *nj (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:66), but Ross (1988:71) proposed that Grace's *ns was actually the lenis grade of *s, and that the nasal grade of *s was *nj, which he rewrote as *j. Furthermore, Ross did not reconstruct phonemic lenition in any environment in POc (48). Rather, he suggested that "lenition occurred independently at different times and places after the break-up of POc" (48).

In fact, reflexes of *s in Kove are consistent with Grace's *s and *ns: *ns in Grace is reflected as *r* in Kove without any exception.

| Grace *ns (lenis *s in Ross) | Kove |
|---|---|
| *ansa(n) | *era* ‘name’ |
| *tansik | *tari* ‘sea’ |
| *ansawa | *erawa* ‘spouse’ |
| *kunsupeq | *kuruke* ‘rat’ |
| *nsake | *rae* ‘rise |
| *ponse | *pore* ‘puddle’ |
| *pinsa | *pira* ‘how much’ |

| Grace | *s | *ns |
|---|---|---|
| Ross | *s (fortis) | *s (lenis) |
| Kove | s | r |

Since I have looked only at Kove data, the significance of this correlation remains unclear.

As mentioned above, POc *c is reflected as *r* in Kove. Ross (1988:71) proposes that POc *c merged with POc *s, and underwent lenition in all Western Melanesian Oceanic languages outside the Admiralties. This suggests two interpretations:

(1) If *ns existed, then POc *c merged with it and underwent a further change to *r*.

(2) If Ross’s reconstruction is correct, POc *c merged with *s after some examples of *s underwent lenition. This could also suggest that lenition of *s occurred soon after the break-up of POc if *c merged with *s in all Western Oceanic languages outside the Admiralties.

### 3.8.2 Nasals

(13) $m^w$

Although there are only a few examples, *$m^w$ seems to be reflected as *m* in Kove. Furthermore, the following vowel *a* is reflected as *o*.

| | |
|---|---|
| $m^w$ > m | *$m^w$ata > *mota* ‘snake’, *dram$^w$a > *ramoha* ‘forehead’ |

(14) m

*m is retained as *m* in Kove, and I have not found any irregular sound correspondences.

| | |
|---|---|
| *m > m | *-mu > *mu* ‘2SG.POSS’, *mata > *mata* ‘eye’<br>*lima > *lima* ‘hand’, *tuma > *tuma* ‘louse’ |

Both *$m^w$ and *m are reflected as *m*. However, they are distinguished by the reflex of the following vowel: *$m^w$a > *mo*, and *ma > *ma.*

(15) *n

*n is retained as *n* in all environments.

| | |
|---|---|
| *n > n | *natu > *natu* ‘child’, *niu > *niu* ‘coconut’<br>*tina > *tina* ‘mother’, *tanoq > *tano* ‘earth’ |

(16) *ñ

Although there are only a few examples, they show that *ñ is reflected as *n*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ñ > n | *ñoRap > *noha* ‘yesterday’, *poñu > *ponu* ‘turtle’ |

(17) *ŋ

*ŋ is retained as *ng*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ŋ > ng | *ŋa > *nga* 'nominalizer', *ŋica > *ngera* 'when?'<br>*roŋoR > *longo* 'hear', *laŋo > *langolango* 'fly' |

## 3.8.3 Liquids

(18) l, r, R

*l is strictly retained as *l*, except for one example where *l > *h* in *pitolo > *pitoho* 'hungry'.

| | |
|---|---|
| *l > l | *lima > *lima* 'hand', *le- > *le-* 'possessive marker'<br>*malo > *malo* 'clothes', *tolu > *tolu* 'three' |

However, *r is reflexed as *r*, *l*, or *h*, and *R is reflexed either as *l* or *h*, in any environment.

| | |
|---|---|
| *r > r | *rawa 'parent-in-law, child-in-law' > *rawa* 'parent-in-law, child-in-law, nephew- and niece-in-law', *marau > marau 'winds from the sea' |
| *r > l | *roŋoR > *longo* 'hear', *rau > *launi* 'leaf'<br>*riu > liliu 'wash', kuron > *ulo* 'pot' |
| *r > h | *rua > *hua* 'two', *muri- > *muhi* 'back' |

| | |
|---|---|
| *R > l | *Ruma$^{w}$q > *luma* ‘house’, *Rapi-Rapi > *lailai* ‘afternoon’<br>*saRum > *salumu* ‘needle’, *paRi > *pali* ‘stingray’ |
| *R > h | *Rapu > *hau* ‘hit’, *Rapi ‘southeast wind’ > *hai* ‘southeast winds from the bush to the east from May to August’<br>*apaRat ‘west monsoon’ > *awaha* ‘rain’, *suRu > *suhu* ‘liquid’ |

Ross (1988:175–177) notes that POc *r and *R are generally distinguished in the Bariai language family, although they have merged in some cases. He states that POc *r is reflected as *l* and *R is reflected as *h* in Kove, while *r became *h* and *R became *l* in some cases. He suggests that *r and *R did not merge in Proto Bariai (see 1.4.2), but rather, the cases of *r > *h* and *R > *l* may be attributed either to the influence of neighboring languages that underwent different sound changes or to the beginnings of a merger of POc *r and *R.

However, given that there are several sets of *r > *r*, *l*, *h*, and *R > *l*, *h*, it is unclear whether they are results of contact or not.

(19) *dr

*dr seems to be reflected as *r*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *dr > r | *dri[a] > *ri* ‘3PL. POSS’, *dramu > *rame* ‘lick’<br>*dram$^{w}$a > *ramoha* ‘forehead’ |

## 3.8.4 Glides

(20) *w and *y

Both *w and *y are retained without change.

| | |
|---|---|
| *w > w | *waga > *wagha* ‘canoe’, *waRisa > *wahira* ‘two days ago’<br>*qawa > *awa* ‘mouth’, *rawa > *rawa* ‘parent-in-law, child-in-law, nephews’ and nieces’ spouse’ |

| | |
|---|---|
| *y > y | *yaŋo > *yangoyango* ‘yellow’, *mayaq > *mamaya* ‘shame’ |

## 3.8.5 Vowels

While there are a small number of examples that show irregular sound correspondences such as *a > e in *qasawa > *erawa* ‘spouse’, the five reconstructed vowels are generally retained in Kove:

| | |
|---|---|
| *i > i | *i > *i* ‘3SG.SBJ’, *sei[38] > *sei* ‘who?’, *sipo > *sio* ‘go down’<br>*boŋi > *bongi* ‘night’, *Raqi > *hai* ‘southeast monsoon’ |
| *e > e | *bebe > *veve* ‘butterfly’, *e > *e* ‘yes’,<br>bage > *vaghevaghe* ‘wing’, *mate > *mate* ‘die’, |
| *a > a | *pani > *pa* ‘give’, *ŋa > *nga* ‘nominalizer’<br>*patu > *patu* ‘stone’, *lima > *lima* ‘hand’ |
| *o > o | *qeno > *eno* ‘sleep’, *tanoq > *tano* ‘ground’<br>*poñu > *ponu* ‘turtle’, *roŋoR > *longo* ‘hear’ |
| *u > u | *susu > *susu* ‘breast’, *pudi > *puri* ‘banana’,<br>*tolu > *tolu* ‘three’, *-mu > *-mu* ‘2SG.POSS’ |

---

[38] Both *sei and *sai are reconstructed in POc.

### 3.8.6 Summary

Here is the list of each sound correspondence described above.

Table 3.19: Sound correspondences

Consonants:

| POc | *p$^{w}$ | *p | *t | *c | *k | *q | *b$^{w}$ | *b | *d | *j | *g | *s |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kove | - | p-, - Ø - | *t | *r | Ø | Ø | - | v | r ? | - | gh | s, r |
| POc | *m$^{w}$(a) | *m(a) | *n | *ñ | *ŋ | *l | *r | *R | *dr | *w | *y | |
| Kove | mo (o) | m(a) | n | n | ng | l | r, l, h | l, h, Ø | r | w | y | |

Vowels:

| POc | *i | *e | *a | *o | *u |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kove | i | e | a | o | u |

# Chapter 4

# Grammatical profile

This chapter provides information on some general features of the grammar of Kove from a typological perspective. These features are discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

## 4.1 Morphosyntactic Patterns

The basic constituent order of Kove is subject-predicate. Predicates may be headed by a verb or be verbless, as in (4-1) and (4-2). The subjects and the predicates are in square brackets.

(4-1) $_{\text{SBJ}}$[Kekele Kapo ai-a] $_{\text{PREP}}$[i-eno].
child Kapo 3SG.POSS-A.POSS 3SG.SBJ-sleep
'A child from Kapo will sleep / is sleeping / sleeps / slept.'[39]

(4-2) [Mate ai-a watai-nga] [tangi-ra taule ti-pupu].
death 3SG.POSS-POSSA.MRK know-NMLZ cry-NMLZ trumpet.shell 3PL.SBJ-blow
'A sign of death is the sound of a trumpet shell.' (lit., 'Knowing of death is the cry of a trumpet shell.')

More than one adjunct can occur in a clause. While future temporal adjuncts normally come first, locative adjuncts come last, as seen with the bracketed elements in (4-3). However, the order of adjuncts is not strictly fixed.

---

[39] Verbless sentences can be interpreted as future, present or past tense depending on the context, I will normally translate them as past tense.

(4-3)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [Savalele] | ta | kekele | Kapo | ai-a | i-eno |
| tomorrow | FUT | child | Kapo | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | 3SG.SBJ-sleep |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [pa | luma | diene]. |
| PREP | house | DEM |

‘Tomorrow, a child from Kapo will sleep in this house.’[40]

At the level of the verb clause, three types of grammatical relations are distinguished: subject, direct object, and oblique object. The basic order is SV and AVO, where S represents an intransitive subject, A a transitive subject, V a verb, and O a direct object. Clauses follow a nominative-accusative pattern. Verbs can be accompanied by a variety of grammatical markers, some of which precede the verb and some of which follow. S and A are obligatorily indexed by means of subject prefixes. Lexical O is usually indexed by object suffixes on verbs if they are animate plural (c.f. [4-8]). In (4-4) and (4-5), the S is indexed by the first person singular subject marker *nga-*. The lexical O in (4-5), *ghaya* ‘pig’, is indexed by the third person object suffix, which also functions as a plural marker, *-ri*.

(4-4)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yau | nga-tapu. |
| 1SG | 1SG.SBJ-fall.down |

‘I fell down.’

(4-5)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yau | nga-kona-ri | ghaya. |
| 1SG | 1SG.SBJ-see-3PL.OBJ | pig |

‘I saw pigs.’

---

[40] Verbal sentences can be interpreted as present or past tense. However, I will translate them as past tense into English from now on.

To the extent that the relationship between heads and their dependents is marked, Kove is a head-marking language in verb phrases: both subject and object are indexed on the verb, instead of marking noun phrases, as seen in (4-5) above.

A pronominal O is expressed by means of object suffixes on the verb except for the third person singular, where the independent pronoun is used.[41] The O in (4-6) is expressed by the first person object marker alone, while the O in (4-7) is expressed by the third person independent pronoun and without the object marker.

(4-6) Pana tona-wawa ti-kona-**ghau**.
people ART-DEM 3PL.SBJ-see-1SG.OBJ
'People there saw me.'

(4-7) Pana tona-wawa ti-kona **veai**.
people ART-DEM 3PL.SBJ-see 3SG
'People there saw him/her/it.'

Oblique objects is expressed by prepositions as in (4-8), where the oblique object, *pana*, is headed by a preposition *pa*.

(4-8) Yau nga-pasolani vula **pa-ri** **pana**.
1SG 1SG.SBJ-show shell.necklace PREP-3PL.OBJ people
'I showed a shell necklace to people.'

In verbless sentences, two nouns phrases are juxtaposed without any overt marker, as seen in (4-2), repeated as (4-9) here.

---

[41] Nowadays, an independent pronoun is also used to index a first or second person object, especially among younger speakers.

(4-9) [Mate ai-a watai-nga] [tangi-ra taule ti-pupu].
death 3SG.POSS-POSS.A know-NMLZ cry-NMLZ trumpet.shell 3PL.SBJ-blow
‘A sign of death is the sound of a trumpet shell.’ (lit., ‘Knowing of death is the cry of a trumpet shell.’)

Lexical noun phrases do not distinguish singular and plural number, except for kin terms, where reduplication is used for plurality. The personal pronouns,[42] the subject markers, the object suffixes, and the possessive markers make a two-way number distinction: singular and plural. Example (4-10) shows the forms of the third person independent personal pronouns.

(4-10)
a. veai
3SG
‘he/she/it’

b. asiri
3PL
‘they’

The pronouns, the subject markers, the object suffixes, and the possessive markers also have an inclusive-exclusive distinction in the plural. The forms in (4-11) are the plural possessive pronouns.

(4-11)
a. natu-**ra**
child-1PL.INCL.POSS
‘our (incl.) child’

---

[42] In addition to singular and plural, the personal pronouns have dual and “group” forms. However, I separate them from the basic distinction between singular and plural (see more discussion in 5.1).

b. natu-**mai**
child-1PL.EXCL.POSS
'our (excl.) child'

Animacy plays some role in the grammar of Kove, as shown in the choice of pronouns. The independent personal pronouns are usually used with human referents and referents of higher animacy. It is normal that the singular subject markers and the object markers are used for plural inanimate subjects and objects respectively, unless the referents are individuated.

In many Oceanic languages, there are two types of lexical nouns found in possessive constructions. One type of noun is that which is obligatorily bound to another morpheme: the possessor is expressed by means of a possessive affix on the possessed noun (direct possession). The other type of noun is one that is never bound to any other morpheme (indirect possession). The choice of construction depends on the relation between the possessum and the possessor. The first of the following nouns is considered semantically inalienable (4-12 a), while the second is considered alienable (4-12 b).

(4-12)

a. tama-mu
father-2SG.POSS
'your father'

b. le-mu malo
LE.POSS-2SG.POSS clothes
'your clothes'

However, there are some nouns with which semantically inalienable relations are treated grammatically the way that alienable relations are treated.

Along with verb phrases, Kove is head-marking in noun phrases, as seen in (4-13), where a possessive affix appears on the head possessum noun, rather than the possessor noun.

(4-13) Luke **ai-tama**
Luke 3SG.POSS-father
'Luke's father'

Adpositional phrases normally come after verb phrases. The majority of adpositions are prepositions, but Kove has one postposition, *yai*, referring to locative adjuncts as in (4-14).

(4-14) Ta yau nga-la tuanga **yai.**
FUT 1SG 1SG.SBJ-go village POSTP
'I will go to the village.'

While prepositions take the third person plural object suffix when its object is to be interpreted as plural, this is not the case with the postposition. While the preposition in (4-15 a) takes the object suffix *-ri* to refer to the plurality of its object, the postposition in (4-15 b) does not take the object suffix, even though its object is interpreted as plural. It is ungrammatical if the postposition takes the object suffix as in (4-15 c).

(4-15)
a. Ta yau nga-la **pa-ri** tuanga.
FUT 1SG 1SG.SBJ-go PREP-3PL.OBJ village
'I will go to (different) villages.'

b. Ta yau nga-la tuanga **yai**.
FUT 1SG 1SG.SBJ-go village POSTP
‘I will go to the (different) villages.’[43]

c. * Ta yau nga-la tuanga yai-**ri**.
FUT 1SG 1SG.SBJ-go village POSTP-3PL.OBJ
‘I go to (different) villages.’

Most coordinate and subordinate clauses, including relative clauses are introduced by an overt marker. The natural language found in texts contains a very large amount of serial verb constructions. However, the serial verb constructions of Kove have an idiosyncratic feature: a serialized verb follows the grammatical marker *gha* (see 11.2 for more discussion).

(4-16) Veao u-kea **gha** i-nama.
2SG 2SG.SBJ-take SVU 3SG.SBJ-come
‘Take (it).’ (lit., ‘You take it and it comes.’)

## 4.2 Word Classes

There are three word classes in Kove: open lexical classes, closed lexical classes, and grammatical classes. A lexical class is a category of words with conventionalized lexical meaning, and represents shared physical, cultural, and universal concepts, while grammatical words or morphemes are elements shared in the grammatical structure of clauses (Givón 2001:45). Based on semantic, morphological, and syntactic criteria (Givón 2001:49), I categorize Kove words and morphemes as follows.

---

[43] This sentence is also interpreted as ‘I will go to the village’ as in (4-14).

## 4.2.1 Open lexical classes

Open lexical classes include nouns and verbs (see more discussion on chapter 5 and 7). Both easily accept new entries, including borrowings. However, most borrowings in Kove are nouns, and borrowed verbs are rare.

## 4.2.2 Closed lexical classes

There are three types of closed lexical classes: adjectives, adverbs, and cardinal numerals.

### 4.2.2.1 Adjectives

The words denoting attributes syntactically behave as adjectives to modify nouns.[44]

(4-17) Ghaya    to-duwawa    paka
grass    ART-DEM    big
'That big pig'

(4-18) vuivui    to-duwawa    raerae
grass    ART-DEM    long
'That long grass'

In addition, they can syntactically behave as nouns to occur in the position of a possessum or in a subject position as the noun head.

(4-19) Patu    ai-a    **paka**    maro?
stone    3SG.POSS-A.POSS    big    how
'How big is the stone?' (lit., 'How is the stone's bigness?')

(4-20) Vuivui    ai-a    **raerae**    yangoyango.
grass    3SG.POSS-A.POSS    long    yellow
'The area of long grass is yellow.' (lit., Grass's long (area) is yellow.)

---

[44] However, adjectives can serve as predicates in verbless sentence, as well. This sentence can also mean 'That grass is long'.

This category denoting attributes is also syntactically subclassified into two groups:

Category 1: Those that act only as adjectives/nouns.

Category 2: Those that behave either as verbs or as adjectives/nouns.

There are a very small number of words denoting attributes in Category 1, while the majority of these words belongs to Category 2. The words in Category 1 are *paka* 'big', *kahaku* 'small', *volovolo* 'short', and *doko* 'good'.[45] This category is small and closed. It is also unproductive.

The syntactic evidence of a distinction between Category 1 and Category 2 is this: Category 1 words (1) cannot take a subject marker (4-21); (2) cannot take a causative marker (4-22); (3) cannot take a future marker (4-23); and (4) cannot take a nominalizer (4-24). The following pairs show the contrast between Category 1 and Category 2. Example (a) shows words denoting attributes that cannot function as verbs (Category 1) and Example (b) shows those that do function as verbs (Category 2).

(4-21) SUBJECT MARKER

a. *Ghaya to-duwawa **i-paka**.
   pig ART-DEM 3SG.SBJ-big

b. Vuivui to-duwawa **i-raerae**.
   Grass ART-DEM 3SG.SBJ-long
   'That grass became[46] long.'

---

[45] I found only these four Category 1 words out of about 80 words denoting attributes in my corpus.

[46] In verb clauses, words denoting attributes have an inchoative meaning.

(4-22) CAUSATIVE MARKER

a. *Yau **nga-pa-paka** wagha.
1SG 1SG.SBJ-CAU-big canoe

b. Yau **nga-pa-raerae** wagha
1SG 1SG.SBJ-CAU-long canoe
'I made the canoe longer.'

(4-23) FUTURE MARKER

a. *Ghaya to-duwawa **ta**[47] **paka**.
pig ART-DEM FUT big

b. Vuivui to-duwawa **ta** **i-raerae**.
grass ART-DEM FUT 3SG.SBJ-long
'That grass will become long.'

(4-24) NOMINALIZER

a. *ghaya to-duwawa e-le **paka-nga** sasi.
pig ART-DEM 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS big-NMLZ bad

b. Vuivui to-duwawa e-le **raerae-nga** sasi.
grass ART-DEM 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS long-NOM bad
'The way that grass becomes longer is not good.'

---

[47] Adjectives can take the element *ta*, but this marks epistemic mood:
Ghaya to-duwawa **ta** paka.
pig ART-DEM must big
'That pig **must** be big.' (i.e. based on my assumption or a description that I have heard about it.)

Thus, the words denoting attributes are classified into two categories. Category 1 constitutes a closed lexical class, while Category 2 is a subtype of verbs, which is an open lexical class.

|  | Semantic category | Syntactic category | Class |
|---|---|---|---|
| Category 1 | attributes and degree | 1. Adjectives<br>2. Nouns | Closed class |
| Category 2 | attributes and degree | 1. Adjectives<br>2. Nouns<br>3. Verbs | Open class |

The choice of categories is purely lexical and is unpredictable. For example, while both *paka* 'big' and *volovolo* 'short' belong to Category 1, *raerae* 'long' belongs to Category 2.

### 4.2.2.2 Adverbs

The number of adverbs is small, and they do not have any special morphological properties. Adverb phrases usually come after verbs, as below.

(4-25) Veao U-ani haninga **hamusai**.
2SG 2SG.SBJ-eat food quickly
'(You) eat quickly.'

However, in an imperative situation where adverbs are focused, they may come at the beginning of a sentence.

(4-26) **Hamusai**, veao u-ani haninga.
quickly 2SG 2SG.SBJ-eat food
'(You) eat quickly!'

While past temporal adverbial phrases generally come after verbs, future temporal adverbial phrases usually come at the beginning of a sentence.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (4-27) | **Savalele** | **vongivongi** | **kapurika**, | ta | Avava | i-laro |
|  | tomorrow | morning | early | FUT | Avava | 3SG.SBJ-run |

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| gha | i-la | gha | Mohea. |
| SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go | SVU | Mohea |

‘Tomorrow early morning, Avava will go to Mohea quickly.’

There are locative demonstrative adverbs: *nene* (near both the speaker and the addressee), *nana* (near the addressee, but far from the speaker), *nowawa* (far from both the speaker and the addressee, but visible), *wawa* (far from both the speaker and the addressee, and invisible). They usually occur clause-finally. Here is a pair of examples of locative distant adverbs, *nowawa* and *wawa*.

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| (4-28) A: | Donga | i-mororo | sora? |
|  | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-stay | where |

‘Where is Donga?’

|  |  |
|---|---|
| B: i-mororo | **nowawa**. |
| 3SG.SBJ-stay | LOC.DEM |

‘She is over there (in our sight).’

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| (4-29) A. | Donga | i-mororo | sora? |
|  | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-stay | where |

‘Where is Donga?’

|  |  |  |
|---|---|---|
| B. i-mororo | **wawa**, | Hawaii. |
| 3SG.SBJ-stay | LOC.DEM | Hawai‘i |

‘She is there, in Hawai‘i.’

B'.*i-mororo **nowawa**, Hawaii.
3SG.SBJ-stay LOC.DEM Hawai‘i

The example of (4-29 B') is ungrammatical because Hawai‘i cannot be seen from Papua New Guinea. Instead, *wawa*, which refers to unseen distance, should be used.

These locative demonstrative adverbs can take a definite marker *tona*. However with the definite marker, there is no visible distinction. Both visible and invisible distance is expressed by *tonawawa*.

Table 4.1: Demonstrative

| | Indefinite | Definite |
|---|---|---|
| Proximate | nene | tonanene |
| Intermediate | nana | tonana |
| Distance (visible) | nowawa | tonawawa |
| Distance (invisible) | wawa | |

Kove has some interrogative adverbs such as *sora* 'where?', *ngera* 'when?', and *maro* 'how?'. They normally are positioned at the end of a sentence, except for the future temporal question, as in (4-30 a). The future element in the temporal question sentence is marked only by the position of *ngera*.

(4-30)
a. **Ngera** veao u-la Kimbe?
when 2SG 2SG.SBJ-go Kimbe
'When will you go to Kimbe?'

b. Veao u-la Kimbe **ngera**?
2SG 2SG.SBJ-go Kimbe when
'When did you go to Kimbe?'

The future marker *ta* cannot occur in this construction. In a future context, if *ta* is included, the construction is different, and the interrogative word occurs at the end.

(4-31)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | ***Ngera** | ta | veao | u-la | Kimbe? |
| | when | FUT | 2SG | 2SG.SBJ-go | Kimbe |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| b. | Ta | veao | u-la | Kimbe | ngera? |
| | FUT | 2SG | 2SG.SBJ-go | Kimbe | FUT |

‘When will you go to Kimbe?’

### 4.2.2.3 Numerals

The numeral system is an imperfect decimal system.

Table 4.2: Kove cardinal numeral system

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| One | ere | Six | lima gha ere<br>(five and one) |
| Two | hua | Seven | lima gha hua<br>(five and two) |
| Three | tolu | Eight | lima gha tolu<br>(five and three) |
| Four | pange | Nine | lima gha pange<br>(five and four) |
| Five | lima | Ten | sangaulu |

Table 4.3: Some numeral examples

| | |
|---|---|
| 20 | sangaulu hua |
| 22 | sangaulu hua ai-a suvu hua<br>(ten two 3SG.POSS-A.POSS left over two) |
| 50 | sangalima[48] |
| 60 | sangalima sangaulu ere<br>(fifty ten one) |
| 100 | vuno |
| 101 | vuno ai-a suvu ere<br>(hundred 3SG.POSS-A.POSS left over one) |
| 110 | vuno ai-a suvu sangaulu<br>(hundred 3SG.POSS-A.POSS left over ten) |
| 1,000 | vuno vana |
| 1,001 | vuno vana ai-a suvu ere<br>(thousand 3SG.POSS-A.POSS left over one) |
| 2,000 | vuno vana hua<br>(thousand two) |

Nowadays, it is much more common for native numeral words to be replaced by their Tok Pisin or English equivalents, particularly numbers after six. The numeral ‘one’ has another word, *kehetauere*. The semantic difference from *ere* ‘one’ is that *kehetauere* refers to only one.

Kove has a set of ordinal numerals. While ‘first’ is expressed by a cardinal numeral (*ere* ‘one’), the other ordinal numerals are expressed by means of a possessive construction with a possessive *a* marker. These ordinals are a combination of the cardinal number and a possessive marker with the third person possessive prefix, [NUMERAL *aia*]:

---

[48] 50 is not *sangaulu lima*.

| | |
|---|---|
| first | ere |
| second | hua aia |
| third | tolu aia |
| fourth | pange aia |
| fifth | lima aia |

(4-32) A. mana-mu nga sawa?
desire-2SG.POSS PREP what
'What do you like?'

B. ere, karoki
first, crab
'First, crab,'

hua ai-a, tue
two 3SG.POSS-A.POSS clam
'second, clam,'

tolu ai-a, bisketi
three 3SG.POSS-A.POSS cracker
'third, cracker.'

However, the ordinal numeral forms are not used for racing places or birth orders. Neither have I seen any examples where they are used for human or higher animates. For racing places or birth order, the order is expressed by a verb *mugha*[49] 'first'.

(4-33) Yau nga-mugha.
1SG 1SG.SBJ-first
'I am first.'

---

[49] *Mugha* can function as an adverb, as well.

The order after first is expressed in a verb phrase with *tani* ‘follow’, as follows:

(4-34) Sendra i-tani Beti.
Sendra 3SG.SBJ-follow Beti
‘Sendra is the second.’ (lit., ‘Sendra follows Beti.’)

I was not able to elicit the equivalents of ‘third’ or ‘fourth’. To make such a reference in, for example, ‘I am the third’, a noun or second person’s name is usually mentioned, as in *Sendra i-tani Beti, ne Luxie i-tani Sendra* ‘Sendra is the second, and Luxie is the third’. The concept of ordinal numerals may not be practical.

A set of ordinal numerals is used for multiplicative numerals such as ‘once’, ‘twice’, and ‘three times’. These words function as adverbs, and are usually positioned right after a verb phrase or clause. In the following example, the multiplicative numerals are between the first verb and the second serialized verb clause.

(4-35) I-la $_{vi}$[i-tui eau] **ere** $_{vii}$[gha i-nama].
3SG.SBJ-go 3SG.SBJ-pump water one SVU 3SG.SBJ-come

I-la $_{vi}$[i-tui eau] **hua** **ai-a**
3SG.SBJ-go 3SG.SBJ-pump water two 3SG.POSS-A.POSS

v$_{ii}$[gha i-nama.]
SVU 3SG.SBJ-come
‘He went and pumped water the first time. (Then) he went and pumped water a second time.’

Multiplicative numerals also occur with nouns or temporal words, and function as temporal adverbs. In this case, the word order is [noun / temporal word, NUMERAL, *aia*], as follows (see also 6.1.6):

(4-36)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Vongivongi** | **tolu** | **ai-a**, | ne | ta-ghali | ghaya |
| morning | three | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | PTC | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-hunt | pig |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ta-karo | haninga | ta-ani. |
| 1PL.INCL.SBJ-work | food | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-eat |

‘On the morning of the third day, we hunt a pig, cook food, and eat together.’

There are four counting classifiers, *mopura*, *saku*, *lewa*, and *piusu*. *Mopura* and *saku* are used for a bundled object. *Mopura* is used for a bunch of four taros, and *saku* for two sleeping mattresses in one bundle. For example, *mopura ere* refers to one bunch of taros, a total of four taros, and *mopura tolu* refers to three bunches of taros, a total of twelve taros. Similarly, *saku ere* refers to one bundle, that is, two sleeping mattresses, and *saku toru* refers to three bundles, or six sleeping mattresses. In addition, *kunangi* is used to refer to an extra one, but only for sleeping mattresses. For example, *saku ere kunangi* refers to three mattresses in total.

Table 4.4: Numeral classifiers: 'Taro' and 'sleeping mattress'

Taro:

| | |
|---|---|
| One bunch (=four taros) | mopura ere |
| Two bunches (=eight taros) | mopura hua |
| Three bunches (=twelve taros) | mopura tolu |
| Four bunches (=sixteen taros) | mopura pange |
| Five bunches (=twenty taros) | mopura lima |

Sleeping mattress:

| | |
|---|---|
| One bundle (=two mattresses) | saku ere |
| Two bundles (=four mattresses) | saku hua |
| Three bundles (=six mattresses) | saku tolu |
| Four bundles (=eight mattresses) | saku pange |
| Five bundles (=ten mattresses) | saku lima |
| Extra one | kunangi<br>e.g. saku ere kunangi<br>'three mattresses' |

*Lewa* and *piusu* are monetary classifiers. *Lewa* is for shell-money, which is still used, and *piusu* is for cash. *Lewa ere* refers to one ring of shell-money, which could measure from shoulder to wrist. As mentioned above, the numbers between six and ten are combinations of five and one to four. When the number goes beyond five, the classifier also appears with each numeral, as in *lewa lima lewa ere* 'six rings' (**lewa lima gha ere*). The other classifier, *piusu ere* refers to 10 kina, which is equivalent to about 4.6 US dollars (in 2013). Furthermore, *lewa ere* and *piusu ere* are about the same value, although the value of shell-money depends on the quality of the shells.

Table 4.5: Numeral classifiers: ‘Shell-money’ and ‘cash’

Shell-money:

| | |
|---|---|
| One ring | lewa ere |
| Two rings | lewa hua |
| Three rings | lewa tolu |
| Four rings | lewa pange |
| Five rings | lewa lima |

Cash:

| | |
|---|---|
| 10 kina | piusu ere |
| 20 kina | piusu hua |
| 30 kina | piusu tolu |
| 40 kina | piusu pange |
| 50 kina | piusu lima |

It is worth noting here that sleeping mattresses, shell-money, and cash—but not taro, as far as I know—are all items that are exchanged between families for traditional ceremonies, such as for bride prices or in initiation ceremonies. They are usually bundled and given as a set, instead of one by one.

### 4.2.3 Grammatical classes

The grammatical classes are given in Table 4.6. More details are discussed in later chapters.

Table 4.6: Grammatical classes

| Grammatical classes | Comments | Examples |
|---|---|---|
| Adpositions | Prepositions and a single postposition; some may take both non-clausal and clausal complements | *pa, nga, to, tomanga, yai* |
| Articles | Three articles based on definiteness and specificity | *to, tona, eta* |
| Causative marker | A verbal prefix | *pa-* |
| Serialed verb unifier | Unifier for verbs in serial verb constructions | *gha* |
| Conjunctions | Conjoins phrases or clauses | *gha, o, gha mao, sa* |
| Demonstratives | Three-way distinction: proximate, intermediate, and distant | *diene, diana, duwawa* |
| Intransitive marker | A verbal suffix to convert transitive verbs into intransitive verbs | *-i* |
| Locative demonstratives | Four-way distinction: proximate, intermediate, visible distant and invisible distant | *nene, nana, wawa, nowawa* |
| Nominalizers | Two verbal nominalizers | *-nga, -ra* |
| Particles | All the grammatical elements that are not included above belong in this class. | *ghe, ne,* etc. |
| Possessive markers | Two sub-classes; some are restricted, but others are widely used | *a, le* |
| Pronouns | First, second, and third person; inclusive and exclusive; singular and plural | *yau, nga-, -ghau, -ghu* ,etc. |
| Reciprocal marker | A verbal suffix | *-nga* |
| Tense, Aspect, Mood markers | Some tense, aspect, and mood are marked by grammatical elements | *ta, ghasili, naghe, nagheghe*<br>etc. |

There is a fair amount of homonymy. For example, *nga* (< *ŋa 'nominalizer' in Proto-Oceanic) functions as a nominalizer, but also as a preposition that takes both non-clausal and clausal complements (< *ŋa ‘instrumental, reflective preposition’ in Proto-Western Oceanic), or as the subject marker for the first person singular. There is also some grammatical polysemy, with one form and the same grammatical element having more than one grammatical function.

# Chapter 5

# Nominals and noun phrases

The nominal class in Kove consists of pronouns, nouns, and adjectives. Most nominals can act as heads of noun phrases (NPs). In this chapter, I will first discuss the subclasses of pronominals and nouns,[50] and then look at basic noun phrases. While possessive constructions and nominalizations occur within noun phrases, I will discuss them separately in Chapter 6.

## 5.1 Pronouns

The pronouns include independent personal pronouns (free personal pronouns), and some dependent pronominal forms (bound pronominal forms), namely the subject markers,[51] the object suffixes, and the possessive affixes. The personal pronouns are set out in Table 5.1.

---

[50] Adjectives having nominal functions are discussed in Section 4.2.

[51] Although subject markers are prefixes, I call them subject markers because they do not function as subjects.

Table 5.1: Personal pronouns

Independent:

| | 1 (incl) | 1 (excl) | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Singular | | yau | veao | veai |
| Plural | taita | yai | amiu | asiri |

Subject marker:

| | 1 (incl) | 1 (excl) | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Singular | | nga- | u- | i- |
| Plural | ta- | ya- | a- | ti- |

Object:

| | 1 (incl) | 1 (excl) | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Singular | | -ghau | -gho | ni, (Ø) |
| Plural | -ghita | -ghai | -ghimi | -ri |

Possessive:

| | 1 (incl) | 1 (excl) | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Singular | | -ghu | -mu | ai-, e- |
| Plural | -ra | -mai | -mi | -ri[52] |

The Kove pronominal system encodes three personal distinctions: first person, second person, and third person. There is also a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. While the dual system is common in Oceanic languages, Kove generally marks only two numbers: singular and plural.

As with many Oceanic languages, gender is not encoded. The third singular refers to either male or female.

Animacy plays some role in the Kove pronominal system. The independent personal pronouns are used primarily with human referents. They may occasionally be used with higher animate referents including higher animate referents include pigs, dogs, relatively large animals, spirits, and so on, but they are never used for inanimate referents. With plural inanimate and non-higher animate subjects and objects, the singular forms are normally used for the subject marker and object suffixes, unless the referents are individuated. If a subject or object is a plural inanimate or non-higher animate, it is usually treated as a singular group (see 5.1.1).

---

[52] The forms *-ri* as the third person plural object marker and the third person plural possessive marker are homonyms.

As Table 5.1 shows, the Kove pronominal system has four functional distinctions. They are independent (free), subject marker, object, and possessive. Each function is discussed below.

## 5.1.1 Independent pronouns

### 5.1.1.1 The basic pronouns

Independent pronouns function as both the subjects of verbs and noun phrases and the specifiers for possessors. Examples (5-1) and (5-2) show the third singular independent pronoun acting as the subject of a verb phrase and a noun phrase, respectively. Example (5-3) shows it as the specifier for a possessor.

(5-1) SUBJECT (VERB PHRASE)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Veai** | i-hau | Neti | noha. |
| 3SG | 3SG.SBJ-hit | Neti | yesterday. |

‘He / She hit Neti yesterday.’

(5-2) SUBJECT (NOUN PHRASE)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Veai** | tamine | Kove | ai-a. |
| 3SG | woman | Kove | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

‘She is from Kove.’ (lit., ‘She is a woman of Kove.’)

(5-3) POSSESSOR SPECIFIER

| | |
|---|---|
| **Veai** | ai-tama |
| 3SG | 3SG.POSS-father |

‘his / her father’

In addition to these two functions, the third singular independent pronoun also can function as the object of verbs and prepositions, except with the ditransitive verb *pa* ‘give’, where the object form *ni* is used for the recipient.

(5-4) OBJECT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Neti | i-hau | **veai** | noha. |
| Neti | 3SG.SBJ-hit | 3SG | yesterday |

‘Neti hit him / her yesterday.’

Other independent pronouns cannot be used as the object of verbs and prepositions. Older speakers have reported that the usage of the independent pronouns as the object of a verb except for the third singular is ungrammatical.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-5) | *Neti | i-hau | **yau** | noha. |
| | Neti | 3SG.SBJ-hit | 1SG | yesterday |

(‘Neti hit me yesterday.’)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-6) | *Neti | i-oli | tue | pa | **yau** | noha. |
| | Neti | 3SG.SBJ-buy | clam | PREP | 1SG | yesterday |

(‘Neti bought clams from me yesterday.’)

As discussed in detail in 5.1.3, the direct objects of verbs and prepositions are expressed by object suffixes for other persons:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5-7) | Neti | i-hau-**ghau** | noha. |
| | Neti | 3SG.SBJ-hit-1SG.OBJ | yesterday |

‘Neti hit me yesterday.’

(5-8) Neti i-oli tue pa**-ghau** noha.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-buy clam PREP-1SG.OBJ yesterday
'Neti bought clams from me yesterday.'

However, younger speakers do not hesitate to use independent pronouns as objects; for them, the structures in (5-5) and (5-6) are grammatical. Based on my observations, the independent pronouns are most commonly and frequently used as the objects of basic verbs such as 'hit', 'show', or 'teach', and of prepositions. With verbs that do not occur frequently, it is more common that the object markers are used. This usage pattern may be one of the indications of language change.

The independent pronouns are used in positions in which lexical noun phrases occur. They co-occur in the subject position with the subject markers. However, they cannot occur in conjunction with the object suffixes (see 5.1.3).

#### 5.1.1.2 The non-basic pronouns

As mentioned above, Kove marks only singular and plural. However, two more number categories are found in the set of independent pronouns. One is the dual and the other is the so-called "group (non-family)". Table 5.2 shows their forms, including singular and plural.

Table 5.2: Independent personal pronouns

Independent:

| | 1 (incl) | 1 (excl) | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Singular | | yau | veao | veai |
| Plural | taita | yai | amiu | asiri |
| Dual | tahua | yahua | amihua | asihua |
| Group | tangera | yangera | angera | asingera |

There are some partial similarities among the plural, dual, and group forms: *ta-* = 1PL.INCL, *ya-* = 1PL.EXCL, *a(mi)-* = 2PL, *asi-* = 3PL. Also, there is some association of the form *hua* with the dual number and of *ngera* with the group number. The source of *ngera* is unclear, but as with most Austronesian languages (Blust 2009:333), the dual is derived by adding the numeral *hua* 'two'. It is even possible to derive the trial and some others by adding the related numeral or degree words. This pattern is very productive, as shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Personal pronouns with numerals

| | 1 (incl) | 1 (excl) | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Trial | taitatolu | yaitolu | amiutolu | asiritolu |
| Quadral | taita | yaipange | amiupange | asiripange |
| Many | taitasalai | yaisalai | amiusalai | asirisalai |

However, these are used less frequently; generally, they are used only if the number is emphasized. Moreover, their forms are slightly different from the dual and the group pronouns. In the dual and the group pronouns, the numeral is added to a part of the plural form, whereas in the trial or others, the numeral is added to the whole form of the plural. Thus, I separate the pronouns listed in Table 5.2 from those listed in Table 5.3. The former are lexical pronouns, whereas the latter are productive pronouns (pronominal phrases).

The term "group" is just a convenient label for the fourth category of numbers in the Kove pronominal system, since I could not find a better term for it. The group refers to a group that consists of members of different families. In contrast, the plural usually refers to a group of people from a single family. The following examples show the contrast between the group and the plural. Example (5-9 a) indicates that the group that will go to Kimbe consists of people from different families, while (5-9 b) indicates that the group consists of people from only one family.

(5-9 a) GROUP

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ta | yangera | ya-la | Kimbe. |
| FUT | 1GROUP.EXCL | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go | Kimbe |

‘We will go to Kimbe.’ (‘we’ = members of different families)

(5-9 b) PLURAL

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ta | yai | ya-la | Kimbe. |
| FUT | 1PL.EXCL | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go | Kimbe |

‘We will go to Kimbe.’ (‘we’ = members of one family)

Indeed, the concept of a distinction between the group and the plural seems to reflect a distinctive feature of Kove. As mentioned in 1.3.2, the Kove people have strong ties to each other on the basis of family > relatives > men’s house > village > territorial divisions (East, Central, and West) > Kove area. Although the plural generally refers to a group from a single family, it may be used for a group of people from different families, but from the same clan, the same men’s house, the same village, and so on, in order to show their ties and to distinguish themselves from others. For example, the plural may be used in a situation where the addressee is someone from a different clan, if the speaker wants to distinguish his or her own clan.

Thus, I recognize two more numbers, the dual and the group, in addition to the singular and the plural in Kove’s pronominal system. However, I categorize neither the dual nor the group as basic features of the pronominal system to mark numbers, for the following reasons:

(1) The distinction of number in dependent pronouns

While the independent pronouns mark the dual and group, the other pronominal forms do not have forms for them. They are marked by the plural. In (5-10), while the independent pronoun is the dual, the subject marker on the verb is the plural.

| (5-10) | **Amihua** | sei | **a-**nama? |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 2DU | who.SG | 2PL.SBJ-come |
| | 'Who did you come with?' | | |

(2) Co-occurrence with object suffixes

The singular and plural independent pronouns cannot co-occur with object suffixes. However, both the dual and the group pronouns can co-occur with them in the position of object of transitive verbs, ditransitive verbs, and prepositions.[53] (5-11) illustrates an ungrammatical co-occurrence of the object suffix and the independent form. (5-12) and (5-13) contain the dual and group pronouns with object suffixes in the position of object of transitive verbs.

| (5-11) | *Pana | Nutu | ti-hau**-ghai** | **yai.** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | people | Nutu | 3PL.SBJ-hit-1PL.EXCL.OBJ | 1PL.EXCL |
| | ('People from Nutu hit us.') | | | |

| (5-12) | Pana | Nutu | ti-hau**-ghai** | **yahua.** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | people | Nutu | 3PL.SBJ-hit-1PL.EXCL.OBJ | 1DU.EXCL |
| | 'People from Nutu hit the two of us.' | | | |

---

[53] They do not occur as objects of middle voice verbs.

| *Yai | ya-roa-ghai | yangera |
|---|---|---|
| 1PL.EXCL | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-sit down-1PL.EXCL.OBJ | 1GROUP.EXCL |
| ('We sat down.') | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-13) | Pana | Nutu | ti-hau**-ghai** | **yangera.** |
| | people | Nutu | 3PL.SBJ-hit-1PL.EXCL.OBJ | 1GROUP.EXCL |

‘People from Nutu hit all of us.’

In addition to being able to co-occur with the object suffixes, the group pronouns can occur alongside the independent forms, as follows:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-14) | **Yai** | **yangera** | ya-hau-ri | pana | Nutu. |
| | 1PL.EXCL | 1GROUP.EXCL | 1PL.EXCL-hit-3PL.OBJ | people | Nutu |

‘We hit people from Nutu.’

Table 5.4 summarizes the grammaticality of each pronominal number category’s co-occurrence with other pronominal forms.

Table 5.4: Co-occurrence among pronominals

| | With SBJ | With OBJ of TRAN Vs | With OBJ of middle Vs | With OBJ of the DITRA V | With OBJ of PREPs | With independent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SG/PL | YES | NO | YES | NO | NO | |
| DU | YES | YES | NO | YES | YES | NO |
| IND | YES | YES | NO | YES | YES | YES |

(3) Inclusory constructions

The third difference between the basic and the non-basic numbers is their semantic and syntactic behavior in inclusory constructions (see 5.1.5). While the singular and plural cannot occur in inclusory constructions, the dual and group play a role as inclusory pronouns in this construction.

Thus, the group and the dual are syntactically and functionally different from the singular and plural. Based on this, I treat the dual and the group separately from the singular and plural, and I propose a two-number system of Kove pronouns.

### 5.1.2 Subject marker

The subject markers are prefixes, which verbs obligatorily carry. They index the subject and agree with its person and number, but do not mark any grammatical properties such as tense, aspect, negation, and so on. They may co-occur with an independent pronoun or lexical noun phrase that is the subject of the sentence. Below are a few examples of the subject markers. (5-15) illustrates the co-occurrence of a subject marker and an independent pronoun in subject position. (5-16) contains both a subject marker and a lexical noun phrase.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5-15) | **(Yau)** | **nga-**so-sohi | moe. |
| | 1SG | 1SG.SBJ-RED-remove | pandanus |

‘I am stripping the edge of pandanus leaves.’ (lit., ‘I am removing pandanus.’)’

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-16) | **Avava** | **i-**lua-i | gha | **i-**nama. |
| | Avava | 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-come |

‘Avava came back.’

The singular form is usually used for plural inanimate or non-higher animate referents. In (5-17), the singular is used for the subject marker. There may be more than one piece of clothing, but here it is all treated as a single entity.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (5-17) | Malo | **i**-kua. |
| | clothes | 3SG.SBJ-wet |

‘Clothes became wet.’

However, it is possible for an inanimate or a non-higher animate subject to be indexed for its plurality by the subject marker, if the referents are treated as a group of individual entities. In (5-18), the plural subject marker is used to emphasize that each individual piece of clothing is wet.

(5-18) Malo ti-kua.
clothes 3PL.SBJ-wet
'Clothes became wet'

Although the independent pronouns as well as the lexical noun phrases may be omitted, I consider the subject prefixes on verbs to be subject agreement markers, while the independent pronouns and lexical noun phrases are subjects. The reason for this is that agreement markers are used obligatorily and consistently, while independent personal pronouns are used optionally (Bhat 2004:24). Moreover, it is common across languages for a clause not to have a subject phrase, but subject markers are omitted much less frequently (Lichtenberk 2008:244). Additionally, it is the subject that identifies the actor, while the subject marker functions only to index its person and number.

### 5.1.3 Object suffixes

The object suffixes, except for the third person singular, function as the direct object of verbs and prepositions.

(5-19) DIRECT OBJECT OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

Neti i-hau-**ghau** noha.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit-1SG.OBJ yesterday
'Neti hit me yesterday.'

(5-20) DIRECT OBJECT OF MIDDLE VOICE VERBS[54]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yau | nga-lua-**ghau** | gha | nga-nama | noha. |
| 1SG | 1SG.SBJ-return-1SG.OBJ | SVU | 1SG.SBJ-come | yesterday |

‘I came back yesterday.’

(5-21) DIRECT OBJECT OF THE DITRANSITIVE VERB

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Neti | i-pa-**ghau** | niu | noha. |
| Neti | 3SG.SBJ-give-1SG.OBJ | coconut | yesterday |

‘Neti gave me a coconut yesterday.’

(5-22) DIRECT OBJECT OF PREPOSITIONS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Neti | i-pasolani | vula | pa-**ghau** | noha. |
| Neti | 3SG.SBJ-show | shell.necklace | PREP-1SG.OBJ | yesterday |

‘Neti showed a shell necklace to me yesterday.’

However, the third person singular form is not used as an object suffix with transitive verbs (see 5.1.1), which require the independent pronoun as shown in (5-4), repeated here as (5-23).

(5-23)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Neti | i-hau | **veai** | noha. |
| Neti | 3SG.SBJ-hit | 3SG | yesterday |

‘Neti hit him / her yesterday.’

Although the third person singular is expressed by the independent pronoun with transitive verbs, there are a few “potential” suffix forms for it. One of them is *-ni*. It is clearly an object suffix because it is used for the recipient direct object of the ditransitive verb and the direct object of prepositions, as in (5-24) and (5-25).

---

[54] Middle verbs are apparently transitive verbs that take co-referential subjects and direct objects (see Chapter 7).

(5-24) Yau nga-pa**-ni** niu noha.
1SG 1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ coconut yesterday.
'I gave him / her a coconut yesterday.'

(5-25) Yau nga-pasolani vula pa**-ni** noha.
1SG 1SG.SBJ-show shell.necklace PREP-3SG.OBJ yesterday
'I showed a shell necklace to him / her yesterday.'

The second potential suffix is a zero suffix. I hypothesize that the zero suffix is an underlying form, for two reasons. First, the third person plural object pronoun *-ri* is used to index the plural for the direct object on verbs, so it is not surprising if there is a singular marker on verbs. Second, some related languages like Gitua do not have a visible pronominal form for the third person singular object.[55] Based on the data of Kove and its related languages, it is possible that Proto Ngero did not have a visible form for the third person singular object, and that this pattern is retained in many of its daughter languages. Indeed, this hypothesis is supported by the use of the third person singular independent form, a usage that may be due to the lack of a visible form, and, possibly, by a co-relationship with the suffix *-i*, which is discussed next.

The last potential suffix for the third person singular object is *-i.* However, it is debatable whether this suffix is a third person object suffix or not. Apparently, this suffix appears with middle voice verb constructions, where verbs always take the direct object pronoun as co-referential to the subject, as (5-26) shows (see also [5-20] for comparison).

(5-26) Donga i-roa-**i** nene.
Donga 3SG.SBJ-sit down-X LOC.DEM
'Donga sat down here.'
(Note that I gloss *-i* as X here.)

---

[55] This is based on the data provided by Peter C. Lincoln.

Based on this data, two analyses of *-i* are possible. One is that *-i* is the third person singular object pronoun because it occurs in the position of a direct object with the middle voice verbs when the agent is the third person singular. However, a question is why the suffix appears only on the middle verbs, and does not occur with any other types of verbs. The second proposal is that the suffix *-i* is the intransitive suffix, which appears on transitive verbs to convert them into intransitive verbs (see 7.3.2), as in *pela-i* 'open or be open' and *pela* 'open O'. The reason for this hypothesis is that although the middle voice verbs have to take the direct object as co-referential to the subject, they do not carry any visible form for the third person singular because the third person singular object form is zero in the underlying structure. In order to avoid grammatical constraints, the middle verbs take the intransitive suffix *-i*, and the verbs look as if they are intransitive verbs.[56] Here is the process suggested in this hypothesis:

---

[56] The same suffix form appears with the nominalized form of the middle verbs, as in *roa-i-nga* (sit down-X-NMLZ) 'sitting down' or *lua-i-nga* (return-X-NMLZ) and with the base form of the middle verbs, as in *roai* 'sit down' or *luai* 'return', though it does not appear in the usage the verbs. This is possible because since the nominalized and base forms do not have a direct object element, they also need to be intransitivized by adding *-i*. In other words, the middle verbs possibly take the intransitive suffix *-i*, if there is no visible element of the direct object (see also 7.2.4).

UNDERLYING FORM:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ta | Donga | i-lua-Ø | gha | i-la. |
| FUT | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-return-3SG.OBJ | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go |

‘Donga will be gone.’

↓

INTRANSITIVIZATION:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ta | Donga | i-lua-Ø-i | gha | i-la. |
| FUT | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-return-3SG.OBJ-INTR | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go |

‘Donga will be gone.’

↓

SURFACE FORM:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ta | Donga | i-lua-i | gha | i-la. |
| FUT | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go |

‘Donga will be gone.’

Here is a summary of the forms for the third person singular object pronoun:

Hypothesis 1: (1) -*ni* (ditransitive recipient and direct object for prepositions), (2) *zero* (underlying), and (3) -*i* (middle verbs)

Hypothesis 2: -*ni* (ditransitive recipient and direct object for prepositions), *zero* (underlying)

If we take hypothesis 1, a question is why –*i* occurs only with middle verbs. What is the motivation? Therefore, hypothesis 2 may be the more reasonable suggestion. However, in order to draw a conclusion, more data and a deeper analysis are required.

Unlike the subject markers, it is not possible for the object suffixes to co-occur with independent pronouns, as shown in (5-27) and (5-28).

(5-27) *Neti i-hau-**ghau** **yau** noha.

Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit-1SG.OBJ 1SG yesterday

(‘Neti hit me yesterday.’)

(5-28) * Neti i-pasolani vula pa-**ghau** **yau** noha.

Neti 3SG.SBJ-show shell.necklace PREP-1SG.OBJ 1SG yesterday

(‘Neti showed a shell necklace to me yesterday.’)

However, they can co-occur with lexical noun phrases.

(5-29) DIRECT OBJECT OF TRANSITIVE VERBS (AS PLURAL)

Neti i-hau-**ri** **pana** Kapo noha.

Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit-3PL.OBJ people Kapo yesterday

‘Neti hit people from Kapo village yesterday.’

(5-30) DIRECT OBJECT OF THE DITRANSITIVE VERB (AS A RECIPIENT)

Yau nga-pa-**ni**[57] Neti niu noha.

1SG 1SG-give-3SG.OBJ Neti coconut yesterday.

‘I gave Neti a coconut yesterday.’

(5-31) OBJECT OF PREPOSITIONS (AS PLURAL)

Neti i-pasolani vula pa-**ri** **pana** Kapo.

Neti 3SG.SBJ-show shell.necklace PREP-3PL.OBJ people Kapo

‘Neti showed a shell necklace to people from Kapo.’

In fact, the third person plural object form *-ri* is used to mark the plurality of the object, instead of marking this on the object itself.

Thus, the object suffixes of Kove function as direct objects of verbs and prepositions. Furthermore, they are used as the object marker to index the number of a lexical noun phrase. However, the third person singular has some idiosyncratic features.

---

[57] *-ni* refers to the recipient *Neti*, rather than to *niu* ‘coconut.’

## 5.1.4 Possessive affixes

The last category of Kove pronouns is possessives, which are affixes that index the possessor. The possessive pronouns are suffixes, except for the third person singular, which is a prefix.

Possessive affixes attach either to nouns or to possessive markers, depending on the nature of the nouns (see Chapter 6).

As mentioned in 5.1.2, the possessive can co-occur with the independent pronouns as well as with lexical noun phrases. In the following examples, the independent pronouns are optional. In (5-32), the possessive pronoun attaches to the noun *tama*, and in (5-33), it attaches to the possessive marker *a*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (5-32) | **(taita)** | tama**-ra** |
| | 1PL.INCL | father-1PL.INCL.POSS |
| | ‘our father’ | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5-33) | **(taita)** | a**-ra** | tue |
| | 1PL.INCL | A.POSS-1PL.INCL.POSS | clam |
| | ‘our clam(s)[58]’ | | |

(5-34) shows the lexical noun phrase in the position of the specifier for the possessor.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-34) | Donga | gha | maseli | a-**ri** | tue |
| | Donga | CONJ | others | A.POSS-3PL.POSS | clam |
| | ‘Donga and others’ clams’ | | | | |

---

[58] It is more natural that this phrase is treated as plural in natural context (see 5.1.2).

### 5.1.5 Inclusory pronouns

The inclusory pronouns are pronouns that denote “a set of participants that includes the one or those referred to by the lexical noun phrase” (Lichtenberk 2000:1). While personal pronouns have non-singular forms such as dual or plural forms, they indicate the number of the whole phrase, instead of denoting the number of a pronoun’s own referents (Bhat 2004:103). For example, (5-35) contains two participants, Neti and the first person singular. The set of participants is expressed by *yahua*, which is an inclusory pronoun, and it includes *Neti* as one of the participants.

(5-35) yahua Neti
1DU.EXCL Neti
‘Neti and I’

The inclusory pronouns are not special pronominal forms to distinguish independent and dependent pronominals. Rather, they are defined by their functions. In other words, some pronominals can function as inclusory pronouns.

Inclusory pronouns are found in many Oceanic languages (Lichtenberk 2000:1, 2008). There are two types of inclusory constructions, according to syntactic parameters. One is a phrasal construction where “the inclusory pronominal and the included NP together form a phrase” (2000:3). The other is a split construction where “the inclusory pronominal and the included NP do not form a phrase” (2000:6). In this case, the inclusory pronominal is usually a dependent pronominal such as a subject marker (2000:3–4, 2008:656). The following pair of examples of a phrasal and a split construction is from Toqabaqita.

(5-36) PHRASAL INCLUSORY

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Kamareqa** | **doqora-ku** | meki | lae | ma-i | qusungadi. |
| 1DU | brother-1SG.PERS | 1DU.EXCL.FUT | go | VENTI-at | tomorrow |

‘My brother and I will come tomorrow.’

(5-37) SPLIT INCLUSORY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Doqora-mu** | **mere** | ngata. |
| brother-2SG.PERS | 1DU.EXCL.NONFUT | speak |

‘Your brother and I spoke (to each other).’

Given that both subject marker and object pronominals always index the number of the subject in these contexts, Kove seems not to have split inclusory constructions. For example, (5-38) is ungrammatical because the subject illustrated in this context is only *Neti*, so the subject marker should be the third person singular.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5-38) | *Neti | **ti-**la | Kimbe. |
| | Neti | 3PL.SBJ-go | Kimbe |

(‘They, including Neti, went to Kimbe.’)

However, Kove does have phrasal inclusory constructions. Furthermore, inclusory pronouns are always non-base number pronouns, particularly the dual or group. In an inclusory construction, the independent pronoun that has the inclusory function and the included NP together form a syntactic phrase. The inclusory pronoun always comes first before the included NP, as seen in (5-35), repeated here as (5-39), where the dual pronoun *yahua* precedes the included NP *Neti*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (5-39) | yahua | Neti |
| | 1DU.EXCL | Neti |

‘Neti and I’

It is ungrammatical if the inclusory pronoun follows the included NP.

(5-40) *Neti yahua
Neti 1DU.EXCL

Given that Kove pronouns are usually used with human or high animacy referents, the included NPs are likely to refer to either humans or high animates. However, interestingly, the included NP can be a place name. In such a case, the NP indicates people from the place. For example, in (5-41), the included NP is Talawa, which is a village name. Although the included NP does not include the word referring to human referents, *pana*, it is clear from the context that it refers to 'people from Talawa'.

(5-41) Pana Nutu ti-hau-ghai **yangera** **Talawa**.
people Nutu 3PL.SBJ-hit-1PL.EXCL.OBJ 1GROUP.EXCL Talawa
'People from Nutu hit us, including people from Talawa.'

Other numbers of independent pronouns such as trial or quadral can also be inclusory pronouns.

(5-42) Amiutolu eta, a-nama.
2TRI ART 2PL.SBJ-come
'You and the other two, come.'

Phrasal inclusory constructions are headed, and furthermore, the inclusory pronoun is the head. This is because the subject markers index the person, number, and exclusivity of the inclusory pronoun, as in (5-43). It is the same with the object marker, which agrees with the inclusory pronoun in number.

(5-43) Yahua Neti ya-la Kimbe.
1DU.EXCL Neti 1PL.EXCL-go Kimbe
‘Neti and I went to Kimbe.’

Another reason to consider the inclusory pronoun as the head is semantic. The pronoun denotes the “superset,” which refers to the total set of participants, and the included NP is the “subset,” which is a modifier (Lichtenberk 2000:2).

The inclusory constructions are common in texts or conversations in Kove. They are found in the position of subject, object, oblique-object, and possessor, as follows:

(5-44) POSITION OF SUBJECT
**Amihua** **sei** a-nama?
2DU who.SG 2PL.SBJ-come
‘Who did you come with?’ (lit., ‘You including who came?’)

(5-45) POSITION OF OBJECT OF TRANSITIVE VERBS
Donga i-pasolani-ghai **yahua** **Neti** nga.
Donga 3SG.SBJ-show-1PL.EXCL.OBJ 1DU.EXCL Neti PREP

Hawaii ai-anunu.
Hawai‘i 3SG.POSS-picture
‘Donga showed Neti and me a picture of Hawai‘i.’

(5-46) POSITION OF OBJECT OF THE DITRANSITIVE VERB AS A RECIPIENT[59]
Atoa i-pa-ri **asihua** **Neti** tue.
grandmother 3SG.SBJ-give-3PL.OBJ 3DU Neti clam
‘The grandmother gave Neti and him / her clams.’

---

[59] Human referents would not be the theme object, so it is unlikely that the inclusory constructions occur in the position of the theme object.

(5-47) POSITION OF OBJECT OF PREPOSITIONS

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yau | nga-oli | tue | pa-ri | **asingera** | **Elsi**. |
| 1SG | 1SG.SBJ-buy | clam | PREP-3PL.OBJ | 3GROUP | Elsi |

‘I bought clams for them, including Elsi.’

(5-48) POSITION OF POSSESSORS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **tangera** | **Neti** | a-ra | tue |
| 1GROUP.INCL | Neti | A.POSS-1PL.INCL.POSS | clam |

‘our, including Neti’s, clams’

The inclusory constructions occur in any position except as objects of middle verbs, though middle verbs take object pronominal suffixes.

(5-49) POSITION OF OBJECT OF MIDDLE VERBS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Asiri | ti-roa-ri | asingera | Neti? |
| 3PL | 3PL.SBJ-sit.down-3PL.OBJ | 3GROUP | Neti |

(‘Did they, including Neti, sit down?’)

Thus, inclusory pronouns in Kove involve the non-base independent pronouns, especially the dual and group. In fact, the dual and group pronouns usually appear in inclusory constructions. It is not common for the dual and group pronouns to occur in non-inclusory constructions.

## 5.2 Nouns

### 5.2.1 Noun classes

Nouns in Kove can be categorized in several ways. The first classification is a distinction between common nouns and proper nouns. Common nouns can occur with certain grammatical markers that proper nouns cannot take. For example, proper nouns cannot occur with the article *eta*.

(5-50 a) COMMON NOUN

uraghe eta

knife ART

‘a knife’

(5-50 b) PROPER NOUN

*Maria eta

Maria ART

Also, proper nouns cannot occur with numerals.

(5-51 a) COMMON NOUN

uraghe hua

knife two

‘two knifes’

(5-51 b) PROPER NOUN

*Maria hua

Maria two

(‘two Maria’)

The common nouns have a distinction based on animacy: higher animacy nouns, lower animacy nouns, and inanimate nouns. This distinction governs their grammatical behavior. First, higher animacy nouns, especially those with human referents, are normally marked for non-singular number by pronominals, whereas lower animacy nouns or inanimate nouns are not normally marked in this way. Second, the animacy hierarchy influences the choice of the object marker for plurality. Objects of transitive verbs and prepositions take the plural object marker *-ri* when the lexical noun phrase is plural. However, only one instance of *-ri* can occur within a clause. In such a case, the higher animacy referent is chosen for marking (see Chapter 6).

(5-52)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | *Nga-pasolani-**ri** | vula | pa-**ri** | pana. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-show-3PL.OBJ | shell.necklace | PREP-3PL.OBJ | people |

(‘I showed shell necklaces to people.’)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| b. | Nga-pasolani | vula | pa-**ri** | pana. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-show | shell.necklace | PREP-3PL.OBJ | people |

‘I show (many) shell necklaces to people.’

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| c. | Nga-pasolani-**ri** | pana | nga | vula. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-show-3PL.OBJ | people | PREP | shell.necklace |

‘I show (many) shell necklaces to people.’

Common nouns are subcategorized into count and mass nouns. Only count nouns can be treated as plural by pronouns, the plural marker, numerals, and the article. However, nouns that are mass nouns in the basic meaning can be treated as count nouns when they are treated as units.

(5-53 a) WITH PLURAL MARKER

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yau | nga-ani-ri | haninga. |
| 1SG | 1SG.SBJ-eat-3PL.OBJ | food |

‘I ate different kinds of food.’

(5-53 b) WITH NUMERAL

| | |
|---|---|
| haninga | tolu |
| food | three |

‘three kinds of food / three plates of food’ or ‘There are three kinds of food.’

Common nouns are also grammatically subcategorized into direct possessive class and indirect possessive class. The direct possessive class contains nouns that obligatorily take the possessive pronominals, whereas nouns in the indirect possessive class cannot take the possessive nominal on themselves (see 6.1).

(5-54 a) DIRECT POSSESSIVE NOUN
tama-ghu
father-1SG.POSS
'my father'

(5-54 b) INDIRECT POSSESSIVE NOUN
le-ghu uraghe
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS knife
'my knife'

Proper nouns can be syntactically subcategorized into two groups: place name and non-place name.[60] Both common nouns and proper nouns take a definite marker *to*. However, a place name follows the definite marker, whereas a non-place name precedes the definite marker.

(5-55 a) PLACE NAME
To Kimbe u-oli sawa?
ART Kimbe 2SG.SBJ-buy what?
'What did you buy in Kimbe?' (lit., 'In the Kimbe, what did you buy?')

(5-55 b) NON-PLACE NAME
Paul to i-oli sawa?
Paul ART 3SG.SBJ-buy what?
'What did Paul buy?' (lit., 'What did the Paul buy?')

---

[60] Place name can function both as the noun and adverb (see 8.2).

(5-55 c) COMMON NOUN
Pana to ti-oli sawa?
people ART 3PL.SBJ-buy what
‘What did people buy?’ (lit., ‘What did the people buy?’)

The temporal words such as *noha* ‘yesterday’, *savalele* ‘tomorrow’, and *vongivongi* ‘morning’, can function as nouns. The following example includes a temporal noun *vongi* ‘noun’ and its modifier.

(5-56) vongi tolu eta
night three ART
‘three nights.’

In addition, they can also function as the head of a noun phrase, as follows. In (5-57), *vongi* occurs in the position of subject. Furthermore, it functions as the possessum.

(5-57) Le-ghu vongi i-la pa-ni
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS night 3SG.SBJ-go give-3SG.OBJ

waha-ghu.
uncle/aunt-1SG.POSS
‘Please give my greeting to my uncle/aunt.’ (lit., ‘My night greeting goes to my uncle/aunt.’)

## 5.2.2 Plurality

Plurality is not marked on nouns in Kove, except for kin terms. For kinship nouns, either full or partial reduplication is used for the plural. The choice of reduplication strategy is unpredictable, but most of the cases are full reduplication.

(5-58 a) FULL REDUPLICATION
tama-tama-ghu
father-RED-1SG.POSS
'my fathers'

(5-58 b) PARTIAL REDUPLICATION
ta-tari-ghu
RED-sibling-1SG.POSS
'my younger parallel siblings and cousins'

The plurality of a noun is usually indicated by numerals or degree words.

(5-59) niu salai
coconut many
'many coconuts' or 'There are many coconuts.'

In addition, if nouns are modified by adjectives, the plurality can be expressed by means of the plural object marker on the adjectives unless the adjectives have their own plural forms marked by reduplication.

(5-60) malo kua-ri
clothes wet-3PL.OBJ
'(several pieces of) wet clothes' or '(Several pieces of) clothes are wet.'

(5-61) niu moho-ri
coconut old-3PL.OBJ
'old coconuts'

There are a few adjectives that can be reduplicated.[61] They are *paka* 'big', *doko* 'good', *sasi* 'bad', and *pau* 'new'. These adjectives cannot take the plural object marker.[62]

(5-62) niu pa-paka
coconut RED-big
'big coconuts' or 'Coconuts are big.'

(5-63) *niu paka-ri
coconut big-3PL.OBJ

# 5.3 Noun phrases[63]

## 5.3.1 Basic types of noun phrases

The minimal basic noun phrase consists of a noun or independent pronoun, as follows:

(5-64) **Yau** nga-so-sohi moe.
1SG 1SG.SBJ-RED-remove pandanus
'I am removing serrated edges of pandanus leaves.' (lit., 'I am removing pandanus.')

(5-65) **Kaua** i-tihi-ghai.
dog 3SG.SBJ-run away-1PL.EXCL.OBJ
'A dog ran away from us.'

---

[61] In addition, the word *kahaku* 'small' is used only when the modified object is singular. When it is plural, *ghighihiti* is used, as in *kakau kahaku* 'small child' vs *kakau ghighihiti* 'small children'.

[62] While they cannot take the plural object marker, some of them can take the subject marker and some verbal affixes, and function as verbs (see 4.2.2.1).

[63] I discuss noun phrases here, but the same constructions can be interpreted as non-verbal clauses:
ghaya paka
pig big
'a big pig' or 'A pig is big.'

Most noun modifiers are postnominal modifiers. However, the possessive comes before the noun (see Chapter 6). Also, the article and demonstrative occur before the noun if the head noun is a place name.

(possessive) NOUN (article / demonstrative / numeral / adjective)

(article / demonstrative) PLACE NAME

The order among the postnominal modifiers is flexible, although the article and demonstrative prefer to be closer to the noun head. Furthermore, in a sequence of an article and a demonstrative, the article always precedes the demonstrative.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-66) | **Momo** | **to** | **tolu** | lalaere | kelengi. |
| | sago.palm | ART | three | equal | too |

‘The three sago palms are the same size.’ (lit., ‘The three sago palms are equal to each other.’)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-67) | **To-nana** | Hawaii | lighu | i-kea-ghimi | kelengi? |
| | ART-LOC.DEM | Hawai‘i | hurricane | 3SG.SBJ-take-2PL.OBJ | too |

‘In Hawai‘i, do you have hurricanes, too?’ (lit., ‘In that Hawaiʹi, a hurricane takes you?’)

In general, pronominal heads cannot co-occur with these elements, and only lexical nouns can occur.

## 5.3.2 Modifiers

### 5.3.2.1 Articles: *to*, *tona*, *eta*

There are three articles in Kove, *to*, *tona*, and *eta*. The distinction among them is in definiteness and specificity. I will first discuss the definitions of definiteness, specificity, and referentiality, and then examine each article of Kove.

Definiteness, specificity, and referentiality are semantic properties that determine how to “adapt speakers’ utterances to the context, including the addressee’s presumed mental state” (Payne 1997:261). Different scholars define them in different ways. Some combine definiteness and specificity. Others categorize specificity and referentiality together. However, it is important to separate specificity from definiteness and referentiality in the usage of articles in Kove.

Definiteness, sometimes called identifiability (Payne 1997:263), is defined as the property by which the speaker judges an entity to be identifiable to the hearer. That is, the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify the referent or not, either (1) because the referent was previously mentioned in the context of discourse, as in (5-68); (2) because the referent is part of the interlocutors’ shared knowledge, as in (5-69); or (3) because there is an association with something identified in the sentence, as in (5-70) (Givón 1978:296–297; Gúerin 2007:538-553; Payne 1997:263–264). Definiteness in English is marked by the determiner *the*.

(5-68) She bought **the** car (I previously talked about).

(5-69) The earth revolves around **the** sun.

(5-70) She bought **the** car she wanted.

Specificity is a property of the knowledge state of the speaker (Ionin 2006:191). In a specific expression, the speaker has a particular referent in mind, but there is no specific individual being referred to, so the referent may not be identified by the hearer. It states only the speaker’s view of what is noteworthy, and not the state of the listener’s knowledge or ability to identify the referent. In contrast, an unspecific expression indicates that the speaker does not have an individual or a particular referent in mind. This property is sometimes called objective referentiality (Payne 1997:264). English does not have a grammatical distinction between specific and non-specific, and marks both semantic categories with the article *a*.

(5-71) **A man** just proposed to me in the orangery (though I'm much too embarrassed to tell you who it was).

(5-72) **A man** is in the women's bathroom (but I haven't dared to go in there to see who it is).

(Fodor and Sag 1982:359)

(5-71) is an example with a specific referent, where the speaker has a particular referent in mind. It also indicates that there must be something important about the individual that the speaker is talking about, but this "something important" may not be directly related to the identity of the individual. On the other hand, (5-72) is an example with a non-specific referent: the speaker does not have any particular person in mind.

While a specific expression can be marked by *a* in English, it is sometimes marked by *this*. Usually, in a specific expression with *this*, the sentence is followed by a separate statement about the referent or the referent is something unexpected. This is sometimes called discourse referentiality (Payne 1997:266). In (5-73), the sentence with a specific expression is followed by a separate statement.

(5-73) I want to see **this new movie. It's one that my friends have been recommending to me for ages.**

(Ionin 2006:185)

In (5-74), the word *this* indicates unexpectedness because we usually do not expect apples to be blue.

(5-74) I found **this blue apple** on my plate!

(Ionin 2006:185)

The last property is referentiality. Referentiality is a category in which "the speaker assumes the existence of a particular referent in the universe of discourse" (Gúerin 2007:540). Referential expressions refer to entities that exist in the world, as in (5-75), but in non-referential expressions, the speaker does not commit to the existence of a particular entity, as in (5-76). Since English does not have a distinction in referentiality, both referential and non-referential noun phrases are marked by *a*.

(5-75) Arlyne wanted to marry **a Norwegian, but he refused**.

(5-76) Arlyne wanted to marry **a Norwegian, but she couldn't find one**.

(Guérin 2007:539)

In Kove, the grammatical marking is based on a combination of definiteness and specificity. However, there is no morphological distinction in referentiality. Table 5.5 shows the articles of definiteness and specificity in Kove.

Table 5.5: Articles

| | Definite | Indefinite |
|---|---|---|
| Specific | to | tona |
| Unspecific | - | eta |

Kove articles can occur both with common nouns and proper nouns, except for *eta*, which cannot occur with proper nouns. As described above, articles follow the noun head, except for a place name. They can occur with both singular and plural nouns.[64] Furthermore, they can occur with numerals. However, they cannot occur with non-numeral quantifiers such as *some* and *a few*. Both *tona* and *eta* can occur with nouns in any grammatical position. However, *to* has some constraints; it occurs with nouns in the subject position, but not in any other grammatical position.

#### 5.3.2.1.1 Definite + Specific: *to*

*To* is an article that encodes definiteness and specificity. When a speaker marks a noun phrase as definite and specific, the referent is identified both by the speaker and hearer. In (5-77), the referent, *kaua* 'dog', was previously mentioned by the speaker, so both the speaker and hearer can identify which dog the speaker is talking about.

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-77) | Kaua | **to** | ai-era | sei? |
|  | dog | ART | 3SG.POSS-name | who.SG |

'What is the name of the dog (that I was talking about)?'

It is possible for *to* to occur with other noun modifiers such as possessives, numerals, or adjectives.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-78) | Le-ghu | malo | **to** | **tolu** | i-takai-ri. |
|  | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | clothes | ART | three | 3SG.SBJ-be torn-3PL.OBJ |

'My three clothes (that I talked about) got torn.'

If *to* occurs with the degree word *salai* 'many', the combination lexicalizes to 'all': *to* + *salai* → *tosalai* 'all'. However, I did not find other non-numeral quantifiers occurring with *to*. Thus, *to* can occur with quantifiers and encode either singular or plural. If it occurs without quantifiers, it does not indicate plurality. In other words, in (5-77), the referent 'dog' could be one dog or more than one dog.

---

[64] However, I have not found an example of *tona* with a plural.

As mentioned above, the definite specific article can occur with common nouns and proper nouns. However, interestingly, a noun phrase with the definite specific article has a constraint in that it has to occur in the subject position.[65] It is ungrammatical for it to occur in non-subject positions. In the following examples, a noun phrase with *to* occurs as the subject in (5-79) and as the object of a preposition in (5-80); the latter is ungrammatical.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-79) | **Paul** | **to** | i-pa-ghau | moni. |
| | Paul | ART | 3SG.SBJ-give-1SG.OBJ | money |

'Paul (who I talked about previously) gave me money.'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-80) | *Nga-pa-ni | moni | pa | **Paul** | **to.** |
| | 1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ | money | PREP | Paul | ART |

('I gave money to Paul [who I talked about previously].')

Instead of *to*, the indefinite specific marker *tona* is used with the object of a preposition. In this context, while the indefinite specific marker is used, the referent is definite.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-81) | Nga -pa-ni | moni | pa | **Paul** | **tona**. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ | money | PREP | Paul | ART |

'I gave money to (a certain) Paul (who I talked about previously).'

---

[65] It can be a locative adverb (see 8.2).

#### 5.3.2.1.2 Indefinite + Specific: *tona*

An indefinite specific expression is a category where the referent is not identifiable by the hearer, but the speaker has it in mind. It is marked by *tona*. In the following example, *tona* is used with *lusi* 'mountain'. In this context, the mountain was never mentioned previously. Therefore, it is an indefinite expression. However, because the speaker has this mountain in mind, although the hearer cannot identify it, it is specific.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-82) | I-eulughu | gha | i-nama | i-ghunu-i |
| | 3SG.SBJ-go down | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-come | 3SG.SBJ-stand.up-INTR |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| pa | lusi | **tona** | sae | tau. |
| PREP | mountain | ART | big | very |

'He came down and stood on a very big mountain.'

Here is one more example. As with (5-82), the referent has not been mentioned previously. However, the speaker has the individual in mind. Since the noun is a proper noun, the hearer may be able to identify it, but whether the hearer identifies it or not does not matter for the choice of specificity.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-83) | Paul | **tona** | i-kea | vula | gha | i-nama. |
| | Paul | ART | 3SG.SBJ-bring | shell.necklace | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-come |

'Paul brought shell necklaces.'

#### 5.3.2.1.3 Indefinite and non-specific: *eta*

*Eta* is the indefinite and non-specific article. It is used only for common nouns. In the following example, *eta* follows two nouns, which are the object of a preposition and the object of a transitive verb.

| (5-84) | I-la | pa | tuanga | **eta**, | i-panaho | tamine | **eta**. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3SG.SBJ-go | PREP | village | ART | 3SG.SBJ-steal | woman | ART |

‘He went to a village and kidnapped a woman.’

In the next example, *eta* occurs with the noun in the object position of a verb *ka* ‘work’,[66] but also with a noun in the subject position of a serialized verb *murai*.

| (5-85) | Ta-ka | linge[67] | **eta** | gha | i-murai | mina. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-work | action | ART | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-hide | NEG |

‘We should not do anything in secret.’[68]

As with the other articles, *eta* can occur with other modifiers. In (5-86), the noun is modified by a possessive construction.

| (5-86) | …tahua | ta-karo | mota | ne | [Varau | ai-a |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1DU.INCL | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-work | snake | PTC | Varau | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |
| | linge] | **eta**. | | | | |
| | behavior | ART | | | | |

‘We should do something about the behavior of this snake, Varau.’

As stated above, *eta* can occur both with singular and plural nouns. However, if the plurality is unmarked, *eta* marks a singular. The difference is shown in (5-87), where the noun *vongi* ‘night’ is marked as plural, in contrast to (5-87), where the noun is unmarked for plurality.

---

[66] *Ka* is a shortened form of *karo*.

[67] *Ling*e has several meanings such as ‘personality’, ‘behavior’, ‘habit’, ‘characteristics’, and so on.

[68] This is a free translation.

(5-87)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sele[69] | mate | ai-a | ta-polu | mina, |
| place of a corpse | dead.body | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-remove | NEG |
| i-mororo | gha | **vongi** | **tolu** | **eta**. |
| 3SG.SBJ-stay | SVU | night | three | ART |

‘We should not remove the corpse for three days.’ (lit., ‘We should not remove the location of the corpse, and it stays for three days.’)

(5-88)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sele | mate | ai-a | ta-polu | mina, |
| place of a corpse | dead.body | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-remove | NEG |
| i-mororo | gha | **vongi** | **eta**. | |
| 3SG.SBJ-stay | SVU | night | ART | |

‘We should not remove the corpse for one day.’ (lit., ‘We should not remove the location of the corpse, and it stays for one day.’)

Thus, *eta* marks an indefinite non-specific referent. However, there seems to be another condition on its usage. In a discourse with *eta*, there are several candidates from which to choose. For example, in (5-84), there could be many villages, and there could be many women in each village. The referent could be any woman in any of the villages among the candidates. Similarly, in (5-86), *Varau* has several behaviors, and the speaker talks about one of his habits in this discourse. In (5-87) and (5-88), the speaker does not indicate a specific day. It could be anytime. Thus, I generalize that *eta* is used only whe there are several candidates. This notion can be further explained by the following pair of examples. In (5-89 a), the noun occurs with *eta*, and this indicates that there are several foreigners and the agent went to see one of them. By contrast, (5-89 b), where the noun is bare, implies that there must be only one foreigner in the universe of the story.

---

[69] *Sele* refers to a location where people keep a dead body and conduct funeral rites.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-89 a) | I-la | i-kona | **pura** | eta. |
| | 3SG.SBJ-go | 3SG.SBJ-see | foreigner | ART |

‘He went to see one of the foreigners.’

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5-89 b) | I-la | i-kona | **pura**. |
| | 3SG.SBJ-go | 3SG.SBJ-see | foreigner |

‘He went to see a foreigner.’

Here is one more pair of examples. In (5-90 a), the noun *boto* ‘boat’ occurs with *eta*. The sentence without *eta* is shown in (5-90 b). In (5-90 a), the sentence implies that the speaker has some boats, and chose one of them to ride. In (5-90 b), the sentence implies that the speaker has only one boat.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-90 a) | Ya-rae | pa | **boto** | **eta** | ne | ya-laro. |
| | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-get.on | PREP | boat | ART | PTC | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-run |

‘We got on one of the boats and rode it.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-90 b) | Ya-rae | pa | **boto** | ne | ya-laro. |
| | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-get.on | PREP | boat | PTC | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-run |

‘We got on a boat and rode it.’

Thus, in addition to marking non-specificity, *eta* also indicates that there are some candidates from which the referent is chosen. These features explain why *eta* cannot occur with proper nouns, unlike the other articles.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-91) | ?*I-la | i-kona | **Beti** | eta. |
| | 3SG.SBJ-go | 3SG.SBJ-see | Beti | ART |

‘He went to see one (of Betis).’

The example above is unnatural unless there are several people who are all named Beti, and one of them was chosen in this context.

#### 5.3.2.1.4 Unmarked nouns

There are some cases where nouns are not marked by articles. First, nouns are bare when they are indefinite and plural. In the following example, the bare noun *iha* 'fish' is indefinite, non-specific, and plural because we do not know how many fish might be caught.

(5-92) Ti-la  ti-ka-karo  **iha**.
3PL.SBJ-go  3PL.SBJ-RED-work  fish
'They went fishing.' (lit., 'They went and were working for fish.')

Here is one more example. In this sentence, it is clear that the referent, *vua* 'betel nut' is plural because the verb carries the plural marker -*ri*, which denotes the plurality of an object.

(5-93) Ya-sopa-ri  a-mai  **vua**.
1PL.EXCL.SBJ-pluck-3PL.OBJ  A.POSS-1PL.EXCL.POSS  betel nut
'We plucked a branch of betel nuts for us from the tree.' (lit., 'We plucked our betel nuts.')

Another case where nouns are bare is when they are indefinite and non-specific, but there are no candidates for the referent, as discussed above (see [5-89] and [5-90]).

Finally, bare nouns occur in several examples where none of the articles are used, but the noun would be expected to carry an article because it is definite, and specific, it is indefinite and specific, or it is indefinite and non-specific. For example, the following sentence is extracted from a recorded text. The speaker was talking while removing the serrated edge of pandanus leaves, so it was very obvious what she was referring to. Therefore, the referent was part of the interlocutors' shared knowledge, and the hearer was able to identify it, although no article was used.

(5-94) Yau nga-so-sohi **moe**.
1SG 1SG.SBJ-RED-remove pandanus
‘I am removing serrated edges of pandanus leaves (that I am holding).’ (lit., ‘I am removing pandanus.’)

Similarly, the example in (5-95) is extracted from a text. Previously, the speakers had talked about this dog, so it is definite, and therefore the noun *kaua* ‘dog’ should occur with the definite article. However, the definite article does not occur.

(5-95) **Kaua** ne i-hawa gha i-la.
dog PTC 3SG.SBJ-ran away SVU 3SG.SBJ-go
‘The dog (that I mentioned previously) ran away.’ (lit., ‘The dog ran way and it has gone.’)

Here is one more example with an indefinite non-specific expression from a text about an event that the speaker was involved in. In this discourse, the main character, Yawanes, looked for a rope in a bush and found several, one of which he brought. Since the speaker participated in this event, he must know which rope he was talking about. Therefore, either the indefinite specific article *tona* or non-specific article *eta* is expected. However, the noun is bare. The motivation for the choice of zero-marking in this case is unclear.

(5-96) Yawanes to i-kea **waho** gha i-la.
Yawanes ART 3SG.SBJ-bring rope SVU 3SG.SBJ-go
‘Yawanes brought a rope (one of the ropes).’

To sum up, Kove has three articles used to mark distinctions in definiteness and specificity. Table 5.6 displays their features.

Table 5.6: Articles and their features

| | to | tona | eta |
|---|---|---|---|
| Function | Definite | Indefinite + specific | Indefinite + non-specific |
| Types of nouns | Common<br>Proper | Common<br>Proper | Common |
| Plurality | Singular<br>Plural | Singular<br>Plural | Singular<br>Plural<br>(If unmarked, it denotes singular) |

While the semantic category of each article in a particular discourse seems clear, there are some cases where I was not able to determine the condition for unmarked nouns, and this is a future research question.

### 5.3.2.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives express two central semantic factors: the speaker's sphere and the hearer's sphere (Lichtenberk 2008:604; Payne 1997:103). The notion of the sphere includes physical proximity, locations, points in time or periods of time, or a state of affairs either of the speaker or hearer. The demonstrative forms that encode locations in the speaker's sphere are called "speaker-proximal," and those that encode locations in the hearer's sphere are "hearer-proximal." The forms that serve to encode locations in neither the speaker's nor the hearer's sphere are referred to as "distal" (Lichtenberk 2008:604).

Kove has two basic demonstrative categories. One is determiner demonstratives and the other is locative demonstrative adverbs. Both determiner demonstratives and locative demonstrative adverbs can occur with the definite article *to.* All the demonstrative forms are set out in Table 5.7. The table indicates the formal links without their functions, which will be discussed in detail later.

Table 5.7: Demonstrative forms

| Determiner demonstrative | Locative demonstrative adverb |
|---|---|
| diene | nene |
| diana | nana |
| duwawa | wawa |
|  | nowawa |

Since this chapter examines noun phrases, I will discuss determiner demonstratives, which are modifiers in nouns phrases, here, and discuss locative demonstrative adverbs in Section 8.2.2.

#### 5.3.2.2.1 Forms

The Kove demonstratives follow a three-way system. Each demonstrative can occur with the definite article *to*.

Table 5.8: Determiner demonstratives

|  | Demonstrative | Definite demonstrative |
|---|---|---|
| Speaker-proximal | diene | todiene |
| Hearer-proximal | diana | todiana |
| Distal | duwawa | toduwawa<br>tonawawa[70] |

The speaker-proximal demonstrative is used in noun phrases to indicate physical proximity to the speaker or to the speaker's location, including parts of the speaker's body. Here is an example of proximity to the speaker.

---

[70] The derivation of *tonawawa* is an unclear matter. It may be derived from *tona* + *wawa*. However, *wawa* is a locative demonstrative, but not a determiner demonstrative. Another possible derivation *to* + *nawawa*. However, there is no demonstrative form *nawawa*. In this work, I will transcribe it as *tona* + *wawa*. However, this requires futhur investigation.

| (5-97) | Puri | **diene** | sora | ai-a? |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | banana | DEM | where | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

‘Where is this banana from?’

In addition to physical proximity, the speaker-proximal demonstrative is used to refer to something that is psychologically close to the speaker. In the following example, the referent referred to with the determiner is not present in the conversation or physically close to either the speaker or the hearer. However, the speaker refers to her brother, who is psychologically close to her. The usage of the speaker-proximal determiner shows that she feels that she is close to her brother.

| (5-98) | Ai-erawa | i-vagha | “u-kea | ea-mu |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3SG.POSS-spouse | 3SG.SBJ-say | 2SG.SBJ-take | brother.in.law-2SG.POSS |

| **diene** | amuhua, | a-la | i-hau | u-poho.” |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEM | 2DU | 2PL.SBJ-go | 3SG.SBJ-pound | 2SG.SBJ-make sago |

‘His spouse said “Take this tyour brother-in-law two of you go, he will pound (sago) and you will make sago”.’

As indicated in Table 5.8, demonstratives can occur with the definite article *to*. The definite speaker-proximal demonstrative is used when a referent was described previously. It is also used with something that is more or less inalienable from the speaker, such as the speaker’s name and clan symbol, as follows.

(5-99) U-kea era-ghu to-diene Saghelvia, mata-mu
2SG.SBJ-take name-1SG.POSS ART-DEM Saghelvia, eye-2SG.POSS

i-kisi muhi yai.
3SG.SBJ-hold back POSTP
‘You’ll use this name Saghelvia, and remember it.’ (lit., ‘You will use this name of mine, and your eyes will hold it for the future.’)

In addition, the speaker-proximal demonstrative is commonly used with temporal nouns, such as *this Sunday* or *this year*, which in many languages are viewed as part of the same temporal frame that includes the time of the speech act. In Kove, this is expressed with the definite speaker-proximal demonstrative. It usually refers to the near future.

(5-100)*Sunday diene
Sunday DEM

(5-101) Sunday to-diene
Sunday ART-DEM
‘this (coming) Sunday’

In addition to its usage with temporal nouns, *todiene* has been lexicalized to a temporal adverb meaning ‘recently’.

The hearer-proximal determiner demonstrative is *diana*, and its definite form is *todiana*. The hearer-proximal determiner is used for referents that are spatially closer to the hearer.

(5-102) U-kisi avei diana mina.
2SG.SBJ-take wood DEM NEG
‘Don’t take that (piece) of wood.’

The third category of demonstratives in Kove is distal. The referent of the noun phrase is in neither the speaker's nor the hearer's sphere. The distal determiner demonstrative is *duwawa*, which covers any referent away from both the speaker and the hearer.

(5-103) I-kona tamone kahaku duwawa i-ka-karo
3SG.SBJ-see man small DEM 3SG.SBJ-RED-work

a-ri haninga sa ai-a vosu i-rae.
A.POSS-3PL.POSS food so 3SG.POSS-A.POSS smoke 3SG.SBJ-rise
'He saw that small man making food, so its smoke was rising.'

While the distal determiner demonstrative has only one form, *duwawa*, the definite distal has two forms, *toduwawa* and *tonawawa*. *Toduwawa* is used when there is more than one candidate for the referent. For example, *Beti toduwawa* 'that Beti' refers to one Beti out of several people named Beti. Similarly, *kaua toduwawa* 'that dog' indicates that there may be more than one dog, and the dog referred to is chosen out of several dogs. On the other hand, *tonawawa* is used when both the speaker and the hearer are close to each other, but the action happens away from them. In (5-104), the speaker may have gotten some money, and the money that the speaker refers to is part of it.

(5-104) Moni to-duwawa nga-kea ne nga-oli bia.
money ART-DEM 1SG.SBJ-get PTC 1SG.SBJ-buy beer
'I got that money and bought beer.'

In (5-105), the place where the speaker got that money is far from both the speaker and the hearer.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-105) | Moni | tona-wawa | nga-kea | ne | nga-oli | bia. |
|  | money | ART-DEM | 1SG.SBJ-get | PTC | 1SG.SBJ-buy | beer |

‘I got that money and bought beer.’

It is interesting that the determiner demonstrative *duwawa* and the definite demonstrative *toduwawa* are formally related to each other, but show semantic differences.

Although my language consultant was able to make a semantic distinction between *toduwawa* and *tonawawa*, I often encountered an unclear distinction between the usage of these two words, particularly in texts. It is common that *tonawawa* is replaced by *toduwawa*. For example, in (5-106), *liu-ri* ‘their sibling’ occurs with *toduwawa*. However, in this text, there is only one sister, and she was previously mentioned. Therefore, *tonawawa* would be expected, but the narrator (speaker) used *toduwawa* unconsciously. This is possibly because *toduwawa* has much higher frequency in texts or natural speech.

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-106) | I-lului | liu-ri | **to-duwawa** | i-rio |
|  | 3SG.SBJ-untie | sibling-3PL.POSS | ART-DEM | 3SG.SBJ-go.down |
|  | gha | i-nama. |  |  |
|  | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-come |  |  |

‘He untied his sister and she came down.’

It is unclear whether people tend to mix these two words randomly or whether there is an undetermined condition on their use. This question requires more work.

As with the definite speaker-proximal demonstrative, the definite distal demonstrative *toduwawa* can also occur with temporal nouns.

(5-107)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I-la | gha | apa | **to-duwawa**, | ne | ai-mata |
| 3SG.SBJ-go | SVU | day | ART-DEM | PTC | 3SG.POSS-eye |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| i-rio | pa | lusi | gha | i-na … |
| 3SG.SBJ-go.down | PREP | mountain | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-come |

‘One day, he looked down to a mountain and came…’ (lit., ‘On that day, his eyes went down to a mountain and he came.’)

(5-108)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| …ti-vou | tadanga | nga-ni | i-la | gha |
| 3PL.SBJ-sing | mourning.song | PREP-3SG.OBJ | 3SG.SBJ-go | SVU |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i-la | vongivongi. | Pa | melemele | vongi | **to-duwawa** |
| 3PL.SBJ-go | morning | PREP | public space | night | ART-DEM |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| mate | ai-li-liu | ti-taro | vula… |
| dead.person | 3SG.POSS-RED-siblings | 3PL.SBJ-throw | shell.necklace |

‘…they sing a mourning song until the morning. At the public space, in that night, siblings of the opposite sex of the dead person will divide shell necklaces…’

In (5-107) and (5-108), the temporal reference with the definite distal determiner refers to a time that is not viewed as being in the speaker’s or hearer’s sphere. It does not refer to any particular date, nor does it have a particular temporal frame of reference in relation to the speech act.

### 5.3.2.2.2 Function

The Kove demonstrative determiners encode the singular number.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-109) | Puri | **diene** | sora | ai-a? |
| | banana | DEM | where | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |
| | ‘Where is this banana from?’ | | | |

It is ungrammatical for the demonstrative determiners to occur with plural nouns. Plural determiners are formed by the combination of [*tosalai* ‘all’ (definite) + a locative demonstrative adverb], as follows.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-110) | Puri | **to-salai(-ri)** | **nene** | sora | ai-a? |
| | banana | ART-many-3PL.OBJ | LOC.DEM | where | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |
| | ‘Where are these bananas from?’ | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-111) | Puri | **to-salai(-ri)** | **wawa** | sora | ai-a? |
| | banana | ART-many-3PL.OBJ | LOC.DEM | where | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |
| | ‘Where are those bananas over there from?’ | | | | |

The determiner demonstratives can co-occur with other noun modifiers, such as adjectives. As indicated above, the order of noun modifiers in the noun phrase is flexible, but it is preferred for the demonstrative to be closer to the noun.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5-112) | ghaya | diene | paka |
| | pig | DEM | big |
| | ‘this big pig’ / ‘This pig is big.’[71] | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5-113) | ghaya | paka | diene |
| | pig | big | DEM |
| | ‘this big pig’ / ‘This is a big pig.’ | | |

Since the demonstratives denote singular number, there would be a conflict if they co-occurred with higher numerals.

---

[71] Non-verbal clauses will be discussed in Chapter 9.

(5-114) *ghaya hua diene
pig two DEM
('these two pigs')

(5-115) *ghaya diene hua
pig DEM two

However, they can occur with the numeral *ere* 'one' to emphasize singularity. In a phrase with a numeral, the demonstrative follows the numeral (NOUN + *ere* + DEM) unless there is another modifier that intervenes.

(5-116) ghaya ere diene
pig one DEM
'this one pig'

(5-117) *ghaya diene ere
pig DEM one

(5-118) ghaya diene paka ere
pig DEM big one
'this one big pig'

If there is more than one adjective, it is preferred that the demonstrative and the numeral stand closer to each other, with the adjectives following.

(5-119) ghaya ere diene paka kasoka
pig one DEM big black
'this big black pig' (lit., 'this one big and black pig')

(5-120) *ghaya diene paka kasoka ere
pig DEM big black one

While the numeral precedes a demonstrative if they stand next to each other, another word referring to ‘one’, *kehetauere*,[72] can immediately follow determiners, as below:

(5-121) = (5-116) *ghaya diene ere
pig DEM one

(5-122) ghaya diene kehetauere
pig DEM only one
‘only this pig’ (lit., ‘this only one pig’)

The determiner demonstratives are not nouns in Kove. They cannot function as a subject.

(5-123) *ghaya diene?
pig DEM

(5-124) *diene ghaya?
DEM pig

(5-125) Ranga diene ghaya?
thing DEM pig
‘Is this a pig?’ (lit., ‘Is this thing a pig?’)

Rather, they are always modifiers that occur with nouns. However, if it is clear what noun is referred to from the context, the nouns may be eliminated. In (5-126), it is clear that two dogs are being compared, and the second noun for *kaua* ‘dog’ is omitted.

---

[72] The difference between *ere* and *kehetauere* is described in Chapter 4.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-126) | Kaua | diene | kahaku | ere | tau | nga | diene. |
|  | dog | DEM | small | one | very | PREP | DEM |

‘This dog is much smaller than this (one).’

Here are two more examples from texts. The speaker was looking for a sago tree that he could cut, and then finally found a big one. In this context, it is clear that the sago tree is modified by *diene* ‘this’ and *paka* ‘big’, although it is not overtly expressed.

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-127) | Nga-heri | ne | diene | paka. |
|  | 1SG.SBJ-chop | PTC | DEM | big |

‘I will chop this big (sago tree).’

In the next text, the speaker is dividing space with others for gardens. It is clear that the demonstrative determiner modifies an area or space, and the modified noun is eliminated.

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-128) | Veao | diene, | a-mu | diene. |
|  | 2SG | DEM | A.POSS-2SG.POSS | DEM |

‘Yours is this (area).’ (lit., ‘You this, yours is this.’)

### 5.3.2.3 Adjectives and quantifiers

I will discuss the co-occurrence between adjectives and quantifiers as noun modifiers here. The functions and behavior of adjectives and numeral quantifiers are discussed in Chapter 4.

If there is more than one adjective in a single phrase, there is no conjunction between adjectives. They stand without any grammatical marking.

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5-129) | kaua | **kahaku** | **kasoka** |
|  | dog | small | black |

‘a small black dog’

Quantifiers include numerals and non-numerals. Non-numeral quantifiers are *many*, *much*, *some*, *tons of*, and so on. The order of adjectives and numerals in noun phrases is flexible.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5-130) | kaua | ere | kahaku |
| | dog | one | small |
| | 'one small dog' | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5-131) | kaua | kahaku | ere |
| | dog | small | one |
| | 'one small dog' | | |

If there is more than one adjective and a quantifier in a single phrase, it is more natural that the adjectives stand next to each other.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-132) | kaua | ere | paka | kasoka |
| | dog | one | big | black |
| | 'one big and black dog' | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-133) | kaua | paka | kasoka | ere |
| | dog | big | black | one |
| | 'one big and black dog' | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-134) | ?*kaua | paka | ere | kasoka |
| | dog | big | one | black |

Along with the numerals, the non-numeral quantifiers can occur either before or after adjectives. However, it seems more common that the non-numeral quantifiers occur after adjectives, as in (5-136).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5-135) | kaua | pape | kahaku |
| | dog | some | small |
| | ‘some small dogs’ | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5-136) | kaua | kahaku | pape |
| | dog | small | some |
| | ‘some small dogs’ | | |

## 5.3.3 Noun phrase coordination

Kove has two basic types of noun phrase coordination: conjunction and disjunction. The basic structure of noun phrase coordination is given below:

NP → NP CONJ / DISJ NP

The conjunction is *gha* ‘and, and it is morphologically an independent grammatical element. The disjunction is expressed by the negation *mao*. (5-137) is an example of the conjunction and (5-138) is an example of the disjunction.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-137) | Nga-ani | puri | **gha** | niu | Hawaii | kelengi. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-eat | banana | CONJ | coconut | Hawai‘i | too |
| | ‘I eat a banana and coconut in Hawai‘i too.’ | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-138) | taiko | pape | **mao** | hai | pape |
| | month | some | NEG | year | some |
| | ‘some months or some years’ | | | | |

It seems that *gha* ‘and’ is obligatory, but *mao* ‘or’ is optional.

In multiple coordination, each coordinated noun phrase traditionally has a coordinator, as in (5-139). However, it is acceptable that only the last coordinated phrase has a coordinator, as in (5-140). In fact, recently, it is more common.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-139) | Mana[73]-ghu | nga | tue | **gha** | masilau | **gha** | karoki. |
| | desire-1SG.SBJ | PREP | clam | CONJ | shellfish sp. | CONJ | crab |

‘I like clams, shellfishes, and crabs.’

In negative sentences, only *gha* ‘and’ occurs as an NP conjunction. The construction $NP_1$ *gha* $NP_2$ in a negative sentence corresponds to English ‘neither $NP_1$ nor $NP_2$’. Furthermore, this construction also can be interpreted as a negative sentence.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5-140) | Nga-ani | puri | **gha** | niu | mao. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-eat | banana | CONJ | coconut | NEG |

‘I ate neither a banana nor a coconut.’ / ‘I never eat a banana or a coconut.’

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[73] See Section 9.4 for its constructions.

# Chapter 6

# Possessive constructions and nominalization

Kove’s possessive constructions and their usage are among the distinctive aspects of the language. Possessive constructions not only denote possessive relationships between the possessor and the possessum, but also are used for other functions, including nominalization. In this chapter, I will first discuss possessive constructions. Next, I will examine nominalization. Finally, I will take a look at the correlation between possessive constructions and nominalization.

## 6.1 Possessive noun phrases

Prototypically, possession implies some degree of control of the possessor over the possessum (possessed, possessee) (Heine 1997:3). In his work on Proto-Oceanic, Pawley (1973:153) defines possession as “the act or condition of having in or taking in one’s control or holding at one’s disposal”; “actual physical control or occupancy of property”; and “something owned, occupied or controlled.” Similarly, Heine (1997:34) describes several categories of possessive notions such as “physical possession” as in *your pen that you have*; “temporary possession” as in *my car that I use, but that belongs to Judy*; “permanent possession” as in *my car that I use all the time*, and so on.

Noun phrases that express possession are called possessive noun phrases or possessive constructions. However, the terms “possessive noun phrases” and “possessive constructions” refer not only to true possession (ownership), but also to semantic relationships between two noun phrases, the “possessor” and the “possessum,” and as such may be used for body parts, parts of a whole, kinship relations, or agent and patient relations with nominalized verbs. For example, in *John’s mother*, *John* does not own his mother. Rather, the phrase refers to a relationship between John and his mother. The phrase *John's picture* may also have several meanings: a picture that John has, a picture that he painted, a picture that he is in, a picture that he likes. The first interpretation involves ownership, but the others indicate various relationships between *John* and *picture* (Heine 1997:2–6; Lichtenberk 1983 a:276–277). Similarly, *his song* can refer to a song that he composed, but also to a song about him, a song he sings, or a song that he owns (but did not necessarily compose) (Kenneth Rehg, personal communication). The participant 'he' does not represent an owner. Thus, the term "possessive noun phrase" does not always denote ownership. In this discussion, I will follow the tradition in linguistic studies and include semantic relationships in the concept of "possession." The terms "possessor" and "possessum" will be used to refer to the constituents of a possessive noun phrase and to their referents, respectively (Lichtenberk 2008:375).

Many ways to classify possession have been proposed (Heine 1997:10). One of the most widespread distinctions is between inalienable and alienable possession. This distinction is widely observed in the languages in the world. Inalienable possession refers to items that cannot normally be separated from their owners, while alienable possession includes all others. In some languages, this distinction appears to encode a grammatical distinction. In general, the inalienable category is a closed class, while the alienable category is an open class. Along with other scholars such as Chappell and McGregor (1996) and Nichols (1992), Heine lists the following categories that are likely to be treated as inalienable:

(1) Kinship

(2) Body parts

(3) Relational spatial concepts, e.g., ‘top’, ‘bottom’

(4) Parts of other items, e.g., ‘branch’, ‘handle’

(5) Physical and mental states, e.g., ‘strength’, ‘fear’

(6) Nominalization, e.g., ‘his singing’

However, inalienability is defined according to culture-specific conventions, and often varies in a given case or language (Heine 1997:11).

In this section, I will discuss, first, types of possessive noun phrases, and second, the semantics of possessive nouns. I will also discuss complex phrases. Finally, I will examine possessive constructions in non-possessive relationships.

### 6.1.1 Types of possessive noun phrases

Three types of possessive construction are distinguished in Kove:

1. Type 1: DIRECT POSSESSION
   (possessor NP)  possessed NP-possessive suffix
2. Type 2: INDIRECT *A*-TYPE POSSESSION
   (possessor NP)  A-possessive suffix  possessed NP
3. Type 3: INDIRECT *LE*-TYPE POSSESSION
   (possessor NP)  LE-possessive suffix  possessed NP

The first category is called direct possession, and the other two categories are called indirect possession. Traditionally in Oceanic linguistics, the first construction has been called “inalienable,” while the other constructions have been called “alienable,” because the first one tends to appear in inalienable possessive relationships such as body parts or kinship, while the others tend to encode less permanent possessive relationships (i.e., alienable relationships). However, these terms are problematic. First of all, the terms “inalienable” and “alienable” are semantic notions, but the distinctions discussed here are grammatical notions. Second, some inalienable possessive relationships such as body parts are expressed with indirect possession, which falls into the category of “alienable possessive constructions.” Likewise, some alienable possessive relationships may be expressed as direct possession, which is in the category of “inalienable possessive constructions.” Therefore, I prefer to call the grammatical distinctions “direct possession” and “indirect possession” in this analysis.

In possessive phrases, both constructions take possessive pronominal affixes. The possessive affixes are listed in Table 6.1. They are suffixes, except for the third person singular, which is a prefix.

Table 6.1: Possessive pronominal affixes

| | 1 (incl) | 1 (excl) | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Singular | | -ghu | -mu | ai-, e- |
| Plural | -ra | -mai | -mi | -ri |

### 6.1.1.1 Direct possession

As in many other Oceanic languages, direct possession in Kove involves affixation of a possessive pronoun to the possessed noun. In addition, there may be a separate possessor phrase before the possessed noun. In Example (6-1), the noun ‘leg’ has the first person singular possessive affix, and in addition, there is an optional first person singular independent pronoun as the possessor.

(6-1) (yau) ahe-**ghu**
1SG leg-1SG.POSS
'my leg'

In example (6-2), the noun 'leg' has the third person singular possessive prefix, and the possessor is a lexical noun phrase.

(6-2) tamine **ai-**ahe
woman 3SG.POSS-leg
'a woman's leg'

The direct possessive constructions encode more or less inalienable possession. They include body parts, secretions and bodily products, kin terms, attributes, parts of wholes, and spatial relations.

### 6.1.1.2 Indirect possession

In addition to the direct possessive construction, there are two indirect possessive constructions with different possessive markers, *a* and *le*. The markers are suffixes except in the third person singular, which takes a prefix. Furthermore, the possessive marker always precedes the possessed noun. In addition, if there is a possessor phrase, it precedes the marker, except in topicalization. Examples (6-3) and (6-4) show the *a*-type of possessive construction, while Examples (6-5) and (6-6) show the *le*-type of construction. In (6-3) and (6-5), the markers carry the first person singular possessive suffix, *-ghu*. In (6-4) and (6-6), the markers carry the third person singular possessive prefix,[74] and further, there is a possessor phrase, expressed by *luma* and *tamine*, respectively.

(6-3) *A*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (Yau) | **a-ghu** | haninga |
| 1SG | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | food |

'my food (for eating)'

(6-4) *A*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| luma | **ai-a** | galaru |
| house | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | floor |

'the floor of a house'

(6-5) *LE*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (Yau) | **le-ghu** | malo |
| 1SG | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | clothes |

'my clothes'

(6-6) *LE*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| tamine | **e-le** | uraghe |
| woman | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | knife |

'a woman's knife/the woman's knife'

The marker *a* is used with food and drink; animals that are eaten; hair lice; utensils in daily use (e.g., pan, tongs); items related to food (e.g., garden, kitchen); traditional items (e.g., basket, clan symbol); disease; parts of a whole, including some body parts and house foundations; and passive possession, in which the possessor is an undergoer in the event, or is in a certain state. It seems that these items are generally recognized as something important or valuable in Kove culture. The marker *le* is used for everything else.

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[74] The third person singular possessive pronoun has two forms, *ai* and *e*. The former is used in direct possession and *a*-type indirect possession, while the latter is used in *le*-type indirect possession (see Chapter 6).

In the tradition of Oceanic linguistics, the possessive marker used for items of food and drink is called the edible or alimentary class. It is true that *a* is used for food and drink in Kove, but it is also used for non-edible items. Therefore, I refer to the construction with the marker *a* as the "*a*-type possessive construction," and the construction with the marker *le* as the "*le*-type possessive construction."

### 6.1.2 The semantics of possessive noun phrases

While we can generalize about the type of relations between a possessor and possessum in each construction, the semantic boundary between the constructions is not always clear or predictable. For example, the prototypical category of a possessor-possessed relationship where the direct possessive construction is used is inalienable possession. However, some inalienable relationships are expressed using indirect possessive constructions. In this section, I will discuss several categories that show unexpected choices of constructions.

#### 6.1.2.1 Body parts

Body parts include both external body parts and internal organs. Most body parts are direct possessive nouns.

DIRECT POSSESSION:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *vola-ghu* | *talinga-mu* | *ai-luo* |
| head-1SG.POSS | ear-2SG.POSS | 3SG.POSS-tooth |
| 'my head' | 'your ear' | 'his/her/its tooth' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *nuru-ra* | *lima-ghu* | *ai-ghogha*[75] |
| nose-1PL.INCL.POSS | hand-1SG.POSS | 3SG.POSS-thumb |
| ‘our noses’ | ‘my little finger’ | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *tuatua-mai* | *turu-mu* | *ai-mata* |
| bone-1PL.EXCL.POSS | breast-2SG.POSS | 3SG.POSS-eye |
| ‘our bones’ | ‘your nipple’ | |

| | |
|---|---|
| *poporoso-mi* | *atete-ri* |
| liver-2PL.POSS | lung-3PL.POSS |
| ‘your livers’ | ‘their lungs’ |

However, there are a few nouns in this group for which possession is expressed by *a*-type possessive constructions. They are *kaka* ‘little finger’, *kuta* ‘earlobe’, *pele* ‘stomach’, *vua* ‘heart’, *pea* ‘kidney’, *bali* ‘bladder’, and *saghoro* ‘throat’.

*A*-TYPE POSSESSION:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ghu* | *pea* | *ghaghauli-mu* | *ai-a* | *saghoro* |
| A.POSS-1SG.POSS | kidney | neck-2SG.POSS | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | throat |
| ‘my kidney’ | | ‘your throat’ (lit., ‘throat of your neck’) | | |

The category of body parts also includes body parts of animals such as fin, scale, tusk, tail, and so on. Like body parts of humans, most animal body parts are expressed by direct possessive nouns. However, there are a few nouns in this group that take *a*-type possessive constructions.

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[75] The possessive affixes of *ghogha* ‘thumb’ and *mata* ‘nipple’ refer to the larger entities of which they are considered part, *lima* ‘hand’ and *turu* ‘breast’, respectively.

DIRECT POSSESSION:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ai-polepole* | *ai-launi* | *ai-kuva* |
| 3SG.POSS-fin | 3SG.POSS-feather | 3SG.POSS-tail |
| ‘its fin’ | ‘its feathers’ | ‘its tail’ |

*A*-TYPE POSSESSION:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ai-a* | *tuvehu* | *ai-a* | *vohi* |
| 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | cockscomb | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | tusk |
| ‘its cockscomb’ | | ‘its tusk’ | |

Thus, although the majority of body part nouns are direct possessive nouns, there are a few nouns that occur in the *a*-type possessive constructions. However, I did not find any word for a body part that occurs in *le*-type possessive constructions.

### 6.1.2.2 Secretion and natural products

This category includes tears, sweat, phlegm, saliva, urine, semen, eggs, breath, cough, voice, sound, shadow, and so on. Like body parts, most nouns in this category are direct possessive nouns.

DIRECT POSSESSION:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *sumusumu-ghu* | *tahe-mu* | *ai-singi* |
| hiccup-1SG.POSS | excrement-2SG.POSS | 3SG.POSS-blood |
| ‘my hiccup’ | ‘my excrement’ | ‘his/her/its blood’ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *kapuse-ghu* | *mata-mu* | *ai-suhu*[76] |
| sneezing-1SG.POSS | eye-2sg.poss | 3SG.POSS-liquid |
| ‘my sneezing’ | ‘your tears’ | |

---

[76] *suhu* is a direct possessive noun, and the possessor would be something that produces liquid.

However, there are a few examples that are expressed in *a*-type possessive constructions, as seen below. Interestingly, for example, both tears and sweat are liquids produced by the body, but they occur in different possessive constructions. Therefore, the choice of possessive constructions is unpredictable.

*A*-TYPE POSSESSION:

| | |
|---|---|
| *a-ghu* | *sangaia* |
| A.POSS-1SG.POSS | sweat |

‘my sweat’

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *nuru-mu* | *ai-a* | *mamao* |
| nose-2SG.POSS | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | nasal.mucus |

‘your nasal mucus’

| | |
|---|---|
| *ai-a* | *toha* |
| 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | cough |

‘his/her cough’

### 6.1.2.3 Part of whole (inanimate things)

Some linguists treat part-of-whole relations as body parts. However, I separate this group from the group of body parts. This group includes inanimate things and plants. As with body parts, the choice of possessive construction in this category is unpredictable, because some are expressed by means of the direct possessive constructions, and some are expressed by means of the indirect possessive constructions.

DIRECT POSSESSION:

| | |
|---|---|
| *(avei)* | *ai-wawahi* |
| tree | 3SG.POSS-root |

‘root (of a tree)’

| | |
|---|---|
| *(avei)* | *ai-tautau* |
| tree | 3SG.POSS-seed |

‘seed (of a tree)’

| | |
|---|---|
| *(avei)* | *ai-kulikuli* |
| tree | 3SG.POSS-bark |

‘bark (of a tree)’

| | |
|---|---|
| *(luma)* | *ai-atama* |
| house | 3SG.POSS-door |

‘door (of a house)’

| | |
|---|---|
| *(luma)* | *ai-vovohi* |
| house | 3SG.POSS-roof |

‘roof (of a house)’

*A*-TYPE POSSESSION:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *erapu* | *ai-a* | *vovo* |
| road | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | hole |

‘hole (of a road)’

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *(luma)* | *ai-a* | *ghulumu* |
| house | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | moss |

‘moss (of a house)’

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (*luma)* | *ai-a* | *galalu* |
| house | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | floor |

‘floor (of a house)’

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *(luma)* | *ai-a* | *didinga* |
| house | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | wall |

‘wall (of a house)’

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *(luma)* | *ai-a* | *lau* |
| house | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | post |

‘post (of a house)’

As seen above, words for parts of a house can occur in either direct or indirect possessive constructions. For example, direct constructions are used for ‘door’ and ‘roof’, while indirect constructions are used for ‘floor’, ‘post’, and ‘wall’.

While it is very rare to find an example of the *le*-type indirect construction in this group, there is one example: possession of *molapu* ‘ash’ is expressed with the *le*-marker. Both smoke and ash are produced by fire, but they occur with different types of possessive markers.

*A*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *(eai)* | *ai-a* | *vosu* |
| fire | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | fire |

‘smoke (of a fire)’

*LE*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *(eai)* | *e-le* | *molapu* |
| fire | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | ash |

‘ash (from a fire)’

### 6.1.2.4 Kinship relations

Words in the category of kinship relations tend to occur in constructions that are usually used for inalienable possession. Most nouns in this category are direct possessive nouns in Kove.

DIRECT POSSESSION:

*tama-ghu*
father-1SG.POSS
'my father, my father's brother'

*tuvu-mu*
grandparent / grandchild-2SG.POSS
'your grandparent, your grandchild'

*ai-erawa*
3SG.POSS-spouse
'his/her spouse'

*waha-mai*
uncle / aunt / nephew / niece-1PL.EXCL.POSS
'our uncle / aunt / nephew / niece'

*rawa-ghu*
parent.in.law / child.in.law / uncle.in.law / aunt.in.law-1SG.POSS
'my parent-in-law / my child-in-law / my uncle-in-law / my aunt-in-law'

However, while kinship nouns are almost exclusively direct possessive nouns, there are two that are expressed with the *le*-marker.

*LE*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION:

*le-ghu sili*
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS cross.cousin
'my cross cousin'

*le-mu karenge*
LE.POSS-2SG.POSS sibling.in.law
'your same sex sibling's spouse'

*Karenge* includes (1) the spouse of one's sibling of the same sex, (2) the spouse of one's parallel cousin, and (3) the same sex sibling of one's spouse. It is different from *ea* or *hea*, which is the spouse of one’s sibling of the opposite sex or the opposite sex sibling of one’s spouse.

It is unclear why only these two kinship relations are expressed by means of *le*-type possessive constructions, which is usually used for a less permanent relationship between a possessor and a possessum. I asked a few Kove speakers whether it was a traditional practice for cross cousins to marry, but they said that it was not. Therefore, I am not sure if this grammatical construction is somehow related to cultural practices or not.

### 6.1.2.5 Attributes

The category of attributes includes size, shape, nature, temperature, body function, name, spirit, characteristics, and behaviors. Most of the words in this category are direct possessive nouns, as follows:

DIRECT POSSESSION:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *uha-ghu* | *kekele-mu* | *ai-era* |
| weight-1SG.POSS | oneself-2SG.POSS | 3SG.POSS-name |
| ‘my weight’ | ‘yourself’ | ‘his/her/its name’ |
| *mamaia-ghu* | *linge-mu* | *ai-bila* |
| shamefulness-1SG.POSS | voice-2SG.POSS | 3SG.POSS-“always”[77] |
| my shame’ | ‘your voice’ | ‘What he/she always does’ |
| *mana-mu* | | |
| desire/taste[78]-2SG.POSS | | |
| ‘your desire’ | | |

---

[77] Although ‘always’ and ‘often’ are not nouns in English, they are the best translations for the Kove nouns *bila* and *moki*. They do not mean ‘habit’ or ‘custom’.

[78] If the possessor of *mana* is something edible, *mana* refers to its taste.

However, there are a few indirect possessive nouns. The example on the left side, *kurisumasu* 'age', is marked by the *a*-marker, and the one on the right side, *linge*[79] 'habit', is marked by the *le*-marker.

INDIRECT POSSESSION:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ghu* | *kurisumasu*[80] | *e-le* | *linge* |
| A.POSS-1SG.POSS | age | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | habit |
| 'my age' | | 'his/her habit' | |

Both *bila* 'behavior that is always done' (lit., 'always') and *linge* 'habit' refer to frequent behaviors of a possessor. However, the possessive of the former is expressed in direct possession, while that of the latter is expressed in indirect possession.

### 6.1.2.6 Cultural and traditional items

While most objects in possessive relations are expressed with the *le*-marker, customary objects occur either in *a*-type or *le*-type constructions. As with other categories, the choice of construction is not always predictable.

*A*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ra* | *aulu* | *a-mai* | *vure* |
| A.POSS-1PL.INCL.POSS | spirit mask | 1.POSS-1PL.EXCL.POSS | clan.sign |
| 'our spirit mask' | | 'our clan logo' | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-mi* | *taghahau* | *a-ri* | *kanika* |
| A.POSS-2PL.POSS | spear | A.POSS-3PL.POSS | basket |
| 'your spear' | | 'their basket' | |

*LE*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION:

---

[79] The form *linge* means either 'voice' or 'habit', depending on the type of possessive construction. *linge* in direct possession means 'voice', while *linge* in is indirect possession with *le* means 'habit.'

[80] This is a loanword from Tok Pisin *kirismas* 'month'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *le-ra* | *tabou* | *le-ghu* | *orowa* |
| LE.POSS-1PL.INCL.POSS | spirit.mask | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | grass.skirt |
| ‘our spirit mask’ | | ‘my grass skirt’ | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *le-mai* | *mahoni*[81] | *e-le* | *kepe* |
| LE.POSS-1PL.EXCL.POSS | chief | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | shell.knife |
| ‘our chief’ | | ‘his/her shell knife’ | |

One of the most puzzling examples is the pair of *aulu* and *tabou*. Both *aulu* and *tabou* are holy spirit masks. An *aulu* is a spirit mask that appears only during ceremonies, where it plays an important role. On the other hand, a *tabou*, while also a spirit mask, is the “body guard” or “security” of the *aulu*. If people, especially young children, don’t respect the *aulu*, the *tabou* comes out from the men’s house that it belongs to and scares them. While both *aulu* and *tabou* are spirit masks, they occur in different indirect constructions.

As these examples show, the possessive of cultural and traditional objects may be expressed with either the *a*-marker or the *le*-marker; thus, it is difficult to imagine a semantic basis for distinguishing between the two types of indirect possession.

### 6.1.2.7 Ornaments

In general, ornaments take the *le*-marker. However, there are some items that take the *a*-marker. While the boundary is not always clear, the semantic distinction may be related to the way the ornament is attached. Based on the data that I collected, with items that are worn above or around one’s neck, the possessive tends to be expressed by means of the

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[81] The word *mahoni* usually refers to the chief of a traditional ceremony. Each ceremony has a separate chief because ceremonies are organized on a family basis.

*a*-type construction, whereas with items that are used or attached below one's neck, the possessive is expressed by means of the *le*-type construction (see also 6.1.3).

*A*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ghu* | *pelenga* | *a-mu* | *vula* |
| A.POSS-1SG.POSS | comb | A.POSS-2SG.POSS | shell.necklace |
| 'my comb' | | 'your shell necklace' | |

*LE*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *le-ghu* | *malo* | *le-mu* | *pasipasi* |
| A.POSS-1SG.POSS | clothes | A.POSS-2SG.POSS | arm.lace |
| 'my clothes' | | 'your arm lace' | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *le-ghu* | *orowa* | *le-mu* | *malomalonga* |
| LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | grass.skirt | LE.POSS-2SG.POSS | underwear |
| 'my grass skirt' | | 'your underwear' | |

### 6.1.2.8 Disease

The possessive of most diseases is expressed with the *a*-marker, as follows:

*A*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ghu* | *rivaha* | *a-mu* | *vaki* |
| A.POSS-1SG.POSS | sickness | A.POSS-2SG.POSS | constipation |
| 'my sickness' | | 'your constipation' | |

| | |
|---|---|
| *ai-a* | *puni* |
| 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | ringworm |
| 'his/her ringworm' | |

However, the word for diarrhea occurs with the *le*-marker.

*LE*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION:

| | |
|---|---|
| *le-ghu* | *uhesenga* |
| LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | diarrhea |

‘my diarrhea’

#### 6.1.2.9 Loanwords

Loanwords are an interesting category in which to look at the choice of possessive constructions. With most loanwords, possession is expressed using the indirect possessive construction. I did not find any example of a direct possessive construction with a loanword. In general, the choice of possessive marker depends on the nature of the noun, just as with original Kove words. For example, the possessive of food, cooking utensils, and cooking-related objects is expressed with the *a*-marker, so loanwords in this semantic field also occur with the *a*-marker. Similarly, with loanwords for diseases or means of transportation, the possessive is expressed with the same possessive construction used with these categories of native Kove words. All of the loanwords in the following examples originate from Tok Pisin.

| Loanwords | Kove words |
|---|---|
| *a-ghu* *pelete*<br>A.POSS-1SG.POSS plate<br>‘my plate’ | *a-ghu* *sakahe*<br>A.POSS-1SG.POSS plate<br>‘my plate’ |
| *a-mu* *kitchen*<br>A.POSS-2SG.POSS kitchen<br>‘your kitchen’ | *a-mu* *eai ai-mata*<br>A.POSS-2SG.POSS fire 3SG.POSS-eye<br>‘your kitchen’ |
| *ai-a* *pipia*<br>3SG.POSS-A.POSS trash<br>‘his/her trash’ | *ai-a* *volaru*<br>3SG.POSS-A.POSS trash<br>‘his/her trash’ |
| *a-ghu* *soa*<br>A.POSS-1SG.POSS wound<br>‘my wound’ | *a-ghu* *tingohongoho*<br>A.POSS-1SG.POSS wound<br>‘my wound’ |
| *le-ra* *kari*<br>LE.POSS-1PL.INCL.POSS car<br>‘our car’ | *le-ra* *wagha*<br>LE.POSS-1PL.INCL.POSS canoe[82]<br>‘our car’ |

As I mentioned above, I have observed that ornaments or objects that are attached above or around one’s neck tend to occur with *a*-type possession, and this seems to apply to loanwords as well. For example, both the loanwords for ‘pillow’ and ‘hat’ are marked with the *a*-marker, while those for ‘blanket’ and ‘bed’ are marked with the *le*-marker. The following examples are a pair of loanwords for sleeping items.

| | |
|---|---|
| *a-mai* *pillow*<br>A.POSS-1PL.EXCL.POSS pillow<br>‘our pillow’ | *le-mai* *blankete*<br>LE.POSS-1PL.EXCL.POSS blanket<br>‘our blanket’ |

---

[82] While *wagha* ‘canoe’ is also used for ‘car’, the loanword ‘kari’ is more common nowadays.

As these examples show, the choice of possessive construction for loanwords depends on the nature of the nouns, and generally follows the choice for original Kove words in the same groups. However, there are a few examples where the motivation for the choice of possessive construction is unclear. For example, the words for ‘chance’, ‘ticket’, and ‘lucky’ are marked with the *a*-marker, as in *a-ghu chance* (A.POSS-1SG.POSS chance) ‘my chance’ and *a-ghu lucky* (A.POSS-1SG.POSS lucky) ‘my luck’. Another example is the set of *teacher* and *student*. Both categories are related to school life, but *teacher* is marked with the *a*-marker, while *student* is marked with the *le*-marker. This could be a dominant and subordinate distinction.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ghu* | *teacher* | *le-ghu* | *student* |
| A.POSS-1SG.POSS | teacher | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | student |
| ‘my teacher’ | | ‘my student’ | |

Furthermore, there are a few loanwords that do not follow the expected choice of possessive construction according to category of noun. For example, *eta-ghu* ‘friend’ is a direct possessive noun. The loanword *prend* ‘friend’ would presumably also be a direct possessive noun. However, it occurs in the *le*-type possessive construction, as in *le-ghu prend* (LE.POSS-1SG.POSS friend) ‘my friend’. Note that there is no semantic difference between *eta-ghu* and *prend*. This may suggest that direct possession is a closed class, while indirect possession is an open class.

Kove culture has been much affected by outside influences, particularly from Western culture, and this has led to many borrowings, especially from Tok Pisin. Therefore, it would be interesting to further explore the choice of possessive constructions for loanwords, in particular for concepts or items that did not originally exist in Kove.

## 6.1.3 Fluidity

This section will discuss nouns that occur in more than one type of possessive construction, normally with some semantic difference.

### 6.1.3.1 Body parts and parts of a whole

As seen already, most terms for body parts are direct possessive nouns. This is a category that is usually treated consistently across Oceanic languages. However, some direct possessive nouns for body parts may also be expressed with the *a* indirect possessive construction, but with some semantic difference. In the example of direct possession in (6-7 a), the owner of the feather(s) is possibly one particular bird, although the bird may or may not be identified. On the other hand, in the example of *a* indirect possession in (6-7 b), 'feather(s)' refers to random feathers, whose possessor (the owner of the feathers) is unclear. Furthermore, there might be several types of feathers from several birds. Note that a singular form is used in the examples, although the possessum may be plural. This is because the possessum is treated as a singular entity.

(6-7 a) DIRECT POSSESSION

| | |
|---|---|
| manu | **ai**-kotakota |
| bird | 3SG.POSS-feather |

'feather(s) of a bird'

(6-7 b) *A*-TYPE INDIRECT POSSESSION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| manu | **ai-a** | kotakota |
| bird | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | feather |

'feathers of (a) bird(s)'

For other body parts such as arms, legs, or internal organs, the possessive can also be expressed with *a*-type indirect possession if there are many instances of the part. However, in pragmatic terms, this may be unrealistic. Therefore, such expressions may be grammatical, but unnatural.

### 6.1.3.2 Animals and food-related materials

As mentioned above, nouns for food and drink, animals that are eaten, and utensils in daily use, among others, are marked by the *a*-marker. However, such nouns may be marked by the *le*-marker under certain conditions. For example, animals that are kept as pets are not marked by the *a*-marker because they are not considered as intended for consumption. Instead, they occur with the *le*-marker.

(6-8 a) **a-ghu** ghaya
A.POSS-1SG.POSS pig
'my pig to eat'

(6-8 b) **le-ghu** ghaya
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS pig
'my pig (not to eat)'

Furthermore, while the possessives of foods are exclusively expressed with the *a*-marker, foods that are only temporarily owned by a possessor, for example for selling, for planting, or for giving to others, are marked with the *le*-marker.

(6-9 a) **a-ghu** moi
A.POSS-1SG.POSS taro
'my taro to eat'

(6-9 b) **le-ghu** moi
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS taro
'my taro (not to eat)'

Similarly, if utensils or materials are clearly used for food purposes, they are marked with the *a*-marker. However, if they are owned temporarily (e.g., the possessor might intend to give them to someone) or they haven't been used for a while, they are marked with *le*.

(6-10 a) **a-ghu** ulo
A.POSS-1SG.POSS pot
'my pot (for cooking)'

(6-10 b) **le-ghu** ulo
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS pot
'my pot (that I temporarily have)'

### 6.1.3.3 Ornaments

Nouns for ornaments can also be expressed by different constructions, with different meanings. As described above, objects that are attached from the neck up are likely to be marked by the *a*-marker, such as *vula* ‘shell necklace’ or *pelenga* ‘comb’. However, they may occur with the *le*-marker, but this will involve a different meaning. Possession with *le* is used when the object is not attached to the possessor, or when a possessor temporarily owns the object (e.g., the possessor may intend to give it away or may be borrowing it).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-11 a) | **a-ghu** | vula | (6-11 b) | **le-ghu** | vula |
| | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | shell.necklace | | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | shell.necklace |
| | ‘my necklace that I am wearing[83]’ | | | ‘my necklace that I temporarily have’ | |

### 6.1.3.4 Passive and active possession

A high degree of fluidity is also shown in the contrast between “passive” and “active” possession, including in nominalization.[84] The definition of this contrast is discussed by Geraghty in his work on Fijian (1983), and by others such as Lynch (2001) and Palma and Brown (2007): In active possession, “the head is either a sentence of which the possessor is the animate subject, or a deverbal noun derived from an underlying structure in which the possessor is the actor” (Geraghty 1983:246), such as “my picture (picture that I have).” On the other hand, “in passive possession, the head is either a sentence of which the possessor is the inanimate subject, or a deverbal noun derived from an underlying structure in which the possessor is not the actor” (Geraghty 1983:269), such as "my picture (picture of me)." That is, with a deverbal noun (which is usually *i*-prefixed), if the actor of the underlying sentence is expressed, it is actively possessed, whereas an underlying patient (or other nonactor) is passively possessed.

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[83] However, the *a*-marker is used if an item is worn even temporarily. What matters is whether it is actually worn or not, not whether it is worn temporarily or habitually.

[84] I will discuss passive and active possession in nominalization in Section 6.2.

Passive and active possession are grammatically marked in different ways in many Oceanic languages. In general, passive possession is marked either by a direct construction or by an indirect construction with a food marker, while active possession tends to be marked by an indirect construction with a possessive marker that is used for a general category or a less permanent possessive relationship.

Like many other Oceanic languages, Kove has a grammatical distinction between active and passive possession. In Kove, passive possession is marked by the *a*-marker, while active possession is marked by the *le*-marker. This is shown in the following pair of examples. Examples (6-12 a) and (6-12 b) both use *nasinga* 'story'.[85] In (6-12 a), *nasinga* occurs with the *a*-type marker, and the possessor is an undergoer in the event, and further, is affected by an external activity. In (6-12 b), *nasinga* occurs with the *le*-type marker. Here the possessor is an agent in the event, and does the action of telling a story; the story is the object.

(6-12 a) **a-ghu** nasinga
A.POSS-1SG.POSS story
'my story (a story about me)'

(6-12 b) **le-ghu** nasinga
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS story
'my story (a story that I tell)'

Here are a few more pairs of examples that show this parallel relationship.

(6-13 a) **a-ghu** kaipu
A.POSS-1SG.POSS punch
'my punch (my being hit)'

---

[85] Verbs are nominalized with a nominalizer *-nga*. However, *nasinga* is not a nominalized verb because a word *nasi* does not exist.

(6-13 b) **le-ghu** kaipu
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS punch
'my punch (my hitting something/someone)'

(6-14 a) **a-ghu** mata pa-pau[86]
A.POSS-1SG.POSS eye RED-new
'my *matapapau* (*matapapau* that I receive)'

(6-14 b) **le-ghu** mata pa-pau
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS eye RED-new
'my *matapapau* (*matapapau* that I hold)'

### 6.1.3.5 Loanwords

There are a few loanwords for which the possessive is expressed with different types of constructions according to semantics. The first example is *family*. *Family* can occur with indirect possession, while almost all kinship terms are expressed using direct possession. *Family* occurs with two different possessive markers. If it is marked with the *a*-marker as in (6-15 a), it refers to immediate family members such as parents or children. On the other hand, when it is used with the *le*-marker as in (6-15 b), it refers to distant family members.

(6-15 a) **a-ghu** family
A.POSS-1SG.POSS family
'my (immediate) family'

(6-15 b) **le-ghu** family
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS family
'my (distant) family'

---

[86] *Matapapau* is a traditional ceremony in Kove culture, where a newborn is officially introduced to the village. *Matapapau* with the *a*-marker as in (6-14 a) refers to the possessor as a newborn being introduced. On the other hand, *matapapau* with the *le*-marker as in (6-14 b) refers to the possessor as the person holding the ceremony. The possessor is usually the parent of the newborn.

Another example is found with *pepa* 'paper'. If this noun is marked with the *a*-marker, it means 'certificate', and if it is marked with the *le*-marker, it refers to just 'paper'.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-16 a) | **a-ghu** | pepa | (6-16 b) | **le-ghu** | pepa |
| | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | paper | | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | paper |
| | 'my paper (= my certificate)' | | | 'my paper' | |

It is puzzling how the different meanings of 'certificate' and 'paper' have evolved to use different possessive constructions.

As these examples show, some nouns can occur in different possessive constructions with different semantics. This kind of fluidity usually occurs between the two types of indirect possession, and the nouns that show such fluidity may be polysemous. However, I found one example where the possessive construction can be either direct possession or *le*-type indirect possession. The word *linge* in direct possession refers to 'voice', while *linge* in indirect possession with the *le*-marker refers to 'habit', as follows:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-17 a) | **linge-ghu** | (6-17 b) | **le-ghu** | linge |
| | voice-1SG.POSS | | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | habit |
| | 'my voice' | | 'my habit' | |

According to Kove speakers, the word *linge* in both constructions is the same form; the reason behind this unusual polysemy is unclear at this point.

### 6.1.4 Summary of semantic properties in possessive constructions

In Sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.3, I have discussed how the nature of nouns interacts with the choice of possessive construction. Before moving on to further discussion of possessive constructions, in this subsection I provide a summary of the semantic properties of noun groups in each construction. Parentheses indicate that there are very few such examples.

Table 6.2: Semantic properties in possessive constructions

| Direct possession | *a*-type indirect possession | *le*-type indirect possession |
|---|---|---|
| Body parts; secretion and natural products; parts of whole | Body parts; secretion and natural products; parts of whole | |
| Attribute | (Attribute) | (Attribute) |
| Kinship | | Kinship |
| | Foods to eat; utensils for food purposes | Foods not intended for eating; utensils for non-food purposes |
| | Culture and tradition | Culture and tradition |
| | Ornaments for wearing above or around the neck | Ornaments for wearing below the neck, or not for wearing |
| | Disease | (Disease) |
| | Passive | Active |
| | Loanwords | Loanwords |

Given that loanwords and new words do not occur in direct possession, direct possession is a closed class. For indirect possession, many nouns can occur in *a*-type possessive constructions. However, the semantic range in the usage of *a*-type possession is limited. For example, many Oceanic languages, especially languages spoken in Melanesia, have a grammatical distinction between possessive constructions for edible items and those for non-edible items. This is also true in Kove, in which the *a*-marker is chosen for edible items. In Kove, however, even if objects are edible, if they are not used for eating purposes they are marked with the *le*-marker, which is used for inedible objects. Therefore, I would consider *a*-type possession to be a semi-closed category.

### 6.1.5 Constructions of possessive noun phrases

As indicated in Section 6.1.1, in both direct and indirect possession, the possessor phrase occurs before the possessum phrase.

DIRECT POSSESSION:

| | |
|---|---|
| (possessor NP) | possessed NP-possessive suffix |

INDIRECT POSSESSION:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (possessor NP) | possessive marker-possessive suffix | possessed NP |

However, when a possessed noun is topicalized, it occurs before the possessor phrase. Topicalization is common in natural contexts, but it is rare in direct possession. The first example is topicalization in direct possession, and it does not sound natural.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6-18) | ?**ai-ahe** | tamine |
| | 3SG.POSS-leg | woman |

‘as for the leg, it is the woman’s’ (lit., ‘her leg woman’)

The next two examples are topicalization in indirect possession, which is very often seen in texts. The possessed noun is topicalized and occurs before the possessor phrase.

(6-19) *A*-POSSESSION: TOPICALIZATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **galaru** | luma | ai-a |
| floor | house | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

‘As for the floor, it belongs to the house.’ (lit., ‘floor, house’s’)

(6-20) *LE*-POSSESSION: TOPICALIZATION
**uraghe** tamine e-le
knife woman 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS
‘As for the knife, it is the woman’s.’ (lit., ‘knife, woman’s’)

The possessor phrase may be omitted. This is very common if the possessor phrase is a pronoun as in (6-1), (6-3), and (6-5), repeated here as (6-21), (6-22), and (6-23).

(6-21) (yau) ahe-ghu
1SG leg-1SG.POSS
‘my leg’

(6-22) (yau) a-ghu haninga
1SG A.POSS-1SG.POSS food
‘my food (that I intend to eat)’

(6-23) (yau) le-ghu malo
1SG LE.POSS-1SG.POSS clothes
‘my clothes’

However, the omission of lexical noun phrases for possessors is also very common, if the possessor is clear from the context as in (6-2), (6-4), and (6-6), repeated here as (6-24), (6-25), and (6-26).

(6-24) (**tamine**) ai-ahe
(woman) 3SG.POSS-leg
‘a woman’s leg’

(6-25) (**luma**) ai-a galaru
(house) 3SG.POSS-A.POSS floor
‘the floor of a house’

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-26) | **(tamine)** | e-le | uraghe |
| | woman | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | knife |
| | ‘a woman’s knife/the woman’s knife’ | | |

(6-27) is one more example where the possessor is omitted in a text. In this context, the possessor is *momo* ‘sago’, and the possessums are tools used for sago. Note that the construction does not indicate actual ownership. Instead, it refers to the possessum and its purpose. Since both *io* and *bele* are commonly known to be used in the process of pounding sago, the possessor, *momo* ‘sago’, which would be between *ikaro* and *aia*, is omitted, even though it was not mentioned previously. Note that *ai-* does not refer to the subject, as in (6-27b).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-27 a) | i-karo | **ai-a** | io | gha | bele. |
| | 3SG.SBJ-prepare | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | strainer | CONJ | hammer |
| | ‘He/She prepared a strainer and hammer to pound sago.’ | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-27 a) | nga-karo | **ai-a** | io | gha | bele. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-prepare | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | strainer | CONJ | hammer |
| | ‘I prepared a strainer and hammer to pound sago.’ | | | | |

In addition to the omission of possessors, a possessum phrase may be omitted in indirect possession if the object is clear from context. In the following example, the possessed noun is omitted, and a possessive marker with a possessive pronoun occurs by itself without either a possessor or a possessed noun in the second and third sentences. This is because the first sentence describes people picking betel nuts, so it is clear that what people picked in the second and third sentences was betel nuts.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-28) | S1: Ne | pa | vua | ai-lolo | tona-wawa | ne |
| | PTC | PREP | betel nut | 3SG.POSS-inside | ART-LOC.DEM | PTC |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ya-sopa-ri | a-mai | **vua**. |
| 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-pluck-3PL.OBJ | A.POSS-1PL.EXCL.POSS | betel nut |

‘In the plantation of betel nuts, we plucked (a bunch) of betel nuts for us.’

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| S2: | Avava | i-sopa | **ai-a.** |
| | Avava | 3SG.SBJ-pluck | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

‘Avava plucked some for him.’ (lit., ‘Avava picked his.’)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| S3: | Yau | nga-sopa | **a-ghu**. |
| | 1SG | 1SG.SBJ-pluck | A.POSS-1SG.POSS |

‘I plucked ones for myself.’ (lit., ‘I picked mine.’)

Traditionally, possessive markers have been considered relational classifiers in Oceanic linguistics, as discussed by Lichtenberk (1983 b). Recently, Palmer and Brown (2007) have argued that they should be treated as nouns. While possessive markers with possessive pronouns can stand by themselves in Kove, further research is still required to clarify their status, and I will not discuss this matter here.

There is no restriction in Kove on the co-occurrence of the two types of indirect possession or of both direct and indirect possession within a single phrase. However, there may be some constraints on co-occurrence of the two types of indirect possession within a single phrase. This is nicely shown in examples of passive and active possession.

As described in Section 6.1.3.4, the agent possessor is marked by the *le*-marker, while the undergoer possessor is marked by the *a*-marker. If an event expressed by a noun has both an agent and an undergoer, it is impossible for both possessive markers to appear for the agent and the undergoer, as seen in (6-29) and (6-30).

(6-29) ***le-ghu** **a-mu** kaipu
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS A.POSS-2SG.POSS punch
(‘my punch to you’)

(6-30) ***le-ghu** **ai-a** kaipu
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS 3SG.POSS-A.POSS punch
(‘my punch to him/her/it’)

Instead, only the agent is expressed with the possessive marker, and the undergoer is marked as an oblique using *nga*. In other words, the patient cannot be expressed as a possessor. In the following two examples, the agent is expressed by *-ghu* ‘my’ attached to the possessive marker *le*, while the undergoer is expressed by *gho* ‘you’ in (6-31) and *ni* ‘him/her/it’ in (6-32).

(6-31) le-ghu kaipu **nga-gho**
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS punch PREP-2SG.POSS
‘my punch to you’

(6-32) le-ghu kaipu **nga-ni**
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS punch PREP-3SG.OBJ
‘my punch to him/her/it’

However, when the undergoer is a lexical noun phrase, the agent and the undergoer can be marked with different indirect possessive markers, as long as they are not next to one another. The agent phrase always precedes the undergoer phrase. Example (6-33) shows both the agent and undergoer expressed by means of possessive constructions.

| (6-33) | **le-ghu** | **ghaya** | **ai-a** | kaipu |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | pig | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | punch |

‘my punch to a pig’

Alternatively, it is possible that the undergoer occurs with the preposition *nga*, as below:

| (6-34) | le-ghu | kaipu | **nga** | **ghaya** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | punch | PREP | pig |

‘my punch to a pig’

Thus, depending on the noun’s role in an event, the choice of possessive constructions differs: passive possession is marked by the *a*-marker, while active possession is marked by the *le*-marker. However, if both the agent and undergoer of the event appear, only the agent is expressed with the possessive marker, and the undergoer is expressed with a prepositional phrase, except when the undergoer is a lexical noun phrase. When the undergoer is a lexical noun phrase, it can be expressed either by means of the possessive marker or by means of the preposition. This grammatical distinction between active and passive possession is also shown in nominalization (see the discussion of possessive nominalization in 6.3).

### 6.1.6 Functions of *aia*

The primary function of possessive markers is to denote the nature of the possessum noun and to express ownership between the possessor (owner) and the possessum. However, the possessive marker *a* may be used for non-ownership relations, carrying the third person singular possessive prefix *ai-*.

### 6.1.6.1 Purpose

The *a*-marker seems to be used for a relation where the possessum is an item used for the possessor. For example, *io* is a special container used for pounding sago. In (6-35), *momo* ‘sago’ is positioned in the place of the possessor. Grammatically, it is the possessor. However, it does not mean that sago is the owner of the strainer, but rather that sago is that for which the strainer is used.

(6-35) momo **ai-a** io
sago 3SG.POSS-A.POSS strainer
‘a strainer for sago’ (lit., ‘strainer of sago’)

Similarly, in the next example, *matapapau* and *ghaya* are connected by the possessive marker *aia* as the possessor and possessum. However, this example does not mean that the *ghaya* ‘pig’ is owned by the *matapapau*, which is a traditional event (see footnote 86). Instead, it describes a pig that will be (or was) used for the *matapapau* event.

(6-36) Avava i-kea **matapapau** **ai-a** **ghaya.**
Avava 3SG.SBJ-take *matapapau* 3SG.POSS-A.POSS pig
‘Avava took a pig for the *matapapau*.’ (lit., ‘Avava took the *matapapau*’s pig.’)

Thus, two nouns occur in the positions of the possessor and possessum. However, their relationship is not one of ownership. Rather, the noun in the possessum position seems to be the purpose or goal for the noun in the possessor position.

### 6.1.6.2 Ordinal numerals

The ordinal numerals, such as ‘second’ and ‘third’, are expressed by means of the *a* indirect possessive construction (see 4.2.2.3), except for ‘first’, where the cardinal numeral word *ere* ‘one’ functions as an ordinal numeral. The ordinal numerals are a combination of NUMERAL + *aia*.

Table 6.3: Kove ordinal numeral system

| | |
|---|---|
| first | *ere* |
| second | *hua aia* |
| third | *tolu aia* |
| fourth | *pange aia* |
| fifth | *lima aia* |

The set of ordinal numerals is also used for multiplicative numerals such as ‘twice’ and ‘three times’. In (6-37), a multiplicative numeral phrase *hua aia* is positioned right after the first verb phrase and functions as an adverb. Note that the second sentence contains a serial verb construction.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-37) | I-la | $_{vi}$[i-tui | eau] | **ere** | $_{vii}$[gha | i-nama]. |
| | 3SG.SBJ-go | 3SG.SBJ-pump | water | one | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-come |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I-la | $_{vi}$[i-tui | eau] | **hua** | **ai-a** |
| 3SG.SBJ-go | 3SG.SBJ-pump | water | two | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

| | |
|---|---|
| $V_{ii}$[gha | i-nama.] |
| SVU | 3SG.SBJ-come |

‘He went and pumped water the first time. (Then) he went and pumped water a second time.’

Furthermore, ordinals also occur with nouns and temporal words to indicate the number of an object. For example, Example (6-38) indicates the second sheet of a sleeping mattress. For this function, the noun occurs at the beginning of the phrase.

(6-38) **moe** hua ai-a
sleeping.mattress two 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
'second sheet of sleeping mattress'

Here is another example of this construction, in which a temporal word occurs:

(6-39) **vongivongi** tolu ai-a
morning three 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
'morning of the third day' (lit., 'third morning')

While the possessive construction with the *a*-marker is used in these examples, it does not seem to function to mark a possessive relationship for two reasons. First, the object and the numeral are not related as possessor and possessum. There is no ownership relation. Second, the phrasal constructions are different from constructions used for possessive constructions. While *aia* occurs at the end of a phrase in ordinal or multiplicative numeral constructions, *aia* is positioned between two words in possessive constructions.

[Ordinal / Multiplicative]

NOUN / TEMPORAL WORD + NUMERAL + *aia*

[Possessive]

NOUN (POSSESSOR) + *aia* + NOUN (POSSESSUM)

It is true that a possessum noun can occur at the beginning of a possessive phrase in topicalization, as [NOUN (POSSESSUM) + NOUN (POSSESSOR) + *aia*]. Therefore, one might think a multiplicative numeral construction is a result of topicalization. However, according to one of my consultants, a numeral phrase sounds strange if *aia* occurs between the noun and the numeral, parallel to its position in possessive phrases, even though this structure is theoretically grammatical.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-40) | ?*hua | **ai-a** | moe |
| | two | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | sleeping.mattress |

Therefore, I assume that this construction cannot refer to a possessive relationship. Rather, it may be a compound (see more discussion on compounds 6.1.6.4) to denote ordinal or multiplicative numerals.

### 6.1.6.3 *aia* + attribute word

The words denoting attributes and properties function as nouns as well as adjectives (see 4.2.2.1). They may occur with the possessive marker *aia*, as follows:

NOUN (ENTITY-WORD) + *aia* + NOUN (ATTRIBUTE- AND PROPERTY-WORD)

However, the nouns and attribute- or property-denoting words do not have a possessive (ownership) relationship. Instead, this construction refers to 'the part of an entity that has the ATTRIBUTE/PROPERTY'. In (6-41), *vuivui* 'grass' fills in the position of a possessor, and *raerae* 'long' occurs in the position of a possessum. However, the two words do not have a possessor-possessum relationship. Instead, this phrase refers to the part of a field of grass where the grass is long.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-41) | vuivui | **ai-a** | raerae |
| | grass | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | long |

'the area where grass is long in the field of grass'

Similarly, in (6-42), *malo* 'clothes' and *kua* 'wet' are in the positions of possessor and possessum, respectively. The phrase refers to 'the wet part (area) of the clothes'. There is no possessive relationship between *malo* and *kua*.

(6-42) malo **ai-a** kua
clothes 3SG.POSS-A.POSS wet
'the wet part of the clothes'

If the object is plural, the possessive marker carries the third person plural pronominal form *ari*. In (6-43), there may be a pile of clothes, and the phrase refers to the wet part of the clothes in the pile.

(6-43) malo **a-ri** kua
clothes A.POSS-3PL.POSS wet
'the wet part in the pile of clothes'

The construction [ENTITY-WORD + *aia* + ATTRIBUTE OR PROPERTY-WORD] can occur with the interrogative word *maro* 'how'. The position of *maro* is at the end of the phrase,[87] and this construction asks about the degree of an attribute or property. This construction has some semantic and grammatical differences from the construction without *maro* described above and exemplified in (6-41) through (6-43). First, the construction with *maro* does not include the meaning 'part of'. Instead, it simply asks about the degree of a quality. Second, this construction is a non-verbal sentence, while the construction in (6-41) through (6-43) is a single phrase. For example, (6-44) questions the degree of wetness. Ideally, the whole pile of clothes is wet. Also, as indicated by the square brackets, it consists of two phrases, head and predicate, as a single sentence. Note that two noun phrases can co-occur without any grammatical marker within a single non-verbal sentence in Kove (see Chapter 9).

---

[87] Interrogative phrases occur *in situ*, where the corresponding non-interrogative phrase occurs in a declarative sentence (see 10.2).

(6-44) $_{\text{NP1}}$[malo **ai-a** kua] $_{\text{NP2}}$[maro]?
clothes 3SG.POSS-A.POSS wet how
'How wet are the clothes?' (lit., 'How is the wetness of the clothes?')

Here is one more example, which refers to a question about the size of a pig.

(6-45) $_{\text{NP1}}$[ghaya **ai-a** paka] $_{\text{NP2}}$[maro]?
pig 3SG.POSS-A.POSS big how
'How big is the pig?' (lit., 'How is the bigness of the pig?')

Thus, words denoting attributes or properties occur with the interrogative *maro* 'how' in possessive constructions. Furthermore, in these cases, the *a*-type construction is chosen. However, as far as I know, there is one attribute word that does not take the possessive marker. It is *ai-yahu* 'heavy'. *Ai-yahu* is a direct possessive noun, which always carries a possessive pronoun. When it occurs in a question about degree, it cannot occur with the possessive marker because the noun itself already has the possessive marking, as follows:

(6-46 a) *ghaya **ai-a** **ai-yahu** maro?
pig 3SG.POSS-A.POSS 3SG.POSS-heavy how
('How heavy is the pig?')

(6-46 b) ghaya **ai-yahu** maro?
pig 3SG.POSS-heavy how
'How heavy is the pig?' (lit., 'How is the heaviness of the pig?)

This example may suggest that the choice of the possessive marker depends on the nature of the attribute- or property-denoting words, rather than the construction.

### 6.1.6.4 Compounds

As described above, the position of the possessive markers is between two nouns in the basic structure of possessive noun phrases, as in [NOUN + *aia* + NOUN]. However, sometimes the order of constituents is different, as in the following examples, where *aia* occurs at the end of the possessive constructions.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-47) | iha | lavonene | **ai-a** |
| | fish | today | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

‘today’s fish’ (e.g., ‘fish that was caught today, or fish that is eaten today’)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-48) | apa | hai | **ai-a** |
| | day | (southeast) wind | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

‘(southeast) wind’s day’ (i.e., ‘day when southeast winds blow’)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-49) | tamine | Kove | **ai-a** |
| | woman | Kove | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

‘woman from Kove’ (lit., ‘Kove’s woman’)

This construction looks the same as topicalization, where a possessum noun occurs at the beginning of a phrase. However, it is not a topicalized construction because it cannot be untopicalized, that is, the first nominal element cannot occur at the end of the construction. According to Kove speakers, the following constructions are theoretically grammatical, but they are not common at all, and they sound very strange. They are not used in natural speech.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-50) | ?*lavonene | **ai-a** | iha |
| | today | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | fish |
| | ('today's fish' [e.g., 'fish that was caught today or fish that is eaten today']) | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-51) | ?*hai | **ai-a** | apa |
| | (southeast) wind | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | day |
| | ('[southeast] wind's day' [i.e., 'day when southeast winds blow']) | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-52) | ?*Kove | **ai-a** | tamine |
| | Kove | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | woman |
| | ('woman from Kove' [lit., 'Kove's woman']) | | |

Here is one more example where the possessive marker follows two nouns (6-53). Unlike in the examples above, however, the possessive marker here can occur between the two nouns, but with a different meaning (6-54). In (6-53), *aia* occurs at the end of the phrase, and it refers to 'a certificate for being a nurse'. That is, the certificate could belong to any member of the category 'nurse', and we don't know its owner in this context. On the other hand, in (6-54), where *aia* occurs between the two nouns, it means 'a paper/certificate of a nurse'. In this context, there is a possessive relation between the possessor and the possessum: the certificate is owned by a particular nurse.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-53) | nesu | pepa | **ai-a** |
| | nurse | paper / certificate | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |
| | 'certificate for being a nurse' | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-54) | nesu | **ai-a** | pepa |
| | nurse | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | paper / certificate |
| | 'certificate of the nurse' | | |

In these examples, the order of constituents is fixed, and thus different orders give alternate meanings.

In fact, this construction is productive. For example, in the case of (6-47), both *iha* and *lavonene* can be replaced by other nouns, as follows:

(6-55) moi lavonene **ai-a**
taro today 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
'today's taro'

(6-56) iha savelele **ai-a**
fish savalele 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
'tomorrow's fish'

Similarly, *tamine* and *Kove* in (6-49) can be replaced by another noun.

(6-57) tamone Siapan **ai-a**
man Japan 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
'man from Japan' (lit., 'Japan's man')

Furthermore, a similar construction can be seen with a nominalized verb. In (6-58), *aia* follows two nouns. It is ungrammatical if *niu* 'coconut' occurs at the end of the construction, as in non-topicalization. This construction refers to a 'coconut for drinking'. It does not mean 'drinking a coconut'. The construction for 'drinking a coconut' is different, as in (6-59) where the head noun is *unu-nga* 'drinking' (see 6.2).

(6-58 a) niu unu-nga **ai-a**
coconut drink-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
'coconut for drinking'

(6-58 b) *unu-nga **ai-a** niu
drink-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS coconut
(‘coconut for drinking’)

(6-59) niu **ai-a** unu-nga
coconut 3SG.POSS-A.POSS drink-NMLZ
‘drinking a coconut.’

Here is one more example with a nominalized verb.

(6-60 a) moe eno-nga **ai-a**
sleeping.mattress sleep-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
‘mattress for sleeping’

(6-60 b) *eno-nga **ai-a** moe
sleep-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS sleeping.mattress
(‘mattress for sleeping’)

(6-61) moe **ai-a** eno-nga
sleep 3SG.POSS-A.POSS sleep-NMLZ
‘Sleeping on a mattress.’

Given that the order of constituents is fixed, and also unusual—that is, different from the basic possessive construction—I assume that this type of construction is compounding.

## 6.2 Nominalization

### 6.2.1 Nominalized verbs

Kove has two deverbal nominalizers, *-nga* and *-ra*. *-nga* is a reflex of the Proto-Oceanic nominalizer *-ŋa, as reconstructed by Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002:70). The verbs that take *-ra* are very few. They are *ngingi* ‘laugh’ and *tangi* ‘cry’. All other verbs, including loanwords, take *-nga*. The difference between *-nga* and *-ra* is still unclear. Since both *ngingi* ‘laugh’ and *tangi* ‘cry’ end with *ngi*, it is possible to hypothesize that this is a condition for the use of *-ra*. However, these two words are the only supporting examples known, and I therefore cannot be certain.[88]

(6-62) lalao-nga
walk-NMLZ
‘walking’

(6-63) tapu-nga
fall.down-NMLZ
‘falling down’

(6-64) ani-nga
eat-NMLZ
‘eating’

(6-65) ngingi-ra
laugh-NMLZ
‘laughing’

(6-66) tangi-ra
cry-NMLZ
‘crying’

A nominalized verb can occur either as a subject or as an object. In Example (6-67), the nominalization functions as the subject:

(6-67) **Hau-nga** sasi.
hit-NMLZ bad
‘Hitting is bad.’

In (6-68), the nominalized verb functions as the direct object:

(6-68) Nga-watai **waja-nga** mao.
1SG.SBJ-know swim-NMLZ NEG
‘I don’t know how to swim.’ (lit.,‘I don’t know swimming.’)

Verbs may be reduplicated to denote continuousness (see Chapter 7), as in *lalalao* ‘be walking’, *aniani* ‘be eating’, *tangitangi* ‘be crying’. The reduplicated verbs can also take a nominalizer.

---

[88] There are some verbs ending with *ng* plus other vowels, like *nga*, but they all take the nominalizer *-nga*.

(6-69) la-lalao-nga
RED-walk-NMLZ
'walking'

(6-70) tapu-tapu-nga
fall.down-RED-NMLZ
'falling down'

(6-71) ani-ani-nga
eat-RED-NMLZ
'eating'

(6-72) ngingi-ngi-ra
laugh-RED-NMLZ
'laughing'

(6-73) tangi-tangi-ra
cry-RED-NMLZ
'crying'

## 6.2.2 The basic construction of nominalized verbs

In a Kove verb phrase, the verb is obligatorily prefixed by a subject pronominal form. In addition, if a verb is transitive, the direct object appears after the verb. The word order is SVO. The direct object can be expressed by means of an object suffix on the verb (see 4.1. and 7.1).

A subject pronominal form cannot attach to a nominalized verb. The grammatical expression of what would be the subject of a nominalized verb will be discussed in the next section.

(6-74) ***nga**-hau-nga
1SG.SBJ-hit-NMLZ
('My hitting [something].')

Similarly, the lexical noun phrase of a subject cannot co-occur with a nominalized verb.

(6-75) ***tamine** hau-nga
woman hit-NMLZ
('hitting by the woman')

However, a direct object pronominal form can attach to a nominalized verb. The pronominal form occurs after the nominalizer, except with a ditransitive verb.

(6-76) hau-nga-**gho**
hit-NMLZ-2SG.OBJ
'(someone's) hitting of you'

If a direct object is a lexical noun phrase, it can also occur after the nominalized verb.

(6-77) hau-nga **ghaya**
hit-NMLZ pig
'(someone's) hitting of a pig'

The middle voice verbs such as *roa* 'sit down' and *ghunu* 'stand up' always take co-referential subjects and direct objects (see 7.2.4). They look like transitive verbs. However, unlike nominalized transitive verbs, they do not take a direct object pronominal form when they are nominalized. Instead, these verbs take the intransitive suffix *-i* between the verb and nominalizer (see 7.3.2).

(6-78) Nga-roa-ghau.
1SG.SBJ-sit.down-1SG.OBJ
'I sit down.'

(6-79) roa-i-**nga**
sit.down-INTR-NMLZ
'sitting'

(6-80) *roa-i-nga-**ghau**
sit.down-INTR-NMLZ-1SG.SBJ
('my sitting')

There is only one verb in Kove that takes two objects without prepositions, a direct object and a recipient object. The verb is *pa* 'give'. This verb has to take an object pronominal suffix for the recipient. The word order in the verbal clause is subject, recipient, direct object, as in (6-81) and (6-82) (see 7.2.3). As shown in Example (6-81), the verb *pa* carries the second person singular object suffix, which marks the recipient.

(6-81) Nga-pa**-gho** niu.
1SG.SBJ-give-2SG.OBJ coconut
'I give you a coconut.'

In the following example, the verb *pa* 'give' carries the object pronominal suffix *-ni*, which marks the recipient, and the direct object follows the recipient *Stacey*:

(6-82) Nga-pa**-ni** Stacey niu.
1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ Stacey coconut
'I give Stacey a coconut.'

In nominalization of the verb *pa*, the nominalizer occurs after an object pronominal form for a recipient, unlike transitive nominalized verbs, as in examples (6-83) and (6-84). It is obligatory for a recipient to take the object form. The theme occurs after the nominalized element.

(6-83) pa-**gho**-nga niu
give-2SG.OBJ-NMLZ coconut
'giving you a coconut'

In (6-84), the theme occurs after the noun for the recipient.

(6-84) pa-**ni**-nga **Stacey** niu
give-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ Stacey coconut
'giving Stacey a coconut'

Thus, while a nominalized verb cannot occur with a subject pronominal form, it may occur with an object pronominal form, which comes after a nominalizer on transitive verbs. In the ditransitive verb, the object pronominal form for a recipient obligatorily occurs before the nominalizer. Lexical noun phrases cannot co-occur with a nominalized verb if they are subjects. However, they can co-occur if they are objects.

In addition to the object pronominal forms, verbs may take other affixes in Kove (see Section 7.3): causative *pa-*, intransitive suffix *-i*, plural marker *-ri*, and reciprocal *-nga*. The nominalized verbs can take these affixes, as follows.

First, *pa-* causative verb can be nominalized. Examples (6-85) and (6-86) illustrate the structure of a nominalized intransitive verb, [pa-VERB]-nga. The undergoer is expressed by the object pronoun in (6-85), and by a lexical noun phrase in (6-86).

(6-85) **pa**-tapu-nga-gho
CAU-fall.down-NMLZ-2SG.OBJ
'the act of making you fall down'

(6-86) **pa**-tapu-nga ghaya
CAU-fall.down-NMLZ pig
'the act of making a pig fall down'

As with nominalized intransitive verbs, the undergoer of a nominalized causative middle voice verb is expressed by the object pronoun, as in (6-87), or by a lexical noun phrase, as in (6-88).

(6-87) **pa**-roa-i-nga-gho
CAU-sit.down-INTR-NMLZ-2SG.OBJ
'the act of making you sit down'

(6-88) **pa**-roa-i-nga **Frenko**
CAU-sit.down-INTR-NMLZ Frenko
‘the act of making Frenko sit down’

Among transitive verbs, very few verbs can take the causative marker. While the undergoer is expressed by the object pronominal form, the theme is expressed by an oblique, as in (6-89).

(6-89) **pa**-unu-nga-**gho** **nga** **niu**
CAU-drink-NMLZ-2SG.OBJ PREP coconut
‘the act of making you drink a coconut’

In (6-90), the undergoer is a lexical noun phrase, occurring before the oblique for the theme.

(6-90) **pa**-unu-nga **Frenko** **nga** **niu**
CAU-drink-NMLZ Franko PREP coconut
‘making Frenko drink a coconut’

In addition, Kove has the intransitive suffix *-i*, which converts transitive verbs into intransitive verbs; for example, *puka* ‘to collapse (something)’ becomes *puka-i* ‘to collapse or has collapsed’ or *pela* ‘to open (something)’ becomes *pela-i* ‘to open or be open’. The nominalized verbs can carry the suffix, but the suffix occurs next to the verb, before the nominalizer, [VERB-i]-nga.

(6-91) puka-**i**-nga
collapse-INTR-NMLZ
‘collapsing / the state of having collapsed’

(6-92) pela-**i**-nga
open-INTR-NMLZ
'opening / the state of being open'

The third type of affix is *-ri*. This is the third person plural object suffix, which indicates plurality for the theme. However, unlike the intransitive suffix, it occurs after the nominalizer, as in (6-93) where it is suffixed to a nominalized transitive verb, and in (6-94) where it is suffixed to a nominalized ditransitive verb, [VERB]-nga-ri.

(6-93) ani-nga-**ri** niu
eat-NMLZ-3PL.OBJ coconut
'the act of eating coconuts'

(6-94) pa-ni-nga-**ri** niu
give-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ-3PL.OBJ coconut
'the act of giving him / her coconuts'

The last suffix discussed here is the reciprocal suffix *-nga*. In reciprocal constructions, the pronominal object form, which is co-referential with the subject, appears following the reciprocal suffix.

(6-95) Yai ya-hau-**nga**-ghai.
1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-hit-RECIP-1PL.EXCL.OBJ
'We fought each other.'

Nominalized verbs take the reciprocal suffix after the nominalizer, followed by the pronominal object. This is seen in (6-96), where the verb *hau* 'hit' occurs with the reciprocal suffix and the object form. The agent is the first person plural exclusive.

(6-96) hau-nga-**nga-ghai**
hit-NMLZ-RECIP-1PL.EXCL.OBJ
'hitting each other'

While the reciprocal construction seems not to be common with the ditransitive verb, it is possible to have the reciprocal element with the nominalized ditransitive verb. As with transitive verbs, the reciprocal suffix follows the nominalizer. However, the construction is slightly different from that of transitive verbs. The recipient pronouns are reanalyzed as reciprocal pronouns, which are followed by the nominalizer and reciprocal suffix. In (6-97), the constituent order in the verb phrase is [verb-recipient-nominalizer-reciprocal] theme. Note that the agent is the first person plural exclusive.

(6-97) pa-ghai-nga-nga ranga
give-1PL.EXCL.SBJ-NMLZ-RECIP thing
'the act of giving each other a thing' (lit., 'the act of giving ourselves a thing')

Here is one more example where the agent is the third person plural. In this construction, the first *-ri* is an object pronoun for the recipient, which is followed by the nominalizer *nga*. The second *-ri* marks the plurality of the theme object.

(6-98) pa-ri-**nga**-ri-nga ranga
give-3PL.OBJ-NMLZ-3PL.OBJ-RECIP thing
'the act of their exchanging things with each other'

To summarize, all verbal affixes, except the subject marker, can occur with nominalized verbs. Furthermore, if they are suffixes, most of them are positioned after the nominalizer. However, the object pronominal suffixes for the recipient of the ditransitive verb and the stative suffix occur right next to the base verbs. This is perhaps because these suffixes are lexicalized with the verb.

## 6.3 Possessive nominalization

Kove has a grammatical distinction between passive and active possession (c.f. Sato 2009). This distinction is also made in nominalized constructions. For example, in English, *my* in *my hitting something* and *my* in *my being hit* denote different thematic roles. The former denotes an agent, who conducts an event, while the latter is an undergoer, who receives an event. In this section, I will focus on the usage of possessive constructions in nominalization. I will first demonstrate the relationship between grammatical roles and possessive constructions in nominalization. Then, I will discuss complex possessive constructions where more than one possessive construction occurs within a single clause. Finally, I will examine how these constructions behave morphologically and syntactically.

### 6.3.1 Roles of possessive constructions

In this section, I look at how the notional grammatical roles of a nominalized verb are expressed.[89] Participants that are the notional subjects, direct objects, or obliques are expressed as possessors by means of indirect possessive constructions. To examine how possessive markers behave with nominalizations, I categorize participants into three groups: subjects, direct objects, and obliques.

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[89] A notional subject is what would be the subject of a verb, while a notional direct object is what would be the direct object of a verb that has been nominalized. I also recognize a notional oblique.

### 6.3.1.1 Subject

The notional subject is expressed by means of the *le*-type marker regardless of thematic relations such as agent, patient, or theme. This is demonstrated in the nominalization of intransitive verbs. Example (6-99) shows a notional agentive subject expressed as the possessor in the *le*-type possessive construction:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-99) | **Le-ghu** | laro-nga | sasi. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | run-NMLZ | bad |
| | ‘My running is bad.’ | | |

Example (6-100) shows a notional theme subject expressed as the possessor in the *le*-type possessive construction:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-100) | **Patu** | **e-le** | tapu-nga | sasi. |
| | stone | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | fall.down-NMLZ | bad |
| | ‘A stone’s falling down is bad.’ | | | |

Similarly, a notional patient subject is expressed as the possessor in the *le*-type possessive construction as seen in (6-101):

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-101) | **E-le** | mate-nga | doko. |
| | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | die-NMLZ | good |
| | ‘S/he/it died a good death.’ (lit., ‘His/Her/Its dying is good.)’ | | |

In addition to agentive, theme, and patient subjects, subjects of other types of thematic roles are also expressed with the *le*-type possessive construction. The following two examples show a notional subject as the experiencer of the nominalized verbs *makaka* ‘be surprised’ and *nana* ‘think’, expressed in both cases with the *le*-type possessive marker.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6-102) | **Le-ghu** | makaka-nga |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | be.surprised-NMLZ |
| | ‘my being surprised’ | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-103) | Pana | tosalai | **le-ri** | nana-nga | doko. |
| | people | many | LE.POSS-3PL.POSS | think-NMLZ | good |
| | ‘Many people’s thinking (of something/somebody) is good.’ | | | | |

In (6-104), a notional subject of a nonagentive actor, *hai* ‘wind (from southwest)’, is also expressed as the possessor in the *le*-type possessive construction.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-104) | **hai** | **e-le** | lele-nga |
| | wind | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | blow-NMLZ |
| | ‘the southwest wind’s blowing’ | | |

In addition to intransitive verbs, the notional subjects of other types of verbs are expressed by means of the *le*-marker, as in (6-105).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-105) | **Le-ghu** | hau-nga | sasi. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | hit-NMLZ | sasi |
| | ‘My hitting (something/somebody) is bad.’ | | |

Here is one more example where the notional subject is a causer.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-106) | **Le-ghu** | pa-tapu | Neti | sasi. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | CAUS-fall.down | Neti | bad |
| | ‘My making Neti fall down is bad.’ | | | |

Similarly, the notional subject of a ditransitive verb is the possessor in the *le*-type possession.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-107) | **Le-ghu** | pa-gho-nga | niu | doko. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | give-2SG.OBJ-NMLZ | coconut | good |
| | ‘My giving you a coconut is good.’ | | | |

Furthermore, the notional subject of middle verbs, which take object suffixes co-referential with subjects, is also expressed by means of the *le*-type possessive construction.

(6-108) **Le-ghu** roa-i-nga sasi.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS sit.down-INTR-NMLZ bad
'My sitting is bad.'

Thus, the choice of the possessive marker for the notional subject depends on grammatical relations, but not thematic relations or types of verbs. The notional subject is always expressed by means of the *le*-type marker as a possessor.

### 6.3.1.2 Direct object

The notional direct object of a nominalized verb may be expressed by means of pronouns or a lexical noun phrase, which occur after the nominalized verb. (6-109) includes the object suffix, and (6-110) has a lexical noun phrase for the notional direct object.

(6-109) hau-nga-**ghau** sasi.
hit-NMLZ-2SG.OBJ bad
'My being hit is bad.' (lit., 'Hitting me is bad.')

(6-110) hau-nga Neti sasi.
hit-NMLZ Neti bad
'Hitting Neti is bad.'

Alternatively, the notional direct object of a nominalized verb can be expressed with the *a*-marker, as in (6-111). The possessor 'my' corresponds to the direct object of the verb (see also Example [6-105] for comparison with the notional subject).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-111) | **A-ghu** | hau-nga | sasi. |
| | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | hit-NMLZ | bad |

‘My being hit is bad.’

As with the notional subject of intransitive verbs, the choice of the possessive construction in transitive verbs does not depend on thematic relations, but on grammatical relations. In (6-112), the notional stimulus direct object is expressed with the *a*-type construction[90] (see also Example [6-103] for comparison):

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-112) | Pana | salai | **a-ri** | nana-nga | doko. |
| | people | many | A.POSS-3PL.POSS | think-NMLZ | good |

‘Many people’s being thought about is good.’

The notional direct object of a ditransitive verb for the theme is expressed by means of the *a*-marker. In (6-113) and (6-114), the notional direct object is *niu*, which is expressed with the *a*-type construction. Furthermore, the recipient is expressed with a pronoun and a lexical noun phrase in (6-113) and (6-114), respectively.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-113) | **niu** | **ai-a** | pa-gho-nga | doko. |
| | coconut | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | give-2SG.OBJ-NMLZ | good |

‘Giving you a coconut is good.’

---

[90] As mentioned in 6.2.2, there is an alternative way to express the notional direct object. If the notional direct object is a pronoun, it is expressed with the object suffix as in (1). If the notional direct object is a lexical phrase, it occurs after the nominalized phrase as in (2).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Hau-nga-**ghau** | sasi. |
| | hit-NMLZ-1SG.OBJ | bad |

‘Hitting me is bad.’

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2) | Nana-nga | **pana** | **salai** | doko. |
| | think-NMLZ | people | many | good |

‘Thinking of many people is good.’

(6-114) **niu** **ai-a** pa-ni-nga Neti doko.
coconut 3SG.POSS-A.POSS give-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ Neti good
'Giving Neti a coconut is good.'

However, the notional direct object of a recipient cannot be expressed with possessive constructions. It is always expressed with an object pronominal attached to the nominalized verb.

(6-115) ***a-mu** pa-nga niu sasi
A.POSS-2SG.POSS give-NMLZ coconut bad

(6-116) Pa-**gho**-nga niu sasi.
give-2SG.POSS-NMLZ coconut bad
'Your being given a coconut is bad.'

If the notional direct object is a lexical noun phrase, it can be expressed by means of the *a*-marker, unless the noun phrase is a proper noun. Note that the nominalized verb still carries the object suffix for the recipient.

(6-117) ghaya **ai-a** pa-**ni**-nga niu sasi.
pig 3SG.POSS-A.POSS give-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ coconut bad
'Giving a pig a coconut is bad.'

(6-118) *Neti **ai-a** pa-ni-nga niu sasi.
Neti 3SG.POSS-A.POSS give-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ coconut bad
('Giving Neti a coconut is bad.')

While middle verbs take the direct object suffix as co-referential with the subject, they cannot take the *a*-marker to express the notional direct object. They can only take the *le*-marker expressing the subject (see also Example [6-108]).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-119) | ***A-ghu** | roa-i-nga | sasi. |
| | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | sit.down-INTR-NMLZ | bad |
| | (‘My sitting is bad.’) | | |

Thus, the notional direct object can be expressed by means of the *a*-marker. However, this construction cannot be used for the recipient of a ditransitive verb unless it is a lexical noun phrase, nor can it be used with middle verbs.

### 6.3.1.3 Oblique

The nominalized verbs may take obliques, as in the following examples. In (6-120), the oblique *pa tari* denotes the location.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-120) | Bila-ghu | waya-nga | **pa** | **tari.** |
| | “always”-1SG.POSS | swim-NMLZ | PREP | sea |
| | ‘I always swim in the sea.’ (lit., ‘My frequent action is swimming in the sea.’) | | | |

Similarly, the next example includes the oblique *nga vula* for the theme.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-121) | Bila-ghu | pasolani-nga-gho | **nga** | **vula.** |
| | “always”-1SG.POSS | show-NMLZ-2.SG.OBJ | PREP | shell.necklace |
| | ‘I always show you a shell necklace.’ (lit., ‘My frequent action is showing you a shell necklace.’) | | | |

However, obliques can also be expressed by means of an *a*-type possessive construction. As with the notional direct objects, any thematic relation expressed by means of obliques can be expressed using possessive constructions with nominalized verbs. (6-122) through (6-125) give pairs of examples in which (a) shows the verb with an oblique and (b) shows the nominalized verb with a possessive construction. Note that all verbs in these examples are intransitive.

(6-122) LOCATION

a. Nga-waya **pa** **tari**.[91]
1SG.SBJ-swim PREP sea
'I swam in the sea.'

b. Bila-ghu **tari** **ai-a** waya-nga.
"always"-1SG.POSS sea 3SG.POSS-A.POSS swim-NMLZ
'I always swim in the sea.' (lit., 'my frequent activity is swimming in the sea.'

(6-123) INSTRUMENT

a. Nga-waya **nga** **avei.**
1SG.SBJ-swim PREP wood
'I swam with a piece of wood.'

b. Bila-ghu **avei** **ai-a** waya-nga.
"always"-1SG.POSS wood 3SG.POSS-A.POSS swim-NMLZ
'I always swim with a piece of wood.' (lit., 'My frequent activity is swimming with a piece of wood.')

(6-124) GOAL

a. Nga-la **pa** **tuanga**.
1SG.SBJ-go PREP village
'I went to the village.'

b. Bila-ghu **tuanga** **ai-a** lalao-nga.[92]
"always"-1SG.SBJ village 3SG.POSS-A.POSS walk-NMLZ
'I always go to the village.' (lit., 'My frequent activity is going to the village.'[93])

---

[91] There is an alternative way to express location, using the postposition *yai*.
nga-waya tari yai.
1SG.SBJ-swim sea POSTP
'I swam in the sea.'

[92] The nominalized form for the verb *la* 'walk' is *lalao*.

(6-125) SOURCE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Nga-tapu | **pa** | **wagha** |
| | 1SG.SBJ-fall.down | PREP | canoe |

‘I fell out of a canoe.’

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| b. | Bila-ghu | **wagha** | **ai-a** | tapu-nga |
| | “always”-1SG.POSS | canoe | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | fall.down-NMLZ |

‘I always fall out of a canoe.’

Although place names are not expressed by obliques, they can take the *a* type construction.

(6-126) PLACE NAME

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Nga-la | Nga-lalao | Kimbe.[94] |
| | 1SG.SBJ-go | 1SG.SBJ-walk | Kimbe. |

‘I go to Kimbe.’

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| b. | Le-ghu | **Kimbe** | **ai-a** | lalao-nga | doko.[95] |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | Kimbe | 3SG.SBJ-A.POSS | walk-NMLZ | good |

‘My trip to Kimbe was good.’ (lit., ‘My walking to Kimbe was good.’)

Thus, obliques with intransitive verbs and location names can be expressed by means of possessive constructions. However, obliques with transitive verbs cannot be expressed in the same way. For example, *pasolani* ‘show’ is a transitive verb. If it takes both a theme and a goal (recipient), one of them is expressed by an oblique in a verbal construction. In (6-127 a), the theme is the direct object of the verb, while the goal is expressed by an oblique with the preposition *pa*. Similarly, the goal may be the direct

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[93] *Lalao* ‘walk’ can also mean ‘go’.

[94] This is a coordinate sentence. *lalao* usually occurs with the verb *la* ‘go’.

[95] Only one verb *lalao* is nominalized.

object of the verb, as in (6-127 b). In this case, the theme is expressed with the preposition *nga* (see 7.2.1).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-127 a) | Nga-pasolani | vula | **pa** | **Neti**. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-show | shell.necklace | PREP | Neti |

‘I showed a shell necklace to Neti.’

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-127 b) | Nga-pasolani | Neti | **nga** | **vula**. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-show | Neti | PREP | shell.necklace |

‘I showed Neti a shell necklace.’

While the notional oblique with an intransitive nominalized verb is expressed with a possessive construction, the notional oblique with a transitive verb cannot be expressed with a possessive construction. Example (6-128 a) corresponds to (6-127 a), but (6-128 a), which has the notional oblique for the goal expressed with an *a*-type construction, and the notional object *vula* after the nominalized verb, is ungrammatical.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-128 a) | *Bila-ghu | **Neti** | **ai-a** | pasolani-nga | **vula**. |
| | “always”-1SG.SBJ | Neti | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | show-NMLZ | shell.necklace |

(‘I always show a shell necklace to Neti’ [lit., ‘My frequent activity is to show a shell necklace to Neti.’])

Similarly, Example (6-128 b) corresponds to (6-127 b) and shows the notional oblique expressed with the *a*-type construction, which is ungrammatical.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-128 b) | *Bila-ghu | **vula** | **ai-a** | pasolani-nga | **Neti**. |
| | “always”-1SG.SBJ | shell.necklace | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | show-NMLZ | Neti |

(‘I always show Neti a shell necklace.’ [lit., ‘My frequent activity is to show Neti a shell-necklace.’])

It is always the notional direct object that is expressed by means of the possessive construction. In the following, because the theme vula is expressed by means of the possessive construction, the recipient must take the preposition.

(6-129 a) Bila-ghu **vula** **ai-a** pasolani-nga
“always”-1SG.SBJ shell.necklace 3SG.POSS-A.POSS show-NMLZ

**pa** **Neti**.
PREP Neti
‘I always show a shell necklace to Neti’ (lit., ‘My frequent activity is to show a shell-necklace to Neti.’)

In (6-129 b), the recipient is expressed by means of the possessive construction, and the theme occurs as an oblique.

(6-129 b) Bila-ghu **Neti** **ai-a** pasolani-nga
“always”-1SG.SBJ Neti 3SG.POSS-A.POSS show-NMLZ

**nga** **vula**.
PREP shell.necklace
‘I always show Neti a shell necklace.’ (lit., ‘My frequent activity is to show Neti a shell necklace.’)

Thus, the notional direct object has priority to be chosen as the argument expressed by means of *a*-type possessive constructions, and it is ungrammatical for the notional oblique to be expressed by possessive constructions if there is a notional object.

### 6.3.2 Complex possessive constructions

The notional subject is expressed by means of the *le*-type possessive construction, while the notional object or oblique are expressed by means of the *a*-type construction. One question is how two or three participants can be expressed by means of possessive constructions within a single clause. In this section, I will discuss how multiple participants are expressed in nominalization. For convenience, I will categorize verbs into four groups: intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, middle verbs, and ditransitive verbs.

#### 6.3.2.1 With intransitive verbs

Both the notional subject and the notional oblique can be expressed by means of possessive constructions within a single nominalized construction. (6-130 a) is a verbal sentence, and (6-130 b) is a nominalized variant. In (6-130 b), the notional subject 'I' and the notional oblique 'in the sea' are expressed by means of possessive constructions with different markers.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-130 a) | Nga-waya | pa | tari. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-swim | PREP | sea |

'I swam in the sea.'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-130 b) | **Le-ghu** | **tari** | **ai-a** | waya-nga | sasi. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | sea | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | swim-NMLZ | bad |

'My swimming in the sea is/was bad.'

Here is one more pair of examples; in (6-131 b), the nominalized verb takes two possessive constructions, one for the agent and one for the source.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-131 a) | Kekele | i-tapu | pa | luma. |
| | child | 3SG.SBJ-fall.down | PREP | house |

'A child fell down from a house.'

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-131 b) | **Kekele** | **e-le** | **luma** | **ai-a** | tapu-nga | sasi. |
| | child | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | house | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | fall.down-NMLZ | bad |

'A child's falling down from the house was bad.'

However, if the direct object of a preposition is a pronoun, it cannot be expressed by means of the possessive construction.

(6-132 a) Kekele i-tapu pa-ghai.
child 3SG.SBJ-fall.down PREP-1PL.EXCL.OBJ
'A child fell out of my hands.' (lit., 'A child fell down from us.')

(6-132 b) ***Kekele** **e-le** **a-ghu** tapu-nga sasi.
child 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS A.POSS-1SG.POSS fall.down-NMLZ bad
('A child's falling out of my hands was bad.' [lit., 'A child's falling from me was bad.'])

Instead, this is expressed by means of the oblique after the nominalizer.

(6-133) **Kekele** **e-le** tapu-nga **pa-ghai** sasi.
child 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS fall.down-NMLZ PREP-1PL.EXCL.OBJ bad
'A child's falling from my hands was bad.' (lit., 'A child's falling from us was bad.')

Only when the direct object is a lexical noun phrase can both the notional subject and the notional oblique be expressed by means of the possessive construction within a single clause.

### 6.3.2.2 With transitive verbs

The notional subject and notional object are expressed by means of possessive constructions, but with different markers. They denote the contrast between passive and active constructions, as in (6-105) and (6-111), repeated here as (6-134) and (6-135).

(6-134) **Le-ghu** hau-nga sasi.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS hit-NMLZ sasi
'My hitting (something/somebody) is bad.'

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-135) | **A-ghu** | hau-nga | sasi. |
|  | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | hit-NMLZ | bad |
|  | ‘My being hit is bad.’ |  |  |

If the notional subject is expressed by means of a possessive suffix on the *le*-type marker, it is not possible for the notional direct object to be expressed as a possessive, as shown in (6-136):

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-136) | ***Le-ghu** | **a-mu** | hau-nga | sasi. |
|  | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | A.POSS-2SG.POSS | hit-NMLZ | bad |
|  | (‘My hitting you is bad.’) |  |  |  |

Instead, the notional object is expressed by a pronominal object suffix after the nominalizer, while the *le*-type marker appears for the notional subject. In (6-136), the notional subject ‘I’ is expressed by the *le*-type possessive marker, giving the form *le-ghu*, while the notional direct object ‘you’ is expressed by the object suffix *-gho* after the nominalizer *-nga*:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-137) | **Le-ghu** | hau-nga**-gho** | sasi. |
|  | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | hit-NMLZ-2SG.OBJ | bad |
|  | ‘My hitting you is bad.’ |  |  |

Similarly, if the notional direct object is a pronoun for the third person, it is not possible for it to be expressed by means of the possessive suffix with the *le*-type marker, as in (6-138):

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-138) | *Le-ghu | **ai-a** | hau-nga | sasi. |
|  | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | hit-NMLZ | bad |
|  | (‘My hitting him/her/it is bad.’) |  |  |  |

In the case of the third person, the notional direct object is expressed by an independent pronominal form, as seen in (6-138).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-139) | Le-ghu | hau-nga | veai | sasi. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | hit-NMLZ | 3SG | bad |
| | 'My hitting him/her/it is bad.' | | | |

However, when the notional direct object is a lexical noun phrase, both possessive markers can appear.[96] Example (6-140) has both the *le*-type and the *a*-type markers, but they are not next to each other:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-140) | **Le-ghu** | malo | **ai-a** | riri-nga | doko. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | clothes | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | sew-NMLZ | good |
| | 'My sewing clothes is good.' (i.e., 'I can sew clothes well.') | | | | |

In possessive relations, *malo* 'clothes' takes the *le*-type possessive construction, as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6-141) | **le-ghu** | malo |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | clothes |
| | 'my clothes' | |

However, in (6-140), the *le*-type marker *le-ghu* does not modify *malo* 'clothes' for two reasons. First, Example (6-140) is not specifically about 'my clothes'. The clothes in question could be anybody's clothes. The *a*-type possessive construction cannot occur as the notional direct object with the meaning of 'sewing (of) my clothes'. If the clothes

---

[96] It is also possible for a lexical noun phrase for the notional direct object to occur after the nominalized verb:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Le-ghu** | riri-nga | malo | doko. |
| LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | sew-NMLZ | clothes | good |

'My sewing clothes is good.' (i.e., 'I can sew clothes well.')

being sewn are specifically ‘my clothes’, the *le*-type marker modifies *malo* as its possessor, and the possessive construction occurs after the nominalized verb *riri-nga* as the notional direction object, as in Example (6-142).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-142) | Riri-nga | **le-ghu** | **malo** | doko. |
| | sew-NMLZ | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | clothes | good |
| | ‘Sewing my clothes is good.’ | | | |

Second, the *le*-type marker *le-ghu* does not modify the noun following it, as shown in (6-143), where the *le*-type marker *le-ghu* is followed by the directly possessed noun *lima* ‘hand’. *Lima* ‘hand’ has the second person singular possessive suffix *-mu*, but the *le*-type marker *le* has the first person singular possessive suffix *-ghu*. Clearly, the *le*-type marker is not related to the following noun. Rather, the *le*-type marker has the whole possessive construction *lima-mu ai-a hau-nga* ‘hitting your hand’ in its scope, as shown by the square brackets:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-143) | **Le-ghu** | [lima-mu | **ai-a** | hau-nga] | sasi. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | hand-2SG.POSS | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | hit-NMLZ | bad |
| | ‘My hitting your hand is bad.’ | | | | |

Here is one more example illustrating the lack of a direct connection between the *le*-type marker and the following noun. *Haninga* ‘food’ is marked by the *a*-marker in possessive relations. In (6-144), the *le*-type marker and the noun ‘food’ stand next to each other, but there is not a direct connection between the *le*-type marker and the following noun. Rather, the *le*-type marker has the whole possessive construction *haninga ai-a nono-nga* ‘cooking food’ in its scope, as shown by the square brackets.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-144) | **Le-ghu** | [haninga | **ai-a** | nono-nga] | doko. |
|  | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | food | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | cook-NMLZ | good |

‘My cooking food is good.’

Thus, the two markers co-occur, but they occur at different levels. The next two examples each have one *le*-type possessive marker and two *a*-type possessive markers. In (6-145), the first *a*-type marker *ai-a* connects ‘clothes’ and ‘a broken thing’, and the second *a*-type marker connects the possessive phrase *malo ai-a takai* ‘a broken thing of clothes’ to the nominalization *riri-nga* ‘sewing of torn clothes’. The *le* possessive phrase has in its scope the whole possessive construction *malo ai-a takai ai-a riri-nga* ‘sewing of torn clothes’:

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-145) | **Le-ghu** | [[malo | **ai-a** | takai] |
|  | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | clothes | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | broken thing |

|  |  |  |
|---|---|---|
| **ai-a** | riri-nga] | doko. |
| 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | sew-NMLZ | good |

‘My sewing torn clothes is good.’ (lit., ‘My sewing broken thing of clothes is good.’)

In the next example, there are two nominalized verbs. The first possessive *a*-type construction, *haninga*, marks the notional direct object of the nominalized verb *nononga* ‘cooking’. It refers to ‘cooked food’. The second *a*-type construction, *haninga aia nononga*, marks the notional direct object of the nominalized verb *aninga*. It refers to ‘eating cooked food’. The *le-type* possessive phrase has in its scope the whole possessive construction *haninga aia nononga aia aninga*. In this example, the agent for ‘eating’ is

‘I’. The agent eats food cooked by someone. This example refers to a situation where the agent’s style of eating food cooked (by someone) is not good.

(6-146) Le-ghu [[haninga **ai-a** nono-nga]
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS food 3SG.POSS-A.POSS cook-NMLZ

**ai-a** ani-nga] sasi.
3SG.POSS-A.POSS eat-NMLZ bad
‘My eating cooked food is bad.’ (i.e., ‘My manner of eating cooked food is bad’)

Hence, the *a*-type marker and the *le*-type marker can co-occur if the notional direct object is a lexical noun phrase. However, as just noted, they occur at different levels. The *le*-type marker has in its scope the whole possessive construction, which contains two instances of the *a*-type marker, and corresponds to the subject of the verb.

While the *a*-type construction can be used for the notional direct object when it is a lexical noun phrase, this construction seems not to be preferred if the notional direct object is a proper noun, as in (6-147), though it is not ungrammatical. Theoretically, the *le*-marker corresponds to the subject of the verb, but this construction gives the impression that the *le*-marker modifies the following proper noun, which would be ‘my Neti’, which sounds strange.

(6-147) ?Le-ghu **Neti** **ai-a** hau-nga sasi.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS Neti 3SG.POSS-A.POSS hit-NMLZ bad
‘My hitting Neti is bad.’

Therefore, it is preferred that the notional direct object occurs after the nominalized verb.

(6-148) Le-ghu hau-nga **Neti** sasi.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS hit-NMLZ Neti bad
‘My hitting Neti is bad.’

Interestingly, this misperception does not occur with common nouns. I do not know its reason. However, possibly the possessive construction ties to ownership. Kove speakers said that they cannot "own" a person.

As stated above, both the notional direct object and oblique are expressed by means of the *a*-type construction. However, they cannot co-occur in possessive constructions. The notional direct object is always chosen for the *a*-type construction in nominalization. In Example (6-149), both the notional direct object, *tue* 'clam', and the notional oblique *pana Kapo* 'people from Kapo', are expressed by means of the *a*-marker, which is ungrammatical.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-149) | *Le-ghu | tue | **ai-a** | pana | Kapo |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | clam | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | people | Kapo |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **ai-a** | oli-nga | sasi. |
| | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | buy-NMLZ | bad |

('My buying clams from Kapo people is bad.')

Instead, the notional oblique has to be expressed by an oblique, while the notional direct object is expressed by means of the *a*-type construction.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-150) | Le-ghu | tue | **ai-a** | oli-nga | **pa** |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | clam | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | buy-NMLZ | PREP |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | **Maria** | sasi. |
| | Maria | bad |

'My buying clams from Maria is bad.' (i.e., 'The way that I buy clams from Maria is bad.')

Since two *a*-type constructions can co-occur within a single clause, as in (6-145) and (6-146), this does not indicate constraints on multiple *a*-type constructions within a single clause. Instead, (6-149) suggests that the notional direct object and notional oblique cannot co-occur at the same level. The notional direct object always has priority as a candidate for a possessive construction.

### 6.3.2.3 With ditransitive verbs

With ditransitive verbs, as with transitive verbs, both the notional subject and direct object can be expressed by means of possessive constructions within a single clause if the notional direct object is a lexical noun phrase. However, the notional direct objects for theme and recipient cannot both be expressed by the *a*-marker within a single clause.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-151) | *Le-ghu | niu | **ai-a** | ghaya |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | coconut | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | pig |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **ai-a** | pa-ni-nga | sasi. |
| | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | give-3SG.POSS-NMLZ | bad |

(‘My giving a pig a coconut is bad.’)

Only one of the objects can occur with the *a*-marker. While either the theme or recipient can be expressed with the *a*-marker, it is more common and natural that it be the theme, as in (6-152), Nevertheless, Example (6-153), where the recipient is expressed by the *a*-marker, is also grammatical.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-152) | Le-ghu | niu | **ai-a** | pa-ni-nga |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | coconut | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | give-3SG.POSS-NMLZ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | ghaya | sasi. |
| | pig | bad |

‘My giving a pig a coconut is bad.’

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-153) | Le-ghu | ghaya | **ai-a** | pa-ni-nga |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | pig | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | give-3SG.POSS-NMLZ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | niu | sasi. |
| | coconut | bad |

‘My giving a pig a coconut is bad.’

The two examples above clearly show that *pa* is the nominalized ditransitive verb. The nominalized ditransitive verb can take two participants: one marked by the *a*-type possessive construction and the other one without grammatical marking. However, nominalized transitive verbs cannot take a participant without any grammatical marking, if there is an *a*-type possessive construction to express the notional direct object, as in (6-154). The second participant is always expressed by an oblique, as in (6-150).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-154) | *Le-ghu | Maria | ai-a | oli-nga | tue. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | Maria | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | buy-NMLZ | clam |

(‘My buying clams from Maria is bad.’ [i.e., ‘The way that I buy clams from Maria is bad.’])

### 6.3.2.4 With middle verbs

As already mentioned above, given that middle verbs take the object suffixes for co-referential subject, they behave like transitive verbs. However, the *a*-marker cannot appear in such a construction, as seen in (6-119), repeated here as (6-155).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-155) | ***A-ghu** | roa-i-nga | sasi. |
| | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | sit.down-INTR-NMLZ | bad |
| | ('My sitting is bad.') | | |

The agent is always expressed by means of the *le*-marker, as in (6-108), repeated here as (6-156).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-156) | **Le-ghu** | roa-i-nga | sasi. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | sit.down-INTR-NMLZ | bad |
| | 'My sitting is bad.' | | |

While middle verbs do not take the *a*-marker for the notional direct object, they can take it for the notional oblique. In Example (6-157 b), the location is expressed by means of the *a*-marker.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6-157 a) | Nga-roa-gho | pa | wagha. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-sit.down-1SG.OBJ | PREP | canoe |
| | 'I sat down in a canoe.' | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-157 b) | Le-ghu | wagha | ai-a | roa-i-nga | sasi. |
| | LE-1SG.SBJ | canoe | 3SG.SBJ-A.POSS | sit.down-INTR-NMLZ | bad |
| | 'My sitting in a canoe is bad.' | | | | |

## 6.3.3 Morphological and syntactic mechanism

In this section, I will discuss two features of possessive nominalization with respect to morphological and syntactic mechanisms.

### 6.3.3.1 Plural marker

The third person plural suffix attaches to the possessive marker when a lexical noun phrase is plural, as in (6-103) and (6-112), repeated here as (6-158) and (6-159).

(6-158) Pana salai **le-ri** nana-nga doko.
people many LE.POSS-3SG.POSS think-NMLZ good
'Many people's thinking (of something/somebody) is good.'[97]

(6-159) Pana salai **a-ri** nana-nga doko.
people many A.POSS-3PL.POSS think-NMLZ good
'Many people's being thought about is good.'

However, alternatively, the third person singular form attaches to the possessive marker, and further, the plural marker *-ri* may attach to the nominalized verb, as shown below:

(6-160) Pana salai **e-le** nana-nga-**ri** doko.
people many 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS think-NMLZ-3PL.OBJ good
'Many people's thinking (of something/somebody) is good.'

(6-161) Pana salai **ai-a** nana-nga-**ri** doko.
people many 3SG.POSS-A.POSS think-NMLZ-3PL.OBJ good
'Many people's being thought about is good.'

---

[97] This could mean that it is good for many people to think of something or someone, either together as a group or separately.

Moreover, it seems possible to have two plural markers, both on the possessive marker and the nominalized verb, though this is not very common. Note that the third person plural possessive and object have the same form -*ri*, but these are homonyms.

| (6-162) | Pana | salai | **le-ri** | nana-nga-**ri** | doko. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | people | many | LE.POSS-3PL.POSS | think-NMLZ-3PL.OBJ | good |

‘Many people’s thinking (of something/somebody) is good.’

| (6-163) | Pana | saslai | **a-ri** | nana-nga-**ri** | doko. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | people | many | A.POSS-3PL.POSS | think-NMLZ-3PL.OBJ | good |

‘Many people’s being thought about is good.’

As with transitive verbs, if a participant is plural, the plural pronominal form is used with the possessive marker in the ditransitive verb. In (6-163), the theme participant, which is expressed with the *a*-type construction, is plural, so the marker carries the third person plural form.

| (6-164) | Le-ghu | niu | **a-ri** | pa-ni-nga |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | coconut | A.POSS-3PL.POSS | give-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ |
| | | | | |
| | ghaya | sasi. | | |
| | pig | bad | | |

‘My giving a pig coconuts is bad.’

Alternatively, as with transitive verbs, the plural marker may occur on the nominalized verb. In this case, the plural marker -*ri* does not mark the plurality of the recipient *ghaya* ‘pig’, because the plurality of the recipient is marked by -*ni* ‘3SG.OBJ’. Rather, it is a marker for the plurality of the theme *niu* ‘coconut’.

(6-165) Le-ghu **ai-a** niu pa-ni-nga-**ri**
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS coconut 3SG.POSS-A.POSS give-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ-3PL.OBJ

ghaya sasi.
pig bad
‘My giving a pig coconuts is bad.’

If the recipient is also plural, the plural object suffix *-ri* appears between the verb and the nominalizer.

(6-166) Le-ghu niu **ai-a** pa-**ri**-nga-**ri**
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS coconut 3SG.POSS-A.POSS give-3PL.OBJ-NMLZ-3PL.OBJ

ghaya sasi.
pig bad
‘My giving pigs coconuts is bad.’

As with (6-163), it is also possible to have two plural forms, one on the *a*-marker and one on the nominalized verb.

(6-167) Le-ghu niu a-**ri** pa-ni-nga-**ri**
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS coconut A.POSS-3PL.POSS give-3SG.POSS-NMLZ-3PL.OBJ

ghaya sasi.
pig bad
‘My giving pigs coconuts is bad.’

### 6.3.3.2 Possessor omission

As with basic possessive constructions, the possessor noun, that is, the notional direct object, may be omitted, if it is clear from context. Example (6-168) is a verbal sentence where *ngawatai* is the verb phrase and *aia nononga* is the direct object. Furthermore, the notional direct object of the nominalized verb is *haninga* ‘food’, which would occur between *ngawatai* and *aia*. However, since both speakers and hearers know the referent in this context, *haninga* is omitted.

(6-168) Nga-watai [______________ ai-a nono-nga].
1SG.SBJ-know 3SG.POSS-A.POSS cook-NMLZ
‘I know how to cook food.’ (lit., ‘I know cooking food.’)

Here is one more example, which was extracted from a text. The second sentence is a non-verbal sentence where the head and predicate include a nominalized verb.[98] This sentence starts with *aia*, which expresses the notional object of the nominalized verb *watainga*. The notional direct object is *mate* ‘death’, which would occur at the beginning of the sentence.

(6-169) S1: Mate i-rio.
death 3SG.SBJ-go.down
‘Someone dies.’ (lit., ‘Death happens.’)

S2: $_{NP1}$[ai-a watai-nga] $_{NP2}$[tangi-ra taule].
3SG.POSS-A.POSS know-NMLZ cry-NMLZ trumpet.shell
‘A sign of death is the sound of a trumpet shell.’ (lit., ‘Knowing of death is the cry of a trumpet shell.’)

While I have noticed the omission of the possessor, I have not found any example where the possessum, which is the head of a noun phrase, was omitted.

---

[98] See Chapter 9.

(6-170) ?*Nga-watai haninga ai-a _______________.
1SG.SBJ-know food 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
('I know how to cook food.' [lit., 'I know cooking food.'])

### 6.3.4 Summary

The notional grammatical relations of nominalized verbs are expressed by means of possessive constructions. Table 6.3 summarizes all notional grammatical roles in possessive constructions.

Table 6.4: Notional grammatical roles and possessive constructions

| Verb type | Notional subject | Notional object | Notional object (recipient) | Notional oblique |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intransitive | *le*-type | | | *a*-type |
| Transitive | *le*-type | *a*-type | | |
| Ditransitive | *le*-type | *a*-type | *a*-type | |
| Middle | *le*-type | | | |

Participants occur at the position of possessors, and the nominalized verbs at the position of possessums. The choice of possessive construction depends on the type of grammatical relation, regardless of thematic role. The notional subject is expressed by means of the *le*-marker, while the direct object, including obliques, is expressed by means of the *a*-marker. This is the same as the contrast between active and passive possession.

NOTIONAL SUBJECT:

*le*-possessor (notional subject) + possessum noun (nominalized verb)

NOTIONAL DIRECT OBJECT:

*a*-possessor (notional direct object) + possessum noun (nominalized verb)

Neither the notional subject nor the notional direct object can be expressed by means of possessive constructions within a single clause, as seen in (6-136), repeated here as (6-171).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-171) | ***Le-ghu** | **a-mu** | hau-nga | sasi. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | A.POSS-2SG.POSS | hit-NMLZ | bad |
| | ('My hitting you is bad.') | | | |

However, if the notional direct object is a lexical noun phrase, both possessive markers can appear. They occur at different levels. The *le*-type marker has in its scope the whole possessive construction, which contains an instance of the *a*-type marker. Here is Example (6-140), repeated here as (6-172).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6-172) | **Le-ghu** | [malo | **ai-a** | riri-nga] | doko. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | clothes | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | sew-NMLZ | good |
| | 'My sewing clothes is good.' (i.e., 'I can sew clothes well.') | | | | |

If a construction has a notional direct object, the notional oblique cannot be expressed by means of the possessive construction. This suggests a hierarchy for the choice of possessive constructions in nominalization, as follows ('>' indicates that the element on the left is preferred over the one on the right):

subject > direct object > oblique

This is the same arrangement as the relational hierarchy (or obliqueness hierarchy) that "indicates relative 'accessibility' to various syntactic processes and phenomena" (O'Grady 2007:47).

# Chapter 7

# Verbs and verbal phrases

## 7.1 The basic structure of the verb phrase

A verb phrase minimally consists of a verb and a subject marker on the verb. In addition, there may be a variety of other constituents in a verb phrase. The basic structure of the verb phrase is given here:

VP → subject marker-(preverbal particles)-VERB-(postverbal particles)-(pronominal direct object) (lexical direct object) (oblique-object) (adverb phrase)

a. The subject marker is a type of preverbal particle, but since it appears obligatorily, it is treated separately here.

b. Subject markers, verbal particles, and pronominal direct objects are affixes.

Each verb obligatorily carries a subject marker, even in serial verb constructions. That is, a verb alone cannot constitute a verb phrase, including in imperative phrases.

(7-1) *nama
come
(‘come’)

(7-2) u-nama
2SG.SBJ-come
‘come’

All constituents other than the subject marker are grammatically optional.

For convenience, the set of the verb and verbal affixes will be referred to as the "verbal complex." Direct objects are expressed either by means of object pronominal forms or by lexical noun phrases. The objects realized by means of object pronominal forms are inside the verb complex. However, the lexical direct objects are outside the verb complex and come after all the postverbal particles. In the following examples, the verb complex is in square brackets. Both sentences consist only of verb phrases. There are no subject noun phrases. The subject is encoded only by means of the subject marker. In (7-3), the direct object is expressed by means of the object pronominal form. In (7-4), the direct object is a lexical noun phrase. Furthermore, the verb carries the third plural object pronominal form as the plural marker to indicate plurality for the direct object. The verb complex is in square brackets.

(7-3) [Nga-hau-gho].
1SG.SBJ-hit-2SG.OBJ
'I hit you.'[99]

(7- 4) [Nga-ani-**ri**] niu.
1SG.SBJ-eat-3PL.OBJ coconut
'I ate coconuts.'

The verbal particles will be discussed in this chapter. However, adpositional phrases and adverb phrases are covered in Chapter 8.

## 7.2 Verbs and types of verbs

Verbs prototypically denote "actions (events) and processes" (O'Grady 2007:6). In Kove, some of the property- or attribute-denoting words, which are usually treated as adjectives, are also included in the category of verbs because of their co-occurrence with tense/aspect and verbal inflectional affixes (see Chapter 4 and Section 7.2.1).

---

[99] Sentences that are not marked by a tense marker can be interpreted as present or past tense. For convenience, I translate all such sentences as past.

All verbs, except for the ditransitive verb *pa*, consist of at least two syllables.[100] Although the verb root of the ditransitive verb is a monosyllable, it always carries the object pronominal suffix for the recipient, and it never occurs by itself. This strongly suggests that it has been reanalyzed from POc *pani ‘give’.

Most disyllabic bases can be fully reduplicated to denote continuousness:

*songo* ‘chew’ → *songosongo*, *eno* ‘sleep’ → *enoeno*, *kaho* ‘scratch’ → *kahokaho*
*hau* ‘hit’ → *hauhau*, *pango* ‘hunt’ → *pangopango*, *pela* ‘open’ → *pelapela*

However, if the same syllable occurs twice in a row in the base form, it is common for only the first occurrence to be reduplicated:

*wawai* ‘make (a basket)’ → *wawawai*, *riri* ‘sew’ → *ririri*, *nono* ‘cook’ → *nonono*
*lalao* ‘walk’ → *lalalao*, *liliu* ‘bathe’ → *lililiu*, *lului* ‘untie’ → *lulului*

If a verb consists of more than two syllables, partial reduplication is likely to be chosen; however, there are some exceptions.

*kisi* ‘hold’ → *kikisi*, *vihiki* ‘wake up’ → *vivihiki*, *tavava* ‘jump’ → *tatavava*
*vurari* ‘blow out with pursed lips’ → *vuvurari*, *pelei* ‘erupt’ → *pepelei*

The notion of “continuousness” marked by reduplication may have two different interpretations. One is that the agent is repeating the same action. The other one is that the action is repeated by different agents. For instance, the following example has two interpretations. One is that people are all falling down at once. The reduplicated form of the verb is used to highlight the process itself. The other interpretation is that people are falling down one by one.

---

[100] See Chapter 3 for the syllable structure.

(7-5) Aughai asiri ti-tapu-tapu.
oh 3PL 3PL.SBJ-fall.down-RED
'Oh, people are falling down!'

Similarly, the next example can describe either a group of agents who are waking up all at once or a group of agents who are waking up one by one.

(7-6) Pana ti-vi-vihiki.
people 3PL.SBJ-RED-wake.up
'People are waking up.'

While continuousness is denoted by reduplication, a non-reduplicated verb may also denote continuousness, as follows.

(7-7) A. U-karo sawa?
2SG.SBJ-work what
'What are you doing?'

B. Nga-simi vula.
1SG.SBJ-look.for shell.necklace
'I am looking for a shell necklace.'

The example above could also be past tense. Given that the non-reduplicated sentence may have two different interpretations, if continuousness needs to be emphasized, reduplication is used.

There are four types of verbs in Kove. They are intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, ditransitive verbs, and middle voice verbs. I will discuss each category below.

### 7.2.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are verbs that take a subject, but do not take a direct object. Across languages, intransitive verbs may be categorized into two major groups: unergative and unaccusative, depending on their syntactic behavior. However, there is no syntactic distinction between unergative and unaccusative verbs in Kove. It depends on the themetic role of the subject.

(7-8) UNERGATIVE VERB

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ta | nga-lalao | nga-la | tuanga | yai. |
| FUT | 1SG.SBJ-walk | 1SG.SBJ-go | village | POSTP |

'I will go to the village.'

(7-9) UNACCUSATIVE VERB

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nga-tapu | pa | wagha. |
| 1SG.SBJ-fall.down | PREP | canoe |

'I fell down from a canoe.'

Some property- or attribute-denoting words are also realized as intransitive verbs (see 4.2.2.1). In verb phrases, these words have an inchoative meaning. Here are two pairs of examples, where the sentences in (a) provide examples of a verbal function and the sentences in (b), of a modifier function.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (7-10 a) | Malo | to-duwawa | **i-kuta**. |
| | clothing | ART-DEM | 3SG.SBJ-wet |

'That piece of clothes became (or is becoming) wet.'

(7-10 b) Malo **kuta**.
clothing wet
'a piece of wet clothes' (or 'A piece of clothes is wet.')

(7-11 a) Malo to-diene **i-kasoka.**
clothes ART-DEM 3SG.SBJ-black
'This piece of clothes became (or is becoming) black.'

(7-11b) malo **kasoka**
clothing black
'black clothing' (or 'The piece of clothes is black.')

While reduplication is used to denote continuousness of verbs, the property- or attribute-denoting words cannot be reduplicated. Instead, the non-reduplicated form is used. Therefore, the context is very important.

Many intransitive verbs have transitive counterparts, but without any grammatical marking.

(7-12)

| INTRANSITIVE | TRANSITIVE | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **I-longoni.** | **I-longoni** | le-mu | vou-nga. |
| 3SG.SBJ-hear | 3SG.SBJ-hear | LE.POSS-2SG.POSS | sing-NMLZ |
| 'He / She heard.' | 'He / She heard your song (song that you sung).'<br>'He /She heard your singing.' | | |

(7-13)

| INTRANSITIVE | TRANSITIVE | |
|---|---|---|
| **Nga-unu.** | **Nga-unu** | niu. |
| 1SG.SBJ-drink | 1SG.SBJ-drink | coconut |
| 'I drank.' | 'I drank a coconut.' | |

However, there are a few intransitive verbs whose forms are slightly different from their transitive verb forms. They carry a verbal suffix *-i* on the verb root, as in *pela* ‘open O (something)’ vs. *pelai* ‘open or be open’ or *puka* ‘collapse O (something)’ vs. *pukai* ‘collapse or be collapsed’ (see 7.3.2).

There are some extended intransitive verbs (see Dixon 1994:122–124), which take either an oblique object or a complement clause. (7-14) is an example where an oblique object marks the theme argument, and (7-15) is an example where the verb takes a complement clause. Furthermore, (7-16) contains two extended intransitive verbs. The first verb, *vagha,* takes a complement, and the second verb, *pepe,* takes an oblique object.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7-14) | Nga-la | nga-pango | **nga** | **ghaya** | noha. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-go | 1SG.SBJ-hunt | PREP | pig | yesterday |

‘I went to hunt a pig yesterday.’

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (7-15) | Nga-kona | **i-ani** | **niu.** |
| | 1SG.SBJ-see | 3SG.SBJ-eat | coconut |

‘I saw him / her eat a coconut.’

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7-16) | Nga-vagha | [**nga-pepe** | **[nga-ni** | **pana** | **sangaulu** | **hua**]]. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-say | 1SG.SBJ-tell | PREP-3SG.OBJ | people | ten | two |

‘I want to tell a story about twenty people.’ (lit., ‘I say, I talk about twenty people.’

## 7.2.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are verbs that take both a subject and a direct object. A direct object may be expressed by means of object pronominal forms except in the third person singular, where the independent form is used. In (7-17), the direct object is expressed by means of an object pronominal form *ghau*. In (7-18), the direct object is the third person singular, which is expressed by the independent form *veai*.

(7-17) Neti i-hau-**ghau** noha.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit-1SG.OBJ yesterday
'Neti hit me yesterday.'

(7-18) Nga-hau **veai** noha.
1SG.SBJ-hit 3SG yesterday
'I hit him / her yesterday.'

Traditionally, only the third singular takes the independent form for the direct object. However, among young speakers it is becoming common to use the independent form for other persons, although it is still not preferred or even grammatical for older speakers.

(7-19) Neti i-hau **yau**.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit 1SG
'Neti hit me.'

This usage is often seen with verbs that are used frequently in daily life, such as *hau* 'hit', *oli* 'buy', *pasolani* 'show', and *watai* 'know'. With verbs that are not used frequently, the object pronominal forms are still strongly preferred.

If the direct object is a lexical noun phrase, it is positioned after the verb complex. In (7-20), the direct object is singular, and in (7-21), the direct object is plural, which is marked by *-ri* on the verb. Note that it is assumed that there is a zero marker to mark singular on the verb in the underlying sentence of (7-20).

(7-20) Nga-ani **niu** **paka** **tau** **eta** noha.
1SG.SBJ-eat coconut big very ART yesterday
'I ate a very big coconut yesterday.'

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7-21) | Nga-hau-ri | **pana** | **Kapo** | noha. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-hit-3PL.OBJ | people | Kapo | yesterday |

‘I hit Kapo people yesterday.’

There are many extended transitive verbs, which take an additional complement. The additional complement may be an oblique object, as in (7-22), or a clause, as in (7-23). Note that the direct object on the main verb and the subject on the complement verb are always co-referential.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7-22) | Ta | nga-pasolani-gho | **nga** | **Hawaii** | **ai-anunu.** |
| | FUT | 1SG.SBJ-show-2SG.OBJ | PREP | Hawai‘i | 3SG.POSS-picture |

‘I will show you a picture of Hawai‘i.’

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (7-23) | Nga-kona-gho | **u-unu-unu** | **niu**. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-see-2SG.OBJ | 2SG.SBJ-drink-RED | coconut |

‘I saw you drinking a coconut.’

Some transitive verbs may occur in a construction where two core arguments besides the subject can be paraphrased by two different prepositions. While a preposition *pa* is used for the goal or source, a preposition *nga* is used for the theme. In (7-24), the theme is the direct object, and the source is expressed by means of the oblique with *pa*. In (7-25), the source is the direct object, and the theme is expressed by means of the oblique with *nga*.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7-24) | Nga-panana | **posa-nga** | **Siapan** | **pa** | **pana** | **Kove**. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-teach | talk-NMLZ | Japan | PREP | people | Kove |

‘I taught the Japanese language to the Kove people.’

(7-25) Nga-panana **pana** **Kove** **nga** **posa-nga** **Siapan.**
1SG.SBJ-teach people Kove PREP talk-NMLZ Japan
'I taught the Japanese language to the Kove people.'

The verbs that can have the paraphrased constructions are verbs like *pasolani* 'show' or *panana* 'teach'. Not all transitive verbs can have it. For example, it is ungrammatical if the source of the verb *oli* 'buy' is expressed by means of the direct object.

(7-26) *Nga-oli **Maria** **nga** **tue**.
1SG.SBJ-buy Maria PREP clam
('I bought clams from Maria.')

The direct object is always the theme.

(7-27) Nga-oli **tue** **pa** **Maria**.
1SG.SBJ-buy clam PREP Maria
'I bought clams from Maria.'

## 7.2.3 Ditransitive verbs

Kove has only one verb that takes two objects without prepositions, a direct object and a recipient object. The verb is *pa* 'give'. This verb has to take an object pronominal suffix for the recipient. The word order in a verbal clause is subject, recipient, direct object. In (7-28), the verb *pa* 'give' carries the object pronominal suffix *-ni*,[101] which marks the recipient, and the direct object follows the recipient *Neti*:

(7-28) Nga-pa**-ni** Neti niu.
1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ Neti coconut
'I gave Neti a coconut.'

---

[101] *Pa* 'give' is a reflex of POc *pani 'give'. Given that the third person singular object for the recipient occurs only with the ditransitive verb and prepositions including a preposition *pa*, it is possible that *ni* '3SG.OBJ' is a result of reanalysis from *pani. However, in order to conclude this, it is necessary to look at more data, including related languages.

Evidence that the object pronominal suffix on the verb *pa* marks the recipient rather than the theme comes from the sentences in (7-29) and (7-30). In (7-29), the verb *pa* carries the second person singular object suffix *gho*, which marks the recipient. In (7-30), the verb takes the first person inclusive plural *ghita* for the recipient. Note that for both examples, there is only one coconut.

(7-29) Nga-pa-**gho** niu.
1SG.SBJ-give-2SG.OBJ coconut
'I gave you a coconut.'

(7-30) Neti i-pa-**ghita** niu.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-give-1PL.INCL.OBJ coconut
'Neti gave us a coconut.'

Here is additional evidence: If the theme is plural, the verb carries the plural marker *-ri*. However, the verb takes the third person singular object pronominal suffix on the verb, which marks the recipient *Neti.*

(7-31) Nga-pa-**ni-ri** Neti niu.
1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ-3PL.OBJ Neti coconut
'I gave Neti coconuts.'

Similarly, if the recipient is plural and the theme is singular, the construction is like this:

(7-32) Nga-pa-**ri** pana niu.
1SG.SBJ-give-3PL.OBJ pana coconut
'I gave people a coconut.'

Hence, the first object pronominal form marks the recipient, which obligatorily appears on the verb *pa*.

While the lexical noun phrase for the recipient can immediately follow the verb complex, as in (7-28), it is possible for the lexical noun phrase for the recipient *Neti* to be expressed by means of an oblique.

(7-33) Nga-pa-ni **niu** **pa** **Neti**.
1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ coconut PREP Neti
'I gave a coconut to Neti.'

However, the object pronoun on the verb still marks the recipient. If the theme is plural, the plural object marker *-ri* appears on the verb.

(7-34) Nga-pa-ni**-ri** niu pa Neti.
1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ-3PL.OBJ coconut PREP Neti
'I gave coconuts to Neti.'

Given that the verb always appears with the object pronoun, the verb and the recipient object pronoun seem to be almost lexicalized.

### 7.2.4 Middle voice verbs

There are a few apparently transitive verbs that take co-referential subjects and direct objects, including the verbs *roai* 'sit down', *ghunui* 'stand up', *luai* 'return', and *uhui* 'take a rest'.[102] They behave as if they were transitive verbs because they take a direct object. In (7-35) and (7-36), the verbs take an object suffix that is co-referential with the subject.

---

[102] Kove speakers strongly argue that the base form of these verbs includes *i*, though it only appears in the third person singular.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (7-35) | Nga-vagha | **nga**-ghunu-**ghau.** |
| | 1SG.SBJ-say | 1SG.SBJ-stand.up-1SG.OBJ |
| | ‘I want to stand up.’ (lit., ‘I say, I stand up.’) | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7-36) | Asiri | **ti**-lua-**ri** | pa | tuanga | ghasili? |
| | 3PL | 3SG.SBJ-return-3PL.OBJ | PREP | village | CPL |
| | ‘Did they come back to the village?’ | | | | |

However, their behavior differs from that of transitive verbs in a few ways. The first intransitive feature is seen in nominalization. As discussed in 6.2, transitive verbs can take the *le*-marker to express the notional subject and the *a*-marker to express the notional direct object in nominalization. However, middle voice verbs cannot take the *a*-type marker to express the notional direct object, though unnominalized verbs take the direct object. They can only take the *le*-type marker expressing the notional subject. This means they are not fully transitive verbs. Furthermore, the nominalized verbs take the intransitive suffix.[103] As in Example (7-37), the notional subject of the verb, ‘I’, is always expressed by the *le*-type marker, as in *le-ghu*. Furthermore, the verb takes the suffix *-i*, which is probably the intransitive suffix, before the nominalizer.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (7-37) | **Le-ghu** | roa-**i**-nga | sasi. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | sit.down-INTRA-NMLZ | bad |
| | ‘My sitting is bad.’ | | |

As shown in (7-38), the *a*-type marker cannot appear:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (7-38) | ***A-ghu** | roa-i-nga | sasi. |
| | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | sit.down-INTRA-NMLZ | bad |
| | (‘My sitting is bad.’) | | |

---

[103] An intransitive suffix is a verbal suffix that converts transitive verbs into intransitive verbs. See 7.2.3.

The second way that these verbs are unlike truly transitive verbs is their potential co-occurrence with the causative marker *pa-*. While many intransitive verbs can carry the causative marker, only a few transitive verbs can take it (see more discussion below). Its occurrence with transitive verbs is strictly limited. Unlike transitive verbs, this type of verb can take the causative marker.

The third difference from transitive verbs is their co-occurrence with the plural object marker *-ri*. The plural object marker marks the plurality for the direct object and the subject of intransitive verbs (see more discussion below). However, it does not occur if the direct object is expressed by means of an object pronominal form, as in (7-39).

(7-39) *Neti i-hau-**ghai-ri** noha.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit-1PL.EXCL.OBJ-3PL.OBJ yesterday
(‘Neti hit us yesterday.’)

However, this type of verb, like intransitive verbs, takes the plural object marker, which can occur with object pronominal forms and indicate the plurality of the agent.

(7-40) Ya-roa-**ghai-ri.**
1PL.EXCL.SBJ-sit.down-1PL.EXCL.OBJ-3PL.OBJ
‘We sat down.’

The last feature to note, which may or may not support the status of this verb category, is the form for the third person singular object on the verb. These verbs take the object pronominal form, as in (7-35) and (7-36). If the object is the third person singular, the verbs take a suffix *-i*, which never occurs for the direct objects of transitive verbs. For convenience, I gloss the suffix *-i* as X.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7-41) | Ta | Donga | i-lua-**i** | gha | i-la. |
|  | FUT | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-return-X | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go |

‘Donga will be gone.’

As discussed in 5.1.3, there are two hypotheses about this suffix. One is that it is the intransitive suffix. The other is that it is one of the third person singular object pronominal forms. However, since the second hypothesis raises several issues, as already discussed, the first hypothesis may be more reasonable. If we adopt this hypothesis, we can explain the facts like this: These verbs need a direct object pronoun because they behave like transitive verbs. However, the third person singular object is zero marked in underlying form, so the verbs take the intransitive suffix and behave as if they were intransitive verbs:

UNDERLYING FORM:

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ta | Donga | i-lua-Ø | gha | i-la. |
| FUT | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-return-3SG.OBJ | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go |

‘Donga will be gone.’

↓

INTRANSITIVIZATION:

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ta | Donga | i-lua-Ø-i | gha | i-la. |
| FUT | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-return-3SG.OBJ-INTR | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go |

‘Donga will be gone.’

↓

SURFACE FORM:

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ta | Donga | i-lua-i | gha | i-la. |
| FUT | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go |

‘Donga will be gone.’

If this hypothesis is correct, it may be another piece of evidence that these verbs behave like intransitive verbs. Furthermore, it also explains why the nominalized verbs take the intransitive suffix. It is possible that when the verbs do not have a transitive element, they must behave like intransitive verbs, taking the intransitive suffix.

Thus, for these verbs, it is subjecthood, not objecthood, that matters. That is, these verbs behave as if they were intransitive, and I categorize them as middle voice verbs.

The middle voice is a construction that is midway between the active and passive. (O'Grady 2007:133). In the middle voice construction, "the referent of the subject both instigates and is affected by the action denoted by the verb" (O'Grady 2007:133). That is, "the subject is both the controller of the action and affected by it" (Croft 1991:248). Furthermore, in many languages, the morpheme that marks the middle voice is a reflexive pronoun (O'Grady 2007:133). Kemmer characterizes this category as "body action middles," which have the appearance of reflexive verbs, but which involve "actions carried out on or through one's own body" (Kemmer 1993:53).

Lastly, as mentioned above, direct objects of transitive verbs are expressed by means of the object pronominal form, but younger speakers tend to use the independent form instead, as in (7-19). However, even young speakers do not use the independent form with the middle voice verbs. Examples (7-42) and (7-43) are clearly ungrammatical.

(7-42) *Nga-vagha nga-ghunu yau.
1SG.SBJ-say 1SG.SBJ-stand.up 1SG
('I want to stand up.' [lit., 'I say, I stand up.'])

(7-43) *Neti i-lua veai i-nama.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-return 3SG 3SG.SBJ-come
('Neti came back.')

This may also be one of the features that separate this category of verbs from transitive verbs in the minds of native speakers.

## 7.3 Verbal affixes

There are several affixes that attach to verbs. They are the subject marker, object pronoun, nominalizer, causative marker, intransitive suffix, plural marker, and reciprocal suffix. I will discuss (1) the causative marker, (2) the intransitive suffix, (3) the plural marker, and (4) the reciprocal suffix in this section. Note that the subject marker and object pronominal forms are discussed in 5.1, and the nominalizer is discussed in 6.2.

### 7.3.1 Causative marker *pa-*

Kove has both morphological and syntactic causatives.[104] I will discuss the morphological type here. The syntactic causative will be discussed in 11.3.

A causative prototypically involves valency increase with the following features (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000:13):

(1) A causative applies to an underlying intransitive clause and forms a derived transitive.

(2) The argument in underlying S function[105] (the causee) goes into O function in the causative.

(3) A new argument (the causer) is introduced, in A function.

---

[104] Although the syntactic causative sometimes refers to a periphrastic causative where two verbs are in separate clauses, I include serial verb constructions in this type, as well.

[105] A = transitive subject, O = transitive object, S = intransitive subject. See Chapter 4.

(4) There is some explicit formal marking of the causative construction.

The Kove morphological causative is a prefix *pa-*, which is a reflex of POc *pa[ka] (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:81). As in many other languages, it changes the valency of the verb to which it attaches. That is, it increases the number of core arguments. It is applied to many intransitive verbs, and it is also used with middle voice verbs. However, it occurs with only a few transitive verbs, and it does not occur with the ditransitive verb. For most of the transitive verbs and the ditransitive verb, the syntactic causative is applied. Here, I will first discuss the formal mechanism of causitivization in intransitive verbs (including middle verbs) and transitive verbs, and then discuss the semantic mechanism.

### 7.3.1.1 Forms

#### 7.3.1.1.1 With intransitive and middle verbs

While the causative prefix is widely applied to intransitive verbs, including attribute- and property-denoting words, there are several intransitive verbs that do not take the causative prefix, as below:

*Agent-like subjects*

| Occur with the causative | Do not occur with the causative |
|---|---|
| *tangi* 'cry', *ngingi* 'laugh', *laro* 'run', *waya* 'swim', *tohi* 'dance', *lalao* 'walk' *vuhi* 'stay (based on the agent decision)', *lelei* 'turn around', *uhu* 'release anger', *eno* 'sleep' | *lualua* 'vomit', *taulani* 'spit', *vevea* 'excrete', *vehaveha* 'breathe', *ngongoroko* 'snore', *pango* 'hunt', *loloi* 'bathe', *bulo* 'lie', *hoho* 'fly' |

*Theme-like subjects*

| Occur with the causative | Do not occur with the causative |
|---|---|
| *tapu* 'fall', *monono* 'float', *elu* 'drown', *mari* 'sink', *mamasa* 'dry', *kua* 'wet', *raerae* 'become longer', *moyoyo* 'hang', *singisingi* 'become red', *wanaro* 'be (sun) bathed', *mororo* 'stay' | *lele* '(winds) blow', *makiki* 'collapse', *palai* 'bloom', *pela* 'open', *wari* 'smell', *vuhi* 'stay', *nama* 'come', *la* 'go' |

It seems that verbs denoting involuntary or natural bodily processes, such as *lualua* 'vomit' or *vehaveha* 'breathe' do not occur with the causative prefix. Neither do the verbs *la* 'go' and *nama* 'come', which do not describe the actual action or movement itself, but instead describe a situation. On the other hand, the verbs *lalao* 'walk' and *laro* 'run', which do occur with the causative, denote the action (movement itself). This may indicate that the causative prefix occurs with verbs that describe motion. Furthermore, the causative prefix does not appear with verbs whose agent is usually non-human, such as *lele* '(wind) blows', *palai* 'bloom', or *pela* 'open'. These actions are also involuntary or of an uncontrolled nature. As for the durative verbs, there are two verbs referring to 'stay': *vuhi* and *mororo*. It seems that *vuhi* 'stay' includes an intention or decision to stay, while *mororo* 'stay' does not include any control or intention. *Vuhi* occurs with the causative prefix; however, *mororo* does not.

Although the boundary between verbs that occur with the causative prefix and those that do not is unclear, it seems to be based on semantics, rather than a distinction between unergative and unaccusative. While verbs denoting acts or processes take the causative prefix, those denoting involuntary bodily or natural processes tend not to take the prefix.

In the case of *la* ‘go’ and *nama* ‘come’, these verbs do not denote acts of motion, but change of location, and they usually occur with a motion verb.

Here is a summary based on verbal semantics.

| Occur with the causative | Do not occur with the causative |
|---|---|
| • Change of location (‘fall’ ‘drop’)<br>• Change of state (‘become dry’ ‘become red’, ‘become longer’)<br>• Volitional durative (‘stay’ [on purpose])<br>• Uncontrolled process (‘sink’ ‘float’ ‘drown’)<br>• Controlled motion (‘jump’ ‘walk’ ‘dance’)<br>• Controlled non-motion (‘laugh’ ‘cry’) | • Involuntary bodily or natural process (‘vomit’ [106] ‘snort’, ‘blow’, ‘open’, ‘bloom’, *hoho* ‘fly’)<br>• Change of location, but not motion verb (‘go’, ‘come’)<br>• Non-volitional durative (‘stay’ [not on purpose]) |

Along with intransitive verbs, middle voice verbs can also be causativized, except for *uhu* ‘take a rest’.

In causativized intransitive phrases, the subject is converted into a direct object, and a new argument (= A) is introduced as a causer. Here are a few pairs of examples, in which the (a) sentences show Neti as the subject, and the (b) sentences show Neti as the direct object (= causee) and include a new argument ‘I’ (= causer).

(7-44)

a. Neti i-waya pa tari.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-swim PREP sea
‘Neti swam in the sea.’

---

[106] Verbs for involuntary human bodily process such as ‘vomit’ or ‘snort’ take the syntactic causative, even if they are volitionally caused.

b. **Nga**-pa-waya **Neti** pa tari.
1SG.SBJ-CAUS-swim Neti PREP sea
‘I made Neti swim in the sea.’

(7-45)
a. Neti i-tapu pa wagha.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-fall.down PREP canoe
‘Neti fell down from the canoe.’

b. **Nga**-pa-tapu **Neti** pa wagha.
1SG.SBJ-CAUS-fall.down Neti PREP canoe
‘I made Neti fall down from the canoe.’

(7-46)
a. Eau i-pulipuli.
water 3SG.SBJ-cold
‘Water became cold.’

b. **Nga**-pa-pulipuli **eau**.
1SG.SBJ-CAUS-cold water
‘I chilled the water’

(7-47)
a. Neti i-ghunu-i.
Neti 3GS.SBJ-stand.up-3SG.OBJ
‘Neti stood up.’

b. **Nga**-pa-ghunu **Neti.**
1SG.SBJ-CAUS-stand.up Neti
‘I made Neti stand up.’

In this type of causative construction, the causer is directly involved with the action, and the causee does not have control. For example, (7-44) does not mean that the causer ordered Neti to swim, but rather that the causer may have held Neti's hands or body to make Neti swim. Similarly, in (7-47), the causer may have held and moved the causee, rather than telling the causee to stand up (see 7.3.1).

### 7.3.1.1.2 With transitive verbs

As far as I know, there are only three transitive verbs that take the causative *pa-*. They are *ani* 'eat', *unu* 'drink', and *ruru* 'suck'. In causativized transitive verbs, the subject is converted into a direct object, and a new argument (= A) is introduced as the causer. Furthermore, the direct object is converted to an oblique, which is expressed by means of the preposition *nga*. Here is a pair of examples where the subject, *Neti*, and the direct object, *niu* 'coconut' in (a) are converted in (b) to the direct object and oblique, respectively, with the preposition *nga*. Moreover, there is a new argument, 'I', as the subject (= causer) in (7-48 b).

(7-48 a) Neti i-ani niu noha.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-eat coconut yesterday
'Neti ate a coconut yesterday.'

(7-48 b) **Nga**-pa-hani[107] **Neti** **nga** **niu** noha.
1SG.SBJ-CAU-eat Neti PREP coconut yesterday
'I made Neti eat a coconut yesterday.' / 'I feed Neti a coconut yesterday.'

Similarly, the subject *Neti* and the direct object *turu* 'breast' in (7-49 a) are converted to the direct object and oblique in (b).

---

[107] The verb 'eat' is *ani*. However, *h* is inserted word-initially if it occurs with the causative: *pa-hani*.

(7-49 a) Neti i-ruru turu.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-suck breast
‘Neti sucked a breast.’

(7-49 b) **Nga**-pa-ruru **Neti** **nga** **turu.**
1SG.SBJ-CAU-suck Neti PREP breast
‘I made Neti suck a breast.’

For some transitive verbs, there are two-way constructions to express the theme and the recipient (or goal) (see Examples [7-24] and [7-25]). However, in causative sentences, the two arguments cannot be paraphrased: the positions of the causee and theme are fixed.

(7-50) *Nga-pa-ruru turu pa Neti.
1SG.SBJ-CAU-suck breast PREP Neti
(‘I made Neti suck a breast.’)

As with causativized intransitive verbs, the causer acts directly and is involved in the action; the causee does not have control of the action. The causee is usually a young child (or infant) or a patient.

### 7.3.1.2 Semantics

Given that the morphological causative is applied only to particular types of verbs, there seem to be some semantic specifications. I will discuss the semantic mechanism using the nine semantic parameters proposed by Dixon (2000:62).

| Parameter | Morphological causative in Kove |
|---|---|
| *Relating to the verb* | |
| 1. Does a causative mechanism apply only to a verb describing a state, or also to a verb describing an action? | Both state and action |
| 2. Does it apply only to intransitive verbs or to both intransitive and transitive verbs, or to all types of verbs? | Only some intransitive verbs, middle verbs, and a very few transitive verbs |
| *Relating to the causee* | |
| 3. Is the causee lacking control of the activity or having control? | No control of the activity |
| 4. Does the causee do it willingly or unwillingly? | (Possibly) unwillingly |
| 5. Is the causee only partially affected by the activity, or completely affected? | (Possibly) both partially and completely |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Relating to causer* | |
| 6. Does the causer act directly or indirectly? | Directly |
| 7. Does it happen naturally or is the result achieved only with effort (perhaps with violence)? | Possibly naturally |
| 8. Does the causer achieve the result accidentally or intentionally? | Both accidentally and intentionally |
| 9. Is the causer also involved in the activity or not involved? | Possibly not |

*Relating to the verb*

As already discussed, the morphological causative is applied to some intransitive verbs and a very few transitive verbs. According to Dixon (2000:63–65), in many languages, including a number of Austronesian languages, a causative mechanism applies either only to all intransitive verbs, or to all intransitive verbs and just a few transitive verbs. Those few transitive verbs typically include ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ because “drinking and eating are the transitive activities which people are most likely to make other people do, on every continent” (Dixon 2000:65). While this is true for Kove transitive verbs, except for *ruru* ‘suck’, it is interesting that not all intransitive verbs take the morphological causative. This remains an area that requires further study.

*Relating to the causee*

One of the semantic features associated with the morphological causative is control. This feature may separate the morphological causative from the syntactic causative in terms of semantics. The morphological causative denotes the situation where a causee does not have control of the activity. The causee is usually a young child (infant), inanimate, or a patient (especially for transitive verbs). While control is an important parameter in Kove, two other parameters, willingness and affectedness, are not necessary. For example, the causative does not mark willingness or unwillingness of the causee. Similarly, it does not describe the degree of affectedness of the causee. It does not matter how much of the action the causee completes. The following example can have two different interpretations.

(7-51) Nga-pa-hani Neti nga niu noha.
1SG.SBJ-CAU-eat Neti PREP coconut yesterday
'I made Neti eat a coconut completely yesterday.' Or 'I made Neti eat part of a coconut yesterday.'

If the degree of affectedness is emphasized, two different serial verb constructions can be used, as in (7-52) and (7-53). However, these constructions are not connected with the causative parameters.

(7-52) Nga-pa-hani Neti nga niu gha **i-moho** noha.
1SG.SBJ-CAU-eat Neti PREP coconut SVU 3SG.SBJ-finish yesterday
'I made Neti eat a coconut completely yesterday.'

(7-53) Nga-pa-hani Neti nga niu gha **moho** noha.
1SG.SBJ-CAU-eat Neti PREP coconut SVU finish yesterday
'I made Neti eat a coconut yesterday.' (i.e., 'Neti may not have finished eating all the coconut's meat, but the action was completed.')

*Relating to the causer*

Along with control, directness is a significant parameter that separates the morphological causative from the syntactic causative in Kove. In the morphological causative, the causer is directly involved in the action. For example, (7-54) describes an action in which the causer walked the child by, for example, holding its hands, instead of giving a command.

(7-54) Nga-pa-lalao kekele.
1SG.SBJ-CAUS-walk child
'I walked the child.'

Similarly, (7-55) refers to the causer doing something that makes the causee cry, such as beating or pinching the causee.

(7-55) U-pa-tangi kekele mina.
2SG.SBJ-CAUS-cry child NEG
'Don't make the child cry.'

In (7-56), the causer does something that makes the causee cool. It does not mean that 'Neti let the water cool.', which is expressed by means of syntactic causative.

(7-56) Neti i-pa-pulipuli eau.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-CAUS-cold water
'Neti chilled the water.'

Here is one more example with a transitive verb. This sentence indicates that the causer actually put a coconut to the mouth of the causee.

(7-57) Neti i-pa-unu kekele nga niu.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-CAUS-drink child PREP coconut.
'Neti had the child drink a coconut.'

This parameter may be linked to control and unwillingness. Because the causer acts directly, the causee lacks control and does it willingly, or because the causee lacks control, the causer has to act directly. Another parameter, naturalness, refers to whether the causer initiates a natural process (with no resistance from the causee) or acts only with effort because, for example, the causee does not want to do the action. In most (perhaps all) cases in Kove, it seems that the causer acts naturally. In the example above, (7-57), Neti does not force the child to drink a coconut, but acts so as to have the child drink naturally. The other two parameters relating to the causer, intention and involvement, may not be significant factors for the morphological causative in Kove. For example, (7-58) can refer to the causer bringing about the action either accidentally or intentionally, and the causative does not mark a distinction.

(7-58) Neti i-pa-tapu kekele pa wagha.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-CAUS-fall.down child PREP canoe
'Neti made the child fall down from a canoe.'

Involvement refers to whether the causer is actually involved in the activity (e.g., involved: 'he stopped the canoe, when he was inside it' vs. uninvolved: 'he stopped the canoe, when he was outside it'). The morphological causative does not denote involvement, but I assume that it is likely that the causer is not involved in the activity (e.g., the causer does not fall down to make the causee fall, and the causer does not cry to make the causee cry).

Hence, the significant parameters of the morphological causative in Kove are transitivity, control, and directness.

### 7.3.2 Intransitive suffix *-i*

Kove has a suffix *-i*, which is added to transitive verbs to convert them to intransitive verbs. For convenience, I call this suffix the intransitive suffix. The study of this suffix *-i* is one of the areas that needs further research, and therefore this section provides only a preliminary description.

Verbs with this suffix may have two meanings. One is a dynamic meaning, such as process or motion. In this case, the subject is the agent. The other meaning is a stative meaning. It encodes the referent of the subject as a being in a state, undergoing a change of state, or having assumed a state (Lichtenberk 1983a:219). The subject is the patient, and it is usually inanimate. The verbs that take this suffix are very few, and whether a specific verb does or does not take the suffix is not predictable.

| Intransitive | | Transitive | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *pela-i* | 'open or be open' | *pela* | 'open O' |
| *riki-i*[108] | 'close or be closed' | *riki* | 'close O' |
| *vono-i* | 'tie or in a state of being tied' | *vono* | 'tie O' |
| *putu-i*[109] | 'completely break, collapse' | *putu* | 'completely break, collapse O' |
| *repe-i* | 'partially break, collapse' | *repe* | 'partially break, collapse O' |
| *ghohoi-i* | 'break, collapse'[110] | *ghohoi* | 'break, collapse' |
| *kele-i* | '(fruits) drop (from a tree)' | *kele* | 'pick (fruits from a tree)' |

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[108] The fact that the stress falls on the penultimate syllable *rikíi*, shows that the verb root carries the suffix.

[109] The stative meaning is *putuhai*.

[110] This word is used for objects that are made by people, like canoes, houses, or fences. Also, it describes a situation where some are completely broken and some are partially broken.

(7-59) INTRANSITIVE VERB
Atama i-pela-i.
door 3SG.SBJ-open-INTR
'The door opened.' 'The door is open.'

TRANSITIVE VERB
Nga-pela atama.
1SG.SBJ-open door
'I opened the door.'

(7-60) INTRANSITIVE VERB
Unu i-kere-i.
breadfruit 3SG.SBJ-drop-INTR
'A breadfruit dropped (down from a tree).'

TRANSITIVE VERB
Nga-kere unu.
1SG.SBJ-pick breadfruit
'I picked a breadfruit.'

In addition to these intransitive verbs, the intransitive suffix may be analyzed as the suffix on the middle voice verbs when an agent is third person singular or when the verbs are nominalized. Furthermore, Kove speakers consider the suffix *-i* to be part of the base form of the middle voice verbs, even though it does not appear with non-third person singular agents.

(7-61 a) ROOT
roa-**i**
sit.down-INTR
'sit down'

(7-61 b) NOMINALIZATION
roa-**i**-nga
sit.down-INTR-NMLZ
'Sitting down.'

(7-61 c) VERBAL SENTENCE (FIRST PERSON SINGULAR)
Nga-roa-ghau.
1SG.SBJ-sit.down-1SG.OBJ
'I sat down.'

(7-61 d) VERBAL SENTENCE (THIRD PERSON SINGULAR)
I-roa-**i**.
3SG.SBJ-sit.down-INTR
'He / She sat down.'

Thus, this suffix involves detransitivization, through which transitive verbs are converted into intransitive verbs, and the theme (or patient) is upgraded to the subject.

According to Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002:80), POc had the close (or short) transitive suffix *i, which was added to an intransitive verb, if it was consonant-final. It functioned to convert intransitive verbs to transitive verbs, as in POc *inum 'drink' → *inum-i=a (drink-TR=3SG) 'drink it'. Also, this suffix occurred on "neutral O-verbs," which are dynamic verbs whose subjects are patients. However, the suffix could not appear on stative O-verbs, in which subjects are patients and the verbs denote state.

I do not claim that the Kove intransitive suffix *-i* is a reflex of POc transitive suffix *i. They may have the same form coincidentally. However, it is interesting that what appears to be the same form of suffix results in opposite derivational effects. While the POc suffix was added to intransitive verbs, which became transitive, the Kove suffix is added to transitive verbs, which become intransitive. Moreover, the POc suffix could not occur with stative O-verbs, but intransitive verbs with the Kove suffix can be stative.

### 7.3.3 Plural object suffix *-ri*

The personal pronoun or the third person plural pronoun tends to be grammaticalized to a plural marker across languages (Heine and Kuteva 2002:237–238). This phenomenon is also found in Kove. The third person plural object pronoun, *-ri*, appears with a lexical noun phrase and functions as a plural marker. *-ri* in (7-62) is used as the third person plural object pronoun, and *-ri* in (7-63) and (7-64) functions as a plural marker for the direct object. The direct object in (7-63) is animate and the one in (7-64) is inanimate.

(7-62) Nga-hau-**ri** noha.
1SG.SBJ-hit-3PL.OBJ yesterday
'I hit them yesterday.'

(7-63) Nga-hau-**ri** pana Kapo noha.
1SG.SBJ-hit-3PL.OBJ people Kapo yesterday
'I hit people from Kapo yesterday.'

(7-64) Nga-ani-**ri** niu.
1SG.SBJ-eat-3PL.OBJ coconut
'I ate (various kinds of) coconuts.'

Besides transitive verbs, the third person plural object form *-ri* appears on prepositions. In (7-65) and (7-66), the preposition *pa* carries *-ri*. *-ri* in (7-65) functions as the pronoun, and *-ri* in (7-66) marks the plurality of the object *pana*.

(7-65) Nga-pasolani vula pa-**ri.**
1SG.SBJ-show shell.necklace PREP-3PL.OBJ
'I showed a shell necklace to them.'

(7-66) Nga-pasolani vula pa-**ri** pana.
1SG.SBJ-show shell.necklace PREP-3PL.OBJ people
'I showed a shell necklace to people.'

Hence, the third person plural object pronoun is used to mark the plurality of the direct object. However, it also has some idiosyncratic behaviors. I will discuss five unique features in this section. For convenience, I will call the third person plural object pronominal form *-ri* the plural object marker.

### 7.3.3.1 General unit

Although *-ri* is used as a plural object marker, it appears only if the object expresses more than one type. For example, (7-64) describes various kinds of coconuts. If there are several of only one kind of a coconut, *-ri* does not appear, as in (7-67). Instead, the object, a group of several of one kind of coconut, is treated as singular.

(7-67) Nga-ani niu.
1SG.SBJ-eat coconut
'I eat (one kind of) coconut.'

Here is one more example where the direct object of a preposition is treated like a singular, because its object is only one kind of taro.

(7-68) Nga-pasolani Neti nga moi a-ghu
1SG.SBJ-show Neti PREP taro A.POSS-1SG.POSS

mogha ai-a.
garden 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
'I showed Neti (one kind of) taro which was grown in my garden.' (lit., 'I showed Neti (one kind of) taros of my garden.')

Moreover, although the plural object form marks the plurality of the object, it cannot occur with a numeral. Example (7-69) is ungrammatical because it contains the numeral *tolu* 'three'. When the numeral appears, even if the coconuts are of different kinds, the plural object marker does not occur, as in (7-70).

(7-69) *Nga-ani-**ri** niu **tolu**.
1SG.SBJ-eat-3PL.OBJ coconut three

(7-70) Nga-ani niu **tolu**.
1SG.SBJ-eat-3SG.OBJ coconut three
'I ate three coconuts.'

Also, the plural object marker cannot occur when two or three objects are joined with a conjunction. Example (7-71) contains the words for coconut and banana with a conjunction, and it is ungrammatical.

(7-71) *Nga-ani-**ri** niu **gha** puri
1SG-eat-3PL.OBJ coconut CONJ banana

(7-72) Nga-ani niu **gha** puri.
1SG.SBJ-eat coconut CONJ banana
'I ate a coconut and banana.'

However, if there are several objects as seen in (7-73), the marker can occur.

(7-73) Nga-ani-**ri** niu **gha** puri **gha** moi **gha** mainoka…
1SG.SBJ-eat-3PL.OBJ coconut CONJ banana CONJ taro CONJ tapioca
'I ate a coconut, banana, taro, and tapioca…'

Hence, the plural object marker only marks diverse plurality. Also, it cannot be used when individual entities are described. It seems that it cannot identify an individual object. Rather, it seems to be associated with the concept of general units.

#### 7.3.3.2 Animacy hierarchy

As mentioned earlier, the plural object marker marks the plurality for the direct object both of transitive verbs and prepositions. In Example (7-62), repeated here as (7-74 a), the object of the verb is plural, and in (7-65), repeated here as (7-75 a), the object of the preposition is plural.

(7-74 a) Nga-hau-**ri** pana Kapo noha.
1SG.SBJ-hit-3PL.OBJ people Kapo yesterday
'I hit people from Kapo yesterday.'

(7-75 b) Nga-pasolani vula pa-**ri** pana.
1SG.SBJ-show shell.necklace PREP-3PL.OBJ people
'I showed a shell necklace to people.'

In fact, *pana* is the plural form. The singular form 'person' is *panava*. It is ungrammatical if *–ri* occurs with *panava*.

(7-74 b) *Nga-hau-**ri** panava Kapo noha.
1SG.SBJ-hit-3PL.OBJ person Kapo yesterday
('I hit people from Kapo yesterday.')

(7-75 b) *Nga-pasolani vula pa-**ri** panava.
1SG.SBJ-show shell.necklace PREP-3PL.OBJ person
('I showed a shell necklace to people.')

However, only one plural object marker can appear per transitive clause. As seen in (7-76), if both the verb and preposition carry *-ri* within a clause, it is ungrammatical.

(7-76) *Nga-pasolani-**ri** vula pa-**ri** pana.
1SG.SBJ-show-3PL.OBJ shell.necklace PREP-3PL.OBJ people
('I showed shell necklaces to people.')

Instead, only one of them can take the plural object marker, and the choice involves the animacy hierarchy. That is, the object with higher animacy is chosen for *-ri*, while the object with less animacy does not take the marker, like the singular. This is shown in the next example. In (7-77), the recipient ‘people’ has higher animacy than the theme, which is ‘necklace’. The plural object marker appears on the preposition to mark the plurality of the recipient, rather than the theme. If the plurality of the object with less animacy is emphasized, a word referring to quantity may occur.

(7-77) Nga-pasolani vula (salai) pa-**ri** pana.
1SG.SBJ-show shell.necklace (many) PREP-3PL.OBJ people
‘I show (many) shell necklaces to people.’

Similarly, in (7-78), where the recipient is ‘people’, and the theme is ‘dogs’, *-ri* marks the plurality of ‘people’.

(7-78) Nga-pasolani kaua pa-**ri** pana.
1SG.SBJ-show dog PREP-3PL.OBJ people
‘I show dogs to people.’

The choice of which noun phrase is marked for plurality is not based on a grammatical category. The above examples show that the object of the preposition has higher animacy. However, it is also the case that the plural object marker marks the plurality of the direct object of a transitive verb if it has higher animacy. The verb *pasolani* ‘show’ is one of the few transitive verbs that take a recipient as their direct object. In (7-79), the recipient is the direct object of a transitive verb and carries *-ri* to mark its plurality.

(7-79) Nga-pasolani-**ri** pana nga vula.
1SG.SBJ-show-3PL.OBJ people PREP shell.necklace
‘I show people shell necklaces.’

Furthermore, the choice of which noun phrase is marked for plurality between the verb and preposition is also not based on thematic roles. If the theme has higher animacy, the plural object marker appears to mark its plurality. In (7-80a), the recipient is *kaua* 'dog(s)', and the theme is *pana* 'people'. The context is unnatural; however, the sentence is grammatical. Example (7-78) is repeated here as (7-80 b) for comparison.

(7-80 a) Nga-pasolani-**ri** pana pa kaua.
1SG.SBJ-show-3PL.OBJ people PREP dog
'I show people to dogs.'

(7-80 b) Nga-pasolani kaua pa-**ri** pana.
1SG.SBJ-show dog PREP-3PL.OBJ people
'I show dogs to people.'

Hence, the choice of which noun is marked for plurality by the object marker on the verb versus the preposition is based on the animacy hierarchy. Now, the question is which of the two – the object of the verb or the object of the preposition – takes the plural object marker if both objects have equal animacy status. In the next example, (7-81), both objects are human. The theme is expressed by means of the direct object of the verb, and the plural object marker appears to mark its plurality on the verb.

(7-81) Nga-pasolani-**ri** kekele pa pana.
1SG.SBJ-show-3PL.OBJ children / child PREP people
'I show children to people.'

Similarly, in (7-82), a recipient is expressed as the direct object of a verb, and the plural object marker appears to mark its plurality on the verb.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7-82) | Nga-pasolani-**ri** | pana | nga | kekele. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-show-3PL.OBJ | people | PREP | child/children |
| | ‘I show people children.’ | | | |

These examples indicate that if both objects have equal animacy status, the first element, that is, the direct object of the verb, takes the plural object marker.

While the number of plural object markers is limited within a single transitive clause, the placement of the plural object marker is different in a ditransitive clause. In a ditransitive clause, it is possible for more than one plural object marker to appear, that is, one for the recipient and one for the theme. Example (7-83) has two instances of *-ri*. The first one marks the recipient, which the verb *pa* obligatorily takes, and the second one marks the theme.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (7-83) | Nga-pa-**ri-ri** | pana | niu. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-give-3PL.OBJ-3PL.OBJ | people | coconut |
| | ‘I gave people coconuts.’ | | |

Furthermore, there may be three instances of *-ri* within a single clause, if the recipient’s lexical noun phrase is the object of a preposition. In the following example, the first *-ri* marks the recipient and the second one marks the plurality of the theme *niu* ‘coconut’. In addition, the preposition carries the marker *-ri* for the lexical noun phrase.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7-84) | Nga-pa-**ri-ri** | niu | pa-**ri** | pana. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-give-3PL.OBJ-3PL.OBJ | coconut | PREP-3PL.OBJ | people |
| | ‘I gave coconuts to people.’ | | | |

Thus, the constraint on the number of object pronominal markers and the animacy hierarchy effects occur only in transitive clauses, and a ditransitive clause can take as many object markers as needed.

### 7.3.3.3 Ergative-like pattern

Kove is a nominative-accusative language, where the subject pronoun in both intransitive and transitive sentences is the same in form, but the object pronoun is different. However, the plural object form appears on intransitive verbs if the subject is plural. In addition, as with transitive verbs, it appears only if the subject includes different types of items and no specific quantity (e.g., a numeral). Examples (7-85) and (7-86) are intransitive sentences in which the subject is plural. (7-85) contains an unaccusative verb, while (7-86) includes an unergative verb.

(7-85) Kaua ti-tapu-**ri.**
dog 3PL.SBJ-fall.down-3PL.OBJ
'(Some groups of) dogs fell down.'

In (7-86), there are several people, both men and women. The group may also include people from different places. Furthermore, given that the dance is usually conducted with traditional drums and spirit masks, this example might also include people playing the drums and wearing spirit masks.

(7-86) Pana ti-tohi-**ri.**
people 3PL.SBJ-dance-3PL.OBJ
'People danced.'

The plural object form *-ri* appears regardless of the type of intransitive verb, and it shows an ergative pattern.

As with many Oceanic languages, if the subject is treated as one entity, the singular form is chosen even if there is more than one item. This is found especially if the object is inanimate (see 5.1), as in (7-87), where the singular form indexes the subject; there may be more than one stone, but they are treated as a unit.

(7-87) Patu **i**-tapu.
stone 3SG.SBJ-fall.down
'(One group of) stones fell down.'

While the subject marker is singular, it is possible for the verb to take the plural object marker, as in (7-88). In such a case, it seems that the phrase describes many entities (groups), rather than various kinds of objects.

(7-88) Patu i-tapu-**ri.**
stone 3SG.SBJ-fall.down-3PL.OBJ
'(Some groups of) stones fell down.'

Here is one more set of examples. The example in (7-89 a) indicates that all types of grass are treated as one entity, and it usually refers to one place, though there is more than one blade of grass. On the other hand, (7-89 b), where the first verb takes -*ri*, refers to different types of grasses as one entity. In (7-89 c), -*ri* appears on the second verb, and describes many groups (places) of grasses.

(7-89 a) U-keti vuivui i-la volovolo.
2SG.SBJ-cut grass 3SG.SBJ-go short
'Cut grass shorter.' (one entity/place)

(7-89 b) U-keti-**ri** vuivui i-la volovolo.
2SG.SBJ-cut-3PL.OBJ grass 3SG.SBJ-go short
'Cut grass shorter.' (several types of grass)

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7-89 c) | U-keti | vuivui | i-la-**ri** | volovolo. |
|  | 2SG.SBJ-cut | grass | 3SG.SBJ-go-3PL.OBJ | short |

‘Cut grass shorter.’ (many entities/places)

Thus, the plural object marker may appear on intransitive verbs. Also, the number of plurality may not match between the subject and object marker. It is possible that while the third person singular subject pronoun is used, the plural object pronoun appears on a verb. Furthermore, the plural object form may denote the number of entities, if the subject is treated as one entity.

#### 7.3.3.4 Occurrence with the future marker

Most often, the plural object marker is used when the event actually happened. It is not ungrammatical for it to occur with the future tense. However, it is uncommon, especially when it appears on intransitive verbs. For example, (7-90 a) is not ungrammatical, but (7-90 b) is more common in natural contexts, even if the speaker asks if people will dance with those from different places or with some instruments and spirit masks, which are usually marked by *-ri*.

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| (7-90 a) | Ta | pana | ti-tohi-**ri**? |
|  | FUT | people | 3PL.SBJ-dance-3PL.OBJ |

‘Will people dance?’

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| (7-90 b) | Ta | pana | ti-tohi? |
|  | FUT | people | 3PL.SBJ-dance |

‘Will people dance?’

Kove does not have a grammatical distinction between realis and irrealis, and given that the plural object marker is able to occur with the future marker, it does not mark realis. However, it seems likely that it denotes what actually happened.

### 7.3.3.5 Plurality for nouns on adjectives

Along with verbs, adjectives are able to take the plural object marker to indicate the plurality of modified nouns. In (7-91) and (7-92), a noun is modified by the word *kua* 'wet'. In (7-91), there is one piece of clothing, and in (7-92), there are some sets of wet clothing.

(7-91) malo kua
clothing wet
'wet clothing' / 'Clothing is wet.' (Singular)

(7-92) malo kua-**ri**
clothing wet-3PL.OBJ
'wet clothing' / 'Clothing is wet.' (Plural)

However, if the adjectives themselves have their own plural form, *-ri* cannot appear. In Kove, there are a few adjectives that have a plural form for their modified noun. They are *paka* 'big', *pau* 'new', and *doko* 'good'. Their plural forms are marked by reduplication.[111] For example, the word *paka* 'big' is used when the noun is singular, as in (7-93). However, in (7-94), the noun is plural, and its modifier is reduplicated for the plurality.

(7-93) ghaya paka
pig big
'a big pig'

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[111] In addition to them, *kahaku* 'small' also has the plural form *ghighihiti*.

(7-94) ghaya **pa**-paka
pig RED-big
'big pigs'

Since *paka* has its own plural form expressed by reduplication, it cannot take the plural object marker, as in (7-95).

(7-95) *ghaya paka-**ri**
pig big-3PL.OBJ

Thus, the plural object marker is used on its modifier to indicate a noun's plurality, but if a modifier has its own plural form, that modifier cannot take *-ri*.

Unlike verbs, the plurality marked by *-ri* on adjectives does not denote the notion of units or different kinds. The marker simply indicates the plurality of the modified noun.

### 7.3.3.6 Summary

The third plural object pronominal form has grammaticalized to a plural marker, which is used on verbs and prepositions to mark the plurality of a lexical noun phrase object. However, the plural object form has certain idiosyncratic characteristics. (1) Only one *-ri* can appear per transitive clause. The choice of the placement of the form involves the animacy hierarchy. The object with higher animacy is chosen for the plural object marker, while the object with less animacy will be treated as singular. However, there is no constraint in a ditransitive clause. (2) It also occurs on intransitive verbs to mark the plurality of their subjects, and it behaves in an ergative-like pattern. (3) It can appear even if the subject pronominal prefix on an intransitive verb is singular. (4) It also marks the plurality of adjectives if the adjectives do not have their own plural forms. (5) The plural object marker on verbs denotes “units” or “different kinds.” If there is only one kind of object, even though there is plural reference, the marker does not appear.

### 7.3.4 Reciprocal suffix *-nga*

Reciprocality has been discussed as a type of valency reduction. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000:11) name two basic strategies for expressing the reciprocal with transitive verbs. The first strategy is to retain a transitive structure and place a reciprocal pronoun in the position of the direct object, as in English (e.g., *We hit each other.*). The other strategy is to use a verbal suffix that derives an intransitive stem with reciprocal meaning. The latter strategy involves valency reduction because it reduces the number of arguments.

The reciprocal construction of Kove is somewhat unique. It has a verbal suffix -*nga*.[112] However, the construction does not reduce the number of arguments. Instead, it retains a transitive structure and keeps the direct object. (7-96) is an example of the non-reciprocal construction, and (7-97) is an example of the reciprocal construction where the reciprocal suffix -*nga* is attached to the verb, followed by the object pronominal form.

| (7-96) | Pana | Kapo | ti-hau-ri. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | people | Kapo | 3PL.SBJ-hit-3PL.OBJ |

‘People from Kapo hit them.’

| (7-97) | Pana | Kapo | ti-hau-**nga-ri.** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | people | Kapo | 3PL.SBJ-hit-RECIP-3PL.OBJ |

‘People from Kapo fought each other.’ (lit., ‘People from Kapo hit each other.’)

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[112] The POc reciprocal marker is a prefix *pa[Ri]-, which apparently is not reflected in Kove. Lynch (1998:216) mentions that the Kove reciprocal is influenced by Anêm, a neighboring Papuan language, whose reciprocal is a suffix *-ak*.

Here is one more pair of examples. In addition to the reciprocal direct object, there is a theme, which is expressed as an oblique with *-nga*.

(7-98) Nga-pasolani Apato nga Kapo ai-anunu.
1SG.SBJ-show Apato PREP Kapo 3SG.POSS-picture
'I showed Apato a picture of Kapo.'

(7-99) Yahua Apato ya-pasolani-**nga-ghai** nga
1DU.EXCL Apato 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-show-RECIP-1PL.EXCL.OBJ PREP

Kapo ai-anunu.
Kapo 3SG.POSS-picture
'Apato and I showed a picture of Kapo to each other.' (lit., 'We two, including Apato, showed a picture of Kapo to each other.')

The next example clearly shows that the reciprocal structure is transitive because the verb complex is followed by a lexical noun phrase as the direct object.

(7-100) Ti-ani-**nga** **awa-ri.**
3PL.SBJ-eat- RECIP mouth-3PL.POSS
'They kissed each other.' (lit., 'They eat their mouth each other.')

Although the reciprocal suffix can also appear on the ditransitive verb, the construction is different. Unlike transitive verbs, it does not take the reciprocal pronoun after the reciprocal suffix. Instead, the reciprocal suffix follows the recipient and occurs at the end of the verb complex. Like non-reciprocal constructions, the ditransitive verb always carries the recipient object pronoun on the verb itself, so this pronoun is possibly re-analyzed as the reciprocal pronoun. In (7-101), the constituent order is subject marker-verb-recipient-reciprocal + theme. Like transitive verb constructions, the reciprocal construction does not change the valency.

(7-101) Ya-pa-ghai-**nga** ranga.
1PL.EXCL.SBJ-give-1PL.EXCL.OBJ-RECIP thing
'We gave things to each other.'

Since the form of a preposition for a theme is also -*nga*, one might think -*nga* in (7-101) is a preposition, instead of the reciprocal suffix. However, it is the reciprocal suffix, as shown by two observations. First, since *pa* is the ditransitive verb, the theme is always the direct object of the verb, instead of being expressed by an oblique. Second, if the theme is plural, the verb complex takes the plural marker -*ri* before the reciprocal suffix, as in (7-102).

(7-102) Ya-pa-ghai-**ri-nga** ranga.
1PL.EXCL.SBJ-give-1PL.EXCL.OBJ-3PL.OBJ-RECIP thing
'We gave things to each other.'

Note that if a preposition takes a plural object, it takes the plural marker.

(7-103) Nga-pasonani Neti **nga-ri** ranga.
1SG.SBJ-show Neti PREP-3PL.OBJ thing
'I show Neti something.'

Therefore, -*nga* in (7-101) is the reciprocal suffix, rather than a preposition.

Thus, the reciprocal construction of Kove is expressed by a verbal suffix, but the structure retains the direct object and there is no change in valency.

# Chapter 8

# Adpositional phrases and adverb phrases

## 8.1 Adpositional phrases

Kove has four prepositions and one postposition. In this section, I will first discuss the prepositions, and then move on to the postposition.

### 8.1.1 Prepositional phrases

The four prepositions of Kove are *pa*, *nga*, *tomanga*, and *to*. Their general meanings are, as follows:

*pa* (8-1): location, time
*nga* (8-2): benefactive, reason, instrument
*tomanga* (8-3): comitative
*to* (8-4): possessor

The prepositions occur with object pronominal forms[113] or lexical noun phrases for their direct objects.

(8-1) Pana ti-bulo **pa-ghau**.
people 3PL.SBJ-lie PREP-1SG.OBJ
'People lied to me.'

(8-2) Kekele diene i-tangi-tangi **nga-gho**.
child DEM 3SG.SBJ-cry-RED PREP-2SG.OBJ
'This child is crying because of you.'

---

[113] The form of the third person singular object is *ni* in the prepositional phrases.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-3) | Nga-tunu | e-le | luma | **tomanga-ni** | gha | i-vuhi. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-burn | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | house | PREP-3SG.OBJ | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-stay |

‘I burned his / her house with him / her inside (as patient).’

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (8-4) | haninga | **to-ghimi** |
| | Food | PREP-2PL.OBJ |

‘your food’ (lit. food of yours)

If the direct objects are plural lexical noun phrases, they take the plural object marker -*ri*. The following examples show that the preposition takes the object pronoun.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-5) | Nga-vagha | nga-oli | tue | **pa-ri** | pana | Kapo. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-say | 1SG.SBJ-buy | clam | PREP-3PL.OBJ | people | Kapo |

‘I want to buy clams from people from Kapo.’ (lit. ‘I say, I buy clams from Kapo people’.)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-6) | Nga-pasolani | Hawaii | ai-anunu | **nga-ri** | pana | Kove. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-show | Hawai‘i | 3SG.POSS-picture | PREP-3PL.OBJ | people | Kove |

‘I showed a picture of Hawai‘i to people from Kove.’

In addition to the plural object marker, prepositions may take the third person singular object pronoun *–ni* to indicate the singularity for their direct objects, as an option.[114] In the following examples, the preposition pa carries *–ni* for the animate object and inanimate object, respectively. Note that the verbs themselves do not have any visible singular marker.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (8-7) | I-varo | **pa(-ni)** | ai-erawa. |
| | 3SG.SBJ-talk | PREP-3SG.OBJ | 3SG.POSS-spouse |

‘He / She talked to his / her spouse.’

---

[114] Since it is an option, I will not include the third person object pronoun in other examples from now on.

(8-8) Tari-ri kahaku i-umo **nga(-ni)** a-ri
sibling-3PL.POSS small 3SG.SBJ-garden PREP-3SG.OBJ A.POSS-3PL.POSS

mogha.
garden
‘Their youngest brother works in their garden.’

(8-9) Ta-ani ghaya **tomanga(-ni)** haninga.
1PL.INCL-eat pig PREP-3SG.OBJ food
‘We ate a pig with (other) food.’

It may also occur with a proper noun.

(8-10) Pirau i-poe gha i-la **pa(-ni)** Makada.
Pirau 3SG.SBJ-call SVU 3SG.SBJ-go PREP-3SG.OBJ Makada
‘Pirau called Makada.’

(8-11) ranga **to(-ni)** Gela
thing PREP-3SG.OBJ Gela
‘Gela’s something’ (lit. ‘something of Gela’)

If the preposition takes multiple nouns as a sequence, as in (8-12), the plural object marker does not appear. Instead, the direct object is treated as if it were singular, as in (8-13).

(8-12) * **tomanga-ri** Luxie gha ai-tama gha ai-tina
PREP-3PL.OBJ Luxie SVU 3SG.POSS-father SVU 3SG.POSS-mother

(8-13) **tomanga(-ni)** Luxie gha ai-tama gha ai-tina
PREP-3SG.OBJ Luxie SVU 3SG.POSS-father SVU 3SG.POSS-mother
‘with Luxie, his father and mother’

The prepositional phrases occur at the position of their grammatical roles. For example, if they mark the theme or patient, they occur in verb phrases, as in (8-14). If they mark the locative or temporal, they occur either at the beginning or end of a sentence, as in (8-15) where the first sentence has the prepositional phrase at the end and the second sentence includes the prepositional phrase at the beginning.

(8-14) Ta nga-pasolani-ghimi **nga** **a-mi** **mogha**.
FUT 1SG.SBJ-show-2PL.OBJ PREP A.POSS-2PL.POSS garden
'I will show you your garden.'

(8-15) S1: Mate ne ta-kaka i-otu gha
dead.body PTC 1PL.INCL.SBJ-carry 3SG.SBJ-appear SVU

i-la **pa** **sele** **pa** **melemele**.
3SG.SBJ-go PREP place of a corpse PREP public.space

S2: Pa melemele vongi to-duwawa mate ai-li-liu
PREP public.space morning ART-DEM dead 3SG.POSS-RED-sibling

ti-taro[115] vula **tamanga** **ghaya**.
3PL.SBJ-throw shell.necklace PREP pig
'Then, we carry out the dead body to a place where people keep a dead body in a public space. At the public space, on that day, siblings of the dead donate shell money (to the host of the funeral) with a pig.'

As for the preposition *tomanga*, if the entity accompanies agents (subjects), its phrase occurs in the subject position with the agents. In (8-16), the prepositional phrase occurs in the subject position with the agent, and in (8-17), the prepositional phrase occurs in the object position with the theme.

---

[115] *Taro* literally means 'throw', but it is also used when people donate shell-money used in a ceremony.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-16) | Yau | Luxie | ai-tuvu | **tomanga** | **erawa-ghu** |
|  | 1SG | Luxie | 3SG.POSS-grandparent | PREP | spouse-1SG.POSS |

|  |
|---|
| ya-lupu. |
| 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-gather |

‘I, Luxie’s grandparent and my spouse gathered together.’ (lit. ‘I and Luxie’s grandparent gathered with my spouse.’)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-17) | Ta-ani | ghaya | pape | ta-ghali | **tomanga** | **haninga**. |
|  | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-eat | pig | some | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-chop | PREP | food |

‘We ate some pork that we chopped with other foods.’ (lit. ‘We ate some pigs that we chopped with foods.’)

Now, I will move on a discussion of each preposition below.

#### 8.1.1.1 *Pa*

The preposition *pa* marks a variety of thematic roles: goals, recipient, source, locative, time, place of origin, means of transportation, direction, and path. A few examples of the preposition as the head of simple prepositional phrases follow.

(8-18) GOAL

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lolo-ghu | i-la | **pa** | **tama-ghu**. |
| belly-1SG.POSS | 3SG.SBJ-go | PREP | father-1SG.POSS |

‘I am concerned with my father.’(lit. ‘My belly goes to my father.’)

(8-19) SOURCE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Savalele | Ta | nga-oli | karoki | **pa-gho.** |
| tomorrow | FUT | 1SG.SBJ-buy | crab | PREP-2SG.OBJ |

‘I will buy crabs from you tomorrow.’

(8-20) LOCATIVE

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A-mi | sawa | wawa | i-moyoyo | **pa** | **luma** |
| A.POSS-2PL.POSS | what | LOC.DEM | 3SG.SBJ-hang | PREP | house |

| | |
|---|---|
| ai-a | ururu? |
| 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | ridge.pole |

‘What is hanging at the ridge pole?’ (lit. ‘What is your something hanging at the ridge pole of the house?’)

(8-21) TIME

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **pa** | **taiko** | **pape** | **mao** | **hai**[116] | **pape** |
| PREP | moon | another | DISJ | wind | another |

‘months later or years later’ (lit. ‘some months or some years’)

(8-22) PATH

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ti-lalao | **pa** | **erapu** | gha | ti-la | pa | lusi. |
| 3PL.SBJ-walk | PREP | road | SVU | 3PL.SBJ-go | PREP | mountain |

‘They walked along the road to the mountain.’

While one of the notions of the preposition pa is locative, it cannot occur with locative adverbs such as *sae* ‘up’ or *sio* ‘down’.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-23) | *Puri | tona | i-tavava | **pa** | **sae**. |
| | banana | ART | 3SG.SBJ-jump | PREP | up |

---

[116] *hai* refers to wind which blows from south-east between May and August.

The locative adverbs occur without the preposition, as follows.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-24) | Puri | tona | i-tavava | **sae**. |
| | banana | ART | 3SG.SBJ-jump | up |

‘That banana jumped up.’

Similarly, the preposition cannot occur with place name words. It stands by itself. Example (8-25) is ungrammatical because the proper noun Hawai‘i occurs in a prepositional phrase.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-25) | *Ta | Donga | i-lua-i | gha | i-la | **pa** | **Hawaii**. |
| | FUT | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go | PREP | Hawai‘i |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-26) | Ta | Donga | i-lua-i | gha | i-la | **Hawaii**. |
| | FUT | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go | Hawai‘i |

‘Donga will go back to Hawaii (and will not come back.)’

However, the preposition can occur with person name words, though it is not common.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (8-27) | U-la | pa | Neti. |
| | 2SG.SBJ-go | PREP | Neti |

‘Go to Neti.’

This is possibly because the place name nouns are treated as adverbs in Kove.[117]

While this preposition marks several thematic roles, including time, it seems to be associated with motion. According to Heine and Kuteva (2002:149–155), one of the frequent types of grammaticalization is the movement of the main verb ‘give’ to grammatical forms such as benefactive, causative, dative, and so on. Given that the preposition *pa* is the same form as the verb *pa* ‘give’ in Kove, one might think that the preposition is derived by grammaticalization from the verb in Kove. However, it is hard to know whether these two uses of *pa* are descended from a single source, because there are a few different proposals for a reconstructed word **pani*. One proposal is that POc *pani had both lexical and prepositional verb functions as a marker of motion to an animate goal (Pawley 1973:142–144). The other proposal is that POc *pa(nñ)i[118] functioned only as a verb ‘give’ and grammaticalized to a grammatical morpheme in many languages (Lichtenberk 1985). In his work, Ross (1988:108, 112) adapts Pawley’s claim. Furthermore, he proposes a preposition *pa- for instrumental and locative either in POc or in Proto North New Guinea,[119] and Kove *pa* is a reflex of this, rather than a reflex of the prepositional verb *pani. Therefore, there is an ongoing debate, and since the focus here is on a synchronic description and the source of *pa* requires more research, I will not discuss further arguments on this matter.

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[117] However, since they can occur in possessive constructions, they also function as nouns.

### 8.1.1.2 *Nga*

Along with the preposition *pa*, the preposition *nga* marks various thematic roles: the theme (patient), stimulus, instrument, benefactive, duration, purpose, reason, and comparison, as follows:

(8-28) THEME
I-ware **nga-ri**.
3SG.SBJ-count PREP-3PL.OBJ
‘He / She counted them.’

---

[118] Lichtenberk has proposed doublets *pani and *pañi.

[119] Since only the North New Guinea and Meso-Melanesian groups have a reflex of the preposition *pa, it is not reconstructible in POc.

(8-29) STIMULUS

I-matauri **nga** **Donga**.

3SG.SBJ-fear PREP Donga

‘He / She fears Donga.’

(8-30) INSTRUMENT

Nga-waya **nga** **avei.**

1SG.SBJ-swim PREP wood

‘I swam with a piece of wood.’

(8-31) BENEFACTIVE

Nga-oli tue **nga-gho**.

1SG.SBJ-buy clam PREP-2SG.OBJ

‘I bought clams for you.’

(8-32) DURATION

I-wanaro pape **nga** **waro** **hua** **eta**.

3SG.SBJ-be.under.the.sun again PREP sun two ART

‘It is under the sun again for two days.’

(8-33) REASON

U-poe-ghau **nga** **sawa**?

2SG.SBJ-call-1SG.OBJ PREP what

‘Why did you call me?’

(8-34) COMPARISON

Niu diene doko **nga** **wawa**.

coconut DEM good PREP LOC.DEM

‘This coconut is better than that.’

The choice of prepositions is based purely on the thematic role of its object, as indicated in the following examples. For example, (8-35) is an extracted sentence from a text about how to make a sleeping mattress. Since a sleeping mattress is a place to sleep, a preposition for the locative may be expected. However, in this example, the sleeping mattress is treated as a benefactive function marked by *nga*.

(8-35) … ne i-moho ne ta-eno **nga-ni**.
PTC 3SG.SBJ-finish PTC 1PL.INCL.SBJ-sleep PREP-3SG.OBJ
'It is done and we sleep in it.' (lit. 'It is done and we sleep for it.')

Here is one more example. The following pair of examples indicates different thematic roles. The prepositional phrase in (8-36) marks the recipient (or goal), because the speaker speaks out to Makada. On the other hand in (8-37), the speaker is not speaking out to Luxie. Instead, the person says something about Luxie, and the phrase marks the benefactive. Note that in this text Luxie is an infant.

(8-36) I-poe gha i-la **pa** **Makada**.
3SG.SBJ-call SVU 3SG.SBJ-go PREP Makada
'He / She called Makada.'

(8-37) Ti-poe **nga** Luxie.
3SG.PL-call PREP Luxie
'They made an announcement about Luxie.'

Thus, different prepositions mark different thematic roles.

### 8.1.1.3 *Tomanga*

The preposition *tomanga* marks the comitative, as in (8-16) and (8-17), repeated here as (8-38) and (8-39).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-38) | Yau | Luxie | ai-tuvu | **tomanga** | **erawa-ghu** |
| | 1SG | Luxie | 3SG.POSS-grandparent | PREP | spouse-1SG.POSS |

ya-lupu.
1PL.EXCL.SBJ-gather
‘I, Luxie’s grandparent and my spouse gathered together.’ (lit., ‘I and Luxie’s grandparent gathered with my spouse.’)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-39) | Ta-ani | ghaya | pape | ta-ghali | **tomanga** | **haninga**. |
| | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-eat | pig | some | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-chop | PREP | food |

‘We ate some pork that we chopped and other foods.’ (lit., ‘We ate some pork that we chopped with foods.’)

However, while it can be used with human referents as the entity accompanying the agent, as in (8-40), this usage of the comitative preposition is not common. It is more common that the inclusory construction is used, as discussed in Section 5.1.5.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-40) | **Yahua** | **Neti** | ya-la | Kimbe. |
| | 1DU.EXCL | Neti | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go | Kimbe |

‘Neti and I went to Kimbe.’

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-41) | ?Nga-la | Kimbe | **tomanga** | **Neti**. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-go | Kimbe | PREP | Neti |

‘I went to Kimbe with Neti.’

Moreover, in my corpus, the comitative preposition with the agent is usually used when there are several human referents strung together. For this, the first two referents are expressed with noun phrases, and other referents are expressed by means of an oblique. Also, interestingly, it is preferred that *tomanga* occur every time the possessor is changed. In (8-42), *tomanga* appears after the third referent. Also, the example contains two prepositional phrases with *tomanga* because the possessor between two phrases is different. In the first phrase, the possessor of the noun is Beti, and in the second phrase, the possessor is Luxie. They are in square brackets.

| (8-42) | Beti | tona | ai-rawa-rawa | [**tomanga-ri** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Beti | ART | 3SG.POSS-parent.in.law-RED | PREP-3PL.OBJ |

| ai-hea-hea] | [**tomanga-ri** | Luxie | ai-sovo-sovo]. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.POSS-sibling.in.law-RED | PREP-3PL.OBJ | Luxie | 3SG.POSS-uncle-RED |

‘Beti, her parents-in-law with her siblings-in-law and Luxie’s uncles’

Most grammatical elements in Kove are monosyllabic or disyllabic, and it is very rare to find a grammatical element that consists of more than two syllables. Furthermore, as Ross pointed out (1988:118), this doesn’t seem to be a reflex of the POc prepositional verb for comitative, *ma-. Therefore, it would be interesting to know about the origin of *tomanga*.

### 8.1.1.4 *To*

The preposition *to* marks the possessor, and it occurs right after the possessum noun, as below. In (8-43), *vula* is a possessum and *togho* is a possessor phrase.

| (8-43) | U-pasolani-ghau | nga | vula | **to-gho**. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2SG.SBJ-show-1SG.SBJ | PREP | shell.necklace | PREP-2SG.OBJ |

‘Show me your shell necklace.’

In (8-44), *haninga* is a possessum followed by a possessor phrase *toghimi*. Note that *haninga toghimi* refers to food whose recipe you know.

(8-44) Donga, i-kahanga[120] nga u-nono haninga **to-ghimi**.
Donga 3SG.SBJ-be.possible PREP 2SG.SBJ-cook food PREP-2PL.OBJ
'Donga, would you mind cooking your food?'[121] (lit., 'Donga, can you cook your food?')

If there is a modifier for the possessum noun, it occurs after the prepositional phrase.

(8-45) luma **to-gho** **paka**
house PREP-2SG.SBJ big
'your big house / your house is big.'

If the possessum noun is clear from the context, the prepositional phrase may occur without the possessum noun. In (8-46), the possessum noun is *luma* 'house'. Since it is clear that two houses are being compared in this context, the second *luma* is omitted, though it would be expected between *nga* and *toghau*.

(8-46) luma **to-gho** paka nga **to-ghau**.
house PREP-2SG.OBJ big PREP PREP-1SG.OBJ
'Your house is bigger than mine.'

As already discussed in Chapter 6, Kove has direct possessive nouns. These nouns obligatorily take a possessor affix, so they cannot occur with the preposition *to*. The nouns that can occur with this preposition are indirect possessive nouns. These nouns may be expressed either by possessive constructions or prepositional phrases for a possessive relationship. The following examples have the same meaning.

(8-47) luma **to-gho**
house PREP-2SG.OBJ
'your house'

---

[120] Although the third person singular is used, the agent of the verb *cook* is the second singular, which is marked on the verb in a complement clause.
[121] This sentence asks willingness (see Chapter 11).

(8-48) **le-mu** luma
LE.POSS-2SG.POSS house
'your house'

However, there are some semantic differences. The first difference is a focused element. Given that the noun head occurs on the left-most side in Kove, the possessum noun is the focus in a prepositional phrase, while the possessor, which is located on the left-most side, is the focus in a possessive construction. Second, the prepositional phrase does not indicate the type of relationship between the possessor and the possessum, unlike possessive constructions, where a possessive marker classifies the type of relationship. For example, the *a-* marker denotes something to eat or drink, while the *le-* marker indicates something that is held temporarily. However, the prepositional phrase does not indicate noun classifications. In (8-49), 'food' might be eaten, sold, given to someone or held temporarily by a possessor, but we do not know the purpose of its use.

(8-49) haninga to-ghau
food PREP-1SG.OBJ
'my food' (i.e., I may eat it, sell it or give it to someone.)

While the two constructions are interchangeable in many cases, there are some contexts where the prepositional phrase *to* cannot be used.

(8-50) **A-ghu** **haninga** ere ne nene.
A.POSS-1SG.POSS food one PTC LOC.DEM
'There is my food here. / my food is here.'

This possessive construction cannot be paraphrased using the prepositional phrase.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-51) | ***Haninga** | **to-ghau** | ere | ne | nene. |
|  | food | PREP-1SG.OBJ | one | PTC | LOC.DEM |

(8-50) is a sentence which was extracted from a folk tale where a hobgoblin tries to eat a boy, and 'food' refers to the boy. According to one of my consultants, it is unnatural if the possessor is expressed by an oblique because this boy is not "owned" by the hobgoblin. However, it would be acceptable if the boy were owned by the hobgoblin. Therefore, it seems to include some kind of ownership, but in my corpus, the prepositional construction with *to* is very rare, and there was not enough data to analyze it in depth. This is an area that requires more work in the future.

### 8.1.1.5 Complements

Among the four prepositions, two of them can take clauses as their complements. These are *nga* and *tomanga*. The complement of a preposition is a noun phrase. The prepositions that index their complements may take the third person singular object form on themselves, as if the object of the preposition is singular.

Here are two examples of *nga* as a complementizer. In (8-52), the subject in the main clause is *kekele* 'child', while the subject in the complement clause is *ai-tama* 'his or her father'. In (8-53), the subject in the main clause is marked by the third person singular *i-*, and the subject in the complement clause is marked by the third person plural *ti-*. It is clear that the subjects in the main and complement clause are different. Furthermore, the complement clause takes the future marker. Note that this example is extracted from a story about how to make a sleeping mattress, and the third person singular refers to a sago leaf.

(8-52) Kekele duwawa i-tangi-tangi **nga** **ai-tama** **i-mate**.
child DEM 3SG.SBJ-cry-RED COMP 3SG.SBJ-father 3SG.SBJ-die
‘That child is crying because his / her father died.’

(8-53) I-mororo i-mata **nga** **ta** **ti-ralei**.
3SG.SBJ-stay 3SG.SBJ-wait COMP FUT 3PL.SBJ-put.together
‘It (=a sago leaf) stays until they put (all leaves) together.’

Similarly, here is an example of *tomanga* followed by a complement clause.

(8-54) Ti-pupu taule **tomanga** **ti-vava** **ai-awa**.
3PL.SBJ-blow trumpet.shell COMP 3PL.SBJ-tap 3SG.POSS-mouth
‘They play a trumpet shell while tapping its opening.’

While both *nga* and *tomanga* function as complement markers, it is unclear whether the other two prepositions have this functions, because I did not find any examples.

### 8.1.2 Postposition

Kove has one postposition, *yai*, which marks location. Here are two examples.

(8-55) Nga-lua-ghau gha nga-la **le-ghu** **tuanga** **yai**.
1SG.SBJ-return-1SG.OBJ CLAU 1SG.SBJ-go LE.POSS-1SG.OBJ village POSTP
‘I came back to my village.’

(8-56) Kosope i-mororo **valumata** **yai**.
shellfish. sp 3SG.SBJ-stay swamp.area POSTP
‘The shellfish is in a swamp area.’

Unlike the prepositions, the postposition cannot take the third person singular object marker, as below:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-57) | *Kosope | i-mororo | **valumata** | **yai-ni**. |
| | shellfish. sp | 3SG.SBJ-stay | mangrove | POSTP-3SG.OBJ |

The postposition *yai* can replace the locative-function preposition *pa* with the same meaning. (8-20) is repeated here as (8-58), where the locative is expressed by means of the preposition *pa.* (8-59) is an example of the postposition *yai* where the locative in (8-58) is replaced.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-58) | A-mi | sawa | wawa | i-moyoyo | **pa** | **luma** |
| | A.POSS-2PL.POSS | what | LOC.DEM | 3SG.SBJ-hang | PREP | house |

| | |
|---|---|
| **ai-a** | **ururu**? |
| 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | ridge.pole |

‘What is hanging at the ridge pole?’ (lit., ‘What is your something hanging at the ridge pole of the house?’)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-59) | A-mi | sawa | wawa | i-moyoyo | **luma** |
| | A.POSS-2PL.POSS | what | LOC.DEM | 3SG.SBJ-hang | house |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **ai-a** | **ururu** | **yai**? |
| 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | ridge.pole | POSTP |

‘What is hanging at the ridge pole?’ (lit., ‘What is your something hanging at the ridge pole of the house?’)

According to Kove speakers, both phrases give the same interpretation, but the one with *pa* is more proper.

Like a preposition, *yai* cannot occur with place names.

(8-60) *Savalele nga-la Kimbe **yai**.
tomorrow 1SG.SBJ-go Kimbe POSTP

(8-61) Savalele nga-la Kimbe.
tomorrow 1SG.SBJ-go Kimbe
'I will go to Kimbe tomorrow.'

Also, it cannot occur with a proper name or pronoun.

In addition to functioning as a locative marker, *yai* may occur with *muhi* 'back' to mean 'later'.

(8-62) taiko muhi yai
moon back POSTP
'months later'

However, *yai* in this phrase cannot be replaced by *pa*.

(8-63)* taiko pa muhi
moon PREP back

## 8.2 Adverbs and locative adverb phrases

As with adpositional phrases, some adverbs and locative adverbs are phrase-level constituents. Additionally, some are clause-level constituents. However, I will address these separately from the phrase and sentence chapters.

### 8.2.1 Adverb phrases

The class of adverbs is small and closed. Phrase-level adverbs usually occur at the end of a verb phrase.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (8-64) | U-kisi | **misilani**. |
| | 2SG.SBJ-hold | carefully |
| | ‘Hold (it) carefully.’ | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-65) | Donga | i-ani | haninga | **leleu**. |
| | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-eat | food | slowly |
| | ‘Donga eats slowly.’ | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-66) | Mahativu | ne | i-laro | **sae**. |
| | fish.sp. | PTC | 3SG.SBJ-run | up |
| | ‘The fish swam higher up.’ | | | |

In serial verb constructions, adverbs occur before the serialized verb.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-67) | Beghele | i-rae | **sae** | gha | i-la. |
| | crocodile | 3SG.SBJ-go.up | up | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go |
| | ‘The crocodile emerged from the water.’ | | | | |

If a speaker wants to emphasize it or when the phrase is imperative, adverbs may occur between the subject and the verb complex.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (8-68) | **Hamusai**, | u-ani | haninga. |
| | slowly | 2SG.SBJ-eat | food |
| | ‘Eat food slowly!’ | | |

As mentioned in 8.1.1.1, place name are considered as adverbs because they do not take an adposition.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-69) | Nga-vagha | nga-la | **Kimbe** | kelengi. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-say | 1SG.SBJ-go | Kimbe | too |
| | ‘I want to go to Kimbe, too.’ (lit., ‘I say, I go to Kimbe, too.’) | | | |

Temporal adverbs are clause-level constituents. They usually occur either clause-initially or clause-finally. Typically, future temporal adverbs occur clause-initially, and past temporal adverbs occur clause-finally.

(8-70) **Savalele** ta ta-la Kapo.
tomorrow FUT 1PL.INCL.SBJ-go Kapo
'Let's go to Kapo tomorrow.' (lit., 'Tomorrow, we will go to Kapo.')

(8-71) Ya-la Kapo **noha**.
1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go Kapo yesterday
'We went to Kapo yesterday.'

The variable position, depending on the time, is also seen with the interrogative adverb *ngera* 'when?' (see 10.2.4).

### 8.2.2 Locative demonstrative adverbs

Locative demonstrative adverbs make a distinction indicating the speaker's sphere, the hearer's sphere, or the distal (a location in neither the speaker's sphere nor in the hearer's sphere). There are two sets of locative demonstrative adverbs: general locative and definite locative.

Table 8.1: Locative demonstrative

| | General locative demonstrative | Definite locative demonstrative[122] |
|---|---|---|
| Speaker-proximal | *nene* | *tonanene* |
| Hearer-proximal | *nana* | *tonana* |
| Visible distal | *nowawa* | *tonawawa* |
| Non-visible distal | *wawa* | |

---

[122] While speaker-proximal and distal demonstrative take the article *tona*, it is unclear if hearer-proximal takes *tona* or the definite specific article *to*.

### 8.2.2.1 General locative demonstrative

In addition to the speaker's sphere and the hearer's sphere, the general locative demonstrative has two distinctions in the distal: the visible and non-visible. The visible is used when the entity is visible from the location of both the speaker and the hearer. On the other hand, the non-visible is used when the entity is not visible.

Syntactically, general locative demonstratives can function as part of the predicate or form the predicate. In example (8-72), the locative demonstrative occurs as part of the verb phrase. In (8-73), the locative demonstrative adverb serves as the predicate in the verbless sentence.

(8-72) U-nama nene.
2SG.SBJ-come LOC.DEM
'Come here.'

(8-73) A-ghu haninga nene.
A.POSS-1SG.POSS food LOC.DEM
'There is my food here.' (lit., 'My food is here.')

A locative demonstrative adverb can co-occur with proper locative nouns or locative prepositions. It will always occur before the noun or prepositional phrase. (8-74) is an example with a proper locative noun, and (8-75) is the example with a preposition.

(8-74) wawa Mohea
LOC.DEM Mohea
'Over there, Mohea'

(8-75) nowawa pa luma
LOC.DEM PREP house
'Over there, in the house.'

In a clause, they usually occur at the beginning of a clause.

(8-76) Wawa Kimbe, nga-oli bia.
LOC.DEM Kimbe 1SG.SBJ-buy beer
'I bought beer over there, in Kimbe.'

Although locative demonstrative adverbs co-occur with proper locative nouns or prepositional phrases, they do not modify the nouns. First, there is always a pause between the adverb and the noun or preposition. Second, as already discussed, proper locative nouns are not nouns in Kove. Also, if the adverbs modify the nouns, they should occur after nouns, as discussed in 5.3.1. Therefore, they are juxtaposed with each other.

#### 8.2.2.2 Definite locative demonstrative adverbs

Definite locative demonstrative adverbs have a three-way system, and there is no distinction between the presentative and the unpresentative within the distal. There are two things that are still unclear about this category. One is its syntactic behavior. It seems that these demonstratives usually occur with locative proper nouns or locative prepositional phrases. Also, they usually occur clause-initially.

(8-77) To-nana Hawaii, u-mororo doko.
ART-LOC.DEM Hawai‘i, 2SG.SBJ-stay good
'You stay well there, in Hawai‘i.'

(8-78)?* To-nana, u-mororo doko.
ART-LOC.DEM 2SG.SBJ-stay good
'You stay well there.'

(8-79) Tona-wawa pa tuanga, nga-pa-ni moni pa Paul.
ART-LOC.DEM PREP village 1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ money PREP Paul
'I gave money to Paul over there, in the village.'

(8-80) ?* Tona-wawa, nga-pa-ni moni pa Paul.
ART-LOC.DEM 1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ money PREP Paul
'I gave money to Paul over there, in the village.'

Given that they usually do not occur without words denoting the location, one question is whether they are adverbs or not.

The second issue regarding this category is its form. Except for the hearer-proximal *tonana*, it is formed by adding *tona* to the demonstrative form. As discussed in 5.3.2.1, Kove has three articles: *to*, *tona*, and *eta*. The distinction between *to* and *tona* is definiteness. Based on context, the definiteness of this category is clear because it is used when an entity was previously mentioned. However, its form seems to be more related to the indefinite article. Therefore, the question is whether this category denotes a definite specifier or indefinite specifier. This is one of the topics for which I struggled to collect data because there are very few examples in texts, and it is hard to find its exact meanings via elicitation. In order to explore this topic further, I need more data.

#### 8.2.2.3 Distance marker *wa*

Unlike other Oceanic languages, Kove does not have a complex directional suffix system, which is usually attached to verbs. However, there is a single marker that denotes a direction. It is *wa*. I call it the distal directional for convenience. *Wawa* denotes that something happens or exists somewhere far away. Although both *wawa* and *wa* indicate a distance, there is a difference between them. While *wawa* implies "pointing to" or "pointing out", *wa* does not imply a pointing. The difference is shown in the following pair of examples. Both sentences describe that the sibling was taken far away. However, in the first example the speaker points out or demonstrates the location that is referred to, while the speaker in the second example does not demonstrate the location. Rather, the speaker gives information that it is somewhere far away.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-81) | I-kea | liu-ri | gha | i-la | **wawa**. |
| | 3SG.SBJ-take | sibling-3PL.POSS | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go | LOC.DEM |
| | ‘He / She took (their sibling) over there.’ | | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-82) | I-kea | liu-ri | gha | i-la-**wa**. |
| | 3SG.SBJ-take | sibling-3PL.POSS | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go-DDIR |
| | ‘He / She took (their sibling) somewhere far away.’ | | | |

In addition to the semantic differences, their syntactic behaviors are also different. *Wa* always appears only either with a verb, adjective, or noun. In example (8-83) it is with an adjective. Interestingly, the object *momo* ‘sago’ is modified by the definite distal demonstrative *toduwawa*, yet its location is marked by *wa*. Again, *wa* itself does not point out the location. Instead, it marks how far away the location is.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (8-83) | Ai-mata | i-nono-no | gha | i-la | gha |
| | 3SG.POSS-eye | 3SG.SBJ-cook-RED | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go | SVU |
| | | | | | |
| | i-kona | momo | to-duwawa | paka-**wa.** | |
| | 3SG.SBJ-watch | sago.tree | ART-DEM | big-DDIR | |

‘He was staring at that big sago tree’ (lit., ‘His eyes cooked, he looked at that big sago tree.’)

Here is an example of *wa* with the noun *haia* ‘ginger’. Again, *wa* describes that the ginger is located far away, rather than pointing out its location.

(8-84) Ti-la ti-ani a-ri haia-**wa**.
3PL.SBJ-go 3PL.SBJ-eat A.POSS-3PL.POSS ginger-DDIR
'They ate some ginger (which is far away).'

I consider this distal directional as a suffix (or clitic). First, it is because it always occurs right next to a verb, adjective or noun. None of the other constituents can occur between them. Second, it is because stress placement involves both *paka* and *wa*, as below. As discussed in 3.5.1, primary stress always falls on the penultimate syllable. It can also cross a morpheme boundary at the word level.

| | |
|---|---|
| í-la<br>3SG.SBJ-go<br>'He / She went.' | i-lá-wa<br>3SG.SBJ-go-DDIR<br>'He / She went very far.' |
| páka<br>big<br>'big' | paká-wa<br>big-DDIR<br>'big' (i.e., 'something big is far away.') |
| haía<br>ginger<br>'ginger | haiá-wa<br>ginger-DDIR<br>'ginger' (i.e., 'ginger which is located far away.' |

Given that the semantics of *wawa* and *wa* as well as their forms are similar, it seems that the locative demonstrative adverb *wawa* was grammaticalized into the distal directional *wa*.

# Chapter 9

# Verbless sentences

While some sentences lack subjects, the basic verbless sentence of Kove consists of a subject and a verbless predicate. The order is [SUBJECT + PREDICATE]. The subject and predicate are juxtaposed with no copula[123] intervening,[124] as below. Each element is in square brackets. Note that (9-3) is the example of a verbless sentence. *ngahanga* functions as a adjective because it does not take the subject marker.

| (9-1) | $_{\text{SBJ}}$[Mara] | $_{\text{PRED}}$[mahoni]. |
|---|---|---|
| | Mara | chief |

‘Mara is the chief (of a traditional festival).’

| (9-2) | $_{\text{SBJ}}$[Mara] | $_{\text{PRED}}$[Benati | ai-tama]. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Mara | Benati | 3SG.POSS-father |

‘Mara is Benati’s father.’

| (9-3) | $_{\text{SBJ}}$[Malo | diene] | $_{\text{PRED}}$[ngahanga]! |
|---|---|---|---|
| | clothes | DEM | dirty |

‘This piece of clothes is dirty!’

In this chapter, I will first discuss the basic verbless sentences, including those without subjects. Then I will examine existential, possessive, and complement sentences, in that order.

---

[123] The term ‘copula’ is defined as any morpheme that joins, or “couples,” two nominal elements in a predicate nominal construction (Payne 1997:114).

[124] However, there may be a particle *ne* between the subject and predicate, especially if the predicate is an adverb phrase (see 10.1.5 for more discussion on *ne*).

## 9.1 Basic verbless sentences

## 9.1.1 Types of predicates

A predicate may consist of a nominal phrase, an adjective phrase, an adverb phrase, or an adpositional phrase.

### 9.1.1.1 Nominal phrases

Predicate nominal phrases express the notions of equation and proper inclusion (Payne 1997:114). Equational sentences are "those which assert that a particular entity (the subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal" (114). In (9-4) and (9-5), the subject and predicate are referential and express one and the same object. The subject and predicate noun phrases are in square brackets.

(9-4) [Talania] [Donga ai-tama].
Talania Donga 3SG.POSS-father
'Talania is Donga's father.'

(9-5) [Annie] [le-ghu kaua].
Annie LE.POSS-1SG.POSS dog
'Annie is my dog.'

Proper inclusive sentences (or ascriptive sentences) are where "a specific entity is asserted to be among the class of items specified in the nominal predicate" (Payne 1997:114). Unlike equational sentences, they do not identify the same referent in two phrases. Rather, the predicate characterizes the referent or the type of referent of the subject (Lichtenberk 2008:937). In (9-7), the predicate refers to an ethnic-group membership, and in (9-8), the predicate refers to a habit of the subject. The subject and predicate noun phrases are in square brackets.

(9-6) [Yau] [tamine Kapo ai-a].
1SG woman Kapo 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
'I am from Kapo.' (lit., 'I am a woman of Kapo.')

(9-7) [Veao] [ngilu[125]].
2SG people who eat only main dish
'You always eat only the main dish' (lit., 'You are a person who eats only the main dish.')

In (9-8) and (9-9), the proper inclusive sentence is an open question:

(9-8) [Era-mu] [sei]?
name-2SG.POSS who.SG
'What is your name"

(9-9) [a-mu *kurisumasu*] [pira]?
A.POSS-2SG.POSS year how.many
'How old are you?' (lit., 'Your years are how many?')

Noun phrases may contain nominalized constructions (see Section 6.3). Nominalized verbs serve either as the subject or the predicate. Some verbless sentences may consist of two nominalized constructions. In (9-10), the predicate is a nominalized verb and its components, and in (9-11), both the subject and predicate are nominalized verbs. The subject and the predicate noun phrases are in square brackets.

---

[125] *Ngilu* refers to people who eat vegetables and any kind of meat, but not rice or other starches.

(9-10) [Neti ai-bila] [Kimbe ai-a lalao-nga].
Neti 3SG.POSS-“always” Kimbe 3SG.POSS-A.POSS walk-NMLZ
‘Neti always goes to Kimbe.’ (lit., ‘Neti’s frequent activity is going to Kimbe.’)

(9-11) [Mate ai-a watai-nga] [tangi-ra taule].
death 3SG.POSS-A.POSS know-NMLZ cry-NMLZ trumpet.shell
‘A sign of death is the sound of a trumpet shell.’ (lit., ‘Knowing of death is the cry of a trumpet shell.’)

### 9.1.1.2 Adjective phrases

Attribute or property-denoting words may be a predicate, as seen below. Note that the subject and the predicate noun phrases are in square brackets.

(9-12) [Vuivui] [raerae tau].
grass long very.much
‘The grass is very long.’

(9-13) [Le-ghu malo] [singisingi].
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS clothes red
‘A piece of my clothes is red.’

(9-14) [Le-mu haninga ai-a nono-nga] [doko].
LE.POSS-2SG.POSS food 3SG.POSS-A.POSS cook-NMLZ good
‘You are a good cook.’ (lit., ‘Your cooking food is good.’)

However, given that most noun modifiers occur after the noun, some of these constructions can be interpreted as a single noun phrase. Examples (9-12) and (9-13), repeated here as (9-15) and (9-16), can each be interpreted as a single noun phrase.

(9-15) vuivui raerae tau
grass long very.much
‘very long grass’

(9-16) le-ghu malo singisingi
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS clothes red
‘my red clothes’

In order to distinguish between a phrase and a sentence, context is significant.

### 9.1.1.3 Adverb phrases

An adverbial phrase also can be the predicate of a non-verbal sentence. The subject and the predicate noun phrases are in square brackets.

(9-17) [A-ghu haninga] [nene].
A.POSS-1SG.POSS food LOC.DEM
‘My food is here. / There is my food here.’

(9-18) [Le-mu malo yangoyango] [sora]?
LE.POSS-2SG.POSS clothes yellow where
‘Where are your yellow clothes?’

(9-19) [Tata ai-a motuvo[126]-nga] [taiko muhi yai].
grandfather 3SG.POSS-A.POSS held.a.ceremony-NMLZ month back POSTP
‘A ceremony to finish a mourning period of our grandfather’s death will be held next month.’

---

[126] *Motuvo* is a verb meaning ‘to hold a ceremony to finish a mourning period.’

### 9.1.1.4 Adpositional phrases

While adpositional phrases can be predicates as in (9-20) and (9-21), the only adpositional phrases that I encountered as predicates were locative phrases with *pa* and *yai*. I did not encounter examples of the other prepositions. The subject and the predicate noun phrases are in square brackets.

(9-20) Aughai, [a-ghu kanika] [pa luma]!
oh A.POSS-1SG.POSS basket PREP house
'Oh no, my basket is in my house!'

(9-21) Aughai, [a-ghu kanika] [luma yai]!
oh A.POSS-1SG.POSS basket house POSTP
'Oh no, my basket is in my house!'

In this construction, the subject is typically inanimate. When the subject is animate, verbal sentences with the verbs *mororo* 'stay, live' or *vuhi* 'stay, live' are used. Furthermore, prepositional phrases as predicates are infrequent.

## 9.1.2 Structures

While the constituent order is SUBJECT + PREDICATE, the predicate sentence may be fronted in focusing. When the predicate is topicalized, there is usually a pause between the predicate and subject. Examples (9-22) and (9-23) show the contrasting punctuation in the non-topicalized and topicalized versions.

(9-22) NON-TOPICALIZED SENTENCE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [Haninga | vongivongi | ai-a] | [karoki].[127] |
| food | morning | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | crab |

‘Breakfast was a crab.’ (lit. ‘Food of morning was crab.’)

(9-23) TOPICALIZED SENTENCE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **[Karoki]**, | [haninga | vongivongi | ai-a]. |
| crab | food | morning | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

‘Crab, breakfast was.’ (lit., ‘Crab, food of morning was.’)

If the focused phrase is emphasized, the particle *ne*[128] may occur between the two noun phrases.

(9-24)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [Karoki], | **ne** | [haninga | vongivongi | ai-a]. |
| crab | PTC | food | morning | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

‘Crab, breakfast was.’ (lit., ‘Crab, food of morning was.’)

However, not all non-verbal sentences have topicalized constructions. For example, the following topicalized examples are ungrammatical.

(9-25)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *[**Karoki]**, | [a-ghu | moghale]. |
| crab | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | favorite |

(‘Crab, my favorite is.’)

(9-26)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *[**Kimbe** | **ai-a** | **lalao-nga]** | Neti | ai-bila. |
| Kimbe | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | walk-NMLZ | Neti | 3SG.POSS-“always” |

(‘Neti always goes to Kimbe.’ [lit., ‘Going to Kimbe is Neti’s frequent activity.’])

---

[127] *Haninga vongivongi aia* is a compound to express ‘breakfast’ (see 6.3).

[128] See 10.1.5 for discussion on *ne*.

As discussed in 10.1.1, the basic tense distinction of Kove is future vs. nonfuture in verbal sentences. However, I did not encounter the tense distinction in verbless sentences. The sentence in (9-27) can be interpreted as the future, present, or past tense.

(9-27) Haninga vongivongi ai-a karoki.
food morning 3SG.POSS-A.POSS crab
'Breakfast will be a crab. / Breakfast is a crab. / Breakfast was a crab.'

If the time is emphasized, a temporal word is used.[129]

(9-28) Savalele, haninga vongivongi ai-a karoki.
tomorrow food morning 3SG.POSS-A.POSS crab
'Tomorrow, breakfast will be a crab.'

(9-29) Noha, haninga vongivongi ai-a karoki.
yesterday food morning 3SG.POSS-A.POSS crab
'Yesterday, breakfast was a crab.'

While tense is not marked, mood markers are used in irrealis contexts. There are two words used for this purpose: *ta* 'must' and *naghe* 'maybe, I think'. Both words express epistemic mood, and *ta* encodes a higher degree of possibility than *naghe*. They occur between the subject and predicate. Here are two pairs of examples.

(9-30) Eau **ta** wanawana.
water must hot
'Water must be hot.'

---

[129] Temporal words for past tense usually occur sentence-finally in verbal sentences. However, they often occur sentence-initially in verbless sentences.

(9-31) A-ri haninga vongi ai-a **ta** karoki.
A.POSS-3PL.POSS food night 3SG.POSS-A.POSS must crab
'Their dinner must be crabs.'

(9-32) Eau **naghe** wanawana.
water maybe hot
'Maybe, water is hot.'

(9-33) A-ri haninga vongi ai-a **naghe** karoki.
A.POSS-3PL.POSS food night 3SG.POSS-A.POSS maybe crab
'Maybe, their dinner is crabs. / Their dinner might be crabs.'

In addition, these two mood words can co-occur to indicate the degree of certainty.

(9-34) Eau **naghe** **ta** wanawana.
water maybe must hot
'Probably, water is hot.'

(9-35) A-ri haninga vongi ai-a **naghe** **ta** karoki.
A.POSS-3PL.POSS food night 3SG.POSS-A.POSS maybe must crab
'Probably, their dinner is crabs.'

While *naghe* is used in verbal sentences for mood, *ta* is not used as the future marker, which occurs in verbal sentences. *Ta* functioning as mood appears only in verbless sentences. In verbal sentences, the future marker is *ta*. It is unclear whether the future marker *ta* and the mood marker *ta* are one morpheme or two.

As with verbal sentences (see Section 10.1.4), negation is marked by a negative word that comes at the end of the sentence.

(9-36) [Ranga diene le-ghu] **mao**.
thing DEM LE.POSS-1SG.POSS NEG
'This is not mine.' (lit., 'This something is not mine.')

(9-37) [Niu diene ai-mana] doko **mao**.
coconut DEM 3SG.POSS-taste good NEG
'This coconut's taste is not good.'

Yes-no question sentences are distinguished only by intonation (see 3.5.2). Here is a pair of sentences that differ only in their intonational contour:

(9-38) Niu diene le-mu.
coconut DEM LE.POSS-2SG.POSS
'This coconut is yours.'

(9-39) Niu diene le-mu?
coconut DEM LE.POSS-2SG.POSS
'Is this coconut yours?'

In interrogative sentences, interrogative words occur where non-interrogative words would occur in declarative sentences. In an answer to an interrogative, the subject may be absent because the referent is clear from context.

(9-40) A. [Ranga diene] [**sei** e-le malo]?
thing DEM who.SG 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS clothing
'Whose clothing is this?' (lit., 'Is this thing whose clothing?')

B. Le-ghu.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS
'Mine'

It is common to use a subjectless construction for the information provided in response to question.

## 9.2 Existential sentences

Existential sentences, such as *There is a broken car under the tree*, usually contain an element which provides locative or temporal information. They also “typically serve a presentative function” (Payne 1997:123), so their subjects are usually indefinite or generic. Existential sentences of Kove are expressed by means of verbal or verbless sentences. In verbal sentences,[130] the verb *mororo* ‘stay, live, exist’ is used. This construction is usually used with animate referents.

| (9-41) | Saimon | **i-mororo** | tuanga | yai? |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Saimon | 3SG.SBJ-stay | village | POSTP |

‘Is Saimon in the village? / Does Saimon stay in the village?’

| (9-42) | [Kekele | tamine | [ai-era | Hiroko]] | **i-mororo** | Kapo. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | child | girl | 3SG.POSS-name | Hiroko | 3SG.SBJ-stay | Kapo |

‘There is a girl named Hiroko in Kapo. / A girl whose name is Hiroko lives in Kapo.’

Verbless sentences are usually used for inanimate subjects. For example, (9-17) and (9-19) can be interpreted as existential sentences. They are repeated here as (9-43) and (9-44).

| (9-43) | [A-ghu | haninga] | nene. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | food | LOC.DEM |

‘My food is here. / There is my food here.’

---

[130] Although this is a chapter on verbless sentences, verbal existential sentences will not be discussed in Chapter 10. Therefore, I include some examples of verbal existential sentences here.

| (9-44) | Tata | ai-a | motuvo-nga | taiko | muhi | yai. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | grandfather | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | held a ceremony-NMLZ | month | back | POSTP |

‘A ceremony to finish a mourning period of our grandfather’s death will be held next month. / There will be a ceremony to finish a mourning period of our grandfather’s death next month.’

Here is one more example.

| (9-45) | Malo | tolu | pa | le-ghu | luma. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | clothes | three | PREP | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | house |

‘There are three pieces of clothes on the house.’

Besides the two types of existential structures discussed above, the possessive sentences, which are discussed in 9.3.3, can also express existentials.

## 9.3 Possessive sentences

### 9.3.1 Basic structures

Possessive sentences such as *I have three children* are expressed by verbless sentences, which include possessive noun phrases. The following example contains the direct possessive noun, followed by an interrogative word in (A) and a numeral *tolu* ‘three’ in (B).

| (9-46) | A. | Natu-mu | pira? |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | child-2SG.POSS | how.many |

‘How many children do you have?’ (lit., ‘Your children, how many?’)

| | B. | Natu-ghu | tolu. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | child-1SG.POSS | three |

‘I have three children.’ (lit., ‘My children three.’)

The possessive verbless sentences are usually subjectless. That is, the structure consists of only a predicate noun phrase:

[ SBJ[____________] PRED[(POSS.MRK) + NOUN + (POST-MODIFIER) ] ]SENTENCE

The reason that the possessive structure forms a noun phrase is this: First, the structure can occur in a noun phrase position in a sentence. For example, the noun phrase occurs in the subject or the direct object position in (9-47) and (9-48).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (9-47) | **Natu-ghu** | **tolu** | i-mororo | Mosbi. |
| | child-1SG.POSS | three | 3SG.SBJ-live | Port Moresby |

‘My three children live in Port Moresby.’

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (9-48) | U-kona | **natu-ghu** | **tolu** | Mosbi? |
| | 2SG.SBJ-see | child-1SG.POSS | three | Port Moresby |

‘Did you see my three children in Port Moresby?’

Furthermore, this structure can be a subject in negative possessive constructions (see below).

Second, the other elements besides the noun can be modifiers. In the following example, none of the elements except for *naurata* can serve as the head. *Le-mu* and *eta* are noun modifiers, while *kelengi* is an adverb.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (9-49) | A. Le-mu | naurata | eta | kelengi? |
| | LE.POSS-2SG.POSS | job | ART | too |

‘Do you (also) have a job?’ (lit., ‘Your job, too?’)

B. E, le-ghu naurata (kelengi).
yes, LE.POSS-1SG.POSS job too
'Yes, I have a job.' (lit., 'Yes my job, too.')

Thus, possessive sentences are expressed by verbless sentences without subjects.

Here are two more examples of possessive sentences.

(9-50) A-mu tue kelengi?
A.POSS-2SG.POSS clam too
'Do you have clams (that you eat)?' (lit., 'Your clams, too?')

(9-51) Le-ghu Tolai kanika.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS Tolai basket
'I have a Tolai style basket.' (lit., 'My Tolai style basket.')

Note that as in (9-49 A) and (9-50), the word *kelengi*, meaning 'too', always appears in a yes-no question sentence, regardless of whether the speaker has the object or not. However, in a declarative sentence, this word may or may not occur, as in (9-49 B) and (9-51).

While the positive possessive sentences are subjectless, the negative possessive sentences consist of both subject and predicate. The possessive phrases are subjects, and the negations are predicates.

(9-52) Natu-ghu tolu mao.
child-1SG.POSS three NEG
'I do not have three children.' (lit., 'My child three not.')

(9-53) Le-ghu naurata mao.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS work NEG
'I do not have a job.' (lit., 'My job not.')

(9-54) A-ghu tue mao.

A.POSS-1SG.POSS clam NEG

‘I do not have a clam (that I eat).’ (lit., ‘My clam not.’)

### 9.3.2 Possessive structures with a compound nominalization

As discussed in 6.1.6 (D), the possessive phrase with the *a* marker forms a productive compound. The order is [NP + NP + *aia*], and the second NP can be a nominalized verb, as below:

(9-55) tue oli-nga ai-a

clam buy- NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS

‘clams for selling’[131]

(9-56) niu ani-nga ai-a

coconut eat-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS

‘coconuts for eating’

If the first NP takes a possessive construction, this whole phrase can function as a predicate in possessive sentences. Furthermore, like the possessive sentences discussed above, these sentences are subjectless.

(9-57) Le-ghu tue oli-nga ai-a.

LE.POSS-1SG.POSS clam buy-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS

‘I have clams for selling’ (lit., ‘My clams for selling.’)

---

[131] *Oli* means ‘buy’. Kove people could not produce a word meaning ‘sell’ in Kove, though people tend to use a borrowing from Tok Pisin *salim* recently. Depending on the construction, *oli* is used for ‘sell’, as well.

(9-58) Le-ghu niu ani-nga ai-a.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS coconut eat-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
‘I have a coconut for eating (not by me).’ (lit., ‘My coconut for eating.’)

In these constructions, the head nouns are *tue* ‘clam’ and *niu* ‘coconut’. Also, there is ownership between the participants expressed by the *le*-marker and the following nouns, such as ‘my clams’ and ‘my coconut’. In (9-58), the agent has a coconut for eating. However, the construction does not describe who eats the coconut. The fact that the possessive marker *le* is used implies that the owner of the coconut does not intend to eat the coconut, although it is edible. If the coconut owner intends to eat the coconut the *a* marker will be chosen, as in (9-59).

(9-59) A-ghu niu ani-nga ai-a.
A.POSS-1SG.POSS coconut eat-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
‘I have a coconut to eat.’ (lit., ‘My coconut to eat.’)

Here are a few more examples with other types of verbs:

(9-60) Le-ghu ranga momono-nga ai-a.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS thing float-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
‘I have something for floating.’

(9-61) Le-ghu ranga tohi-nga ai-a.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS thing dance-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
‘I have something for dancing.’

(9-62) Le-ghu ranga roa-i-nga ai-a.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS thing sit,down-INTR-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
‘I have something to sit down on.’

Thus, any type of nominalized verb can be part of a compound. Also, compounded possessive phrases can serve as predicates of subjectless possessive sentences.

### 9.3.3 Possessive nominalization sentences

Possessive sentences may also contain possessive nominalization constructions, but with different semantics. As discussed in 6.3, the notional subject marked by the *le* marker and the notional direct object marked by the *a* marker can occur within a single clause if the direct object is a lexical noun phrase. The order is [*le*-SUBJECT + DIRECT OBJECT (+ *aia*) + VERB-NMZL]. In (9-63), the notional subject 'I' is expressed as *leghu* and the notional direct object 'clam' is expressed as *tue aia*. In this construction, the *le*-type marker has the whole possessive construction *tue aia olinga* 'buying clams' in its scope. Note that the sentence indicates the manner of the agent.

(9-63) [**Le-ghu** [**tue** **ai-a**[132] oli-nga]] [sasi].
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS clam 3SG.POSS-A.POSS buy-NMLZ bad
'The way I bought clams was bad.' (lit. 'My buying clams was bad.')

This type of a possessive nominalization construction is used for a possessive sentence, as below:

(9-64) Le-ghu tue ai-a oli-nga.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS clam 3SG.POSS-A.POSS buy-NMLZ
'I have money to buy clams.' (= 'I have something to buy clams.') (lit., 'My buying clams.')

As in (9-64), *leghu* 'my' is the subject, and *tue* 'clam' is the direct object of the verbless sentence. Although the two participants stand next to each other, they do not express ownership. The head noun is the nominalized verb *olinga* ‘buying’, and the *le*-type marker has the whole construction *tue aia olinga* ‘buying a clam’ in its scope. This is a single phrase and serves as the predicate. This verbless sentence is subjectless. While the literal meaning of the construction is ‘my buying clams’, it shows some interesting semantics. The sentence means that the agent has something (money) to buy clams, rather than asking whether the agent has clams or not.

---

[132] Although there is more than one clam, they are treated as one entity. Therefore, the third singular possessive pronoun is used.

Here is another example where the head noun is *aninga* ‘eating’. As with (9-64), there is no possessive relation between *leghu* and *niu*. The *le*-type marker, which refers to the agent of ‘eat’, has the whole possessive construction of *niu aia aninga* in its scope. This sentence means that the agent has something like a utensil to eat a coconut with.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (9-65) | Le-ghu | niu | ai-a | ani-nga. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | coconut | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | eat-NMLZ |

‘I have something to eat a coconut with.’ (lit., ‘My eating a coconut.’)

The semantics are interesting in these constructions. Something unmentioned by words is implied. Furthermore, although the examples above are translated as possessive sentences, they can also be interpreted as existential sentences: ‘There is something which I buy clams with’ (9-64), and ‘There is something which I eat coconuts with’ (9-65).

Interestingly, this construction cannot be used with nominalized intransitive verbs. The following example is a noun phrase meaning ‘my floating’. However, it cannot serve as the predicate of a sentence to mean ‘I have something to float’, or ‘I have something to help me float’.

(9-66) le-ghu momono-nga
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS float-NMLZ
'my floating' (*'I have something to float.')

Similarly, constructions with the nominalized middle voice verbs also cannot serve as the predicate.

(9-67) le-ghu roa-i-nga
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS sit.down-INTRA-NMLZ
'my sitting' (*'I have something to use to sit down.')

They cannot form subjectless verbless sentences.

The constructions for 'I have something to float' or 'I have something to use to sit down' are expressed as follows.

(9-68) Le-ghu momono-nga ai-a ranga.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS float-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS thing
'I have something to float.' / 'There is something which I can float with.'

(9-69) Le-ghu roa-i-nga ai-a ranga.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS sit.down-INTRA-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS thing
'I have something to sit down.' / 'There is something which I can sit down with.'

These constructions are different from those in (9-63) and (9-64). First, the *le* marker and the nominalized verb stand next to each other. Second, there is the *a* possessive marker, which follows the nominalized verb. Third, there is the noun *ranga* after the *a* possessive marker. I analyze this construction thus: The *le*-marker has only a nominalized verb in its scope. The element preceding *aia* usually modifies the noun following: [POSSESSOR + *aia*

+ POSSESSED] 'POSSESSOR'S POSSESSED'; thus, *leghu momononga* modifies *ranga*. *Ranga* functions as the head of the whole construction.

[[Le-ghu momono-nga] ai-a] ranga

[[Le-ghu roa-i-nga] ai-a] ranga

Although their structure differs from that in (9-63) and (9-64), the function is the same. They can form a phrase in a verbal sentence (9-69) or a verbless sentence (9-70).

(9-70) **Le-ghu** **momono-nga** **ai-a** **ranga** i-takai.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS float-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS thing 3SG.SBJ-break
'Something which I can float with got broken.'

(9-71) **Le-ghu** **roa-i-nga** **ai-a** **ranga** nene.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS sit.down-INTR-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS thing LOC.DEM
'Something which I can sit down with / on is here.'

Therefore, (9-70) and (9-71) are also verbless sentences without subjects, based on possessive nominalizations of intransitive or middle voice verbs.

Here are two more examples.

(9-72) Le-ghu tohi-nga ai-a ranga.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS dance-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS thing
'I have something to dance with.' / 'There is something which I dance with.'

(9-73) Le-ghu ghunu-i-nga ai-a ranga.
LE.POSS-1SG.POSS stand.up-INTR-NMLZ 3SG.POSS-A.POSS thing
'I have something to stand up with.' / 'There is something which I can stand up with.'

Thus, a possessive noun phrase with nominalization can function as a predicate of a verbless sentence to express the notion of possession. However, the *le* marker is not used to express ownership with the following noun. Rather, it is the agent of a nominalized verb. Furthermore, intransitive and transitive nominalized constructions may have different orders of word constituents. In a nominalized transitive phrase, the head noun is the nominalized verb, while the head noun is the noun positioned at the end in a nominalized intransitive phrase.

TRANSITIVE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [le-ghu | [tue | ai-a]] | oli-nga. |

INTRANSITIVE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [[le-ghu | momono-nga] | ai-a] | ranga. |

### 9.3.4 Summary

Possessive phrases can serve as predicates of verbless sentences to express possession. Some may be interpreted as existential sentences. Furthermore, the positive possessive sentences are subjectless.

The possessive phrases may contain nominalizations of two different constructions. In the first type, the possessive phrase denotes ownership by the participant marked by the *le* marker and the following noun. This construction, which apparently includes a compound, is discussed in 9.3.2. In the other construction, the possessive phrase does not denote ownership of the participant marked by the *le* marker. Instead, this participant is the notional subject of a nominalized verb expressed in the possessive phrase. This construction denotes that there is something with which participants conduct the action. Furthermore, this construction can be interpreted as an existential sentence.

Here is a list of comparisons between the two constructions. Note that the same constituents are used.

NOMINALIZED TRANSITIVE VERB:

| | *le*-POSS N V-NMLZ *aia* | *le*-POSS N *aia* V-NMLZ |
|---|---|---|
| Examples | (1) le-ghu tue [oli-nga ai-a].<br>'I have clams for selling.'<br>(2) le-ghu [niu ani-nga ai-a].<br>'I have a coconut for eating.' | (1) le-ghu [tue ai-a oli-nga]]<br>'I have money to buy clams.'<br>(2) le-ghu [niu ai-a ani-nga].<br>'I have something to eat a coconut with.' |
| Structure | Compound | Simple possessive |
| Who owns N? | First person singular (*le*-POSS) | N/A (anyone) |
| Who conducts the action? | N/A (anyone) | First person singular (*le*-POSS) |

NOMINALIZED INTRANSITIVE / MIDDLE VOICE VERB:

| | *le*-POSS N V-NMLZ *aia* | *le*-POSS V-NMLZ *aia* N |
|---|---|---|
| Examples | le-ghu [ranga momono-nga ai-a]<br>'I have something for floating.'<br>le-ghu [ranga roa-i-nga ai-a]<br>'I have something to sit down on.' | [le-ghu momono-nga] ai-a ranga<br>'I have something to float.'<br>[le-ghu roa-i-nga] ai-a ranga<br>'I have something to sit down on.' |
| Structure | Compound | Simple possessive |
| Who owns N? | First person singular (*le*-POSS) | N/A (anyone) |
| Who conducts the action? | N/A (anyone) | First person singular (*le*-POSS) |

## 9.4 Sentences with *mana*

Although two phrases may be juxtaposed without any intervening grammatical element, sentences with *mana* 'desire' take a grammatical element *nga* between the phrases.[133] The second phrase is usually a nominal element. Here are two examples where the first noun phrase is *mana-ghu*, and the second noun phrase denotes the notion of equation. The two phrases are in square brackets. For convenience, I gloss *nga* with 'X'.

| (9-74) | [Mana-ghu] | **nga** | [karoki | ai-a | ani-nga]. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | desire-1SG.POSS | X | crab | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | eat-NMLZ |

'I want to eat a crab.' (lit., 'My desire is eating a crab.')

---

[133] If the noun is used to mean 'taste', it does not take the grammatical element:

| Kariki | ai-mana | doko. |
|---|---|---|
| crab | 3SG.SBJ-taste | good |

'The crab's taste is good.'

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (9-75) | [Mana-ghu] | **nga** | [le-mu | lalao-nga | tuanga | yai]. |
| | desire-1SG.POSS | X | LE.POSS-2SG.POSS | walk-NMLZ | village | POSTP |

‘I want you to go to the village.’ (lit., ‘My desire is your going to the village.’)

There are two questions regarding this construction. First, what is *nga*? Second, does the construction consist of one phrase or two phrases?

What is *nga* in this construction? There are two hypotheses. One is that it is the preposition *nga*. The reason for this possibility is that *nga* in this construction behaves syntactically like the preposition *nga.* First, like the preposition, *nga* can take the third person singular direct object as a singular marker.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (9-76) | [Mana-ghu] | **nga(-ni)** | [karoki | ai-a | ani-nga]. |
| | desire-1SG.POSS | X-3SG.OBJ | crab | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | eat-NMLZ |

‘I want to eat a crab.’ (lit., ‘My desire is eating a crab.’)

Second, like phrases with the preposition *nga*,[134] the second phrase can be replaced by a clause, and it behaves as if it were a complement clause.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (9-77) | [Mana-ghu] | nga | [**nga-ani** | **karoki**]. |
| | desire-1SG.POSS | X | 1SG.SBJ-eat | crab |

‘I want to eat a crab.’ (lit., ‘My desire is that I eat a crab.’)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (9-78) | [Mana-ghu] | nga | [**u-la** | **tuanga** | **yai**]. |
| | desire-1SG.POSS | X | 2SG.SBJ-go | village | POSTP |

‘I want you to go to the village.’ (lit., ‘My desire is that you go to the village.’)

Based on these factors, the first hypothesis is that *nga* in this construction is the preposition *nga*, which can also function as a complementizer.

---

[134] The preposition *nga* takes a clausal complement (see 8.1.1.5).

The second hypothesis is that *nga* in this construction is something other than a preposition, possibly a grammatical marker like a copula, which joins two phrases. However, this hypothesis raises some questions: What kind of grammatical marker? What is its function? And why does it appear only with *mana*? Therefore, the second hypothesis is somewhat problematic, and I prefer the first hypothesis.

The second question regarding the construction with *mana* concerns its structure. Is it a single phrase or a sentence with two noun phrases? I propose that this is a subjectless sentence, and only the predicate is present. *Mana* takes a prepositional phrase or complement clause in its scope. The following examples are underlying sentences. *Managhu* is the head of a phrase, and *nga* functions as a preposition or complementizer. It is possible for these sentences to be interpreted as meaning ‘It is my desire to eat a crab’.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (9-79) | [________] | [mana-ghu | nga | karoki | ai-a | ani-nga]. |
| | | desire-1SG.POSS | PREP | crab | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | eat-NMLZ |

‘I want to eat a crab.’ (lit., ‘It is my desire of eating a crab.’)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (9-80) | [_________] | [mana-ghu | nga | nga-ani | karoki]. |
| | | desire-1SG.POSS | COMP | 1SG.SBJ-eat | crab |

‘I want to eat a crab.’ (lit., ‘It is my desire that I eat a crab.’)

The word *mana* always takes the prepositional phrase or complement clause. This sentence without *nga* is incomplete:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (9-81) | [_________] | [mana-ghu]. |
| | | desire-1SG.POSS |

‘my desire’ (*‘It is my desire.’)

Also, the complement clause cannot come in the subject position.

(9-82) *Karoki ai-a ani-nga mana-ghu.
crab 3SG.SBJ-A.POSS eat-NMLZ desire-1SG.POSS
('Eating a crab is my desire.')

Since Kove has subjectless sentences for possessive constructions, it is not strange if there is another type of subjectless construction.

To summarize, I hypothesize that the *nga* appearing with *mana* is a preposition, which can also be a complement. A construction with *mana* is a phrase, which serves as the predicate of a subjectless sentence.

# Chapter 10

# Verbal sentences: Simple sentences

I will discuss verbal clauses and the sentence-level grammar of Kove in Chapters 10 and 11. Simple sentences are described in Chapter 10, followed by complex sentences consisting of two or more clauses in Chapter 11.

Simple sentences consist of either declarative or nondeclarative clauses. In addition to these topics, I will discuss topicalization at the end of this section.

## 10.1 Declarative clauses

Declarative clauses are where "the speaker is simply passing on information to the addressee" (Osumi 1995:226). They are the basic type of clause. A Kove declarative clause minimally consists of a verb phrase. In addition, there may be an optional nominal phrase as the subject.

(NP) VP

(10-1) Yau nga-so-sohi moe.
1SG 1SG.SBJ-RED-remove pandanus
'I am stripping the edge of pandanus leaves.' (lit., I am removing pandanus.)

(10-2) Mahativu i-na[135] simoli.
Mahativu 3SG.SBJ-come close
'Mahativu came closer.'

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[135] *Na* is a shortened form of *nama*.

Along with the subject, temporal adverbs, particularly future adverbs, occur at the beginning of a clause. If both a subject and adverb occur, the adverb comes first, followed by the subject.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-3) | **Savalele** | Donga | i-lua-i | gha | i-nama. |
| | Tomorrow | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-come |
| | 'Tomorrow, Donga will come back.' | | | | |

## 10.1.1 Tense

The basic tense distinction is between future and nonfuture. There are two future markers: *ta* and *tau*, which occurs between the subject and verb. It seems that traditionally *ta* marks the general future, and *tau* marks the near future.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-4) | **Ta** | nga-simi | muli-ghu | pau. |
| | FUT | 1SG.SBJ-look.for | place-1SG.POSS | new |
| | 'I will look for a new place (to be).' | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-5) | **Tau** | i-lua-i | ne | i-rio. |
| | FUT | 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR | PTC | 3SG.SBJ-go.down |
| | 'He / She is going to return.' | | | |

However, this distinction has merged, and *tau* is usually replaced by *ta* nowadays. I elicited the data regarding *tau* only from older speakers (in their 60s and older).

If there is a noun phrase for a subject, the noun phrase usually occurs before the future marker.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-6) | **Yau** | **ta** | nga-simi | muli-ghu | pau. |
| | 1SG | FUT | 1SG.SBJ-look.for | place-1SG.POSS | new |
| | 'I will look for a new place (to be).' | | | | |

(10-7) **Awaha** **ta** i-tapu.
rain FUT 3SG.SBJ-fall.down.
'It will rain.'

Generally, the nonfuture tense is *zero*-marked. A *zero*-marked clause can be interpreted as either a present-tense or a past-tense sentence. The first two examples contain action dynamic verbs.

(10-8) Pana gha pana ti-kona ti-tangi nga-ni.
people CONJ people 3PL.SBJ-see 3PL.SBJ-cry PREP-3SG.OBJ
'(Many) people see (the dead body) and cry because of him / her.'
'(Many) people saw (the dead body) and cried because of him / her.'

(10-9) I-kea-ghai ne ya-la Mohea.
3SG.SBJ-pick up-1PL.EXCL.OBJ PTC 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go Mohea
'He picks us up and we go to Mohea.'
'He picked us up and we went to Mohea.'

While the past interpretation is more common in a dynamic situation, it is possible that the sentence encodes a present event. For example, example (10-8) is extracted from a text in which the speaker gave general information about the procedure for a funeral. It does not describe a situation that took place before the time of the statement.

With a verb describing a state, both present and past interpretations are equally common.

(10-10) Nga-rivari.
1SG.SBJ-be.sick
'I am sick. / I was sick.'

(10-11) Atama i-pela-i.
door 3SG.SBJ-open-INTR
'The door is open. / The door was open.'

Since the present and the past are not grammatically distinguished, a temporal adverb may be used to specify the time of an action. As mentioned in 8.2.1, future temporal adverbs tend to occur clause-initially, and past temporal adverbs occur clause-finally.

(10-12) PAST
Nga-rivari **noha**.
1SG.SBJ-be.sick yesterday.'
'I was sick yesterday.'

(10-13) PRESENT
**Tetenene** Nga-rivari.
now 1SG.SBJ-be.sick
'I am sick now.'

### 10.1.2 Aspect

Aspect in Kove is expressed by lexical, morphological or syntactic means. In this section, I will discuss the ways in which aspect is expressed in constructions that do not contain a serialized verb.

#### 10.1.2.1 Imperfective

The imperfective aspect is a subtype of the progressive aspect, and it encodes a view of an ongoing process (Payne 1997:239). In Kove, the imperfective aspect may be expressed by a non-future construction. For example, (10-14) can be interpreted as an imperfective sentence.

(10-14) Pana gha pana ti-kona ti-tangi nga-ni.
people CONJ people 3PL.SBJ-see 3PL.SBJ-cry PREP-3SG.OBJ
'(Many) people are seeing (the dead body) and crying because of him or her.'

However, if a speaker wants to emphasize the imperfective aspect, reduplication is used on verbs. In (10-15), each verb takes reduplication.

(10-15) Pana gha pana **ti-kona-kona** **ti-tangi-tangi** nga-ni.
people CONJ people 3PL.SBJ-see-RED 3PL.SBJ-cry-RED PREP-3SG.OBJ
'(Many) people are seeing (the dead body) and crying because of him or her.'

For the imperfective aspect, there are two words that denote the degree of progress. One is *ghamaitune*, and the other one is *ghapoya*. *Ghamaitune* always occurs with reduplicated constructions and means 'still'. *Ghapoya* indicates that 'the action is almost finishing (but not finished yet)'. Unlike *ghamaitune*, it does not occur with reduplicated constructions, though it still denotes an ongoing process. Both elements occur after the verb phrase.

(10-16) Kekele diene **i-tangi-tangi** **ghamaitune**.
child DEM 3SG.SBJ-cry-RED IPFV
'This child is still crying.'

(10-17) Kekele diene **i-tangi** **ghapoya**.
child DEM 3SG.SBJ-cry IPFV
'This child is still crying (but almost finish crying).'

Although they each seem to consist of two words (*gha maitune,* and *gha poya*) I hypothesize that they are lexicalized words. It is possible that they originally consisted of two words, as *gha maitune* and *gha poya*, and have been lexicalized through serialization.

The reason for this idea is that their structures are the same as would occur in verb serialization. Verb serialization in Kove involves the serialized verb unifier *gha*, and further, it may take adjectives or adverbs as a serialized element (see 11.2). However, the question then becomes "what is *maitune*?" and "what is *poya*?". As for the former, *maitune* is used for the imperfective negation 'not yet'. If it occurs with a non-reduplicated construction, it indicates the notion of imperfective negation. Although both *ghamaitune* and *maitune* indicate the notion of continuousness, *ghamaitune* does not have this sense. As for *poya*, I could not find any example where it was used apart from this construction. Thus, their domains are very limited, and they occur with *gha* in a certain environment, so I assume that they are lexicalized as a result of serial verb constructions.

In addition to verb reduplication, verb serialization is also used for the imperfective aspect (see Section 11.2.3.3).

### 10.1.2.2 Completive

The completive aspect indicates the completion of an event (Payne 1997:240). In Kove, the completive aspect is expressed by the word *ghasili*, which occurs clause-finally.

(10-18) Donga, u-ani haninga **ghasili**?
Donga 2SG.SBJ-eat food CPL
'Donga, did you have food already?'

(10-19) Yau nga-mugha **ghasili**.
1SG 1SG.SBJ-be.first CPL
'I won.' (lit., 'I am the first.' [i.e., after a race])

In addition to *ghasili*, verb serialization with the verb *moho* 'finish' can also express the completive aspect (see 11.2.3.3).

### 10.1.2.3 Continuative

The continuative aspect indicates a process in which "the agent of the action is deliberately keeping the action going" (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994:127). It is also characterized as having a relatively long time frame as opposed to imperfective. In Kove, there are three ways to express the continuative aspect. One way is by verb reduplication. The verb is reduplicated to express the continuative aspect. Here is an example where the verb *karo* 'work' is reduplicated.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-20) | Mosou | **i-ka-karo** | naurata | Ivoghe. |
| | Mosou | 3SG.SBJ-RED-work | work | Ivoghe |
| | 'Mosou used to work in Ivoghe.' | | | |

Both imperfective and continuative aspects involve verb reduplication. However, there is no formal distinction between them.

The second way to express continuative is by coordination. The continuative aspect is expressed by the verb *mororo* 'stay, live'. The verb *mororo* occurs in the last clause. In the following example, the second clause contains *mororo* to express the continuative quality of the action of the first clause. This sentence is a coordinate sentence because there is a particle *ne* between the two clauses (see 10.1.5, 11.1). The subject marker on the verb *mororo* indexes *liu-ra* 'your sister'.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-21 a) | U-murani | liu-ra | doko | tau | ne | **i-mororo**. |
| | 2SG.SBJ-hide | sibling-2PL.POSS | well | very | PTC | 3SG.SBJ-stay |
| | 'You kept hiding your sister very well.' (lit., 'You hid your sister well, and she stayed.') | | | | | |

If the theme is either first or second person, *mororo* takes the subject marker that indexes it.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-21 b) | U-murani-ghau | doko | tau | ne | **nga-mororo**. |
| | 2SG.SBJ-hide-1SG.OBJ | well | very | PTC | 1SG.SBJ-stay |

‘You kept hiding me very well.’ (lit., ‘You hid me well, and I stayed.’)

Here is another example that consists of three clauses. Each clause is in square brackets. The verb *mororo* in the last clause indicates the continuation of the action of the first two clauses. The subject marker on the verb *mororo* is the third person singular, which indexes the sister. In this text, the sister was deliberately kept hanging, because her brothers wanted to hide her.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-22) | [Liu-ri | tamine | tona | ti-saku | ka | wasi] |
| | Sibling-3PL.POSS | female | ART | 3PL.SBJ-wrap | like | cigarette |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sa | [ti-piti | gha | i-rae] | [**i-mororo** | pa |
| so | 3PL.SBJ-tie | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-put.up | 3SG.SBJ-stay | PREP |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| luma | ai-a | ururu | sae]. |
| house | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | ridge.pole | up |

‘They rolled up their sister like a cigarette, and then kept her body hanging from the ridge pole.’ (lit., ‘They wrapped their sister, and then tied her up and she stayed at the ridge pole.’)

The last way to express continuative is by verb serialization, which will be discussed in 11.2.3.3.

### 10.1.2.4 Habitual

The habitual aspect is distinguished from continuative aspect in that the habitual aspect describes an assertion that an event regularly takes place from time to time (Payne 1997:240), and it does not refer to the ongoing process of an actual event As with the continuative, the habitual aspect can be expressed by means of non-future sentences, as shown below. This sentence describes the regular action of the agents.

(10-23) Vongivongi, ti-vihiki gha ti-rae
morning 3PL.SBJ-wake.up SVU 3PL.SBJ-get.up

ti-la ti-karo iha.
3SG.SBJ-go 3SG.SBJ-work fish
'In the morning, they get up and go fishing.'

If the habitual aspect includes the nuance of frequentative aspect, such as 'always' or 'often', verbless sentences with the directly possessed nouns *bila* 'always' and *moki* 'often' are used (see also 6.1).

(10-24) Bila-ghu tari ai-a waya-nga.
"always"-1SG.POSS sea 3SG.POSS-A.POSS swim-NMLZ
'I always swim in the sea.' (lit., 'my frequent activity is swimming in the sea.')

(10-25) Moki-mu tini-mu ai-a kaho-nga.
"often"-2SG.POSS skin-2SG.POSS 3SG.POSS-A.POSS scratch-NMLZ
'You often scratch your skin.' (lit., 'You frequent activity is scratching your skin.')

Thus, most Kove aspectual operations are expressed by morphosyntactic means, except in the case of using *ghasili* for the completive aspect. Here is the list summarizing the aspect operations and their meanings:

Table 10.1: Aspect

| | |
|---|---|
| Imperfective | Non-future sentence<br>Verb reduplication<br>Verb reduplication + *ghamaitune*<br>*ghapoya*<br>Verb serialization |
| Completive | Word *ghasili*<br>Verb serialization |
| Continuative | Verb reduplication<br>Coordinate sentence with *mororo*<br>Verb serialization |
| Habitual | Non-future sentence<br>Verbless sentences with *bila* 'always' and *moki* 'often' for frequentative |

In addition to these aspectual operations, Kove has perfect/pluperfect aspect, which is expressed by verb serialization (see 11.2.3).

### 10.1.3 Mood

Mood describes "the speaker's attitude toward a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood" (Payne 1997:244). Mood operations in Kove, as well as their grammatical constructions, are still very unclear. This is partially because I did not encounter many examples when collecting data. It is also partially because Kove does not have many grammatical constructions for mood operations. Rather, contexts encode mood. Therefore, this is one of the topics that still requires more data and analytical work. The discussion made here is based only on my preliminary analysis.

Oceanic languages tend to have a grammatical distinction between the realis and irrealis mood and to mark at least one of them. However, Kove does not have an overt marker to distinguish them, though some grammatical markers such as the plural object marker *-ri* tend to occur in the realis context (see 7.3.3).

Although the irrealis mood is not marked grammatically, the mood operations that I found seem to be related to the notion of the irrealis mood, because they occur in irrealis contexts. They refer either to the deontic (obligatory) or the epistemic (probable) mood. The deontic mood refers to “the subject’s duty or obligation to perform the irrealis act expressed by the verb” (Payne 1997:246), such as is expressed by the words ‘have to’ or ‘must’. The epistemic mood refers to “the speaker’s degree of commitment to the truth of the proposition” (Payne 1997:246), such as is expressed by the words ‘likely’ or ‘might’. In Kove, an epistemic meaning is usually expressed by particles, which occur at the beginning of a clause. The particles are *toawatau*, *ghatau* ‘must’; *naghe* ‘possibly, maybe, I think’; and *nagheghe* ‘likely, probably’.

#### 10.1.3.1 *Ghatau*, *toawatau* ‘must’

There are two elements that express a deontic meaning. One is *ghatau*, and the other one is *toawatau*. The difference is in the degree of the agent’s obligation, or the degree of the irrealis context. *Ghatau* expresses a higher obligation required of the agent, and is used in a context where the action is very likely to happen. An example of *ghatau* is shown in (10-26).

| (10-26) | Nga-la | nga-otu | pa | Kimbe, | ne | **ghatau** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1SG.SBJ-go | 1SG.SBJ-get to | PREP | Kimbe, | PTC | must |

| nga-oli | le-ghu | malo. |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG.SBJ-buy | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | clothes |

‘When I arrive at Kimbe, I have to buy clothes.’

This sentence was the result of an unexpected situation I found myself in. On the way to Kimbe from the village, my pants were torn badly. They were the only pants that I had, so it was urgent and highly expected for me to get a replacement. Under these circumstances, my Kove family produced this sentence.

Next is an example of *toawatau*. This expresses a lower necessity than *ghatau*.

(10-27) A. Ta u-la tuanga yai?
FUT 2SG.SBJ-go village POSTP
'Will you go to the village?'

B. E, **toawatau** nga-la tuanga yai.
Yes must 1SG.SBJ-go village POSTP
'Yes, I have to go to the village.'

Although I describe *ghatau* and *toawatau* as single words, their actual forms are still unclear. According to Kove speakers, they consist of two and three words, respectively, as *gha tau* and *to awa tau*. Furthermore, there is sometimes a small pause between each word. It is true that Kove has these words in its lexicon:

*gha* 'nominal conjunction', *tau* 'near future marker'
*to* 'definite article', *awa* 'mouth', *tau* 'near future marker'

However, these combinations do not make sense, and I am not sure if these words form *toawatau* and *ghatau*, respectively.

In addition to these two words, a non-future sentence may be used for the deontic mood.

| (10-28) | A-lua-ghimi | gha | a-nama | waro. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2PL.SBJ-return-2PL.OBJ | SVU | 2PL.SBJ-come | sun |

‘You should come back (home) during the daytime.’

### 10.1.3.2 *Naghe* ‘possibly’, ‘maybe’, ‘I think’

*Naghe* is a clause-level particle that has a whole clause in its scope, and it occurs either clause-initially, as in (10-29), or between the subject and the verb phrase, as in (10-30).[136] *Naghe* can be interpreted in a few ways, including ‘possibly’, ‘maybe’ and ‘I think’. It usually occurs with the future marker *ta* in future contexts.

| (10-29) | **Naghe** | awaha | ta | i-tapu. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | maybe | rain | FUT | 3SG.SBJ-fall.down |

‘Maybe it will rain.’

| (10-30) | Awaha | **naghe** | ta | i-tapu. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | rain | maybe | FUT | 3SG.SBJ-fall.down |

‘Maybe it will rain. / I think it will rain.’

Here are two more examples where the subjects are human referents. In the first example, the subject is first person singular. In the second example, the subject is third person singular.

| (10-31) | **Naghe** | ta | nga-la | Kimbe. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | maybe | FUT | 1SG.SBJ-go | Kimbe. |

‘Maybe I will go to Kimbe. / I think I will go to Kimbe.’

| (10-32) | Peter | **naghe** | ta | i-la | Kimbe. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Peter | maybe | FUT | 3SG.SBJ-go | Kimbe |

‘Maybe Peter will go to Kimbe. / I think Peter will go to Kimbe.’

---

[136] See Section 9.1.2.

In (10-32), the first person singular is not marked, yet the person who makes it epistemic (that is, the person who thinks that the subject will act) is the speaker. As for the second sentence, if Peter himself thinks he will go to Kimbe, this sentence is modified to a coordinate clause, as below.

(10-33) Peter i-vagha ta i-la Kimbe.
Peter 3SG.SBJ-say FUT 3SG.SBJ-go Kimbe
'Peter thinks he will go to Kimbe.' (lit., 'Peter said he would go to Kimbe.')

Although it is commonly used in the future context, it is possible for *naghe* to occur with the completive aspect.

(10-34) **Naghe** Peter i-kinai tuanga yai gha
Maybe Peter 3SG.SBJ-leave village POSTP SVU

i-la ghasili.
3SG.SBJ-go CPL
'Maybe Peter has already left from the village. / I think Peter has already left the village.'

### 10.1.3.3 *Nagheghe* 'likely', 'probably'

*Nagheghe* is another particle that expresses the epistemic mood. It is used when the probability of the event or action is higher than indicated by *naghe.* As with *naghe*, *nagheghe* is a clause-level particle, and it includes a whole clause in its scope. However, unlike *naghe*, it always occurs clause-initially.

(10-35) **Nagheghe** awaha ta i-tapu.
likely rain FUT 3SG.SBJ-fall.down
'It is likely to rain. / It probably will rain.'

| (10-36) | *Awaha | **nagheghe** | ta | i-tapu. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | rain | likely | FUT | 3SG.SBJ-fall.down |

If there is a temporal adverb at the beginning of a sentence, *nagheghe* occurs before the adverb.

| (10-37) | **Nagheghe** | savalele | awaha | ta | i-tapu. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | likely | tomorrow | rain | FUT | 3SG.SBJ-fall down |

‘It is likely to rain tomorrow. / It probably will rain tomorrow.’

As with *naghe*, it can occur with the completive aspect.

| (10-38) | **Nagheghe** | Peter | i-kinai | tuanga | yai |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | likely | Peter | 3SG.SBJ-leave | village | POSTP |

| gha | i-la | **ghasili**. |
|---|---|---|
| SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go | CPL |

‘It is likely that Peter has already left from the village.’

According to Kove speakers, the particle *nagheghe* is becoming less common and it is being replaced by *naghe*.

### 10.1.4 Negation

Kove negation can be expressed in three ways, all of which are types of lexical negation: *maitune*, *mina*, and *mao*. All of them occur at the end of a clause. If there is a temporal adverb (particularly a past referent), the negative element still takes the sentence-final position.

*Maitune* is the marker for completive negation, and indicates that the action is not complete yet, as in the examples below. Note that (10-40) includes an attribute-denoting word, which functions as a verb in this context, because it takes the subject pronominal form on itself.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-39) | Annie | i-ani | haninga | **maitune**. |
| | Annie | 3SG.SBJ-eat | food | NEG |

‘Annie has not eaten yet.’

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (10-40) | Eau | i-wanawana | **maitune**. |
| | Water | 3SG.SBJ-hot | NEG |

‘The water hasn’t gotten hot yet.’

*Mina* has two functions. One is to express the negation of ability or permission, such as ‘cannot’ or ‘should not’, and the other is to indicate the negative imperative (see 10.2.1.2). The first example shows the negation of ability, and the second example includes the negation of permission.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-41) | Toa-toa-ghu | le-ri | saghui-nga | ti-saghui | | |
| | sibling-RED-1SG.POSS | LE.POSS-3PL.POSS | spell-NMLZ | 3PL.SBJ-spell | | |
| | a-ri | wasi, | sa | ta | nga-kea | **mina**. |
| | A.POSS-3PL.POSS | cigarette.leaf | so | FUT | 1SG.SBJ-take | NEG |

‘My siblings put a spell on their cigarette leaf, so I cannot take (it).’

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-42) | Sele | mate | ai-a | ta-polu | **mina**. |
| | place of a corpse | dead.body | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-remove | NEG |

‘We should not remove the corpse.’

*Mao* can be used for everything else, including both future and non-future tense. The first example is a future-context clause, and the second one is a past-context clause.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-43) | Ta | nga-karo | gha | i-rio | **mao**. |
| | FUT | 1SG.SBJ-work | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go.down | NEG |
| | ‘I will not pull (it) down.’ | | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (10-44) | Asihua | ti-sauri | **mao**. |
| | 3DU | 3PL.SBJ-answer | NEG |
| | ‘They did not answer.’ | | |

Depending on the context, if *mao* occurs with adverbs or adjectives, it can be used to express the opposite of the adjective or adverb. In fact, this expression expresses a greater degree of intensity than *tau* ‘very’. Note that example (10-46) is a verbless sentence.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-45) | Ti-karo | laro-nga | haui | **mao**. |
| | 3PL.SBJ-work | run-NMLZ | slowly | NEG |
| | ‘They ran very fast.’ (lit., ‘They did not make/do slow running.’) | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-46) | Le-ghu | tuanga | sasi | **mao**. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | village | bad | NEG |
| | ‘My village is very good.’ (lit., ‘My village is not bad.’) | | | |

Negation is applied only to the clause where the negative element is included. In a coordinate sentence, if both clauses are negative, each must include a negative element. The following examples are coordinate sentences. In (10-47), there is only one negative element, and only the clause where it occurs is negated. In (10-48), each clause has a negative element. Each clause is in square brackets.

(10-47) [Pirau i-kuku-i] [i-koli e-le
Pirau 3SG.SBJ-hide-INTR 3SG.SBJ-respond 3SG.SBJ-LE.POSS

posa-nga **mao**].
talk-NMLZ NEG
'Pirau hid and did not answer anything.' (lit., 'Pirau hid and did not respond with his answer.')

(10-48) [I-posa **mina]** [o i-vara-ghita **mina**].
3SG.SBJ-talk NEG DISJ 3SG.SBJ-bite-1PL.INCL.OBJ NEG
'It does not bark or bite us.'

### 10.1.5 Particles[137]

There are two particles in Kove: *ghe* and *ne*. *Ghe* seems to be a phrasal particle, and it denotes an assertive meaning. In the following examples, *ghe* is used because the speaker asserts himself or herself.

(10-49) A. "Pirau veao u-mo sora?"
Pirau 2SG 2SG.SBJ-stay where
'Pirau, where are you?'

B. Pirau i-va "yau **ghe**".
Pirau 3SG.SBJ-say 1SG PTC
'Pirau said "here".' (lit., 'Pirau said "I".')

---

[137] Although this is the chapter on sentences, I include a discussion of phrasal particles here.

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-50) | A. | Uraghe | eta | i-nama. |
|  |  | Knife | ART | 3SG.SBJ-come |
|  |  | ‘Give me a knife.’ (lit., ‘A knife comes.’) |  |  |
|  | B. | Vei[138] | **ghe.** |  |
|  |  | 3SG | PTC |  |
|  |  | ‘Here it is.’ |  |  |

The second particle, *ne,* is widely found in texts. It can serve as a phrase-level, clause-level, or sentence-level particle. *Ne* usually occurs (1) at the beginning of a sentence, (2) at the beginning of a verb phrase (that is, between the lexical subject and the verb phrase), (3) between coordinate clauses, or (4) between the subject and predicate in verbless sentences. I did not find any grammatical function for *ne*, though it seems to be a marker of sequential events, like ‘then’. In addition, a pause occurs when *ne* appears. In fact, Kove’s sentences tend to be long, including coordinate sentences and complex sentences, so this particle helps to break them up. Here are a few examples. Note that all examples are extracted from natural texts. There is no semantic difference between the construction with *ne* and the one without *ne*.

BEGINNING OF A SENTENCE:

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-51) | **Ne** | kosope | i-vagha | poso-nga. |
|  | PTC | shellfish.sp | 3SG.SBJ-say | talk-NMLZ |
|  | ‘The shellfish said something.’[139] |  |  |  |

---

[138] *Vei* is a shortened form of *veai,* the third person singular pronoun.

[139] This is a folk tale, and the shellfish is able to speak in this context.

(10-52) **Ne** pana gha pana ti-kona ti-tangi nga-ni.
PTC people SVU people 3PL.SBJ-see 3PL.SBJ-cry PREP-3SG.OBJ
'Many people see (the dead body) and cry because of it.'

BETWEEN A SUBJECT AND A VERB PHRASE:

(10-53) Vei **ne** i-lua-i gha i-na tuanga yai.
3SG PTC 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR SVU 3SG.SBJ-come village POSTP
'He / She came back to the village.'

(10-54) Mahativu **ne** i-laro sae.
fish.sp. PTC 3SG.SBJ-run up
'The fish swam higher up.'

BETWEEN COORDINATE CLAUSES:

(10-55) Ti-ralei **ne** i-otu moe.
3PL.SBJ-stitch PTC 3SG.SBJ-turn out sleeping.mattress
'They stitch (it) and it turns out to be a sleeping mattress.'

(10-56) Pana pape tuanga pape ti-watai **ne** ti-na
people some village some 3PL.SBJ-know PTC 3PL.SBJ-come

nga mate
PREP dead.body
'Some people from some villages get to know (about his or her death), and they come to (see) the dead body.'

BETWEEN THE SUBJECT AND PREDICATE IN VERBLESS SENTENCES

(10-57) Moe ne kasiki.
sago.leaf PTC fresh
'The sago leaf is fresh.'

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-58) | A-ghu | haninga | **ne** | nene. |
| | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | food | PTCP | LOC.DEM |

‘My food is here. / This is my food here.’

It is also common for *ne* to appear after a topicalized element in topicalization. In the following example, the object is fronted, and *ne* occurs between the object and the verb phrase.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-59) | Mate | **ne** | ta-kaka | i-otu | gha |
| | dead.body | PTC | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-carry | 3SG.SBJ-go out | SVU |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| i-la | pa | sele | pa-ni | melemele. |
| 3SG.SBJ-go | PREP | place of a corpse | PREP-3SG.OBJ | public.space |

‘As for the dead body, it is carried out to the place for displaying a corpse in the public space.’

A single clause or sentence may contain more than one instance of *ne*. In the first example, there are two occurrences of *ne* in a single sentence. In the second example, there are three occurrences of *ne* in the sentence.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-60) | **Ne** | i-kea-ghai | **ne** | ya-la | Mohea. |
| | PTC | 3SG.SBJ-take-1PL.EXCL.OBJ | PTC | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go | Mohea |

‘He picked us up and we went to Mohea.’

(10-61) **Ne** vongivongi **ne** i-rae pa wagha
PTC morning PTC 3SG.SBJ-get on PTC canoe

**ne** i-toto-to gha i-la gha
PTC 3SG.SBJ-paddle-RED SVU 3SG.SBJ-go SVU

i-longa pa saupu to-duwawa.
3SG.SBJ-go.inside PREP shore ART-DEM
'In the morning, he/she got in the canoe and paddled by that shore.'

Thus, *ne* is used very often in natural contexts. In my corpus, about half of the sentences contain at least one instance of *ne*. Also, it can occur relatively freely. However, it never occurs between serialized verbs or between main and complement clauses.

## 10.2 Non-declarative clauses

### 10.2.1 Imperative clauses

An imperative is expressed by means of the same structure as a declarative clause, and it takes the subject marker on the verb. Only intonation distinguishes imperative and declarative sentences. Imperative clauses usually do not take an independent pronoun as subject.

(10-62) U-nama nene!
2SG.SBJ-come LOC.DEM
'Come here!'

(10-63) U-lalao misilani!
2SG.SBJ-walk slowly
'Walk slowly!'

In imperative clauses, *mina* is used to express negation.

(10-64)

| | |
|---|---|
| U-kisi | mina! |
| 2SG.SBJ-touch | NEG |

‘Don’t touch (it)!’

(10-65)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| U-posa | mina | Donga | i-posa-posa. |
| 2SG.SBJ-talk | NEG | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-talk-RED |

‘Don’t talk because Donga is talking.’

### 10.2.2 Interrogative clauses: Polar questions

Kove has three basic types of interrogative clauses: polar questions, alternative questions, and content questions. I discuss them separately. Also, although my discussion focuses on sentences containing verbs, I include some examples of verbless sentences.

The structure of polar questions (yes-no questions) is the same as the structure of declarative clauses. There is no grammatical marking, as follows:

(10-66) DECLARATIVE CLAUSE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manu | eta | i-kere-gho. |
| bird | ART | 3SG.SBJ-bring-2SG.OBJ |

‘The bird brought you.’

(10-67) INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manu | eta | i-kere-gho? |
| Bird | ART | 3SG.SBJ-bring-2SG.OBJ |

‘Did the bird bring you?’

The only difference is in the intonation. In a yes-no question sentence, the intonation suddenly falls on the penultimate syllable of the last word, while in declarative sentences, intonation gradually falls toward the end of the sentence and then rises on the last syllable (see 3.5.2).

A polar interrogative can be joined with a declarative clause into a complex sentence, as in (10-68), where the first two clauses are declarative and the last clause is interrogative. Each clause is in square brackets.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-68) | Aa, | [manu | eta | i-rio] | [i-kere-gho] | [sa |
| | ah | bird | ART | 3SG.SBJ-go.down | 3SG.SBJ-bring-2SG.OBJ | so |

| | |
|---|---|
| ne | u-nama]? |
| ART | 2SG.SBJ-come |

‘Ah, the bird brought you, and so did you come?’ (lit., ‘Ah, the bird came down and brought you, and then did you come?’)

A polar interrogative clause may be negative due to the presence of negative elements. When answering, *e* ‘yes’ is used when the answer agrees with the question, and *mao* ‘no’ is used when the answer disagrees with the question.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (10-69) A. | U-ani | haninga | **maitune**? |
| | 2SG.SBJ-eat | food | NEG |

‘Have you not eaten yet?’

| | |
|---|---|
| B. **E**, | maitune. |
| Yes | NEG |

‘No, I have not yet.’ (lit., ‘Yes, not yet.’)

| | |
|---|---|
| **Mao**, | ghasili. |
| No | CPL |

‘Yes, I have.’ (lit., ‘No, already.’)

(10-70) A. U-kona Saimon tuanga yai **mao**?
2SG.SBJ-see Saimon village POSTP NEG
'Did you not see Saimon in the village?'

B. **E**, nga-kona mao.
Yes 1SG.SBJ-see NEG
'No, I did not see (him).' (lit., 'Yes, I did not see (him).')

**Mao**, nga-kona.
No 1SG.SBJ-see
'Yes, I saw (him).' (lit., 'No, I saw (him).')

### 10.2.3 Interrogative clauses: Alternative questions

Alternative questions are expressed by using *mao* 'not' to join alternative phrases. Note that such sentences do not have any negative meaning.

(10-71) Ta u-ani unu **mao** niu?
FUT 2SG.SBJ-eat breadfruit NEG coconut
'Will you eat a breadfruit or coconut?'

(10-72) Ta u-la u-sawa **mao** u-mo
FUT 2SG.SBJ-go 2SG.SBJ-do fishing NEG 2SG.SBJ-garden

nga-ni a-mu mogha.
PREP-3SG.POSS A.POSS-2SG.POSS garden
'Will you go fishing or working in your garden?'

## 10.2.4 Interrogative clauses: Content questions

In content question clauses, interrogative words are used. The following table shows all Kove interrogative words and their meanings.

Table 10.2: Interrogative words

| | |
|---|---|
| *sei*<br>*separa* | ‘who’ |
| *sawa* | ‘what’, ‘why’ |
| *maro* | ‘how do’, ‘how ADJ’ |
| *pira* | ‘how much’, ‘how many’ (quantifier) |
| *sora* | ‘where’, ‘which’ |
| *ngera* | ‘when’ |

Interrogative words always occur *in situ*, where the corresponding non-interrogative word would occur in a declarative clause, as follows:

(10-73) U-ani **sawa** Kapo?
2SG.SBJ-eat what Kapo
‘What did you eat in Kapo?’

As with declarative sentences, interrogative phrases may be fronted with focusing, though it is not as common as with declarative sentences.

(10-74) **Sawa** u-ani Kapo?
what 2SG.SBJ-eat Kapo
‘What did you eat in Kapo?’

### 10.2.4.1 *Sei* and *separa* 'who'

There are two interrogative words for 'who': *sei* and *separa*. The difference is in number. *Sei* is used for the singular, and *separa* is used for the plural. However, if the speaker does not know whether it is singular or plural, the singular form *sei* is chosen. The distinction in plurality is interesting, because plurality is not marked on nouns. In the first two examples, the interrogative word is the subject. In (10-77), the interrogative word is the direct object of a verb, and in (10-78), it is the object of a preposition.

(10-75) **Sei** i-tapu gha i-rio?
who.SG 3SG.SBJ-fall.down SVU 3SG.SBJ-go.down
'Who fell down?'

(10-76) **Separa** **ti**-nama?
who.PL 3PL.SBJ-come
'Who came?'

(10-77) Neti i-hau **sei**?
Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit who.SG
'Who did Neti hit?'

(10-78) Neti i-posa pa-ri **separa**?
Neti 3SG.SBJ-talk PREP-3PL.OBJ who.PL
'Who did Neti talk to?'

In the next two examples, the interrogative word is used in an inclusory pronoun phrase.

(10-79) Amihua **sei** a-nama?
2DU who.SG 2PL.SBJ-come
'Who did you come with?'

(10-80) Angera **separara** a-nama?
2GROUP who.PL 2PL.SBJ-come
'Who did you come with (plural)?'

These interrogative words are also used for possessors with human referents in possessive phrases.

(10-81) **Sei** e-le malo diene?
who.SG 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS clothes DEM
'Whose piece of clothes is this?'

(10-82) **Separa** ai-a posa-nga?
who.PL 3SG.SBJ-A.POSS story-NMLZ
'Who is the story about? (plural)' (lit., 'story about whom?')

In addition, they are used to ask a person's name.

(10-83) A. Ava to ai-era **sei**?
person ART 3SG.POSS-name who.SG
'What is the person's name?'

B. (Ai-era) Yawanes.
3SG.POSS-name Yawanes
'(His name is) Yawanes.'

### 10.2.4.2 *Sawa* 'what', 'why'

*Sawa* is an interrogative word meaning 'what'. It is a noun, and can occur as the subject or object of a verb or as the object of a preposition.

(10-84) Ai, sawa i-varo-ghau?
ouch what 3SG.SBJ-bite-1SG.OBJ
'Ouch, what bit me?'

(10-85) U-oli sawa Kimbe?
2SG.SBJ-buy what Kimbe
'What did you buy in Kimbe?'

(10-86) U-pasolani Neti nga(-ni) sawa?
2SG.SBJ-show Neti PREP-3SG.OBJ what
'What did you show Neti?'

*Sawa* usually indicates the singular. If more than one item is included, *sawa* is repeated, as in (10-87).

(10-87) U-oli sawa gha sawa Kimbe?
2SG.SBJ-buy what CONJ what Kimbe
'What (plural) did you buy in Kimbe?'

As in (10-86), if *sawa* occurs in a prepositional phrase, the preposition may optionally take the object pronoun.

In addition, *sawa* can occur in the position of a possessor or a possessed noun. In (10-88), *sawa* functions as the possessor, and in (10-89), it serves as the thing possessed.

(10-88) Sawa ai-tautau?
what 3SG.POSS-seed
'What kind of seed?' (lit., 'What's seed?')

(10-89) Le-ri sawa saghui-nga?
LE.POSS-3PL.POSS what spell-NMLZ
‘What kind of a magic?’

While *sawa* itself is a noun, it may co-occur with the word *ranga* ‘thing’, as follows.

(10-90) U-oli **sawa** **ranga** Kimbe?
2SG.SBJ-buy what thing Kimbe
‘What did you buy in Kimbe?’

(10-91) U-pasolani Neti nga(-ni) **sawa** **ranga**?
2SG.SBJ-show Neti PREP-3SG.OBJ what thing
‘What did you show Neti?’

*Sawa* always precedes *ranga*. According to Kove speakers, the co-occurrence with *ranga* is more common.

One of the functions of the preposition *nga* is to specify a reason. If *sawa* occurs as the object of the preposition *nga*, it expresses the meaning ‘why’.

(10-92) Kekele diene i-tangi-tangi nga(-ni) **sawa**?
child DEM 3SG.SBJ-cry-RED PREP-3SG.OBJ what
‘Why is this child crying?’

(10-93) U-matauri nga Donga nga(-ni) **sawa**?
2SG.SBJ-fear PREP Donga PREP-3SG.OBJ what
‘Why are you scared of Donga?’ (lit., ‘Why do you fear Donga?’)

In addition to its interrogative functions, *sawa* can be used with conjunctions in declarative clauses to express the meaning, ‘and so on’.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-94) | Nga-oli | soda | gha | bisketi | gha | milk |
| | 1SG.SBJ-buy | soda | CONJ | biscuit | CONJ | milk |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | gha | **sawa** | gha | **sawa**. |
| | CONJ | what | CONJ | what |

‘I bought soda, biscuits, milk and so on.’

### 10.2.4.3 *Maro* ‘how, how ADJ’

The interrogative word *maro* is used to ask about the state of a subject (e.g., *How are you? How is it?*), or the manner in which an event is performed (e.g., *How did you cook this? How did you get this?*). It usually occurs after the verb phrase. In (10-95) and (10-96), *maro* is used to ask about a state of being, and in (10-97) and (19-98), *maro* is used to ask about the manner in which an event or action is performed. Note that (10-96) is a verbless sentence.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (10-95) | U-mororo | **maro**? |
| | 2SG.SBJ-stay | how |

‘How are you?’

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-96) | lao[140] | **maro**? | Pau | mao | matua? |
| | plant.sp. | how | soft | NEG | hard |

‘How is the plant’s (condition)? Soft or hard?’

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (10-97) | U-kea | **maro**? |
| | 2SG.SBJ-take | how |

‘How did you get (it)?’

---

[140] *Lao* is a kind of plant that is used for making ropes.

(10-98) Ta u-nono puri **maro**?
FUT 2SG.SBJ-cook banana how
'How will you cook bananas?'

*Maro* can also be used with possessive phrases to ask about the degree to which an attribute or property is present. Together they form a verbless sentence in which the possessive phrase is the subject, and *maro* is the predicate, as in (10-99) and (10-100):

SBJ[ENTITY-WORD + *aia* + ATTRIBUTE OR PROPERTY-WORD] PRED[*maro*]

(10-99) Eau ai-a wanawana **maro**?
water 3SG.POSS-A.POSS hot how
'How hot is the water?' (lit., 'How hotness is the water?')

(10-100) Tari duwawa ai-a sili **maro**?
sea DEM 3SG.SBJ-A.POSS deep how
'How deep is that sea?' (lit., 'how deepness is the sea?')

Since this topic is discussed in 6.1.6, I will not give further details here.

### 10.2.4.4 *Pira* 'how many, how much, how often'

*Pira* is a cardinal quantifier used with nouns to ask 'how many?' or 'how much?' Like other noun modifiers, *pira* always follows the noun. Note that (10-103) is a verbless example.

(10-101) U-kele unu **pira**?
2SG.SBJ-pick breadfruit how.many
'How many breadfruits did you pick?'

(10-102) U-unu niu **pira**?
2SG.SBJ-drink coconut how.many
'How much coconut juice did you drink?'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (10-103) | A-mu | kurisumasu | **pira**? |
| | A.POSS.2SG.POSS | year | how.many |

‘How old are you?’

In addition, *pira* can be used to ask about the frequency of an action in a dynamic verb clause. To express this meaning, the noun *apa* ‘day’ occurs in a phrase with *pira* at the beginning of a clause, or less frequently, at the end of a clause. In (10-104), the phrase occurs at the beginning of a clause, and in (10-105), the phrase occurs at the end.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-104) | **Apa** | **pira** | u-otu | pa | tama-mu? |
| | day | how.many | 2SG.SBJ-meet | PREP | father-2SG.POSS |

‘How often do you meet your father?’

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-105) | U-la | Kimbe | **apa** | **pira**? |
| | 2SG.SBJ-go | Kimbe | day | how.many |

‘How often do you go to Kimbe?’

### 10.2.4.5 *Sora* ‘where, which, so what?!’

*Sora*[141] has three functions. One of the functions is to ask about locations. In the following examples, *sora* is used to ask about the location of an event. It usually occurs clause-finally. In this case, *sora* is treated as adverb, and it cannot occur with the preposition *pa* or postposition *yai*, as shown in (10-108) and (10-109).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-106) | Usu[142] | tona | ne | u-kea | **sora**? |
| | leaf for roof | ART | PTC | 2SG.SBJ-take | where |

‘Where did you get these leaves (for a roof)?’

---

[141] *Sora* also has a shortened form, *so*.

[142] *Usu* refers to any kind of leaf that is used for a traditional roof.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (10-107) | Ta | ta-lupu | **sora**? |
| | FUT | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-gather | where |

‘Where will we get together?’

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-108) | *Usu | tona | ne | u-kea | **pa** | **sora**? |
| | leaf for roof | ART | PTC | 2SG.SBJ-take | PREP | where |

(‘Where did you get these leaves [for a roof]?’)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-109) | *Ta | ta-lupu | **sora** | **yai**? |
| | FUT | 1PL.INCL-gather | where | POSTP |

‘Where will we get together?’

In addition to the location of an event, *sora* can be used in a possessive phrase to ask about someone or something’s place of origin. *Sora* is treated as third person singular, and is indexed with a possessive pronoun on the *a* marker. Note that these examples are verbless sentences.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (10-110) | Veao | **sora** | ai-a? |
| | 2SG | where | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

‘Where are you from?’

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (10-111) | Puri | **sora** | ai-a? |
| | banana | where | 3SG.POSS-A.POSS |

‘Where is the banana from?’

The second meaning of *sora* is “which?”. While (10-112) can be interpreted as meaning, ‘Where did the agent cut a sago tree?’, it can also be interpreted as a question from the speaker about which sago tree he or she should cut.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (10-112) | Nga-heri | momo | **sora**? |
| | 1SG.SBJ-chop | sago.tree | where |

‘Where should I chop the sago tree?’ (lit., ‘Where do I cut the sago tree?’)
‘Which sago tree should I chop?’ (lit., ‘Which sago tree do I chop?’)

Similarly, the following example can be interpreted in two ways.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (10-113) | Ta | U-ani | **sora**? |
| | FUT | 2SG.SBJ-eat | where |

‘Where will you eat?’
‘Which one will you eat?’

Context is very important for determining which interpretation should be taken.

The clause may include choices like, ‘Which will you do: x or y?’. In this construction, *sora* can be positioned clause-initially, as in (10-114), or immediately before the choices, as in (10-115). Also, interestingly, the disjunction is *o*, rather than *mao*.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-114) | **Sora** | ta | u-ani | kaukawa | o | moi? |
| | where | FUT | 2SG.SBJ-eat | sweet.potato | DISJ | taro |

‘Which one will you eat, sweet potatoes or taro?’

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-115) | Ta | u-ani | **sora** | kaukawa | o | moi? |
| | FUT | 2SG.SBJ-eat | where | sweet.potato | DISJ | taro |

‘Which one will you eat, sweet potatoes or taro?’

The last function of *sora* is a kind of idiom, which seems to be equivalent to the expression ‘so what?’ in English. The following example is extracted from a folk tale. In this context, the hearer has not noticed that the speaker is Saghelvia, who is a very important character in the clan, so the speaker announces his existence.

(10-116) Yau Saghelvia, sora?!
1SG Saghelvia where
'I am Saghelvia! So what?!'

### 10.2.4.6 *Ngera* 'when'

*Ngera* is a temporal adverb used to ask the time of occurrence of an event or state. As the basic tense distinction in declarative clauses is between future tense and non-future tense, this interrogative adverb also marks the distinction between future tense and non-future tense by its position. *Ngera* occurs at the beginning of a clause to indicate a future context, as in (10-117) and (10-118), while it occurs at the end of a sentence to indicate a past context, as in (10-119) and (10-120). Note that the examples of the future context do not contain the future tense marker *ta*.

(10-117) **Ngera** ta-motuvo?
when 1PL.INCL.SBJ-make a ceremony to finish a mourning period
'When will we have a ceremony (to finish the mourning period)?'

(10-118) **Ngera** Donga i-lua-i gha i-nama?
when Donga 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR SVU 3SG.SBJ-come
'When will Donga come back?'

(10-119) A-motuvo **ngera**?
2PL.SBJ-make a ceremony to finish a mourning period when
'When did you have the ceremony (to finish the mourning period)?

(10-120) Donga i-lua-i gha i-name **ngera**?
Donga 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR SVU 3SG.SBJ-come when
'When did Donga come back?'

In a future context, it is possible for the future marker *ta* to appear. However, if *ta* is included, the construction is different, and the interrogative word occurs at the end.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (10-121) | **Ta** | ta-motuvo | **ngera**? |
| | FUT | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-make a ceremony to finish a mourning period | when |

‘When will we have a ceremony (to finish the mourning period)?’

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-122) | **Ta** | Donga | i-lua-i | gha | i-nama | **ngera**? |
| | FUT | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-come | when |

‘When will Donga come back?’

There is a semantic difference between the construction with *ta* and and the construction without *ta*. In the construction with *ta*, as in (10-121) and (10-122), the speaker knows that the event will happen and is simply asking which day it will take place, but in the construction without *ta*, as in (10-117) and (10-118), the speaker is unsure about whether the event will happen.

In addition to being a future marker, *ngera* may occur with temporal adverbs to ask about a specific time in a day. The temporal adverbs usually immediately precede *ngera*, but the temporal adverbs for the past may occur clause-initially

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-123) | **Savalele** | **ngera** | u-lua-gho | gha | u-nama? |
| | tomorrow | when | 2SG.SBJ-return-2SG.OBJ | SVU | 2SG.SBJ-come |

‘What time will you come back tomorrow?’ (lit., ‘When tomorrow will you come back?’)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-124) | U-lua-gho | gha | u-nama | **noha** | **ngera**? |
| | 2SG.SBJ-return-2SG.OBJ | SVU | 2SG.SBJ-come | yesterday | when |

‘What time did you come back yesterday?’ (lit., ‘When did you come back yesterday?’)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-125) | **Noha** | U-lua-gho | gha | u-nama | **ngera**? |
| | yesterday | 2SG.SBJ-return-2SG.OBJ | SVU | 2SG.SBJ-come | when |

‘What time did you come back yesterday?’ (lit., ‘When did you come back yesterday?’)

Furthermore, *ngera* can occur with the word *apa* ‘day’ to ask about which day an event will take place.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-126) | **Apa** | **ngera** | u-lua-gho | gha | u-nama? |
| | day | when | 2SG.SBJ-return-2SG.OBJ | SVU | 2SG.SBJ-come |

‘Which day will you come back?’

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-127) | U-lua-gho | gha | u-nama | **apa** | **ngera**? |
| | 2SG.SBJ-return-2SG.OBJ | SVU | 2SG.SBJ-come | day | when |

‘Which day did you come back?’

Thus, it is possible to ask about a specific day or time by combining temporal words with *ngera*; however, it is not common in natural speech.

### 10.2.4.7 Multiple interrogative words

A clause can contain more than one interrogative word, as shown below, though this is not common. It is more common to ask questions one by one. In (10-128) and (10-129), *ngera* ‘when’ and *sora* ‘where’ co-occur, and in (10-130), *sawa* ‘what’ and *sora* ‘where’ co-occur.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-128) | **Ngera** | nene | ta | ta-kona-nga-ghita | **sora**? |
| | When | X | FUT | 2PL.SBJ-see-RECIP-2PL.OBJ | where |

‘When and where will we see each other?’

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-129) | U-oli | niu | nene | **ngera** | **sora**? |
|  | 2SG.SBJ-buy | coconut | X | when | where |
|  | ‘When and where did you buy the coconut?’ |  |  |  |  |

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-130) | U-oli | **sawa** | nene | **sora**? |
|  | 2SG.SBJ-buy | what | X | where |
|  | ‘Where will you buy what?’ |  |  |  |

In multiple interrogative constructions, the word *nene* is used. I gloss it as X, because its function is still unclear. As discussed in 8.2.2, one of the locative demonstrative adverbs is *nene* ‘here’. However, its functions seem different from the function of *nene* in multiple interrogative constructions, though their forms are the same. *Nene* in this construction does not indicate any location or imply location in the speaker’s sphere. Rather, it seems to provide a pause or separation between two interrogative words, and in this respect it is similar to the particle *ne*. The position *nene* can occupy is also unclear. While *nene* is positioned after the first interrogative word in (10-128) and (10-130), it occurs before the two interrogative words in (10-129). Because this construction is uncommon, I could not collect sufficient data to discuss this topic in greater detail here.

### 10.2.5 Topicalization

This section will deal with topicalization in a simple sentence. Topicalization in Kove employs left-dislocation. Any kind of grammatical relation can be topicalized. The particle *ne* may be used immediately after the topicalized element, though it is not obligatory.

Subjects usually occur clause-initially. However, as mentioned above, if there are temporal adverbs, the subject is preceded by the adverb, as in (10-3), repeated here as (10-131).

(10-131) Savalele **Donga** i-lua-i gha i-nama.
tomorrow Donga 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR SVU 3SG.SBJ-come
'Tomorrow, Donga will come back.'

In subject topicalization, the subject element is fronted.

(10-132) **Donga** savalele i-lua-i gha i-nama.
Donga tomorrow 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR SVU 3SG.SBJ-come
'As for Donga, she will come back tomorrow.'

Like many other Oceanic languages, Kove does not have a passive construction. Instead, to focus on an object, object topicalization is used. In object topicalization, a lexical noun phrase is fronted to the beginning of a clause. Neither object pronominal suffixes nor verb complexes with object suffixes can be fronted. Here are three examples of object topicalization. In (10-133), *liu-ra* is the direct object, and it is topicalized before the subject, *Anam*.

(10-133) Kokoako, **liu-ra** Anam i-vulo.
cock.a.doodle.doo sibling-2PL.POSS Anam 3SG.SBJ-kidnap
'Cock a doodle doo, as for your sister, she was kidnapped by Anam.'

(10-134) and (10-135) are examples of coordinate clauses. In (10-134), the direct object of the first clause, *mate*, is fronted. *Mate* also serves as the subject of the second clause, which starts with *i-otu*. Also, the particle *ne* occurs between *mate* and the verb phrase. For convenience, I use square brackets to indicate the position where the element would normally be.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-134) | **Mate** | ne | ta-kaka | [______] | i-otu | gha |
| | dead.body | PTC | 1PL.INCL.SBJ-carry | | 3SG.SBJ-go.out | SVU |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| i-la | pa | sele | pa-ni | melemele. |
| 3SG.SBJ-go | PREP | place of a corpse | PREP-3SG.OBJ | public.space |

‘As for the dead body, it is carried out to the place for displaying a corpse in the public space.’

In the next example, the topicalized element, *ghaya,* serves as the direct object of both clauses. Square brackets indicate where the element would normally be.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-135) | **Ghaya** | **pape** | ta-ghali | [________] | ta-ani |
| | pig | some | 2PL.SBJ-stab and kill | | 2PL.SBJ-eat |

| | |
|---|---|
| tomanga-ni | haninga. |
| PREP-3SG.OBJ | food |

‘As for pigs, some are killed, and eaten with (other) foods.’

As seen in (10-136), modifiers are usually fronted along with the head noun. Here is one more example, where the object noun phrase is fronted.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-136) | **Tue** | **tona** | nga-oli | pa | Maria. |
| | clam | ART | 1SG.SBJ-buy | PREP | Maria |

‘As for clams, I bought (them) from Maria.’

In natural speech, object topicalization is common. In addition, in my corpus, the topicalized object is often an element that was mentioned in a previous sentence.

Obliques can be also topicalized, as shown in the following examples. Note that the square brackets indicate where the element would normally be.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-137) | **Pa** | **melemele** | vongi | to-duwawa | mate |
| | PREP | public.space | night | ART-DEM | dead body |
| | ai-li-liu | | ti-taro | vula | tomanga-ni |
| | 3SG.POSS-RED-sibling | | 3PL.SBJ-throw | shell.money | PREP-3SG.OBJ |
| | ghaya | [_________]. | | | |
| | pig | | | | |

‘At the public space, on that night, siblings of the dead donate shell money (to the host of the funeral) with a pig.’

A preposition is usually fronted together with its object, but it is also possible for the noun phrase to be fronted by itself, leaving the preposition behind.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-138) | **Le-ghu** | **tuanga** | nga-mororo | **pa-ni**. |
| | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | village | 1SG.SBJ-stay | PREP-3SG.OBJ |

‘In my village, I stayed.’ (lit., ‘My village, I stayed in.’)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10-139) | **Waha-ghu** | **e-le** | **luma** | nga-mororo |
| | uncle/aunt-1SG.POSS | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | house | 1SG.SBJ-stay |
| | **pa-ni**. | | | |
| | PREP-3SG.OBJ | | | |

‘In my uncle’s / aunt’s house, I stayed.’ (lit., ‘Uncle’s / aunt’s house, I stayed in.’

In (10-140), the lexical noun phrase for the possessor, *waha-ghu,* is left with the preposition, and the possessive marker and the possessed noun are fronted.

(10-140) **E-le** **luma** nga-mororo **pa-ni** **waha-ghu**.
3SG.POSS-LE.POSS house 1SG.SBJ-stay PREP-3SG.OBJ uncle/aunt-1SG.POSS
'In my uncle's / aunt's house, I stayed.' (lit., 'Uncle's / Aunt's house, I stayed in.'

However, it is ungrammatical if the possessive marker is left.

(10-141) ***Luma** nga-mororo **pa-ni** **le-ghu**.
house 1SG.SBJ-stay PREP-3SG.OBJ 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS
('In my house, I stayed.' [lit., 'My house, I stayed in.'])

(10-142) ***Luma** nga-mororo **pa-ni** **waha-ghu**
house 1SG.SBJ-stay PREP-3SG.OBJ uncle/aunt-1SG.POSS

**e-le**.
3SG.POSS-LE.POSS
('In my uncle's / aunt's house, I stayed.' [lit., 'Uncle's / aunt's house, I stayed in.'])

Following are two more examples where the preposition *nga* is used. In the first example, the prepositional phrase itself is fronted, and in the second example, only the noun phrase is fronted.

(10-143) **Nga** **Hawaii** **ai-anunu** nga-pasolani Neti.
PREP Hawai'i 3SG.POSS-picture 1SG.SBJ-show Neti
'As for the picture of Hawai'i, I showed it to Neti.'

(10-144) **Hawaii** **ai-anunu** nga-pasolani Neti **nga-ni**.
Hawai'i 3SG.POSS-picture 1SG.SBJ-show Neti PREP-3SG.OBJ
'As for the picture of Hawai'i, I showed it to Neti.'

Although prepositional phrases can be topicalized, I did not encounter a case where a postpositional phrase was fronted.

(10-145) *?**Melemele** yai vongi to-duwawa mate
public.space POSTP night ART-DEM dead.body

ai-li-liu ti-taro vula tomanga-ni
3SG.POSS-RED-sibling 3PL.SBJ-throw shell.money PREP-3SG.OBJ

ghaya.
pig
('At the public space, on that night, siblings of the dead donate shell money (to the host of the funeral) with a pig.')

(10-146) *?**Melemele** vongi to-duwawa mate
public.space night ART-DEM dead.body

ai-li-liu ti-taro vula tomanga-ni
3SG.POSS-RED-sibling 3PL.SBJ-throw shell.money PREP-3SG.OBJ

ghaya yai.
pig POSTP
('At the public space, on that night, siblings of the dead donate shell money (to the host of the funeral) with a pig.')

Adverbs, including locative demonstrative adverbs, can also be fronted to the left of the predicate.

(10-147) Nene u-nama.
LOC.DEM 2SG.SBJ-come
'Come here.' (lit., 'Here, come')

(10-148) Wawa u-lua-gho.
LOC.DEM 2SG.SBJ-sit down-2SG.OBJ
‘Sit down there.’ (lit., ‘There, sit down.’)

# Chapter 11

# Verbal sentences: Complex sentences

This chapter discusses the structures of various types of complex sentences. One of the interesting features of complex sentences in Kove is the lack of conjunctions. In many complex sentences, clauses are linked together without any grammatical marking. This is common in both coordinate and subordinate sentences. However, while coordinate sentences and many subordinate sentences are identical in form, the structure of serial verb constructions is different from other types of complex sentences. In this chapter, I will first discuss coordinate and subordinate sentences, and then separately examine verb serialization. As in many other languages, Kove's complex sentences show significant complication. Therefore, my discussion of complex sentences in this dissertation will be basic, and further analysis will be left for the future.

## 11.1 Coordinate sentences and subordinate sentences

Coordinate sentences consist of more than one clause of equal grammatical status, while subordinate sentences consist of one independent clause and one or more dependent clauses. Although coordinate clauses can be joined without conjunctions in many languages (Payne 1997:337), we usually expect a syntactic difference between coordination and subordination. However, distinguishing between these two types of complex sentences is a difficult task in Kove. While there are a few syntactic clues for subordination, many types of relationships between events where subordination is expected in English or other languages are expressed in the same way as 'and'-style coordination in Kove. Two or more clauses are juxtaposed with no grammatical marking for either type of sentence. For example, (11-1) and (11-2) are very similar structures in which two clauses are joined without any marking. However, they are different types of complex sentences. In (11-1), the two clauses are independent and describe two continuous events, and in (11-2), the first clause has the second clause in its scope.

(11-1) Pana gha pana ti-kona ti-tangi nga-ni.
people CONJ people 3PL.SBJ-see 3PL.SBJ-cry PREP-3SG.OBJ
'(Many) people saw (the dead body) and they cried for him / her.'

(11-2) Pana gha pana ti-kona i-tangi nga ai-tama.
people CONJ people 3PL.SBJ-see 3SG.SBJ-cry PREP 3SG.POSS-father
'(Many) people saw him / her crying for his / her father.'

Similarly, adverbial sentences consist of two clauses linked together without any marker, as in (11-3), although adverbial sentences are usually expected to be a type of subordination.

(11-3) Ti-ghunu-ri ti-ware ere, hua, tolu.
3PL.SBJ-stand.up-3PL.OBJ 3PL.SBJ-count one two three
'While they stood, others counted, one, two, three.'

Thus, conjoined clauses without conjunctions can form sentences that either have clauses of equal grammatical status or that have the independent and dependent clauses.

Although both coordinate and subordinate sentences have syntactically similar structures, there are two syntactic parameters that help to distinguish them. The first parameter is the appearance of the article *ne*. The article *ne* can occur between clauses in coordinate sentences. However, it cannot occur between clauses in subordination except for temporal adverbial sentences. (11-4) is grammatical, but (11-5) is ungrammatical.

Note that while in (11-4), the subject is shared by two clauses, in (11-5) the subject of the subordinate clause is different from that of the main verb.

(11-4) COORDINATE SENTENCE

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pana | gha | pana | ti-kona | **ne** | ti-tangi | nga-ni. |
| people | CONJ | people | 3PL.SBJ-see | PTC | 3PL.SBJ-cry | PREP-3SG.OBJ |

'(Many) people saw (the dead body) and they cried for him / her.'

(11-5) SUBORIDNATE SENTENCE

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Pana | gha | pana | ti-kona | **ne** | i-tangi |
| People | CONJ | people | 3PL.SBJ-see | PTC | 3SG.SBJ-cry |

| | |
|---|---|
| nga | ai-tama. |
| PREP | 3SG.POSS-father |

'(Many) people saw him / her crying for his / her father.'

The second parameter is a pause. As with the particle *ne*, while a pause may occur between clauses in coordinate sentences, it cannot occur in subordinate sentences except for temporal adverbial sentences. Since both the particle *ne* and a pause are optional, and because they may occur in temporal adverbial sentences, these parameters aren't always useful in identifying the type of sentence. Yet in many cases they will help distinguish between the two.

Tense may also be helpful here because subordinate clauses sometimes do not carry their own tense. However, Kove does not mark the past tense, so it may not be useful in all cases.

In this section, I will first discuss four types of coordinate sentences. Then I will take a look at some types of subordinate sentences.

### 11.1.1 *Zero* strategy ‘and’

The most frequent construction is when clauses of equal syntactic status are linked together without any conjunctions. This usually expresses the continuousness of events in a way similar to English ‘and’. The order of events corresponds to their order within the clause. Although there is no conjunction, the particle *ne* may occur between the clauses.

(11-6) I-kea-ghai ne ya-la Mohea.
3SG.SBJ-pick.up-1PL.EXCL.OBJ PTC 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go Mohea
‘He picked us up and we went to Mohea.’

The sentence in (11-7) consists of three clauses. The context of this sentence is that two dogs ran together and climbed up and down mountains to find their owner.

(11-7) Asihua ti-lupu ti-rae ti-rio vanene.
3DU 3PL.SBJ-gether 3PL.SBJ-go.up 3PL.SBJ-go.down like.that
‘The two of them gethered, climbed up and down like this.’

Following is one more example where four clauses are linked together in a single coordinate sentence. I highlight each verb complex. Note that *gha ti-la* is a serialized verb with *ti-lalao*, and is not an independent clause.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-8) | **I-rio** | **i-ghohori** | manu | kota-kota, | **i-sali** |
| | 3SG.SBJ- go.down | 3SG.SBJ-collect | bird | feather-RED | 3SG.SBJ-break |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mohe | ne | **ti-lalao** | pa-ni | erapu | gha |
| croton.sp. | PTC | 3PL.SBJ-walk | PREP-3SG.OBJ | road | SVU |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ti-la | pa-ni | lusi. |
| 3PL.SBJ-go | PREP-3SG.OBJ | mountain |

‘He /She went down, collected birds’ feathers, broke a branch of a croton plant, and then they walked to the mountain along the road.’

Kove sentences generally tend to be long. It is normal for a sentence to consist of three or even more clauses.

Clauses may or may not share a subject. For example, the two clauses in (11-6) do not share a subject, but the clauses in (11-7) do. Even if clauses share a subject, each verb still takes a subject marker. However, only the first clause takes a lexical noun phrase or independent pronoun as subject, if any. If the subject differs in each clause, the lexical noun phrase or independent pronoun may or may not occur. However, in many cases, the subjects are omitted, as in (11-6) and (11-8), even if they differ.

If the object is shared among clauses, it usually appears only in the first clause, as shown below. In the first example, *ari tamine* is shared. The object pronoun on each verb indexes it.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-9) | I-kea-ri | **a-ri** | tamine | i-nonoi-ri |
| | 3SG.SBJ-take-3PL.OBJ | A.POSS-3PL.POSS | woman | 3SG.SBJ-keep-3PL.OBJ |

| | |
|---|---|
| pa | luma. |
| PREP | house |

‘He / She took their women and kept them in the house.’

If the object of the first clause and the subject of the second clause are different, their lexical noun phrases or pronouns can stand next to each other. In this example, *mogha* is the object of the first clause, and *kakau ghighihiti* is the subject of the second clause. These lexical noun phrases occur next to each other without any conjunction.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-10) | Pana | tuanga | ai-a[143] | ti-karo | **mogha** |
| | people | village | 3SG.SBJ-A.POSS | 3PL.SBJ-work | garden |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **kakau** | **ghighihiti** | ti-kalianga. |
| child | small | 3PL.SBJ-play |

‘People from the village work in their garden and the children play.’

If the future tense is shared by both clauses, the marker *ta* occurs only in the first clause.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-11) | **Ta** | ne | nga-la-ti[144] | nana | sio | pa-gho |
| | FUT | PTC | 1SG.SBJ-go-to.speaker | LOC.DEM | down | PREP-2SBJ.OBJ |

| | |
|---|---|
| ne | nga-pa-gho. |
| PTC | 1SG.SBJ-give-2SG.OBJ |

‘I will come to your place and give you.’ (lit. ‘I will come there to you, and give you.’)

---

[143] *pana tuana aia* is a compound (See 6.1).

[144] *lati* is used when the agent comes to the addressee.

Each clause can individually take a tense or aspect if it is different. In the following example, the first clause takes the completive aspect, while the second clause takes the future marker, which is shared by the last clause.

(11-12) Nga-ani haninga tosalai **ghasili**, ne **ta** nga-la
1SG.SBJ-eat food all CPL PTC FUT 1SG.SBJ-go

nga-simi haninga.
1SG.SBJ-look.for food
'I finished all the food, so I will go to look for food.' (lit., 'I have eaten all the food, so then I will go to look for food.'

I was not able to find examples of other aspect or mood shared by clauses. I predict that markers that appear clause-initially occur in the first clause, while markers that appear clause-finally occur in the last clause.

Thus, the *zero* strategy is the most common strategy in coordinate sentences. The order of clauses corresponds to the order of events or states, and usually encodes continuousness. In addition, this strategy may be used to express 'or'.

(11-13) Kakau ghighihiti ti-kalianga pa mogha ti-waya pa tari.
child small.PL 3PL.SBJ-play PREP garden 3PL.SBJ-swim PREP sea
'Children play in a garden or swim in the sea.'

However, relationships between the events may be implicit, and the interpretation can be highly context-dependent (see also the section on temporal adverbial clauses).

### 11.1.2 *Ghamao* ‘but’

Contrast, opposition, or unexpectedness between two clauses is expressed by *ghamao*. The falling intonation shows that *ghamao* is part of the first clause. Also, there may be a pause between clauses. Each clause is in square brackets. Note that the first clause includes a complement clause, and the second clause consists of serialized verbs.

| (11-14) | [Ti-vagha[145] | ti-rae | **ghamao]**, | [ti-tapu |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3PL.SBJ-say | 3PL.SBJ-climb.up | but | 3PL.SBJ-fall.down |

| gha | ti-rio | gha | ti-nama]. |
|---|---|---|---|
| SVU | 3PL.SBJ-go.down | SVU | 3PL.SBJ-come |

‘They tried to climb up, but they fell down.’

Although I describe *ghamao* as a single word, it is unclear whether it is a single word, or whether it consists of two words *gha* and *mao*. It is possible to consider *ghamao* as a morphologically simple conjunction. On the other hand, its structure is very similar to a serialized construction. In serial verb constructions in Kove, there is the serialized verb qunifier *gha* that occurs between two verb complexes. Furthermore, adjectives and adverbs can also be serialized elements. Given that *mao* can mean ‘not’, we could analyze the combination of *gha* and *mao* as part of a serial verb construction. However, this analysis leads to a few questions: Why is a serialized element used to join two clauses? What is the motivation? Therefore, it is not easy to determine the status of *gha mao*, but I hypothesize that *ghamao* may be the result of an earlier serial verb construction that has been lexicalized as a conjunction.

---

[145] *Vagha* is one of the verbs that can be interpreted in different ways, depending on context. It is used for ‘to try (of an event)’.

Following is one more example with *ghamao*. This sentence consists of four clauses, and each clause is joined by *ghamao*. However, while the first clause contains the conjunction *ghamao*, the events of the first and second clause are not in opposition or contrast. Instead, the event of the first clause is in opposition to that of the third clause. Each clause is in square brackets.

(11-15) [Avava ne i-vara kaua i-taronga ranga
Avava PTC 3SG.SBJ-try dog 3SG.SBJ-put.on thing

pa ai-nuru **ghamao**], [ya-vara] **ghamao**],
PREP 3SG.POSS-nose but 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-try but

[kaua i-tihi-ghimi].
dog 3SG.SBJ-shake off and leave-1PL.EXCL.OBJ
'Avava tried to put something on its nose (and mouth), and we tried, but the dog ran away from us.' (lit., 'Avava tried to put something on its nose (and mouth), and we tried, but the dog ran away from us.')

Thus, it seems that even if the next clause is not in opposition, a clause still may take *ghamao* as long as there is some clause whose event is in opposition. While this conjunction expresses contrast, opposition or unexpectedness between clauses, it is not always the case that the clause taking the conjunction describes an opposition to the immediately following clause.

### 11.1.3 *O* 'nor'

The conjunction *o* is used to express 'nor' in negative clauses. Unlike *ghamao*, *o* occurs clause-initially in the second clause. This is clear because the intonation falls on the negation *mina*. In addition, there may be a pause between the negation and *o*.

(11-16) [I-posa mina] [**o** i-vara-ghita mina].
3SG.SBJ-talk NEG DISJ 3SG.SBJ-bite-1PL.INCL.OBJ NEG
'It does not bark or bite us.'

### 11.1.4 *Sa* 'so'

*Sa* occurs clause-initially and usually expresses 'so', where the event or state of the second clause results from that of the first clause.

(11-17) [Pirau i-kuku-i] [**sa** i-koli e-le
Pirau 3SG.SBJ-hide-INTR so 3SG.SBJ-respond 3SG.SBJ-LE.POSS

posa-nga **mao**].
talk-NMLZ NEG
'Pirau hid and did not answer anything.' (lit., 'Pirau hid, so did not respond with his answer.')

(11-18) [Veao u-mo nana sae] **sa** [u-kona veai].
2SG 2SG.SBJ-stay LOC.DEM up so 2SG.SBJ-watch.out 3SG
'You will stay there high up, so you will watch out for him.' (lit., 'You stay there up, so you watch out for him.')

However, *sa* is not always used to show the relationship between a cause and its result. Indeed, the *zero* strategy can also be used to express this relationship, as below.

(11-19) [U-veta pa-ghau nga[146]-ni nga-nama] ne [nga-nama].
2SG.SBJ-ask PREP-2SG.OBJ COMP-3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ-come PTC 1SG.SBJ-come
'You asked me to come, so I came.'

---

[146] Although *nga* primarily functions as a preposition, it serves as the complementizer in this case, so I gloss it as COMP.

While *sa* often denotes a relationship between a cause and its result, its function is sometimes unclear. For example, both examples below consist of two clauses joined by *sa*. However, neither of these clauses marks a relationship between cause and result.

(11-20) U-la wawa pa apaka Kimbe e-le tuvuhu,
2SG.SBJ-go LOC.DEM PREP big man Kimbe 3SG.SBJ-LE.POSS place

**sa** u-longa pa-ni mina.
so(?) 2SG.SBJ-go.inside PREP-3SG.SBJ NEG
'When you walk by the place of the big man Kimbe, don't go inside.'

(11-21) Veao u-mororo nene **sa** tina-mu ne i-vagha
2SG 2SG.SBJ-stay LOC.DEM so(?) mother-2SG.POSS PTC 3SG.SBJ-say

i-mate.
3SG.SBJ-die
'While you have been here, your mother said she was going to die.'

Furthermore, *sa* can also occur at the beginning of a sentence. The following example was extracted from a conversational text. The conversation started with this sentence. Therefore, *sa* does not have any link to the previous context.

(11-22) **Sa** amiu a-nama nga le-ra posa-nga eta?
so(?) 2PL 2PL.SBJ-come PREP LE.POSS-1PL.INCL.POSS talk-NMLZ ART
'So did you come to talk about a story that we will have?' (lit., 'So did you come for our story?')

Thus, the usage of *sa* is still an unclear matter, and I could not determine its exact function.

### 11.1.5 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are introduced either by *zero* marking, or by the prepositions *nga* or *tomangani*. Although these are briefly discussed in chapter 7 and 8, respectively, I will discuss them further here, focusing on their structures.

#### 11.1.5.1 *Zero* marking

*Zero* marking involves extended verbs. Some extended intransitive and transitive verbs can take complement clauses. While there is a small number of extended intransitive verbs, many transitive verbs function as extended transitive verbs. When verbs take complement clauses, there is no complementizer between clauses, as shown below. Furthermore, complement clauses with these verbs usually function as their objects. The first two examples contain an extended intransitive verb, and the second two examples include an extended transitive verb. Complement clauses are in square brackets.

(11-23) Ta nga-la [nga-simi muli-ghu].
FUT 1SG.SBJ-go 1SG.SBJ-look.for place-1SG.POSS
'I will go to look for my place.'

(11-24) Nga-vagha [nga-pepe nga-ni pana sangaulu hua].
1SG.SBJ-say 1SG.SBJ-tell PREP-3SG.OBJ people ten two
'I want to tell a story about twenty people' (lit., 'I say, I talk about twenty people.'

(11-25) Lavonene ta-kona [mahativu i-mororo tari yai].
today 1PL.INCL.SBJ-see fish.sp. 3SG.SBJ-stay sea POSTP
'Today, we see the mahativu fish (sp.) in the sea.' (lit., 'We see the fish (sp.) to stay in the sea.')

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-26) | U-longoni | [Donga | i-vou-vou | vou-nga | Kove |
| | 2SG.SBJ-hear | Donga | 3SG.SBJ-sing-RED | song-NMLZ | Kove |
| | ai-a | kelengi]? | | | |
| | 3SG.SBJ-A.POSS | too | | | |

‘Did you hear Donga singing a song about Kove, too?’

As seen in (11-23) and (11-24), even if the subject is shared, each verb takes the subject marker. Structurally, these constructions are the same as coordinate sentences. However, there are a few syntactic differences. First, a complement clause is embedded within another clause. Second, a lexical noun phrase between two verb complexes serves as the subject of the second clause, as with *mahativu* or *Donga*, while it usually functions as the object of the first clause in a coordinate sentence. Third, unlike coordinate sentences, the object in a complement clause cannot be shared because the complement clause itself is the object of the main verb. Fourth, neither the particle *ne* nor a pause can occur at the clause boundary.

#### 11.1.5.2 Complementizers: *nga* and *tomanga*

As discussed in 8.1.1.5, the two prepositions *nga* and *tomanga* can function as complementizers.[147] This type of a complement clause encodes thematic roles, rather than grammatical roles. The complement *nga* usually expresses the theme (patient), stimulus, instrument, benefactive, duration, purpose and reason, or comparison, and the complement *tomanga* encodes comitative. Here are three examples of complement clauses with *nga.* The complement clauses are in square brackets.

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[147] A complement clause is prototypically defined as a clause that “functions as an argument (subject) or object of another clause.”(Payne 1997:313). However, I follow the notion that a complement clause can be any clause that is embedded within another clause, as suggested by Foley and Van Valin. (1984).

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-27) | Nga-matauri | [**nga**[148] | yau | tau-ghu | nga-la |
|  | 1SG.SBJ-be scared | COMP | 1SG | oneself-1SG.POSS | 1SG.SBJ-go |

|  |  |  |
|---|---|---|
|  | nga-lalao | vongi]. |
|  | 1SG.SBJ-walk | night |

‘I am scared of walking at night by myself.’

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-28) | Nga-posa | pa-ni | waha-ghu | [**nga** | ta |
|  | 1SG.SBJ-talk | PREP-3SG.OBJ | uncle / aunt-1SG.POSS | COMP | FUT |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | nga-lua-ghau | gha | nga-la | Hawaii | taiko | muhi | yai]. |
|  | 1SG.SBJ-return-1SG.OBJ | SVU | 1SG.SBJ-go | Hawai‘i | moon | back | POSTP |

‘I told my uncle / aunt that I would go back to Hawai‘i next month.’

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-29) | Kekele | i-tangi-tangi | [**nga** | ai-tama | i-hau | veai]. |
|  | child | 3SG.SBJ-cry-RED | COMP | 3SG.POSS-father | 3SG.SBJ-hit | 3SG |

‘The child is crying because his father hit him / her.’

Here is an example of a complement clause with *tomanga*.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-30) | Ti-pupu | taule | **tomanga** | ti-vava | ai-awa. |
|  | 3PL.SBJ-blow | trumpet.shell | PREP | 3PL.SBJ-tap | 3SG.POSS-mouth |

‘They play a trumpet shell while tapping its opening.’

While examining this type of complement clause, there is a verb that should be discussed. It is the intransitive verb *kahanga,* and it takes the preposition *nga* for its theme. It has three meanings: ‘enough’, ability, and permission. If it is used without the preposition, it simply means ‘enough’.

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[148] Although its primary function is a preposition, I gloss it here as complementizer.

(11-31) i-kahanga
3SG.SBJ-be.enough
'It's enough.'

However, if it occurs with *nga*, it denotes two different meanings, depending on the subject marker. With the subject marker, which indexes the agent of the event or action, *kahanga* denotes the ability of the agent to perform the action. On the other hand, if the third person singular is marked, regardless of the person or number, it denotes willingness for the event or action. Note that the preposition *nga* functions as a complementizer here, though it may be used as a preposition. In the first example, *kahanga* takes the second person singular subject marker, which indexes the agent of the complement clause. This sentence asks about the ability of the agent (i.e., if the agent has time or not.). In (11-33), *kahanga* takes the third person singular subject marker, though the agent of the complement clause is the second person singular subject. This sentence denotes willingness. In the second example, the speaker may already know that Neti has time.

| (11-32) | Neti, | **u-kahanga** | nga | u-la | tuanga | yai? |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Neti | 2SG.SBJ-be.enough | COMP | 2SG.SBJ-go | village | POSTP |

'Neti, are you able to go to the village?'

| (11-33) | Neti, | **i-kahanga** | nga | u-la | tuanga | yai? |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Neti | 3SG.SBJ-be.enough | COMP | 2SG.SBJ-go | village | POSTP |

'Neti, would you mind going to the village?' (lit., 'Neti, can you go to the village?')

Here is one more pair of examples. While the speaker does not know whether the hearer knows how to make a basket in (11-34), the speaker knows that the hearer knows how to make a basket in (11-35). Instead, (11-35) asks if the hearer is willing to make a basket.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-34) | **U-kahanga** | nga | u-wawai | kanika? |
| | 2SG.SBJ-be.enough | COMP | 2SG.SBJ-make (a basket) | basket |

‘Are you able to make a basket?’ (i.e., ‘Do you know how to make a basket?)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-35) | **I-kahanga** | nga | u-wawai | kanika? |
| | 3SG.SBJ-be.enough | COMP | 2SG.SBJ-make (a basket) | basket |

‘Would you mind making a basket?’ (lit., ‘Can you make a basket?’)

Thus, the verb *kahanga* takes a complementizer, which also functions as a preposition. However, depending on the subject marker on the verb, the complement clause has different semantics.

### 11.1.6 Temporal adverbial clauses

Kove does not use subordinating conjunctions to mark temporal relationships between clauses. Temporal adverbial sentences are normally expressed in the same way as coordinate sentences. The same sentence may be interpreted in several ways in English. For example, in Kove all of the following sentences would be expressed with the same construction.

I ate and I studied.

After I ate, I studied.

I ate before I studied.

When I was eating, I studied.

Basically, clauses are juxtaposed: the first clause encodes the first event, and the second clause encodes the second event. As in coordinate clauses, there may be the particle *ne* or a pause may occur between clauses. For example, (11-3), repeated here as (11-36) can be interpreted in several ways. Note that this sentence was extracted from a text. In this context, the agents in two sentences are different.

| (11-36) | Ti-ghunu-ri | ti-ware | ere, | hua, | tole. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3PL.SBJ-stand.up-3PL.OBJ | 3PL.SBJ-count | one | two | three |

‘While they stood, others counted, one, two, three.’
‘They stood up, and others counted, one, two, three.’
‘After they stood up, others counted, one, two, three.’
‘They stood up before others counted, one, two, three.’

Similarly, following is an example which can be interpreted in several ways.

| (11-37) | Veao | u-eno | ne | yau | nga-la | nga-karo | mogha. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2SG | 2SG.SBJ-sleep | PTC | 1SG | 1SG.SBJ-go | 1SG.SBJ-work | garden |

‘While you were sleeping, I went and worked in the garden.’
‘You slept and I went and worked in the garden.’
‘After you slept, I went and worked in the garden.’
‘You slept before I went and worked in the garden.’
‘You slept, so I went and worked in the garden.’

Thus, the interpretation can be implicit, and context is important to make the relationship between the clauses clear.

Although *zero* marking is the most common strategy, there is also a particle *ve* that can introduce a temporal adverbial clause. It occurs at the beginning of the second clause, and expresses ‘while’. This particle has some interesting features. First, the subject of the adverbial clause must differ from that of the main clause. If subjects of the clauses are the same, the *zero* strategy is chosen. Second, the order of clauses still follows the order of the events. Third, although the adverbial clause usually modifies a verb phrase or a whole clause, the clause with *ve* seems not to modify the sentence. Rather, it can be focused in the sentence. Here are two examples. In both examples, the second clause contains *ve*. Literally, this clause is translated as an adverbial clause, but it is the clause that is focused on. Each clause is in square brackets.

| (11-38) | [Akono | i-palu | nga-ni | avei | ai-ravarava], | [**ve** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | boy | 3SG.SBJ-go.toward | PREP-3SG.OBJ | tree | 3SG.POSS-top | while |

| | mota | to-duwawa | simoli | tau]. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | snake | ART-DEM | close | very |

‘The boy was going toward the top of the tree while that snake was getting closer.’

| (11-39) | [Asiri | ti-tohi | ti-unu | bia,] | [**ve** | yau | Luxie |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3PL | 3PL.SBJ-dance | 3PL.SBJ-drink | beer | while | 1SG | Luxie |

| | ai-tuvu | tomanga | erawa-ghu |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 3SG.POSS-grandparent / grandchild | PREP | spouse-1SG.POSS |

| | tari-ghu | toa-toa-ghu | tina-ghu | ne |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | sibling-1SG.POSS | sibling-RED-1SG.POSS | mother-1SG.POSS | PTC |

| | ya-lupu]. |
|---|---|
| | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-gather |

‘When people were dancing and drinking beer, Luxie’s grandparents, my wife, my siblings, my mother, and I got together.’ (lit., ‘People were dancing and drinking beer, while I, Luxie’s grandparents, my wife, my siblings, and my mother got together.’)

Since the clause with *ve* seems to be semantically the main clause, it is unsure whether this type of construction is a type of coordinate or adverbial sentence.

### 11.1.7 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a type of a subordinate clause that modifies a noun, and forms a complex noun phrase that may serve as subject, object or oblique object (O'Grady 2007:164; Osumi 1995:265).

Relative clauses in Kove are linked to the noun phrase that they modify with no relative pronoun or marking. However, it is common for noun phrases to take noun modifiers such as articles or demonstratives. Also, the head noun always appears external to the relative clause. For example, in the following sentence, the subject of the embedded clause is relativized and serves as the subject of the matrix sentence. The relative clause is in square brackets.

| (11-40) | Liu-ghu | i-la | i-posa | pa | tamone | tona |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | sibling-1SG.POSS | 3SG.SBJ-go | 3SG.SBJ-talk | PREP | man | ART |
| | | | | | | |
| | [i-panaho | a-ghu | kanika]. | | | |
| | 3SG.SBJ-steal | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | basket | | | |

'My sibling went to talk to a man who stole my basket.'

Because of the lack of relative pronouns or grammatical markers between a relativized argument and embedded clause, relative clauses are usually identical in form to coordinate or subordinate sentences. The interpretation of such sentences is highly context dependent, and the context makes it clear what the relationship between the clauses is.

Keenan and Comrie (1977:66) proposed an accessibility hierarchy to express the relative accessibility to relativization of various noun phrase positions, as follows:

SUBJECT > DIRECT OBJECT > INDIRECT OBJECT > GENITIVE > OBJECT OF COMPARISON

The accessibility hierarchy claims that subjects are the most accessible to relativization across languages.

So far as I know, all noun phrase positions, except for object of comparison, can be relativized. Objects of comparison normally involve possessive constructions in verbless sentences, so I found no examples of these in relativization. In addition, however, relativization seems not to be commonly used. I did not find many examples of relative clauses in texts based on natural speech. In this section, I follow the order of the accessibility hierarchy and discuss relativization for each position.

### 11.1.7.1 Relativized subjects

The verbs in relative clauses must take the subject marker, as in (11-40), where the verb *panaho* takes the subject marker *-i*, which indexes the modified noun *tamone*. Here is one more example. In this sentence, the relative clause takes the future marker, while the matrix sentence marks present tense. The relative clause is in square brackets.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-41) | Tamone | duwawa | [ta | i-la | Mosby | taiko | muhi |
| | man | DEM | FUT | 3SG.SBJ-go | Port Moresby | moon | back |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | yai] | i-mo | pa | luma | diene. |
| | POSTP | 3SG.SBJ-stay | PREP | house | DEM |

‘The man who will go to Port Moresby next month lives in this house.’

The lexical noun phrase in the inclusory construction can be also relativized, as follows. Example (11-42 a) is derived from the matrix clause (11-42 b) and the embedded clause (11-42 c).

(11-42)

a.

| Nga-la | nga-kona-ri | pana | [yangera | ya-nama |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.SBJ-go | 1SG.SBJ-see-3PL.OBJ | people | 1GROUP.EXCL | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-come |

| Kimbe]. |
|---|
| Kimbe |

‘I went to see people who I came with from Kimbe.’

b.

| Nga-la | nga-kona-ri | pana. |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG.SBJ-go | 1SG.SBJ-see-3PL.OBJ | people |

‘I went to see people.’

c.

| Yangera | pana | ya-nama | Kimbe. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1GROUP.EXCL | people | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-come | Kimbe |

‘People and I came from Kimbe.’

As mentioned above, sentence containing a relative clause and other types of complex sentences are often identical in form. In the following example, the embedded cracketed clause can be interpreted as either a relative clause or a coordinated clause

(11-43)

| Tamone | tona | [i-panaho | a-ghu | kanika] | i-la |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| man | ART | 3SG.SBJ-steal | A.POSS-1SG.POSS | basket | 3SG.SBJ-go |

| gha | i-la. |
|---|---|
| SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go |

‘The man stole my basket and he ran away. / The man who stole my basket ran away.’

Similarly, (11-44) can be interpreted in several ways.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-44) | Tamine | to | [i-ani | niu | wawa] | i-salimi | tue. |
| | woman | ART | 3SG.SBJ-eat | coconut | LOC.DEM | 3SG.SBJ-sell | clam |

‘The woman who ate a coconut over there sold clams. / The woman ate a coconut over there and sold clams. / While the woman was eating a coconut over there, she was selling clams.’

In a coordinate sentence, the order of the clauses normally corresponds to the order of the events. Therefore, if the order of the clauses in a relativized sentence corresponds to the order of the events, it can be interpreted as either a relativized sentence or a coordinate sentence, and the context is important in determining which of these it is. Indeed, while the interpretation is based on the context, interpretation as a coordinate sentence is usually preferred. That is, (11-43) and (11-44) are mostlikely considered coordinate sentences.

All examples of relativization with subjects that I found in natural speech are with a lexical noun phrase. I could not find a case where an independent pronoun was modified by a relative clause.

#### 11.1.7.2 Relativized direct objects

Here are two examples where the direct object of the embedded clause is relativized. In the following examples, (a) is derived from the matrix clause (b) and relative clause (c).

(11-45)

a. Ghaya [Avava i-kea Mohea] i-la gha i-la.
pig Avava 3SG.SBJ-take Mohea 3SG.SBJ-go SVU 3SG.SBJ-go
‘The pig that Avava got in Mohea ran away.’

b. Ghaya i-la gha i-la.
pig 3SG.SBJ-go SVU 3SG.SBJ-go
‘The pig ran away.’

c. Avava i-kea ghaya Mohea.
Avava 3SG.SBJ-take pig Mohea
‘Avava got a pig in Mohea.’

(11-46)

a. Neti i-nono puri [Maria i-pa-ni].
Neti 3SG.SBJ-cook banana Maria 3SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ
‘Neti cooked the bananas that Maria gave her.’

b. Neti i-nono puri.
Neti 3SG.SBJ-cook banana
‘Neti cooked the bananas.’

c. Maria i-pa-ni puri.
Maria 3SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ banana
‘Maria gave her the bananas.’

Although relativization with direct objects is possible, it is not common in natural speech. For example, (11-46) might be paraphrased as a coordinate sentence, as below.

(11-47) Maria i-pa-ni Neti puri ne i-nono.
Maria 3SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ Neti banana PTC 3SG.SBJ-cook
‘Maria gave Neti bananas and she (Neti) cooked them.’

In Kove, it is more natural if the order of clauses corresponds to the order of events, and the two clauses form a coordinate sentence.

### 11.1.7.3 Relativized objects in oblique positions

When a noun phrase in an oblique position is relativized, the prepositions in the embedded clauses are left behind.[149] While the third person singular object pronoun on the prepositions is optional in an independent clause, it usually appears in a relative clause. In the following sentences, (a) is derived from examples (b) and (c).

(11-48) PREPOSITION *NGA*: THEME

a. Nga-simi-simi vula tona [nga-pasolani-gho nga-ni].
1SG.SBJ-look.for-RED shell.necklace ART 1SG.SBJ-show-2SG.OBJ PREP-3SG.OBJ
‘I am looking for the shell necklace that I showed you.’

b. Nga-simi-simi vula tona.
1SG.SBJ-look for-RED shell.necklace ART
‘I am looking for the shell necklace.’

c. Nga-pasolani-gho nga-ni vula tona.
1SG.SBJ-show-2SG.OBJ PREP-3SG.OBJ shell.necklace ART
‘I showed you the shell necklace.’

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[149] The postposition is not used in relativization.

(11-49) PREPOSITION *TOMANGA*: COMITATIVE

a.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nga-la | nga-kona | eta-ghu | to-duwawa | [nga-nama |
| 1SG.SBJ-go | 1SG.SBJ-see | friend-1SG.POSS | ART-DEM | 1SG.SBJ-come |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| tomanga-ni | nga | balusu]. |
| PREP-3SG.SBJ | PREP | airplane |

‘I went to see my friend who I came with by airplane.’

b.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nga-la | nga-kona | eta-ghu | to-duwawa. |
| 1SG.SBJ-go | 1SG.SBJ-see | friend-1SG.POSS | ART-DEM |

‘I went to see my friend.’

c.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nga-nama | tomanga-ni | eta-ghu | to-duwawa | nga | balusu. |
| 1SG.SBJ-come | PREP-3SG.SBJ | friend-1SG.POSS | ART-DEM | PREP | airplane |

‘I came with my friend by airplane.’

(11-50) PREPOSITION *PA:* LOCATIVE

a.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nga-la | pa | le-ghu | tuanga | wawa | [pana | ti-lupu |
| 1SG.SBJ-go | PREP | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | village | LOC.DEM | people | 3PL.SBJ-gather |

| |
|---|
| pa-ni]. |
| PREP-3SG.SBJ |

‘I went to my village where people gathered.’

b.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nga-la | pa | le-ghu | tuanga. |
| 1SG.SBJ-go | PREP | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | village |

‘I went to my village (there).’

c.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pana | ti-lupu | pa-ni | le-ghu | tuanga. |
| people | 3PL.SBJ-gather | PREP-3SG.SBJ | LE.POSS-1SG.POSS | village |

‘People gathered in my village.’

As in (11-50), the relativized noun phrase in a locative oblique position usually occurs with the locative demonstrative adverb, even if it does not demonstrate or point out the location.

### 11.1.7.4 Relativization with possessors

The possessor in a noun phrase of the embedded sentence can be relativized. In (11-51), the noun phrase is the possessor of a direct possessed noun, and in (11-52), the noun phrase is the possessor of an indirect possessed noun. In both examples, (a) is derived from the matrix clause (b) and the embedded clause (c).

(11-51) POSSESSOR WITH A DIRECT POSSESSED NOUN

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Nga-posa | pa | tamine | [ai-tina | i-karo | Kimbe]. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-talk | PREP | woman | 3SG.POSS-mother | 3SG.SBJ-work | Kimbe |

‘I talked to the woman whose mother works in Kimbe.’

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| b. | Nga-posa | pa | tamine |
| | 1SG.SBJ-talk | PREP | woman |

‘I talked to the woman.’

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| c. | Tamine | ai-tina | i-karo | Kimbe. |
| | woman | 3SG.POSS-mother | 3SG.SBJ-work | Kimbe |

‘The woman’s mother works in Kimbe.’

(11-52) POSSESSOR WITH AN INDIRECT POSSESSED NOUN

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Pana | ti-kona | tamine | [e-le | malo | i-takai]. |
| | People | 3PL.SBJ-see | woman | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | clothes | 3SG.SBJ-tear |

‘People saw that woman whose clothes got torn.’

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| b. | Pana | ti-kona | tamine. |
| | People | 3PL.SBJ-see | woman |

‘People saw the woman.’

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| c. | Tamine | e-le | malo | i-takai. |
| | woman | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | clothes | 3SG.SBJ-tear |

‘Woman’s clothes got torn.’

As with relativization of subjects, these constructions are identical in form with coordinate sentences. Although the construction does not have an overt tense marker, the tense, which is contextually marked, may help distinguish relativized constructions from coordinate sentences.

Thus, any position can be relativized in Kove. However, these constructions may be identical to other complex sentences, so the interpretation is highly dependent on the context. In addition, in natural speech, coordinate sentences, in which the order of clauses corresponds to the order of events, are more common. Therefore, it is preferred that a construction can be paraphrased as coordinate sentences, and I did not find much data for relativized constructions in natural speech.

## 11.2 Serial verb constructions

### 11.2.1 Introduction

A serial verb construction (SVC) is defined by Aikhenvald (2006:1) as “a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort” to describe “what is conceptualized as a single event”. SVCs are identified by the following parameters, based on a combination of formal and semantic characteristics (Aikhenvald 2006:4-2; Crowley 2002:19):

(1) Single predicate: Verbs that form an SVC act together as a syntactic unit.

(2) Grammatical marking: There is no grammatical marking of clause boundaries between verbs.

(3) Shared inflectional categories: There is no independent choice or contrast in inflectional categories such as tense, aspect, mood, modality, and polarity values.

(4) Shared arguments: There are tight restrictions on the nominal arguments associated with each verb.

(5) Prosodic properties: A SVC has the intonational property of a monoverbal clause: no intonation break or pause markers.

(6) One event: SVCs may encode one event, or several subevents closely linked together, or even several subevents in sequence which may be conceptualized as connected to each other.

Among these parameters, the second parameter, in particular, is emphasized to define serial verb constructions. Aikhenvald (2006:6) states that SVCs “allow no markers of syntactic dependency on their components”, and “this is crucial in distinguishing serial verb constructions from coordination, consecutivization, complement clauses, subordinate clauses, and other multiclausal structures."

Here is an example of SVCs in Paamese, an Oceanic language. This construction contains all of the above characteristics:

| (11-53) | inau | ni-uasi | vuas | hee-mate. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1SG | 1SG.DIST.FUT-hit | pig | 3SG.DIST.FUT-die |

'I will hit the pig to death.'

(Crowley 2002:55)

Many scholars have categorized SVCs into subclasses using various approaches. One approach is based on their composition and semantics, and it makes the distinction between asymmetrical SVCs and symmetrical SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006:21–37). Asymmetrical SVCs "consist of one verb from a large, open, or unrestricted class, and another from a semantically or grammatically restricted (or closed) class" (Aikhenvald 2006:21). The verb from a closed class is often "a motion or posture verb expressing direction, or imparting a tense-aspect meaning to the whole construction". These constructions contain head verb: the open class verb can be the head of the construction. Symmetrical SVCs, on the other hand, consist only of unrestricted class verbs (Aikhenvald 2006:22). "The order of components tends to be iconic, reflecting the temporal sequence of subevents". Furthermore, they are not headed constructions, and all verbs have equal status.

Another approach to classifying SVCs is based on a theoretical framework using 'layers'. This approach was developed by Foley and Olson (1985) and expanded by Crowley (2002). A single clause can be described in terms of three layers: a nucleus, a core, and a periphery, "each layer having its own particular set of operators" (Crowley

2002:42). The nucleus is the innermost layer of the clause, and its operator includes aspectual inflections (Foley and Olson 1985:33). The core layer is next to the nucleus layer in the clause, and consists of the nuclear layer and the nominal arguments of a particular verb (Foley and Olson 1985:34). The peripheral layer is the outermost layer, and includes non-core nominal arguments and operators such as the temporal and spatial setting (Foley and Olson 1985:36). When a single clause occurs as either the nuclear or core layer, it is an SVC.

The last approach that I introduce here is based on argument sharing. This approach subcategorizes SVCs based on "the nature of the relationships that hold between the nominal arguments associated with the each of the verbs in question when they are used independently (Crowley 2002:40)." In this approach, there are five possibilities with respect to shared nominal arguments: same-subject, switch-subject, inclusory, ambient, and multiple-object.

In this section, I will rely on both the composition approach and the argument-sharing approach. I will first discuss types of Kove serial verb constructions, followed by their functions and semantics. SVCs often undergo grammaticalization, or the development from lexical items to grammatical forms or from grammatical forms to even more fully grammaticalized forms (Heine and Kuteva 2002:2, 2005:14). However, I will not include this topic in my description.

## 11.2.2 Types of Kove serial verb constructions

### 11.2.2.1 Basic constructions

As with other Oceanic languages, Kove has a rich number of serial verb constructions to denote various meanings such as direction, manner, aspect, and causative relationships.

However, its structure signifies a typologically idiosyncratic feature, and brings some fundamental issues with respect to the definition of SVCs into question.

From a typological perspective, the absence of overt grammatical marking between the verbs is a crucial element of the definition of SVCs. Indeed, most scholars include the absence of overt markers in their definition of serial verbs. However, this definition does not work for Kove.

Kove has constructions that look like SVCs. Formally, they are monoverbal clauses. They may share inflectional categories and arguments. Also, they have the intonational properties of a monoverbal clause. Semantically, they may encode one event or subevents that are linked together. In particular, serialized verbs may denote tense-mood-aspect, direction, location, time, and manner. They satisfy most of the parameters discussed above. However, there is a marker, *gha* between the verbs. In the following example, the subject is shared. Furthermore, the tense is also shared. Also, it encodes a single event, ‘return’. In addition, its intonational property is very strict, and there is no pause between the two verb phrases. However, as indicated in bold, SVCs are linked by the marker *gha*.

(11-54 a) Ta nga-lua-ghau **gha** nga-la Hawaii.
FUT 1SG.SBJ-return-1SG.OBJ SVU 1SG.SBJ-go Hawai‘i
‘I will go back to Hawai‘i.’

It is ungrammatical if the future marker *ta* occurs between *gha* and *nga-la*. The future marker occurs at the bedinning of a sentence, as in (11-54 a)

(11-54 b) *Ta nga-lua-ghau gha ta nga-la Hawaii.
FUT 1SG.SBJ-return-1SG.OBJ SVU FUT 1SG.SBJ-go Hawai‘i
(‘I will go back to Hawai‘i.’)

Here is one more example. In this example, the object is shared. As with (11-55), it describes a single event, and it is a monoverbal clause.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-55) | U-kea | uraghe | eta | **gha** | i-nama. |
| | 2SG.SBJ-take | knife | ART | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-come |

‘Get a knife.’

The next example shows that the object shared by all verbs occurs in the first phrase.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-56) | Ti-karo | mogha | **gha** | ti-karo | **gha** | ti-karo |
| | 3PL.SBJ-work | garden | SVU | 3PL.SBJ-work | SVU | 3PL.SBJ-work |

| | |
|---|---|
| gha | lailai. |
| SVU | afternoon |

‘They worked in the garden until the afternoon.’

The marker *gha* obligatorily occurs in each construction that looks like a SVC, and it clearly distinguishes this construction from the other types of complex verb sentences (i.e., coordination or subordination) in Kove. For convenience, I call it the clause linkage marker.

Interestingly, the serialized verb unifier *gha* is the same form as the noun phrase conjunction *gha* (see Section 5.3.3); therefore, it is a basic and important question whether this is a case of homonymy or polysemy. While both of these morphemes link phrases together, their functions are different. While the noun phrase conjunction expresses ‘and’ and lists each noun phrase, the serialized verb unifier itself does not have a meaning. It is a unifier between two verb phrases or clauses that describe a single event. I emphasize here that the noun phrase conjunction *gha* is not used as the clause conjunction. Although it is hard to determine their relationship, I would hypothesize that they probably have the same origin, because both of them have a linking function.

Regardless of the origin of the serialized verb unifier, the fact that SVCs take a grammatical marking contradicts the universal definition of SVCs. However, this type of construction otherwise contains all features of SVCs, and so I consider it a SVC.

#### 11.2.2.2 Composition

In terms of the composition of SVCs, Kove has both asymmetrical and symmetrical SVCs. While asymmetrical SVCs are used to express some aspect-related meanings and direction, symmetrical SVCs are usually used to express continuousness of the actions or events, manner and causative relationships. As with asymmetrical SVCs in other languages, this type of construction in Kove consists of verb from an unrestricted class and another from a restricted class. While the latter type of a verb depends on the meaning of the SVC, it is usually an intransitive verb. Also, it usually provides a modification specification. For example, if an SVC denotes a direction, the second verb is likely a movement verb with orientational semantics such as *la* ‘go’, *nama* ‘come’, *rae* ‘go up’, *rio* ‘go down’, or *otu* ‘put down’. If a SVC denotes the completive aspect, the verb is usually *moho* ‘finish’. In symmetrical SVCs, on the other hand, both verbs are from an open class (usually a dynamic verb class), and the first verb is repeated to denote continuousness. Types of verbs for each class will be discussed in greater detail in the section on functions.

#### 11.2.2.3 Argument sharing

Four types of argument sharing are found in SVCs in Kove: same-subject, switch-subject, inclusory, and ambient.

In the same-subject SVC, the subject is shared by all verbs. This is very common in Kove, and it is widely distributed in languages of the world (Crowley 2002:40). It is usually used to express direction, manner, and continuousness. In the following examples, the subject, *pana*, is shared by all verbs. Only the first verb takes the subject, but the second and other verbs do not have an over subject. However, each verb carries the subject marker, *ti*-. In the following examples, the subject is a common noun.

(11-57) **Pana** **Ti-vihiki** gha **ti-rae**.
people 3PL.SBJ-wake.up SVU 3PL.SBJ-go.up
'People got up.'

(11-58) **Pana** **Ti-laro** gha **ti-laro** gha **ti-nama**.
people 3PL.SBJ-run SVU 3PL.SBJ-run SVU 3PL.SBJ-come
'People came back quickly.'

(11-59) **Pana** **Ti-tangi** gha **ti-tangi** gha **ti-tangi**.
people 3PL.SBJ-cry SVU 3PL.SBJ-cry SVU 3PL.SBJ-cry
'people kept crying.'

Here is the example where the subject is a proper noun.

(11-60) **Donga** **i-lua-i** gha **i-la**.
Donga 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR SVU 3SG.SBJ-go
'Donga went back (to her home). / Donga was gone.'

(11-61) **Donga** **i-lua-i** gha **i-nama**.
Donga 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR SVU 3SG.SBJ-come
'Donga came back.'

The switch-subject is a construction in which the object of the first verb is the subject of the following verb. As with the same-subject pattern, this type is also common in Kove. It usually appears when SVCs denote some aspectual meaning or a causative relationship. In (11-62), *i-* on the second verb indexes *ranga*. Although the object of the first verb is plural, it is treated as one entity and is marked as singular.

(11-62) I-naha **ranga** **tosalai** gha **i-vuhi**.
3SG.SBJ-prepare thing all SVU 3SG.SBJ-stay
'S/he have prepared for everything.'

Similarly, in the next example, the unexpressed object of the first verb is the subject of the following verb, though the object of the first verb is marked. It is common for a noun phrase to be omitted, if it is clear from the context.

(11-63) Ti-kea gha **i-la-wa.**
3PL.SBJ-take SVU 3SG.SBJ-go-DDIR
'They took (him / her / it) away (and he / she / it is gone).'

The following example demonstrates a causative relationship. *i-* on the second verb indexes *kekele,* the object of the first verb.

(11-64) U-karo **kekele** gha **i-tangi** mina.
2SG.SBJ-work child SVU 3SG.SBJ-cry NEG
'Don't make the child cry.'

While the switch-subject usually involves the object of the first verb becoming the subject of the following verb, this pattern can be used for the oblique object in Kove, as follows. In this example, the subject marker of the second verb, *i-,* corresponds to the object of the preposition, rather than the direct object.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-65) | Nga-tunu | e-le | luma | **tomanga-ni** | gha | **i-vuhi.** |
|  | 1SG.SBJ-burn | 3SG.POSS-LE.POSS | house | PREP-3SG.POSS | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-stay |

‘I burned his / her house with him / her inside (as patient).’

The next pattern is inclusory. In this pattern, the subject and object of the first verb both correspond to the subject of the second verb. This pattern is not common in Kove.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-66) | Anam | i-kea | tamine | gha | ti-la. |
|  | Anam | 3SG.SBJ-take | woman | SVU | 3PL.SBJ-go |

‘Anam took the woman away (and they were gone).’

The last type is called ambient. An ambient verb makes a general predication without referring to any particular participants, as in ‘*it rains*’ (Crowley 2002:41). Ambient serialization is a construction where “a serialized verb makes some kind of qualification about the manner in which an action is performed, with the manner being expressed by means of a serialized stative verb” (41). In this construction, there is no shared argument. Rather, the second verb refers “simply to the manner (42).” This type of construction is often used in Kove to express an aspectual meaning. Ambient serialized verbs are always marked with the third person singular subject marker, regardless of the subject and object marking of the initial verb. (11-67) describes the end of the action or event. Ideally, the subject on the serialized verb indexes the action or event. Also, if a sentence has multiple serialized verbs, this construction occurs as the last serialized element.

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-67) | Ya-ware | nga-ghai | gha | **i-moho**, …. |
|  | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-divide | PREP-1PL.EXCL.OBJ | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-finish |

‘After we finish dividing (the compensation we received) for ourselves[150], …’

This construction usually leads a coordinate clause, though it is not obligatory.

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[150] Depending on the context, this can be interpreted as present or past tense.

Here is one more example.

(11-68) Ta-ani haninga gha **i-moho**, ne ta-la.
1PL.INCL.SBJ-eat food SVU 3SG.SBJ-finish PTC 1PL.INCL.SBJ-go
'After we finish eating, let's go.'

While the ambient type of serialization involves verbs as serialized elements, it is often seen that adverbs serve as serialized elements to state that the action or event continues to or until "X" in Kove. X is usually an adverbial meaning, particularly time or location. Although adverbs have a place in serialized elements, they do not take the subject marker. In (11-67), the adverb *simoli* 'close' occurs in the position where serialized verbs would be. Ideally, this sentence expresses that the agents went to their destination quickly until they got to the shore, which was closer to the destination.

(11-69) Ya-la-laro gha ya-la gha **simoli**
1PL.EXCL.SBJ-RED-run SVU 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go SVU close

saupu yai.
shore POSTP
'We rushed up to the shore.'

Here is one more example. In this example, the location name is positioned within the SVC, and the sentence indicates that Mohea is the destination. Note that the main verb is *laro* 'run', it does not mean that the agent actually runs. It denotes the manner.

(11-70) Avava i-laro gha i-la gha **Mohea**.
Avava 3SG.SBJ-run SVU 3SG.SBJ-go SVU Mohea
'Avava hurried to Mohea.'

Although a location name can be used as the second element in an SVC, a location expressed with a preposition cannot be a serialized element.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-71) | *Avava | i-laro | gha | i-la | gha | **pa** | **tuanga**. |
| | Avava | 3SG.SBJ-run | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go | SVU | PREP | village |

(‘Avava hurried to the village.’)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-72) | Avava | i-laro | gha | i-la | **pa** | **tuanga**. |
| | Avava | 3SG.SBJ-run | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go | PREP | village |

‘Avava hurried to the village.’

The next two examples include a temporal word, and indicate that the action was continued until that time.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-73) | Ya-mororo | gha | ya-mororo | gha | **lailai**. |
| | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-stay | SVU | 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-stay | SVU | afternoon |

‘We stayed until the afternoon.’

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-74) | I-poho | gha | i-la | gha | **mamarateli.** |
| | 3SG.SBJ-make.sago | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-go | SVU | a.little.time |

‘He / She made (it) for a while.’

While the appearance with temporal or locative words is more common, it is possible for adjectives to occur in serialized elements. The meaning of this construction is still unclear, but it seems that the serialized element describes the manner of the action or event. For example, (11-75) describes that how well the agent takes care of Avava. Similarly, (11-76) illustrates how the agent chops down a tree. Note that in this example, *paka* does not modify the noun.

(11-75) U-nahi-nahi Avava **gha** doko.
2SG.SBJ-take.care-RED Avava SVU good
'You are taking care of Avava well.'

(11-76) Nga-heri momo **gha** paka tau!
1SG.SBJ-chop sago.tree SVU big very
'I have to try hard to chop the sago tree.' (lit., 'I have to chop the sago tree aggressively.')

Thus, four types of argument sharing are found in Kove serial verb constructions. While the inclusory type is uncommon, the other three types are found fairly often. Furthermore, it is also common that adverbs or adjectives serve as serialized elements to denote location, time or manner. In addition to these four types, I found one example in which the subject of the initial verb and the object of the second verb are the same referent. In this case, the lexical noun phrase occurs in both phrases.

(11-77) Vula i-nama i-rio **gha** ya-pala
shell.money 3SG.SBJ-come 3SG.SBJ-go.down SVU 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-divide

vula.
shell.money
'When shell money arrives, we divide it.' (i.e., two events occur at the the same time.)

This sentence displays an interesting characteristic. It was extracted from a conversational text in which the speaker talks about the procedure of ceremonial compensation (with shell money). People who live in another village often take part in their relatives' ceremony and donate some shell money to the host (usually on the paternal side). The background of this story is that once the shell money is brought from another village to the village where the ceremony takes place, the host(s) will divide it and give it to other relatives (usually on the maternal side) as compensation. This example describes how the shell money should be distributed when it arrives, rather than waiting awhile to do so. Although theoretically it is impossible to do, the speaker emphasizes the time frame, using a serial verb construction. According to Kove speakers, the construction without *gha* gives a different impression. (11-78) is a coordinate sentence.

(11-78) Vula i-nama i-rio, ya-pala
shell.money 3SG.SBJ-come 3SG.SBJ-go.down 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-divide

vula.
shell.money
'Shell money arrives, and we will divide it.'

Semantically and formally, this sentence is interesting. Even if the events or actions described by the verbs do not form a single event, SVCs may be used to emphasize the time frame that a speaker has in mind.

### 11.2.3 Functions of serial verb constructions

There are four semantic categories expressed by serial verb constructions. They are (1) direction, (2) manner, (3) aspect, and (4) causative relationships.

#### 11.2.3.1 Direction

Directional constructions are extremely common with serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald 2006:22). As in many other languages, this kind of SVC is asymmetrical in Kove. The minor verb is a verb of movement with orientational semantics, and the most common verbs for this type of SVC in Kove are *la* ‘go’, *nama* ‘come’, *rae* ‘go up’, and *rio* ‘go down’. In particular, the first two verbs are extremely common, and *la* can also mean ‘forward’, and *nama* can mean ‘backward’. For the main verb, although any dynamic verb can generally be the main (major) verb, a motion verb appears in many cases. The subject marker indexes the subject if the main verb is intransitive, or the object if the main verb is transitive. Here is a pair of examples, where the main verb is the same, but the second verb indicates a different direction. In this example, the subject is shared by the two verbs.

(11-79) Donga i-lua-i gha **i-la**.
Donga 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR SVU 3SG.SBJ-go
‘Donga went back (to her home). / Donga was gone.’

(11-80) Donga i-lua-i gha **i-nama**.
Donga 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR SVU 3SG.SBJ-come
‘Donga came back.’

The verb *la* ‘go’ is also used for perfect or pluperfect (see below also) meanings. However, the use of *la* to express direction can be distinguished from the perfect/pluperfect function with the occurrence of the future marker. If *la* ‘go’ is used for the directional function, it is possible for the construction to take the future tense marker. Note that the subject marker on *la* indexes the object of the first verb.

(11-81) Ta u-lului moe ere gha i-la.
FUT 2SG.SBJ-untie sago.leaf one SVU 3SG.SBJ-go
‘Untie the sago leaf.’

However, the construction for perfect/pluperfect cannot take the future marker.

(11-82) *Ta i-mate gha i-la.
FUT 3SG.SBJ-die SVU 3SG.SBJ-go

Here is one more pair of examples of the directional function. In this example, the subject of the second verb is the object of the first verb, though it is unexpressed.

(11-83) Ti-piti gha **i-rae**.
3PL.SBJ-tie SVU 3SG.SBJ-go.up
'They tied (it) up.'

(11-84) Ti-piti gha **i-rio**.
3PL.SBJ-tie SVU 3SG.SBJ-go.down
'They tied (it) lower.' (i.e., 'They tied it under something.')

In this category, locative adverbs or place names can be a serialized element to express destination or direction (see also 11.2.2.3).

(11-85) I-la gha **to-sae**.
3SG.SBJ-go SVU ART-up
'He /She went to the top.'

#### 11.2.3.2 Manner

The manner of an action or event can also be expressed by SVCs. Usually, the first verb describes the manner. In the following example, the first verb, *irio*, indicates how the agent cries.

(11-86) Tamone kahaku to-duwawa **i-rio** gha i-tangi.
male small ART-DEM 3SG.SBJ-go.down SVU 3SG.SBJ-cry
'The boy cried, squatting down.' (i.e., 'He squatted down and held his head in his arms.')

In the next two examples, the first verb describes the manner of the agent's motion. In the first example, the verb *lalao* 'walk' is used, and in the second example, the verb *laro* 'run' is used. They may refer to actual motion, but also refer to the manner of the action in serialization. *Lalao* can also indicate that an action is conducted slowly, for example, if a boat has some mechanical problems, and it runs slowly, while *laro* refers to an action that was conducted speedily, for example, if a boat runs very quickly or the driver speeds up because of an emergency situation.

(11-87) Ya-la-lalao gha ya-nama.
1PL.EXCL.SBJ-RED-walk SVU 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-come
'We came (slowly).'

(11-88) Ya-la-laro gha ya-nama.
1PL.EXCL.SBJ-RED-run SVU 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-come
'We came (very rapidly).'

Manner can also be expressed with adjectives. In this case, adjectives occur in the position where the second verb would be. This is shown in (11-77), repeated here as (11-89).

(11-89) U-nahi-nahi Avava **gha** doko.
2SG.SBJ-take.care-RED Avava SVU good
'You are taking care of Avava well.'

### 11.2.3.3 Aspect

Aspectual meanings are frequently expressed with SVCs in Kove. Both asymmetrical and symmetrical types are used. While perfect/pluperfect and completive aspects are expressed by asymmetrical SVCs, imperfective and continuative aspects are expressed by both asymmetrical and symmetrical SVCs.

In the asymmetrical type, the verb *la* 'go' and *moho* 'finish' are used. The former refers to the perfect/pluperfect, and the latter refers to the completive. Both types of SVCs are ambient, that is, the third person singular subject marker is used, regardless of the subject and object marking of the initial verb. Here are two examples of perfect/pluperfect aspect.

(11-90) A. Tata sora?
Tata where
'Where is Tata (the cat's name)?'

B. I-mate gha i-la.
3SG.SBJ-die SVU 3SG.SBJ-go
'It has passed away.'

(11-91) Nga-rivari gha i-la.
1SG.SBJ-be.sick SVU 3SG.SBJ-go
'I had been sick.'

Given that direction can be expressed with the verb *la* 'go', it is sometimes hard to identify the function of an SVC containing *la*. For example, the function in the following example can be interpreted either as direction or aspect.

(11-92) A-ghu kanika i-tapu gha i-la.
A.POSS-1SG.POSS basket 3SG.SBJ-fall.down SVU 3SG.SBJ-go
'My basket fell down. / My basket fell down and it is gone.'

However, the fact that (1) SVCs for perfect/pluperfect always require the third person singular subject marker, and (2) they cannot take the future marker, can be used to distinguish them from SVCs for direction.

While Kove has the word *ghasili* to express the completive aspect, SVCs can also be used for it, with the occurrence of *moho* 'finish'.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-93) | Nga-tohi | gha | nga-tohi | gha | **i-moho**, |
| | 1SG.SBJ-dance | SVU | 1SG.SBJ-dance | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-finish |

| | |
|---|---|
| ne | nga-eno. |
| PTCP | 1SG.SBJ-sleep |

'After I finish dancing, I will go to sleep.'

This type of construction has an interesting feature. The verb *moho* may or may not take the subject marker. In the following example, the subject marker does not occur on *moho*.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-94) | Nga-tohi | gha | nga-tohi | gha | **moho**, |
| | 1SG.SBJ-dance | SVU | 1SG.SBJ-dance | SVU | finish |

| | |
|---|---|
| ne | nga-eno. |
| PTCP | 1SG.SBJ-sleep |

'After I finish dancing, I will go to sleep.'

There is a semantic difference between (11-93) and (11-94). Example (11-93) implies that the dancing (or dancing ceremony) is completely done, while example (11-94) implies that other people might still be dancing, but the agent will be done dancing.

This semantic difference is marked by the subject marker on *moho*: the third person singular subject marker on *moho* in (11-93) is a default marker in an ambient construction, while there is no subject marker on *moho* in (11-94). Depending on the existence of the subject marker, the meaning of a construction can differ, though both cases denote a completive aspect for the action.

Here are two more pairs of examples. In both (a) and (b), the action is finished. However, (a) indicates that the agent completely finished the object (theme), while (b) indicates that the agent may not finish all objects (theme), though the action was done.

(11-95)

a. Nga-ani haninga gha **i-moho**, ne nga-eno.
1SG.SBJ-eat food SVU 3SG.SBJ-finish PTC 1SG.SBJ-sleep
'After I finished eating it, I went to sleep.'

b. nga-ani haninga gha **moho**, ne nga-eno.
1SG.SBJ-eat food SVU finish PTC 1SG.SBJ-sleep
'After I finished eating (some), I went to sleep.'

(11-96)

a. Nga-karo naurata gha **i-moho**.
1SG.SBJ-work job SVU 3SG.SBJ-finish
'I finished working.' (i.e. 'I finished all the work./ The work was finished.')

b. Nga-karo naurata gha **moho**.
1SG.SBJ-work job SVU finish
'I finished working.' (i.e. 'I finished some work./I finished (for now).')

Given that *moho* does not take the subject marker in (11-95 b) and (11-96 b), it is unclear whether it is a verb or not. It may be considered an adverb, but this is the only case in which *moho* does not take the subject marker and behaves like an adverb, so it is unclear whether *moho* can be categorized in the adverb category, in addition to the verb category.

Imperfective and continuative aspects are expressed either by asymmetrical or symmetrical SVCs, depending on the relationship between the serialized verb and its argument. If the argument is the patient of the main verb, the asymmetrical type is used. In this type, the verb used is *vuhi* 'stay, live'. Although *mororo* also means 'stay, live', *vuhi* is usually chosen for the serialized element, as in (11-62), repeated here as (11-97)

(11-97) I-naha ranga tosalai gha **i-vuhi**.
3SG.SBJ-prepare thing all SVU 3SG.SBJ-stay
'He has prepared for everything.'

If the argument is the agent of the main verb, symmetrical SVCs are used. That is, any dynamic verb can be used, and the verb is repeated. Also, the serialized verbs take the subject marker, which indexes the agent. If the verb is transitive, usually only the first verb takes the object, and other serialized verbs do not.

(11-98) Nga-rara waho gha nga-rara gha nga-rara.
1SG.SBJ-pull rope SVU 1SG.SBJ-pull SVU 1SG.SBJ-pull
'I kept pulling the rope.'

This type of SVC can be interpreted either as the imperfective or the continuative aspect, depending on the context. For example, (11-99) is can be interpreted either way, but (11-99) is likely to be interpreted as the continuative aspect, because the agents may take a break during the process.

(11-99) Pana ti-tohi gha ti-tohi.
People 3PL.SBJ-dance SVU 3PL.SBJ-dance
'People were dancing.'

(11-100) Pana ti-tohi gha ti-tohi gha vongivongi.
People 3PL.SBJ-dance SVU 3PL.SBJ-dance SVU morning
'People were dancing until the next morning.'

Serialized verbs can be repeated as many times as the speaker wants. In fact, the amount of repetition may be tied to the duration or length of the action or event. The more a verb is repeated, the longer the action is continued. For example, the following example indicates that people are dancing for a long time.

(11-101) Pana ti-tohi gha ti-tohi gha ti-tohi
people 3PL.SBJ-dance SVU 3PL.SBJ-dance SVU 3PL.SBJ-dance

gha ti-tohi gha ti-tohi.
SVU 3PL.SBJ-dance SVU 3PL.SBJ-dance
'People were dancing and dancing, and dancing (for a long time).'

Here is one more example where the verb *la* 'go' is repeated and the repetition indicates that the destination is very far away.

(11-102) Ya-la-laro gha ya-la gha ya-la
1PL.EXCL.SBJ-RED-run SVU 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go SVU 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go

gha ya-la gha ya-la gha Kimbe.
SVU 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go SVU 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go SVU Kimbe
'We were speedily riding (for a long time) to Kimbe.'

### 11.2.3.4 Causative relationships

According to Aikhenvald (2006:25), SVCs are "often used as valency-increasing mechanisms to mark causatives, benefactives, instrumentals, and comitatives or sociatives”. Moreover, Dixon (2000:34) states that SVCs have a causative meaning in many languages.

While Kove has a morphological causative,[151] serial verb constructions can also be used to express a causative relationship. This type of causative is syntactically and semantically different from the morphological causative. In this section, I will first discuss its syntactic behavior and then examine its semantics, comparing it to the morphological causative. For convenience, I call this type the syntactic causative.

### 11.2.3.4.1 Form

The main verb of the syntactic causative is either *karo* ‘work’ or *paliani* ‘force’. Generally, while *karo* implies less forcible initiatives or controls of causers, *paliani* involves initiatives or controls of the causee’s activity by force. Unlike the morphological causative, this kind of causative is used with any verb, and the subject marker on the verb indexes the causee. In the following examples, each type of verb is shown as a serialized element.

(11-103) INTRANSITIVE
Nga-karo Neti gha i-tangi.
1SG.SBJ-work Neti SVU 3SG.SBJ-cry
‘I made (had) Neti cry.’

(11-104) MIDDLE VOICE
Nga-karo Neti gha i-lua-i gha i-nama.
1SG.SBJ-work Neti SVU 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR SVU 3SG.SBJ-come
‘I made (had) Neti come back. / I forced Neti to come back.’

---

[151] See Section 7.3.1 for discussion.

(11-105) TRANSITIVE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nga-paliani | Neti | gha | i-nono | haninga. |
| 1SG.SBJ-force | Neti | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-cook | food |

‘I made Neti cook (something). / I forced Neti to cook (something).’

(11-106) DITRANSITIVE

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nga-paliani | Neti | gha | i-pa-ni | Benati | niu. |
| 1SG.SBJ-force | Neti | SVU | 3SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ | Benati | coconut |

‘I made Neti give Benati a coconut. / I forced Neti to give Benati a coconut.’

While the causative element is expressed via serialization, it can be paraphrased as a noun phrase with nominalization, using the preposition *nga*. In that construction, the causee functions as the object of the main verb, but the causative action is expressed by nominalization. Here is an example where the causative element in (11-107) is nominalized and occurs with *nga*. In this example, *Neti* is still the object of the main verb, but the action is expressed by nominalization.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-107) | Nga-karo | Neti | **nga** | **tangi-ra**. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-work | Neti | PREP | cry-NMLZ |

‘I made (had) Neti cry.’

Here is one more example where the causative element in (11-107) is paraphrased as a noun phrase. As with (11-107), while the causee serves as the object of the main verb, the causative action, including the theme object, is expressed by nominalization.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11-108) | Nga-paliani | Neti | nga | **haninga** | **ai-a** | **nono-ng**a. |
| | 1SG.SBJ-force | Neti | PREP | food | 3SG.SBJ-A.POSS | cook-NMLZ |

‘I made Neti cook (something). / I forced Neti to cook (something).’

These are noun phrases, because the verb takes the nominalizer and does not take the subject marker. Interestingly, although the preposition *nga* can function as a complementizer, it does not introduce a complement clause for this function. It is always the case that causative elements take SVCs for verb phrases or the preposition *nga* for noun phrases.

### 11.2.3.4.2 Semantics

The syntactic causative differs from the morphological causative in terms of several semantic features. See the list of comparisons below (also 7.3.1.2).

(1) Control and willingness of the causee:

From the causee's perspectives, the degree of control is different. While the morphological causative denotes a situation where a causee does not have control of the activity, the syntactic causative denotes that a causee may or may not have control of the activity. In particular, the construction with *karo* 'work' implies that the causee has more control, and maybe is willing to act. Therefore, unlike the morphological causative, the causee is not necessarily a young child (infant), inanimate, or a patient. It can be anyone.

(2) Directness: From the causer's perspective, directness (or involvedness) is different. While the morphological causative implies that the causer is directly involved in the action, the syntactic causative implies that the causer may not be directly involved in the action. With the syntactic causative, the causer may give an order verbally, or may even encourage the causee to do something. However, normally s/he is not involved in the activity.

(3) Intention of the causer: In the morphological causative, the causer may cause the action either accidentally or intentionally. However, in the syntactic causative, the causer causes the action intentionally, and in particular, the use of *paliani* indicates the causer's strong intention because s/he forces the causee to perform the action.

The following examples compare three different constructions. (11-109), which is an example of the morphological causative, indicates that the causer was directly involved in the action, for example, he/she pinched Neti or beat Neti. On the other hand, (11-110), where *paliani* is used, indicates that the causer forced the causee to act, for example, by verbally ordering Neti. In the last example, (11-111), *karo* describes a situation in which the causer's action triggers Neti to cry, for example, by disturbing the causee, saying something bad, or even asking the causee to cry.

(11-109) Nga-**pa**-tangi Neti.
1SG.SBJ-CAUS-cry Neti
'I made Neti cry.'

(11-110) Nga-**paliani** Neti gha i-tangi.
1SG.SBJ-force Neti SVU 3SG.SBJ-cry
'I made Neti cry.'

(11-111) Nga-karo Neti gha i-tangi.
1SG.SBJ-work Neti SVU 3SG.SBJ-cry
'I made (had) Neti cry.'

The next examples compare constructions that involve the transitive verb *ani* 'eat'. In (11-112), it is likely that the causee is either a young child (infant), inanimate, or a patient, and it cannot eat by itself. Therefore, the causer is directly involved in the activity, possibly by feeding the causee. On the other hand, the causee in (11-113) and (11-114) can be anyone. Also, it is possible for the causee to eat by himself/herself. However, in (11-113), the causer forces the causee to eat, for example, when the causee does not want to eat or does not want a particular food, but the causer gives a strong verbal order. In (11-114), the causer "helps" or "encourages" the causee to eat, though the causee does not want to eat.

(11-112) Nga-**pa**-hani[152] Neti nga haninga.
1SG.SBJ-CAU-eat Neti PREP food
'I made Neti eat./ I fed Neti.' (lit., 'I made Neti eat food.')

(11-113) Nga-**paliani** Neti gha i-ani haninga.
1SG.SBJ-force Neti SVU 3SG.SBJ-eat food
'I made Neti eat. /I fed Neti to eat. ' (lit., 'I forced Neti to eat food')

(11-114) Nga-**karo** Neti gha i-ani haninga.
1SG.SBJ-work Neti SVU 3SG.SBJ-eat food
'I made (had) Neti eat.' (lit., 'I made (had) Neti eat food.') (i.e., 'I encouraged Neti to eat.'

Thus, depending of the construction, the semantics of the causative may differ. Although there are three constructions, given that the morphological causative is used only with particular verbs, the syntactic causative with *paliani* may have a wide range of meanings. For example, the intransitive verb *lualua* 'vomit' does not take the causative prefix *pa-*. However, it is possible that the causer is directly involved in the activity (i.e. by putting a finger in the causee's throat.). In such situations, the construction with *paliani* is used.

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[152] With the morphological causative prefix, the verb form is *hani*, instead of *ani*.

The following example could mean that the causer is directly involved in the activity or the causer verbally forces the causee to act.

(11-115) Nga-paliani Neti gha i-lualua.
1SG.SBJ-force Neti SVU 3SG.SBJ-vomit
'I forced Neti to vomit.' (i.e. 'I put my finger to Net's throat to vomit', 'I strongly told Neti to vomit.', etc.)

Here is a list of the distiniguishing semantic features of Kove causative constructions, using the nine semantic parameters proposed by Dixon (2000:62).

| Parameter | *Paliani* | *karo* | *pa-* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Relating to the verb* | | | |
| 1. Does a causative mechanism apply only to a verb describing a state, or also to a verb describing an action? | State and action | State and action | State and action |
| 2. Does it apply only to intransitive verbs or to both intransitive and transitive verbs, or to all types of verbs? | All types of verbs | All types of verbs | Some intransitive verbs, middle verbs and a very few transitive verbs |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Relating to the causee* | | | |
| 3. Is the causee lacking control of the activity or having control? | Less control | More control | No control |
| 4. Does the causee do it willingly or unwillingly? | Willingly or unwillingly | (Likely) willingly | (Possibly) unwillingly |
| 5. Is the causee only partially affected by the activity, or completely affected? | (Possibly) both partially and completely | (Possibly) both partially and completely | (Possibly) both partially and completely |
| *Relating to causer* | | | |
| 6. Does the causer act directly or indirectly? | Directly or indirectly | Indirectly | Directly |
| 7. Does it happen naturally or is the result achieved only with effort (perhaps with violence)? | Naturally or Volitionally | Possibly naturally | Possibly naturally |
| 8. Does the causer achieve the result accidentally or intentionally? | Intentionally | Possibly intentionally | Accidentally and intentionally |
| 9. Is the causer also involved in the activity or not involved? | Possibly not | Possibly not | Possibly not |

Hence, serial verb constructions are used to express causative relationships. They introduce two verbs, which give different semantics. In addition, from the perspectives of both the causer and causee, this type of causative is also semantically different from that marked by *pa-*.

### 11.2.4 Summary

In this section, I have discussed forms and functions of serial verb constructions. SVCs in Kove are very productive and commonly used. While I discussed the four main categories expressed by SVCs respectively, a single sentence can have multiple SVCs. For example, continuousness and the completive aspect can be expressed together in a single sentence. Similarly, direction and manner may occur in one sentence.

The following list summarizes the forms nad functions of SVCs:

Table 11.1: Serial Verb constructions

| Functions | Types |
|---|---|
| Direction | Asymmetrical<br>Locative adverbs and place names |
| Manner | Asymmetrical<br>adjectives |
| Aspect (perfect / pluperfect / completive) | Asymmetrical |
| Aspect (imperfective / continuative) | Symmetrical |
| Causative relationships | Asymmetrical |

SVCs play an important role in natural speech. Kove speakers say that using SVCs is an indicator of whether a speaker is an "adult" speaker or not. However, I am still not able to answer the fundamental question about the Kove SVCs: Given that the constructions have a grammatical marking, are they serial verb constructions? What is *gha*?

## 11.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the basic structures of complex sentences. The following list summarizes each construction:

Table 11.2: Complex sentences

| | |
|---|---|
| Coordinate clause | 1. *Zero* strategy<br>2. *gha mao*<br>3. *o*<br>4. *sa* |
| Complement clause | 1. *Zero* strategy<br>2. *nga*, *tomanga* |
| Subordinate clause | 1. *Zero* strategy<br>2. *ve* |
| Relative clause | *Zero* strategy |
| Serial verb construction | *gha* |

The fact that serial verb constructions have a grammatical marking, while most complex sentences are unmarked, highlights some typologically interesting features of Kove, because we usually expect coordination or subordination to have a marker, while serial verb constructions do not allow it. I was not able to discuss this matter thoroughly. However, it is my hope that the Kove data for this and other phenomena will provide a small but unique contribution to our understanding of the possible range of linguistic variation.

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