

Saliba

Ulrike Mosel

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0. Introduction

Saliba is an Austronesian, Western Oceanic language which is spoken by less than a thousand people on the island of Saliba in Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea. Genetically it belongs to the Suaic languages of the Papuan Tip Cluster (Ross 1988). It is closely related to Suau which functions as a mission language of the area. Whether Sariba and Suau should be classified as dialects or as different languages is unclear, as this is the first grammatical description of a Suaic language.¹

Saliba is an accusative head marking language (ch. 2). It distinguishes between inalienable and alienable possessive constructions (ch. 6), has exclusive and inclusive first person plural pronouns (ch. 3.4), and shows the following kinds of constituent order in basic verbal clauses (ch. 2) and noun phrases (ch.5):

- (peripheral arguments) S O V (peripheral arguments)
- postpositions and prepositions
- demonstrative + noun, possessor+ possessee (head noun),
- noun + modifier, noun + quantifier
- noun + numeral, noun + determiner

Typologically, Saliba shows some interesting features. These include internal relative clauses (ch. 5.8), verb serialisation (ch.7.6), clause chaining (ch. 13), the absence of complement clauses (ch. 10), a discourse particle which can mark noun phrases, verb phrases and whole clauses as topics (ch.14), and finally, the fact that tense is not grammaticalised (ch. 7.2).

The data for this sketch grammar were collected during the fieldmethods course which I held at the Linguistic Department of the Australian National University in the second semester in 1993. The participants were Rona Nadile who is a native speaker of Saliba and eight students, of whom seven worked in a particular area of the grammar: Gareth Baker (transitivity), Sally Duncan (possession) Nick Enfield (complement clauses), Dorothy Jauncey (tense, aspect and mood), Patty Steele (prepositions and postpositions), Adrian Tien (number), Wiwin Triwinarti (interrogative clauses).²

¹ Some information on the phonology and the lexicon of Suaic languages is contained in Cochran (1978), Cooper (1969, 1970, 1992, Ross 1988: 190-212. Cooper 1970 is an edition of texts in Suau which was unfortunately not available to us. The Annual Report (1890) contains a wordlist of about 600 entries and 37 short sentences.

² Examples taken from the students' work are marked by the initial of their first name. T refers to examples taken from the texts, unmarked examples are from our elicitations in class.

1. Phonology and orthography

1.1. Consonants

b	p	d	t	g	k	'
bw	pw			gw	kw	
m		n				
(w)				(j)		
		r				

The glottal stop occurs only in a few words of our data, e.g. 'a'a 'to be clean', he'a'a 'to make clean', 'unai 'in, at, on', 'unaede 'because'. The approximant /r/ is realised as a tap or a lateral [l]. The two realisations are in free variation; Rona preferred the tap most of the time, but wrote it as *l*. The phonemic status of [w] and [j] is debatable, as they are in complementary distribution with their vocalic counterparts [u] and [i]. When they occur in the syllable onset, they are realised as [w] and [j], otherwise as [u] and [i]. Furthermore, [j] and [w] can be inserted as a non-phonemic glides between /i/ and /a/, and /u/ or /o/ and /a/, respectively.

[mia] and [mija]	'stay'
[nua] and [nuwa]	'think'
[tamoai] and [tamowai]	'people'

In our orthography we do not write glides, but we write *y* and *w* for /i/ and /u/ in syllable initial position, e.g. *wawaya* [wa.wa.ja], /ua.ua.ia/ 'child', since Rona writes consistently this way.

1.2. Vowels

The vowels are: /i, e, a, u, o/. Sequences of two vowels are bi-phonemic, as can be easily seen when words are reduplicated (see below). Accordingly, long vowels can be analysed as a sequence of two short vowels of the same quality.

ye [je]	3.sg. subject pronoun	yee [je:]	'until' (T 3.7)
lulu [ruru]	'clothes'	luu [ru:]	'go inside' (T 3.5)
towa [towa]	'blow'	toolo [to:ro]	'wake up' (T 1.10)

1.3. Syllable structure and stress

Saliba syllables have the structure V, CV, or CVN, e.g. *i.ha.na* 'his brother-in-law', *ka.i* 'eat', *si.nam* 'your mother'. When words are reduplicated, two light syllables (CV.CV, CV.V, V.CV, V.V) have the same value as a single heavy syllable (CVN).

CV.CV	CV.CV. - CV.CV	
<i>hu.ku</i>	<i>hu.ku. - hu.ku</i>	'fish' (T 1.2)
<i>ke.no</i>	<i>ke.no. - ke.no</i>	'sleep' (T 1.9)
<i>na.mwa</i>	<i>na.mwa. - na.mwa</i>	'good' (T 2.8)
CV.CV.CV	CV.CV. - CV.CV.CV	
<i>he.de.de</i>	<i>he.de. - he.de.de</i>	'say, tell' (T 1.14)
CV.CV.V	CV.CV. - CV.CV.V	
<i>ba.ya.o</i>	<i>ba.ya. - ba.ya.o</i>	'strong' (T 2.15)
CV.CV.V	CV.CV. - CV.CV.V	
<i>he.ka.i</i>	<i>he.ka. - he.ka.i</i>	'let eat' (T 2.4)
<i>mwa.lo.i</i>	<i>mwa.lo. - mwa.lo.i</i>	'die' (T 2.26)
CV.V.CV.CV.CV	CV.V. - CV.V.CV.CV.CV	
<i>ka.i.wa.ha.li</i>	<i>ka.i. - ka.i.wa.ha.li</i>	'steal' (T 2.4)
CV.V.CV	CV.V. - CV.V.CV	
<i>tu.u.li</i>	<i>tu.u. - tu.u.li</i>	'sit'
CVC	CVC. - CVC	
<i>tam</i>	<i>tam. - tam</i>	'squeeze'
<i>kam.na</i>	<i>kam. - kam.na</i>	'feel pain'

Stress is not phonemic. In narratives, but also in wordlists the words are pronounced very evenly with a tendency to slightly stress the penultimate syllable, e.g. '*hu.ya he.'sa.u* 'one day' (T 1.1, T 2.7), '*si.nam* 'your mother', '*la.'bu.i* 'hear', '*wa.wa.'ya.o* 'children' (T 1.1).

Lexical words consist of at least two light or one heavy syllable, whereas functional words can consist of only CV or V, e.g. *na* 'and' and *e* 'or'.

2. Basic sentence structure

The predicate of a verbal clause is a verb phrase which always, even in the imperative, consists of a nucleus and a subject pronoun. If the nucleus of the verb phrase is a transitive verb, it has a pronominal object suffix for all persons except for the third person singular.

- (1) *Ka keno.*
1.EXC sleep
'We went to sleep.' (T 1.8)
- (2) *Wawaya-o-wa kwa hanoi-di!*
child-PL-DET 2.PL wake up-3.PL
'Wake up the children!' (T 1.11)

The verb with its subject pronoun and object affixes forms the core of the clause and can constitute a clause by itself, so that subject and object noun phrases can be regarded as an expansion of this core.

- (3) *Kai-wa ka matausi palapa.*
1.EXC-DET 1.EXC frightened really
'We were really frightened.' (T 1.13)
- (4) *Iha-di ... koya ye koi-di.*
brother-in-law... garden 3.SG clear-3.PL
'Their brother-in-law...cleared the gardens.' (T 3.4)

Peripheral arguments are encoded by postpositional and prepositional phrases, or by unmarked noun phrases which refer to the time of the event (T 1.1, T 1.11, T 2.2, T 3.22) or to the goal of movements (T 1.7, T 3.5, T 3.17, T 3.37).

On phrase level, head marking is found with inalienable possessive constructions and in some postpositional phrases.

- (5) *Ye lau ko koya.*
3.SG go already garden
He has already gone to the garden.
- (6) *sine natu-na*
woman child-3.SG
'a woman's child' (T 1.23)
- (7) *.. ka huku sagasaga e-na.*
...1.EXC fish mouth of the river PP-3.SG
'We fished at the mouth of the river
(lit. mouth of the river at it).' (T 1.1)

Only in noun + adjective constructions the dependent constituent is marked, as adjectives have suffixes agreeing with the head noun in number.

- (8) mwaedo gagili-na, mwaedo gagili-di
 eel small-SG eel small-PL
 'a small eel', 'small eels'

In addition to verbal clauses, Saliba has the following types of non-verbal clauses:

1. Nominal clauses with a noun phrase as their predicate.

- (9) Tenem pilipilidai gehe-na.
 this story end-3.SG
 'This is the end of the story.' (T 1.20)

- (10) Kita taulauhekata.
 1.INC teacher
 'We are teachers.'

2. Existential clauses are introduced by *temenai* 'there' or a postpositional phrase which refers to a given place, whereas the nominal predicate refers to what is found at this place.

- (11) Temenai sikuli labui.
 there school two
 'There are two schools.'
- (12) Bwanabwanalua-ne 'unai magai gwau-di.
 island-DET PP.SG village many-PL
 'There are many villages on the island.' (A 23)

3. Possessive clauses in which the subject noun phrase refers to the possessor and the predicate to the possessee (cf. ch. 6).

4. Clauses whose predicate is a postpositional phrase.

- (13) Maketi yo-gu numa dedeka-na e-na.
 market POSS-1.SG house closeness-3.SG PP-3.SG
 'The market is near my house.'
 (lit. 'The market is in my house's closeness.')(P 20)

5. Clauses whose predicate is formed by the comitative preposition *ma* and a nominalised verb (ch. 8).

- (14) Keda-wa ma gudugudu-na.
 door-DET with RED-close-3.SG
 'The door is closed.'
 (lit. 'The door is with its being closed.')(G 50)

6. Clauses whose predicate is another clause.

- (15) ...ka-di paisoa-ede¹ se luu nukula-ne...
 POSS-3.PL habit-EDE 3.PL enter bush-DET
 'their habit was to go inside the bush.' (T 3.5)
- (16) Pilipilidai-ne kaniyo-na-ede bena sina-m tama-m
 story-DET fruit-3.SG-EDE must mother-2.SG father-2.sg
 yo-di hede-hedede ku lapu wata-ni-di.
 POSS-3.PL RED-speak 2.SG hear follow-TR-3.PL
 'The moral of the story is that you must listen to your
 parents.' (W 48)

3. Word classes

3.1. Transitive and intransitive verbs

Most verbs are either transitive or intransitive. Transitive verbs can be derived from intransitive ones by *-i*, or a suffix of the form *-(C)(e)i*.

<i>dudu</i>	'push'	<i>dudu-ni</i>	'push s.th.'
<i>mwalae</i>	'climb'	<i>mwalae-i</i>	'climb (a tree)'
<i>nonoha</i>	'be ready'	<i>nonoha-i</i>	'get s.th. ready'
<i>pane (namwanamwa)</i>	'smell (good)'	<i>pane-i</i>	'smell s.th.'
<i>nuanuatu</i>	'think'	<i>nuatu-i</i>	'think s.th.'
<i>sagu</i>	'help'	<i>sagu-i</i>	'help s.o.'
<i>tupa</i>	'arrive, reach' ² (S 161)	<i>tupa-i</i>	'bump into'
<i>uyo</i>	'return, go back'	<i>uyo-i/ uyo-ei</i>	'return s.th. '(G 65, 72)
<i>wase</i>	'search'	<i>wase-nei</i>	'search for'
<i>wata</i>	'follow'	<i>wata-ni</i>	'follow s.o.'
<i>yoga</i>	'call'	<i>yoga-nei</i>	'call s.o.'

If the intransitive verb ends in *i*, its transitive counterpart ends in *-ei*, as, for instance, *dobi* 'go down', i.e. its final *i* is lowered to *-e* when the transitive suffix *-i* is attached.

<i>dobi</i>	'go down'	<i>(ini) dobe-i</i> ³	'(pour) down'
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¹ The function of EDE is explained in chapter 15.

² The goal of motions is expressed by unmarked noun phrases which function as peripheral arguments.

³ This form occurs in our data only as a serial verb, e.g. *ini dob-ei* 'pour down' (G 40), cf. ch. 7.6.

The suffix *-i* also derives some transitive verbs from nouns.

<i>nigwa</i>	'knife'	<i>nigwa-i</i>	'cut with a knife'
<i>guguya</i>	'advice'	<i>guguya-i</i>	'advise'

It is not clear whether Saliba has two kinds of transitive suffixes like other Oceanic languages.

A further means of deriving transitive verbs is the prefix *he-* which derives causative verbs from intransitive and transitive verbs and what could perhaps be called 'additive' verbs from nouns.

<i>dui</i>	'have a bathe'	<i>hedui</i>	'bathe s.o.'
<i>kita</i>	'see'	<i>hekita</i>	'show'
<i>maluhi</i>	'laugh'	<i>hemaluhi</i>	'make laugh'
<i>suga</i>	'sugar'	<i>hesuga</i>	'put sugar in'
<i>tubu</i>	'grow, happen'	<i>hetubu</i>	'begin'

Transitive verbs expressing some action of damage can be transformed by the prefix *ta* into intransitive verbs denoting the state resulting from the damage. This derivation does not seem to be productive, however.

<i>godu</i>	'break'	<i>ta-godu</i>	'be broken'
<i>koi-kesi</i>	'break'	<i>ta-kesi</i>	'break (itr), be broken'
<i>pulisi</i>	'tear'	<i>ta-pulisi</i>	'be torn'

Similar to many other Oceanic languages, there does not seem to be a distinction between verbs and adjectives in Saliba. The translation equivalents of English verbs and adjectives show the same morphosyntactic behaviour, i.e. words denoting events, states of being and properties can function as attributes and as predicates. Therefore we will only speak of verbs here. With the exception of a small number of verbs denoting properties, all verbs are reduplicated when they are used attributively. When they are used predicatively, stative verbs are not reduplicated, but activity verbs can be reduplicated to express the imperfective aspect (progressive and habitual). In attributive function the verbs can carry a singular or a plural suffix, e.g. *puaka saesae-na* 'the best pig', *puaka saesae-di* 'the best pigs'; *saesae* 'best' is perhaps related to *sae* '(go) up' (T 3.26, T 3.31).

- (17) *ye dou, ye dou-dou, tau dou-dou*
 3.SG cry 3.SG RED-cry, man RED-cry
 'he cried, he is crying, mourner (crying man)'

- (18) *Kae-gu ye tagodu*
 leg-1.SG 3.SG broken
 'My leg is broken.' (S 118)
- (19) *Kae-gu tago-tagodu-na-ne ye kam-kamna*
 leg-1.SG RED-broken-3.SG-DET 3 SG RED-hurt
 'My broken leg hurts.' (S 117)
- (20) *kulu-na lohaloha-na, kulu-na ye loha*
 hair-3.SG RED-long-SG hair-3.SG 3.SG long
 'her long hair, her hair is long' (S 223)
- (21) *kulu-na hou-hou-na kulu-na ye hou*
 hair-3.SG RED-grey-SG hair-3.SG 3.SG grey
 'her grey hair, her hair is grey'
- (22) *kai namwa-namwa-di*
 food RED-good-PL
 'good food (lit. good foods)' (T 3.15)
- (23) *kai se namwa*
 food 3.PL good
 'the food is good (lit. the foods are good)'

Among the exceptions are *buina* 'ripe' (T 2.4), *yababa* 'bad' (T 1.9), *gagili* 'small', *habulu* 'short', *woiyawaudoi* 'huge' (T 1.3).

Verbal nouns are derived by reduplication from activity verbs, whereas verbal nouns derived from stative verbs are not reduplicated.

- (24) *yo-di sobu-sobu, loha-na, laki-na*
 POSS-3.PL RED-dance long-3.SG big-3.SG
 'their dancing' (W 85), 'its length' (W 86), 'its size' (W 31)

3.2. Nouns

Four kinds of affixes are found on nouns: 1. pronominal possessive suffixes in inalienable possessive constructions (ch. 6), e.g. *Maui sina-na* 'Maui's mother', 2. the plural suffix {-o, -ao, -uwo, -wao} on nouns referring to human beings, e.g. *wawaya-o* 'the children', 3. the locative suffix *-i*, e.g. *numa-i* 'inside the house', and 4. determiners, e.g.

- (25) *wawaya-o-wa, iha-na-o-wa*
 child-PL-DET, brother-in-law-3.SG-PL-DET
 'the children' (T 1.11), 'his brother-in-laws' (T 3.13)

In addition, some human nouns can be reduplicated to express plurality, e.g. *hewa-hewali* 'the young men' (T 2.10). Sometimes plurality is marked by reduplication as well as by the plural suffix.

- (26) teina hewa-hewali-uwo-ta
this RED-young man-PL-DET
'these young men' (T 3.3)
- (27) tubu-gu sine-sine-bada-o labui
grandparent-1.SG RED-woman-old-PL two
'my two grandmothers' (S 142)
- (28) natu-gu sine kesega, natu-gu sine-sine-o labui
child-1.SG woman one child-1.SG RED-woman-PL two
'my only daughter, my two daughters' (S 83)

Non-human nouns are not marked for number. Whether they refer to a single item or to more than one item can only be seen from the context, i.e. from the cross-referencing affixes on verbs, possessee nouns, possessive classifiers, adjectives, and postpositions.

3.3. Numerals

Cardinal numerals

<i>kesega</i>	'one'
<i>labui</i>	'two'
<i>haeyona</i>	'three'
<i>hasi</i>	'four'
<i>haligigi</i>	'five'
<i>haligi kesega</i>	'six'
<i>haligi labui</i>	'seven'
<i>haligi haeyona</i>	'eight'
<i>haligi hasi</i>	'nine'
<i>saudoudoi</i>	'ten'
<i>saudoudoi kesega</i>	'eleven'
<i>tau kesega ye mwalo</i>	'twenty [one man is dead] ¹
<i>tamoai labui se mwalo</i>	'forty [two men are dead]'

ordinal numerals

<i>bagubaguna</i>	'first'
<i>he-labui</i>	'second'
<i>he-haeyona</i>	'third'

etc

Frequentative numerals are derived from cardinal numerals by *ma-*, e.g. *malabui* 'two times', *mahaeyona* 'three times', etc.

¹ The origin of this expression is unclear.

3.4. Pronouns

	<u>independent</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>object</u>	<u>possessive</u>
1.sg.	<i>yau</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>-gau</i>	<i>-gu</i>
2.sg.	<i>kowa</i>	<i>ko,ku,'o,'u</i>	<i>-go</i>	<i>-m</i>
3.sg.	<i>iya</i>	<i>ye/i</i>		<i>-na</i>
1.inc.	<i>kita</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-da</i>
1.exc.	<i>kai</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>-gai</i>	<i>-ma/mai</i>
2.pl.	<i>komiu</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>-gomiu</i>	<i>-mi</i>
3.pl.	<i>sia</i>	<i>se/si</i>	<i>-di</i>	<i>-di</i>

Independent pronouns form noun phrases and can have a determiner.

- (29) *Kai-wa ka matausi.*
1.EXC-DET 1.EXC scared
'We were scared'. (T 1.13)

Subject pronouns, which refer to the subject of verbal clauses, are obligatory even in imperative clauses. The object pronouns only occur with specific objects.

- (30) *Wawaya-o-wa kwa hanoi-di,...*
child-PL-DET 2.PL wake-up-3.PL
'Wake up the children ...' (T 1.11)
- (31) *Sina-gu yo tama-gu se hanoi-gai.*
mother-1.SG and father-1.SG 3.PL wake up-1.EXC
'My mother and my father woke us up.' (T 1.12)

The forms *ku* and *u* of the second person singular are used when the event expressed by the verb is not realised as, for instance, in imperatives, e.g. *ku lau 'go!*

In alienable possessive constructions, the possessive pronoun is attached to one of the two possessive classifiers.

<i>yo-</i>		<i>ka-</i>	
<i>yogu numa</i>	'my house'	<i>kagu puaka</i>	'my pig'
<i>yom numa</i>	'your house'	<i>kam puaka</i>	'your pig'
<i>yona numa</i>	'his/her house'	<i>kana puaka</i>	'his/her pig'
<i>yoda numa</i>	'our (inc) house'	<i>kada puaka</i>	'our (inc) pig'
<i>yoma numa</i>	'our (exc) house'	<i>kama puaka</i>	'our (exc) pig'
<i>yomi numa</i>	'your house'	<i>kami puaka</i>	'your pig'
<i>yodi numa</i>	'their house'	<i>kadi puaka</i>	'their pig'

With inalienably possessed nouns, the plural suffix is attached to the possessive suffix.

<i>natu-gu</i>	'my child'	<i>natu-gu-wao</i>	'my children'
<i>natu-m</i>	'your child'	<i>natu-m-wao</i>	'your children'
<i>natu-na</i>	'his/her child'	<i>natu-na-o</i>	'his/her children'
<i>natu-da-o</i>	'our (inc) child'	<i>natu-da-o</i>	'our (inc) children'
<i>natu-mai</i>	'our (exc) child'	<i>natu-mai-ao</i>	'our (exc) children'
<i>natu-mi</i>	'your child'	<i>natu-mi-ao</i>	'your children'
<i>natu-di</i>	'their child'	<i>natu-di-ao</i>	'their children'

3.5. Demonstratives

With the exception of *meta*, the demonstratives precede the head noun. The demonstrative pronoun *meta* follows the head noun and its determiner (ch. 5.3).

<i>teina</i>	'this (very close to the speaker)'
<i>tenem</i>	'that (close to the addressee)'
<i>temeta, meta</i>	'that' (T 2.21, T 3.14))
<i>wau</i>	'this'; in <i>wau mayadaiwa</i> 'this day' (T 1.11)

3.6 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

Most words which function as interrogative pronouns can also function as indefinite pronouns.

<i>haedi</i>	(n.) 'where, anywhere' (32, 158)
<i>hisa</i>	(num.) 'how many, some' (159)
<i>kaitea</i>	(n.) 'who, somebody, anybody' (155, 156)
<i>kaiuyana</i>	(n.) 'when' ¹ (158)
<i>saha</i>	(n.) 'what, something, anything' (155, 157, T 1.11, T 1.13)
<i>sahasaha</i>	(n.) 'which one'

- (32) *Haedi* kwa lau? Nige *haedi* ka lau.
 where 2.PL.go not where 1.EXC go
 Where did you go? We did not go anywhere.

Two interrogative words are verbs: *dohagi* 'how' (160) and *sahato* 'why' (161).

¹ We could not find a context where *kaiuyana* would mean 'anytime'.

3.7. Determiners

Determiners hold the last position of the noun phrase.

<i>tu</i>	'this (close to the speaker)'
<i>me</i>	'that (close to the listener)'
<i>ne</i>	'that (specific, not close to either)'
<i>wa</i>	'that (particular person or object which had already been mentioned before whose identity is given by the context or the speech situation)'; noun phrases marked by <i>wa</i> refer to (T 1.3-4)

- (33) *Waila-me ye waini.*
 water-DET 3.SG boil
 'The water (near you) is boiling.' (G 55)
- (34) *Waila-wa ye waini ko?*
 water DET 3.SG boil PERF
 'Has the water boiled?' (knowing that the water was to be boiled) (G 55)
- (35) ...*wau mayadai-wa saha se ginauli?*
 today day-DET what 3.PL do?
 'What did they do this morning?' (T 1.11)

3.8. Postpositions

We have three postpositions in our data: 1. *e-*¹ 'in, at, to', 2. *'unai* (sg.) / *'udiedi* (pl.) 'in, at, to, because of', and *sabi-* 'for'. The postpositions *e-* and *sabi-* have a possessive suffix which crossreferences the postpositional object. The forms *'unai* (sg.) and *udiedi* (pl.) look as if they were derived from a stem *'u-*.

- (36) 'u- na- i, 'u- di-e- di
 STEM-3.SG-? STEM-3.PL-PP-3.PL

The postpositions *e* and *'unai* / *'udiedi* have a wide range of meanings. It is not clear in which respect they differ. Compare:
 place (cf. T 1.1, T 2.1)

- (37) *yo-gu numa e-na, yo-gu numa 'unai*
 POSS-my house PP-3.SG POSS-1.SG house PP
 'in my house'

¹ When following a word ending in *-i*, *-e* or *-u*, the postposition *e* is realised as *ye*. Morphophonologically it is an affix which is attached to the last word of the noun phrase forming the object of the postposition, but we think that Saliba will be easier to read if we write the postposition separately.

goal

- (38) yo-na magai e-na, numa-wa gatowa-na-wa 'unai
 POSS-3.SG village PP-3.SG house-DET roof-3.SG-DET PP.SG
 'to his village' (T 2.16), 'to the roof of the house' (T 2.22)

instrument

- (39) Weku habulu-na 'unai se kaiheya.
 stone small-3.SG PP.SG 3.PL play
 'They played with a small stone.' (A 61)
- (40) weku habulu-di haiyona udiyedi se kaiheya
 stone small-3.PL three PP-3.PL 3.PL play
 'They played with three small stones.' (A 59)

time

- (41) Nige, muli e-na ya deuli-di.
 no later PP-3.SG 1.SG wash-3.pl
 'No, I wash them later.'

object complement

- (42) ...kabo waihiu-ne i hai mwane-na e-na
 ...TAM woman-DET 3.SG take wife-3.SG PP-3.SG
 '...he will take the woman as his wife.' (T 2.12)

cause

- (43) Teina 'unai...
 this PP.SG
 'because of this...' (T 2.4)

There is one example of in which 'unai has the position of a serial verb (compare T 3.30).

- (44) ...solasola se dui dobi 'unai.
 passage 3.PL swim go down into
 ...they dived into the passage. (T 3.25)

The postposition *sabi-* is used when, for instance, someone is crying in order to get something.

- (45) Susu sabi-na ye dou.
 milk for-3.SG 3.SG cry
 'She cried for milk.' (W 113)

3.9. Prepositions

We found two prepositions in our data: the comitative *ma/ maiya-* 'with' and *doha* 'like'. The form *ma* of the comitative preposition is used with inalienably possessed kinship terms and nominalised verbs.¹ In the following examples the subject pronoun is plural, because its number is not determined by form, but by content.. Note that the position of the comitative phrase can vary.

- (46) Ma natu-na sine se lau koya-i.
 with child-3.SG woman 3.PL go garden-LOC
 'The woman went with her child to the garden.' (S 141)
- (47) Hewali-wa ma mwane-na se kai...
 young man-DET with spouse-3.SG 3.PL eat
 'The young man and his wife ate...' (T 2.27, cf. T 3.11, 28)

The stem *maya-* is used with possessive suffixes when the object is pronominal, e.g. *maya-gu* 'with me' or when it is a term which is alienably constructed.

- (48) Taubinawaia maiya-na saeya Tautelewaia ka-di paisoa-ede
 Taubinawaia with-3.SG brother Tautelewaia POSS-3.PL work-EDE
 'Taubinawaia's and Tautelewaia's work...' (T 3.5)
- (49) tau-bada maya-na nigwa
 man-old with-3.SG knife
 'the old man with the knife'

3.10. Conjunctions

The texts show the following conjunctions: *yo* 'and, connecting nouns and noun phrases' (T 1.12, T 2.4, T 3.2), *na* 'and, connecting clauses' (cf. ch. 13), *huyaya* 'when', *gom* 'as soon as', *unaede* 'because', *usina* 'while' (cf. ch. 11), *ena* 'if' (cf. ch. 12)

4. Morphology: prefixes, suffixes, clitics and reduplication

Prefixes

1. *he-* causative (ch. 3.1)
2. *ta-* anticausative (ch. 3.1)

¹ Coordination of nouns and noun phrases is expressed by *yo*, and coordination of clauses by *na*, cf. 3.10

Suffixes

1. pronominal suffixes: object suffixes (ch. 3.4), possessive suffixes (ch. 3.4), the singular and plural suffix on verbal attributes (ch. 3.1)
2. the transitive suffix (ch. 3.1)
3. the plural suffix on human nouns (ch. 3.2)
4. the locative suffix *-i* (ch. 3.2)

Clitics

1. the determiners (ch. 3.6, 5.2)
2. the topic marker for given information *ede* (ch. 14)
3. the postposition *e* (ch. 3.8)

The functions of reduplication (ch.1.3) are:

1. the derivation of instrumental and verbal nouns from verbs,

<i>kuya</i>	'to sweep'	<i>kuyakuya</i>	'broom' (G 33)
<i>lau</i>	'go'	<i>laulau</i>	'method, way' (T 3.8)
<i>hedede</i>	'talk, speak'	<i>hedehedede</i>	'word; talking' (W 83)

2. the derivation of attributive verb forms (ch. 3.1),
3. the formation of the imperfect aspect (ch. 7.3).

5. Noun phrase

5.0. Introduction

Noun phrases function as subjects and objects in verbal clauses, as subjects and predicates in nominal clauses, as the object of postpositions, and in certain cases as peripheral arguments expressing the time of an event or the goal of a movement. The simplest noun phrase consists of a bare head, e.g. *mwaedo* 'an eel' (T 1.2). The head can be specified by prenuclear demonstratives and possessors. Nominal and verbal modifiers, quantifiers and numerals follow the head. The relative clauses are internal relative clauses. The last position of the noun phrase can be occupied by a determiner. The following sections deal with the nucleus and all modifiers except for the possessives, which will be treated in chapter 7.

5.1. The nucleus

The nucleus can be formed by common nouns, proper names, demonstratives, independent pronouns, and interrogative pronouns.

- (50) *Wawaya-o-wa kwa hanoi-di,...*
child-PL-DET 2.PL wake up-3.PL
'Wake the children up!' (T 1.11)
- (51) *Teina tama-gu.*
this father-my
'This is my father.' (S 81)
- (52) *Tenem saha?*
that what
'What is that?' (W 19)
- (53) *Kai-wa ka matausi palapa...*
1.EXC-DET 1.EXC scared really
'We were terribly scared.' (T 1.13)
- (54) *Sina-gu yo tamagu-gu se hanoi-gai.*
mother-my and father-my 3.PL wake up-1.EXC
'My father and my mother woke us up.' (T.1.12)

5.2. Determiners

The determiners, which are attached to the last constituent of the noun phrase¹, express that the noun phrase refers to a specific person or thing and locate the referent with regard to the speech situation or the context (cf. 3.7). Items which are mentioned in a narrative text for the first time and cannot be considered as given in the described situation are expressed by noun phrases without determiners.

- (55) *Ka huku-huku ede mwaedo ka katuni.*
1.EXC RED-fish EDE eel 1.EXC catch
'We were fishing and caught an eel.' (T 1.2)

Secondly, noun phrases in predicative function do not have a determiner (which is plausible, as these noun phrases are not referential).

- (56) *Tenem numa.*
that house
'That is a house.'

¹Rona sometimes writes them as separate elements.

Occasionally, the determiner occurs at the end of the noun phrase as well as on the head noun.

- (57) tenem nogi-ne hauhau -na-ne
that grass-skirt-DET new-SG-det
'that new grass-skirt'

5.3. Demonstratives

With one exception, the demonstratives hold the first position of the noun phrase.

Noun phrases which are specified by a demonstrative must have a determiner, so that nominal clauses, e.g. *Tenem numa* 'That is a house', are distinguished from noun phrases.

- (58) Tenem numa-ne ya henua.
that house-DET 1.SG like
'I like that house.'

The demonstrative and the determiner agree in their deictic category.

- (59) Teina numa-ta ya henua.
this house-DET 1.SG like
'I like this house (said when I am inside the house).'

The only demonstrative which follows the head and comes after the determiner is *meta* 'that'. Its exact meaning is unclear.

- (60) Hewali-wa meta hasala-wa i tawasolao yako.
young man-DET that girl-DET 3.SG married PERF
'The young man had already married the girl.' (T 2.21)

5.4. Modifying nouns

The modifying nouns, which never take determiners, are not referential, but characterise the referent of the head noun as being of a certain kind.

- (61) pilipou guni, tobwa leiyaha
pants bottom basket pandanus leaf
'underpants' (lit. bottom pants), pandanus leaf basket (S 23)
- (62) waihiu tamoai nige manua
girl human being not bird
'(The child she (the crow) gave birth to was) a human girl,
not a bird.' (T. 2.3)

Often modifying nouns are themselves modified by nominal or verbal attributes.

- (63) hewa-hewali tau-yamayama boda-di
RED-young man man-RED-fish group-3.PL
'a group of young fishermen' (T 2.10)

5.5. Verbal attributes

There are two types of constructions of verbal attributes. In the first construction, the verb carries a number suffix, *-na* for the singular and *-di* for the plural, which are formally identical with the third person possessive suffixes.

- (64) mwaedo gagili-na mwaedo gagili-di
eel small-3.SG eel small-PL
'a small eel' 'small eels'

The verbal attribute can be modified by the adverb *kalili* 'very', in which case the suffix is attached to *kalili*.

- (65) Numa laki-laki kalili-na ya mia.
house RED-big very-3.SG 1.SG live
'I lived in a very big house.'

One verbal attribute can modify two coordinated nouns.

- (66) mwauyope yo baela buina-di
pawpaw and banana ripe-3.PL
'ripe pawpaws and bananas' (T 2.4)

The examples illustrate that in the first construction the verbal attribute denotes a property which distinguishes the person or object in question from other persons or objects of the same kind: a small eel - not a big one, a big house - not a small one. In the second type of construction, the verbal attribute is not marked for number and has a quite different function.

- (67) numa gagili
house small
'a toilet'
- (68) huya yababa palapa ,huya namwa-namwa
weather bad really weather RED-good
'really bad weather, a thunder storm' (T 1.9), 'good weather'
(T 2.9)

Here the attribute expresses that the person or object belongs to a particular type of person or object by denoting one of its characteristic properties, which, however, is not the only and often not the

most important property. Being small is certainly not the most important property of a *numa gagili*. In many cases the noun-attribute constructions without number suffixes seem to be lexicalised compounds. Many verbs which are reduplicated in the first type of construction are not reduplicated in such lexicalised compounds.

- (69) gabwa laki, waila laki
 sea big water big
 ocean, river

5.6 . Numerals

Cardinal numerals precede or follow verbal attributes.

- (70) Hewali kesega saesae-na...
 young man one handsome-SG..
 'One handsome young man...' (T 2.15)
- (71) Tama-gu yo-na numa laki-laki-di labui-ne ya
 father-1.SG POSS-3.SG house RED-big-PL two-DET 1.SG
 henua-di.
 like-PL
 'I like my father's two big houses.' (N 21)

Ordinal numerals behave like verbal attributes and are marked for number.

- (72) *mayadai bagubagu-na* the first day
mayadai he-labui-na the second day
mayadai he haiyona-na the third day (A 33)

5.7. Adpositional phrases

- (73) tamoai maketi-ne 'unai-wa yo-na numa
 man market-DET PP-DET POSS-3.SG house
 'the man at the market's house' (S 47)

5.8. Relative clauses

Saliba has internal relative constructions, i.e. the head of the relative clause construction is inside in the relative clause. In the first example the relative construction functions as a subject, in the second as the object of the postposition 'unai'. The determiner of the noun phrase is attached to the predicate of the relative clause, as this is the last constituent of the whole noun phrase.

- (74) Tahali-wa 'unai se heloi se lau-wa ye kwailolo.
 reef-DET PP.SG 3.PL run 3.PL go-DET 3.SG hard
 'The reef which they ran to and walked on was hard.' (T 2.14)
- (75) sabati-wa ta lau-gabei-wa 'unai
 week-DET 1.INC go-leave behind-DET PP.SG
 'last week [in the week we left behind].' (W 62)

6. So-called possessive constructions

We distinguish between alienable and inalienable possessive constructions. In inalienable constructions the possessed noun (the possessee) carries a pronominal suffix referring to the possessor, e.g. *sina-gu* 'my mother', *sina-na* 'his or her mother'. If the possessor is a noun phrase, it precedes the possessee which still carries a third person pronominal suffix agreeing with the nominal possessor in number.

- (76) sine natu-na
 woman child-3.SG
 'the child of the woman' (T 2.23)

In alienable possessive constructions the possessor pronoun is attached to one of the two possessive classifiers *yo-* or *ka-*. Nominal possessors precede the classifier+pronoun construction.

<i>yo-gu numa</i>	'my house'	<i>ka-gu kai</i>	'my food'
<i>yo-na numa</i>	'his / her house'	<i>ka-na kai</i>	'his / her food'
<i>Maui yo-na numa</i>	'Maui's house'	<i>Maui ka-na kai</i>	'Maui's food'
<i>taubada yo-na numa</i>	'the old man's house'	<i>taubada ka-na kai</i>	'the old man's food'
<i>tau-taubada-o yo-di</i>	'the old men's house'	<i>tau-taubada-o ka-di kai</i>	'the old men's food'
<i>numa</i>			

- (77) iha-na-o ka-di gulewa-wa
 brother-in-law-3.SG-PL POSS-3.PL pot-DET
 'the pot (of food) of his brothers-in-law' (T 3.14)
- (78) Teina 'unai aoao-wa ka-na paisoa ...
 this PP.SG crow-DET POSS-3.SG habit
 'Because of this, the habit of the crow (was)...' (T 2.4)

The following example shows a postpositional phrase whose object is an alienable possessive construction.

- (79) hewali-wa yo-na magai e-na
 young man-DET POSS-3.SG village PP-3.SG
 'to the young man's village' (T 2.16)

On clause level, possession is expressed by non-verbal constructions in which the possessor noun functions as the subject and the possessee noun as the head of the predicate.

- (80) Waihiu-wa *lou-na-o labui*.
 woman-DET brother-3.SG-PL two
 'The woman had two brothers.'
 (lit. 'The woman her two brothers.') (T 3.2)
- (81) Sina-gu *yo-na nogi*.
 mother-my POSS-3.SG grass skirt
 'My mother is wearing a grass skirt.'
 (lit. 'My mother her grass skirt.')

These clausal constructions differ from their phrasal counterparts in that they can be negated by the negation *nige* 'not' which holds the first position of the predicate phrase and thus separates the subject from the predicate.

- (82) Yau *nige natu-gu*.
 1.SG not child-my
 'I don't have a child.' (S 103)
- (83) Yau *nige yo-gu kedewa*.
 1.SG not POSS-1.SG dog
 'I don't have a dog.' (S 198)

The inalienable and the two alienable constructions denote three different kinds of relationship.

<u>inalienable constructions</u>	<u>alienable ka- constructions</u>	<u>alienable yo- constructions</u>
kinship	kinship	kinship
(part/whole)	(s.th that affects a person's body)	(s.th. a person controls)
1. s.o.'s bodyparts	1. the food s.o. eats	1. something a person owns
2. the parts of a thing	2. the clothes s.o. wears	2. the agent of intransitive and transitive actions
3. spatial relation	3. illnesses	
4. container and content	4. involuntary events and those affected by them	
5. quantity and quantified item(s)		
6. transitive actions and their patients		

One and the same noun can function as the possessee in inalienable and alienable *ka-* and *yo-* constructions:

<u>inalienable constructions</u>	<u>alienable ka- constructions</u>	<u>alienable yo- constructions</u>
<i>pou-na</i> her egg (the hen's egg)	<i>ka-na pou</i> his/her egg (the egg he/she is going to eat)	<i>yo-na pou</i> his/her egg (the egg she/he owns, sells on the market)
<i>tautau-gu</i> the photo depicting me		<i>yo-gu tautau</i> my photo
	<i>ka-gu kainaoya</i> my gift (that I receive)(W 120)	<i>yo-gu kainaoya</i> my gift (that I give away) (W 119)

Typical examples for each category

1. Bodyparts

- (84) Maui *nima-na*
 Maui hand-3.SG
 'Maui's hand'

2. Part/whole relationships

- (85) niu *wuwu-na*
 coconut root-3.SG
 'the root of the coconut' (T 1.15)

3. Spatial relation ¹

- (86) yo-gu *numa dedeka-na e-na*
 POSS-1.SG house side-3.SG PP-3.SG
 'near my house (at the side of my house)' (P 20)
- (87) *numa-na-ne kalo-na-ne 'unai*
 house-3.SG-DET inside-3.SG-DET in
 'inside the house' (P 3)
- (88) Sidea, Saliba *duaduali-di-ne*
 Sidea Saliba middle-3.PL-DET
 'between Sidea and Saliba' (T 3.30)

Similar constructions are found with *dagala* 'back, behind', *kewa* 'top', *yauli* 'underside'.

4. Container and content

- (89) *waila kaputi-na*
 water cup-3.SG
 'a cup of water' (G 36)

¹ These constructions are typical for Oceanic languages, cf. Bowden 1992

5. Quantifier and quantified item(s)

- (90) mayadai maudo-i-na, hewa-hewali maudo-i-di
 day all-3.SG RED-young man all-3.PL
 'the whole day' (T 3.6), 'all young men' (T 2.13)

2. Alienable *ka-* constructions for food, clothes, illnesses, involuntary events and other things that affect a person

- (91) kana baela kadi gulewa
 'her banana' (T 2.25) 'their claypot (of food)' (T 3.13)

kana sihi, kana kao
 'his loincloth', 'his appearance' (S 151)

kagu kasiyebwa, kagu musimusi
 'my illness' (S 119), 'my hiccups' (S 181)

- (92) Aoa-o-wa ka-na nabu, ka-na mahana, ...
 crow-DET POSS-3.SG rain POSS-3.SG sun
 'The crow was exposed to the rain, to the sun' ...
 (lit. 'the crow (had) her rain, her sun') (T 2.24)

The selection of *ka-* is not always predictable. On the basis of our criteria one would expect that *paisoa* 'habit, work' requires *yo-* in possessive constructions.

- (93) kana paisoa, kadi paisoa
 'her habit' (T 2.4), 'their habit' (T 3.5)

In a few cases the possessor can be inanimate:

- (94) kana siga
 'its boundary (of a garden)' (S 153)

3. Alienable *yo-* constructions for things a person owns and for his/ her actions

- (95) tamoai yo-di koya e-di
 human POSS-3.PL garden PP-3.PL
 'from the gardens of the human beings' (T 2.4)

- (96) yo-di hede-hedede
 POSS-3.PL RED-talk
 'their talk' (W 83)

The semantic function of these constructions, which most linguists call 'possessive constructions', is not to express possessive relationships, if possession is -however broadly- understood as a kind of ownership. Leaving the kin relationships aside for a moment, these constructions express three kinds of relationship:

1. Partitive relationships.

2. Non-partitive relationships between a person (encoded as the possessor) and other persons or things (encoded as the possessee) in which the possessor controls the possessee. By control I mean

that the possessor can do something with the possessee, he or she can acquire it, create it, make it his or her own, use it as a tool, leave it to others to become its possessor etc.

3. Non-partitive relationships in which the possessee affects the possessor, particularly the possessor's body.

In inalienable constructions the nature of the relation between possessor and possessee is inherently given. It is not expressed by any morphological means, but evident from the meaning of possessee and possessor, who appear in juxtaposition. In alienable constructions the kind of relationship is made explicit by the possessive classifier. The classifiers are relators and thus similar to adpositions.

Kinship terms are found in each type of possessive construction. Why one term selects an inalienable construction and another an alienable one is unclear and probably has historical reasons.

inalienable

sina-na, tama-na

'his/her mother, father'

low-gu

'my sibling (of opposite sex)'

tubu-gu

'my grandparent, grandchild'

iha-di

'their brother-in-law' (T 3.4)

alienable

*ka-gu bogao*¹

'my family' (S 100)

ka-gu kaha

'my sibling (of same sex)'

yo-gu saeya

'my sibling (of same sex)'

*ka-gu tubu bagu-na*²

'my ancestors'

ka-gu tubu mulita

'my descendents' (S 145)

yogu badalendia

'my uncle'

yogu golowa

'my nephew/niece'

Ka - and *yo* possessors can function as arguments expressing the beneficiary and the addressee of a speech act verb, respectively. The argument can be marked by a determiner.

- (97) ...kabo yo-di-wa ka hede-hedede.
 ...TAM POSS-3.PL-DET 1.EXC RED-tell
 '...then we told them'. (T 1.14)

- (98) Bubui ka-mai ku wana!
 granny POSS-1.EXC 2 SG sing
 'Granny sing for us!'

¹ seems to be related to *boga* 'stomach', -o could be the plural suffix, the literal meaning would be 'my stomachs'
² *bagu-na* is obviously related to *bagubagu-na* 'first', and *mulita* to *muli* 'bottom'

7. The verb phrase and verbal clauses

7.0. Introduction

The verb phrase obligatorily consists of a subject pronoun and a head. The head can be a verb (99), a noun (100) or a compound (101).

(99) ka dobi, ye namwa kalili
1. EXC. go down 3.SG good very
'we went down' (T 1.1) 'it was very good' (T 2.6)

(100) ye hesala
3.SG young girl
'(the child) became a young girl' (T 2.5)

(101) ye nua yababa
3.SG heart bad
'he was not happy (had a bad heart)' (T 3.8)

The compounds are formed by a bodypart term and a modifying verb and express the meaning of 'to have a'¹ Further examples from our corpus:

(102) Ya gado magu.
1.SG throat dry
'I am thirsty (have a dry throat).' (S 127)

(103) Kae-gu ye bonu sinibu.
leg-1.SG 3.SG sore fat
'My leg has a boil.' (S 122)

These compounds can also function as attributes (ch. 5.5), e.g. *guni dubaduba* '(have) a black bottom' in

(104) tenem sosipani guni duba-duba-na-ne
that saucepan bottom RED-black-3.SG-DET
'that saucepan with the black bottom.'

7.1. Tense

Tense is not grammaticalised in Saliba. There do not seem to be any bound or free morphemes whose function it is to indicate past or future tense, but there are temporal adverbs like *lahi* 'yesterday', *malaïtom* 'tomorrow', *ena* 'now', adverbial phrases, e.g. *huya hesau* 'one day, once upon a time' (T 1.1, T 2.2) and a number of aspectual and modal means of expression which together with the

¹ This kind of compounds is productive in other Austronesian languages (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 88 ff).

context imply a certain time reference.

7.2. The realis and the irrealis subject pronoun

As mentioned in 3.4, there are two subject pronouns for the second person singular: the realis pronoun *ko'o* and the irrealis pronoun *ku'u*.

7.3. Perfective and imperfective aspect

Activity verbs distinguish between perfective and imperfective aspect. While the perfective aspect is unmarked, the imperfective aspect is marked by reduplication. The imperfective aspect expresses habitual and progressive events.

(105) ...aao-wa ka-na paisoa ...
crow-DET POSS-3.SG work
mwaupope yo baela buina-di ye kai-kaiwahali-di
pawpaw and banana ripe-PL 3.SG RED-steal-3.PL
'...the crow's work was... to steal ripe pawpaws and bananas'
(T 2.4)

(106) ...nige koya-i se pai-paisoa.
...not garden-in 3.PL RED-work
'...(they) did not work in the garden.' (T 3.3)

(107) Ka huku-huku-ede mwaedo ka katuni.
1.EXC RED-fish- EDE eel 1.EXC catch
'When we were fishing, we caught an eel.' (T 1.2)

7.4. Preverbal TAM - particles

Kabo

This particle indicates that something new happens. In narratives this means that the course of events takes a turn, that the current situation has changed.¹ The position of *kabo* is variable. It can hold the first position of a clause and precede all arguments, even peripheral arguments (T 1.41), or follow the peripheral argument and precede the subject (T 1.1, 2.2, 2.2), or directly precede the predicate.

(108) Ka keno-keno na kabo nabu ye talu ...
1.EXC RED-sleep and TAM rain 3.SG fall
'When we were sleeping, it started to rain.' (T 1.9)

¹ Compare T 1.1, 1.14, 1.16, 1.17, 2.2, 2.7, 2.13, 2.16, 2.19, 2.22, T 3.9, 3.17, 3.18, 3.22, 3.37.

- (109) Tubu-gu sine-bada ye tooolo kabo ye yoga
grandparent-my woman-old 3.SG wake up TAM 3.SG call out
'My grandmother woke up and called out.' (T 1.10)

In conversations which take the moment of the utterance as the point of reference, *kabo* expresses that the event in question will happen in the future. Again, this is something new with regard to the current situation, something that implies a change.

- (110) Gaeba ko deuli-di ko?
dish 2.SG wash-3.PL already

Nige, muli e-na kabo ya deuli-di
no later PP-3.SG TAM 1.SG wash-3.PL
'Did you wash the dishes?' 'No, I'll wash them later.'
- (111) Saha kabo ta ginauli?
what TAM 1 INC do
'What are we going to do?' (N 30)
- (112) Ku lau maketi e kabo inai mo ku mia-mia?
2.SG go market or TAM here just 2.SG RED-stay
'Are you going to the market or just staying here?'
- (113) Bolimai labui gehe-di kabo ya lau magai.
year two end-3.PL TAM 1.SG go village
'After two years, I'll go home. (The end of two years...)'
(A 30)

In the next example *kabo* is used for comparison.

- (114) Maui saliya-na ye loha na kabo Tahali.
Maui height-3.SG 3.SG long and then Tahali
'Maui is taller than Tahali.'
('Maui's height is long and then Tahali.')

Bena

Bena expresses that something should happen or that someone should do something. It can often be translated by English 'must', but it is not as strong as 'must', as the second example shows.

- (115) Bena teinamona ku lau maketi!
must immediately 2.SG go market
'You must go to the market!' (D 10)
- (116) Ya henua bena pasta yo-na pwaole ya kaiwahali.
1.SG want TAM pastor POSS-3.SG rooster 1.SG steal
'I want to steal the pastor's rooster.' (N 31)

Tabu

Tabu is a negation which is used in imperatives and in sentences that express that something should not happen. If the subject is a third person, it is combined with *bena*.

- (117) Tabu ku mode.
not 2.SG worry
'Don't worry!' (N 91)
- (118) Tabu bena kaitea i kita-gau.
not must someone 3.SG see-1.SG
'Don't let anybody see me.' (N 44)
- (119) Tama-di ye hedede lau tabu bena niu se mwalaei.
father-3.PL 3.SG tell go not must coconut 3.PL climb
'Their father told (them) not to climb the coconut tree.' (G 25)

Taba

Taba is only found in combination with the negation *nige* 'not' and expresses that someone does not want to do something.

- (120) Taba nige ya hedede.
WANT not 1.SG tell
'I don't want to tell.' (N 26)
- (121) Lou-m ye wane
brother-2.SG 3.SG say

yo-gu pwaole taba nige ye kaiwahali.
POSS-1.SG rooster WANT not 3.SG steal
'Your brother said he would not steal my rooster.' (N 12)

Besina

Besina expresses that something has to be done regardless of the circumstances.

- (122) Ye masigili besina ye keno.
3.SG dark must 3.SG sleep.
'When it was dark, she had to sleep (although she still hadn't found her).' (T 2.18)
- (123) Ye wowolina besina se lau mo.
3.SG stormy must 3.PL go just
'It was stormy but nevertheless they had to go.'

Gonoana

We could not classify the word *gonoa-na* (sg.), *gonoa-di* (pl.), which looks like an inalienably possessed noun. It is used to express that someone is able to do something (cf. T 3.28).

- (124) Gonoa-na u kalina Saliba?
able-SG 2.SG speak Saliba
'Can you speak Saliba?' (N 193)

- (125) (Sia) gonoa-di se kalina Saliba.
3.PL able-PL 3.PL speak Saliba
'They can speak Saliba.' (N 53)

Nuana

This word, which seems to be related to *nua* 'heart', expresses that the speaker thinks something may be the case.

- (126) Lahi nuana sina-gu ye lau maketi.
yesterday perhaps mother-1.SG 3.SG go market
'Perhaps my mother went to the market yesterday.' (D 6)

7.5. Postverbal temporal and aspectual adverbs

Yako/ko

Verb phrases marked by *yako/ko* express that something has already been done before the time the speaker is talking about. *Yoko* is used with transitive, *ko* with intransitive verb phrases.

- (127) Hewali-wa meta hasala-wa i tawasolao yako.
young man-DET that girl-DET 3.SG marry already
'That young man had already married the girl.' (T 2.21)
- (128) Yo-gu ye kalasi ko.
POSS-1.SG burn already
'My house burnt down.' (G 3)
- (129) Waila-wa ye waini ko?
water-DET 3.SG boil already
'Has the water boiled?'

Kesegai

The word *kesegai* 'continuously, without interruption' is obviously derived from *kesega* 'one'.

- (130) Ye dou kesegai...
3. SG cry continuously
'She cried continuously ...' (T 2.26)
- (131) Nabu ye talu kesegai.
rain 3.SG fall continuously
'It kept on raining.' (D 4)

7.6. Serial verbs

The constructions of serial verbs have a variety of functions. Serial verbs can characterise circumstances of events (132), indicate the direction of motions (133), express the result of an event

(134, 135) or that the event came to an end (136). In contrast to the verbs of clause chaining constructions, serial verbs do not have a subject pronoun of their own.

- (132) Ye dou siyasiyayau.
3. SG cry broken hearted
'She cried brokenheartedly.' (T 2.26)
- (133) Se yona dobi, se kita sae
3.PL walk go down 3.PL look go up
'They walked down (T 3.27), they looked up.' (T 3.31)
- (134) Kabo mwaedowa ye boli gabei.
TAM eel-DET 3.SG cut throw away
'So he cut the eel (off the hook and let him) free.' (T 1.19)
- (135) Ye kala mwaloi.
3.SG burn die
'He burnt to death.' (T 3.36)
- (136) Se paisoa lautom.
3.PL work finish
'They finished working.' (S 76)

If the first verb, the head of the construction, is transitive, the modifying verb must be transitive, too. Intransitive verbs are transitivised by the transitive suffix or by the causative prefix, e.g. *dui dobi* 'swim down, dive', *ini dobei* 'pour down'. The head verb, however, loses its transitive suffix, e.g. *tupai* 'knock', *tupa he-guli* 'knock s.o. over (knock make fall down)' (G 77), *lapui* 'listen', *lapu wata-ni-di* 'listen follow them, obey them' (W 48).

- (137) Iha-di ye kabi yababa-i-di
brother-in-law-3.PL 3.SG make bad-TR-3.PL
'Their brother -in-law treated them badly'. (T 3.21)
- (138) Ye mose uyo-i-di.
3.SG give return-TR-3.PL.
'He returned them.' (G 73)

The following example illustrates a further type of verb serialisation. The verb *lau* 'go' is used with *hedede* 'tell' to introduce a goal/ addressee argument.

- (139) Maui sina-di ye hedede lau bena numa se he'a'a.
Maui mother-3.PL 3.SG tell go TAM house 3.PL CAUS-clean
'Their mother told Maui they should clean the house.' (G 31)

Here the complement clause *beno numa se he'a'a* 'they should clean the house' is dependent on the transitive verb *hedede* 'tell', whereas *Maui* is the unmarked goal argument of the intransitive movement verb *lau* 'go' (cf. T 3.37, and ch. 3). The goal/addressee argument of *hedede lau* 'tell s.o. s.th.' can also be marked by *unai* (T 3.9).

7.7. Frequentative numerals

- (140) Ka-gu kaha ya biteli ma-labui
 POSS-1.SG brother 1.SG hit FREQ-two
 'I hit my brother twice.' (A 24)

7.8. Modifying nouns (noun incorporation)

Generic objects are expressed by nouns which directly precede or follow the verb and do not have determiners. The reason for this variation in word order is not clear to us. Compare the definite, indefinite and generic constructions:

- (141) Manua-ne se sipwasipwa-di
 bird-DET 3.PL RED-trap-3.PL
 'They trap the birds.' (definite)
- (142) Manua se sipwasipwa.
 'They are trapping birds.' (indefinite, T 3.5).
- (143) Se manua sipwasipwa.
 'They go bird trapping.' (generic, T 3.7)
- (144) Weku e-di se kaiheya mabolo.
 stone PP-3.PL 3.PL play marble
 'They played the marble game with stones.' (generic, A 57)

7.9. Reflexive constructions

Reflexive actions are expressed by a modifying verb construction, in which *uyoi* (tr.) 'return' modifies the main verb and takes an object suffix which agrees with the subject in person and number.

- (145) Ya he-gilu uyo-i-gau.
 1.SG CAUS-fault return-TR-1.SG
 'I blame myself.' (G 45)

7.10. Directional particles

The directional particles *ma* 'hither' and *wa* 'thither' hold the last position in the verb phrase.

- (146) 'U kita sae ma!
 2.SG look up hither
 'Look up here.'
- (147) Ya dui wa. Ku dui ma.
 1.SG swim thither. 2.SG swim hither
 'I will swim there to you. Swim here (to me).'

8. Nominalisation

Verbs can be nominalised without any derivational morphology just by using them in the function of the heads of noun phrases. In this position they can take possessive suffixes and function as the possessee of inalienable possessive constructions. With intransitive verbs the possessor corresponds to the subject, with transitive verbs to the object.

- (148) Pwaole kaiwahali-na-ne laulau yababa-na.
 rooster steal-3.SG-DET way bad-3.SG
 'Stealing the rooster is a bad way.' (N)
- (149) Hasala-na ye namwa kalili.
 girl¹-3.SG 3.SG good very
 (Her girlhood was very good.)
 'She was a very beautiful girl.' (T 2.6)

An interesting construction, which I have not found in any other Oceanic languages yet, is formed by the comitative preposition and a reduplicated nominalisation. This construction can function as a predicate (151, 152) or an attribute (153) and expresses that somebody or something is in a certain state of being. Compare the following examples.

- (150) Maui keda-wa ye gudu.
 Maui door-DET 3.SG close
 'Maui closed the door'. (G 43)
- (151) Keda-wa ma gudugudu-na.
 door-DET with RED-close-3.SG
 'The door is closed (is with its being closed).' (G 50)

¹ Words denoting persons of a certain age, e.g. *hasala* 'young girl', *hewali* 'young man' can be used as nouns and as verbs in the sense of 'coming to a certain age', e.g. *ye hasala* 'she became a young girl' (T 2.5). In the latter meaning they can be nominalised. This kind of derivation is also found in Samoan.

- (152) Ka-gu kaha ma hasa-hasala-na.
 POSS-1.SG sister with RED-girl-3.SG
 'My sister (of a woman) is still young.'
- (153) lou-gu ma hewa-hewali-na-wa
 brother-1.SG with RED-young man-3.SG-DET
 'my brother (of a woman) who is still a young man'

9. Interrogative clauses

Yes/no - questions and alternative questions are distinguished from declarative clauses only by rising intonation.

- (154) Waiwai ko henua e baela?
 mango 2.SG want or banana
 'Do you want a mango or a banana?' (W 3)

Information questions have the same phrase structure as the corresponding declarative clauses. The interrogative proform holds the same position as the corresponding phrase in the expected answer.

- (155) Kaitea waiwai ye henua? Saha ko henua?
 who mango 3.SG want what 2.SG want
 'Who wants a mango?' (W 6) 'What do you want?'
- (156) Teina kaitea yo-na numa?
 this who POSS-3.SG house
 'Whose house is this?' (lit.This (is) whose house?)
- (157) Numa saha? Numa kaba lauliga.
 house what house place cook
 'What (kind of) house?' 'Cook house.' (W 180, 184)
- (158) Lahi ko lau haedi? Kaiyana ko lau maketi?
 yesterday 2.SG go where? when 2.SG go market
 'Where did you go yesterday?' 'When did you go to the market?'
 (W 7-8)
- Lahi ya lau maketi
 Yesterday 1.SG go market.
 'Yesterday I went to the market.'
- (159) Puaka hisa ? Puaka haligigi.
 pig how many pig five
 'How many pigs?' 'Five pigs.'

The following two examples illustrate the use of the two interrogative verbs *dohagi* 'how' nad *sahato* 'why'. While *dohagi* 'how' seems to be derived from *doha* 'like', *sahato* 'why' reminds us of *saha* 'what'.

- (160) Yo-m magai tamoai-di¹ i dohagi yo-di sobu-sobu?
 POSS-2.SG village people-3.PL 3.SG how POSS-3.PL RED-dance
 'How do the people in your village dance?'
 ('The people of your village, their dancing is how?') (W 84)
- (161) Ye sahato ko lau?
 3. SG why 2.SG go
 Why did you go? (W 103)

10. Complement clauses

It is questionable whether Saliba has complement clauses at all. It seems that we have clause chaining constructions rather than embedded complement clauses. In the following example, *ya lau* at first sight looks like an embedded complement clause.

- (162) Ya henua ya lau. Ya henua bena ya lau
 1.SG want 1.SG go 1.SG want TAM 1.SG go
 'I want to go'. 'I want to (and should) go'. (N 70)

But when we compare the following two sentences, this interpretation becomes doubtful.

- (163) Bubui ye henua-go,
 granny 3.SG want-2.SG
 'Granny wants you.' (N 146)
- (164) Se henua-gau bena ya lau maketi.
 3.PL want-1.SG TAM 1.SG go market
 'They want me to go to the market' (N 141)

Since there is no third person singular object pronoun, we can also argue that *ya henua ya lau* has to be interpreted as 'I want it, I go'.

Verbs of perception like *kita* 'see' do not take complement clauses. Instead of a complement clause construction, a clause chain construction is used when what is perceived is an event.

- (165) Lahi lou-m ya kita
 yesterday brother-2.SG 1.SG see
 yo-gu pwaole ye kaiwahali.
 POSS-1.SG chicken 3.SG steal
 'Yesterday I saw your brother stealing my chicken.'
 ('Yesterday I saw your brother, he stole my chicken.') (N 10)

The clause expressing the perceived event can precede the clause about the perception (T 3.37). The verb *nuatui* 'think, remember' enters the same construction as *kita*.

- (166) Niu-wa ya nuatu-i-di bena ya usai-di.
 coconut-DET 1.SG think-TR-3.PL TAM 1.SG put-3.PL
 'I remembered to put the coconuts (into the basket).'

¹ Note the plural *-di*, because *magai* is a collective noun.

('I thought of the coconuts, I put them in.' (N 120).

- (167) Ya nuatu-i kabo gonoa-na ya ginauli.
1.SG think-TR TAM able-3.SG 1.SG do
'I think I can do it.' (N 38)

The verb *kata* 'know' always has the inalienably possessed noun *kabi* as its object. What *kabi* means is unclear.

- (168) Kabi-gu se kata.
KABI-1.SG 3.PL know
'They know me.' ('They now my *kabi*.') (N 134)
- (169) Kabi-na ya kata malaitom kabo ku lau maketi.
KABI-3.SG 1.SG know tomorrow TAM 2.SG go market.
'I know that you will go to the market tomorrow.' (N 5)
- (170) Kabi-na ya kata kaitea ye ginauli.
KABI-3.SG 1.SG know who 3.SG do
'I know who did it.' (W 28)

11. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses function as peripheral arguments within a superordinate clause. While temporal adverbial clauses precede the main clause, reason clauses follow. With one exception, all adverbial clauses are introduced by a conjunction.

Huyana 'when'

This conjunction is derived from *huya* 'time', *-na* could be the third person singular suffix, so that *huyana* literally means 'its time'. For *gom* 'as soon as' cf. T 1.16.

- (171) *Huyana* sina-gu ye labasi-gau, kai Suau 'unai
when mother-1.SG 3.SG give birth-1.SG 1.EXC Suau PP.SG
ka mia-mia.
1.EXC RED-stay
'When my mother gave birth to me, we stayed in Suau.'
- (172) *Huyana* Maui ma hewa-hewali-na-wa
when Maui with RED-young man-3.SG-DET
ye bayao palapa, iyamo teina ye tau-tau-bada.
3.SG strong really but now 3.SG RED-man-old
'When Maui was a young man, he was really strong, but now he is getting old.'

'*Unaede* 'because'.

- (173) ...ye nua yababa '*unaede* nige koya paisoa-di 'udiedi
...3.SG heart bad because not garden work-3.PL PP.PL
se sagu-sagu-i.
3.PL RED-help-TR
'He was sad, because they did not help him with the garden work (the work of the gardens).' (T 3.8)

An exception is perhaps a temporal clause whose final constituent is *usina* 'while'. This constituent could be a conjunction, an adverb, or a serialised verb.

- (174) Ye kamuyawa *usina*
3.SG wade while
kabo hewa-hewali tau-yamayama boda-di se sugulage.
TAM RED-young man man-RED-fish group-3.PL 3.PL appear
'While she was wading, a group of young fishermen appeared.'
(T 2.10)

12. Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced by *ena* 'if (hypothetical)' or *taba* 'if (counterfactual)'. The main clause always contains the TAM particle *kabo*.

- (175) *Ena* nabu-ne i talu lautom nuana kabo ya lau.
if rain-DET 3.SG fall stop probably TAM 1.SG go
'If the rain stops, I will probably go.' (D 6)
- (176) *Ena* kaitea i bayao kabo waihiu-ne i hai
if who 3.SG strong TAM woman-DET 3.SG take
mwane-na e-na.
spouse-3.SG PP-3.SG
'Whoever is (the) strong(est) will take the woman as his wife.' (If someone is strong,...) (T 2.12)
- (177) *Taba* gulewa hauhau-na ku hemaisa yako,
if claypot new-SG 2.SG buy already
kabo teinamo ta lauliga.
TAM now 1.INC cook
'If you had bought a new pot, we could cook now.'
- (178) *Taba* nige 'u kasiyebwa, kabo ku laoma ta lau.
if not 2.SG sick TAM 2.SG come 1.INC go
'If you were not sick, you could come with us.'
(...'you come we go.')

13. Clause chaining

In many contexts where English would make use of subordinate constituents such as adverbs, adverbial phrases, or adverbial clauses, or, as we have already seen, complement clauses, Saliba uses

clause chaining constructions, which are identified as chains rather than as a series of single independent clauses because of their intonation pattern and because the speaker herself regards the chains as units. In such constructions, clauses can be juxtaposed or linked by particles.

- (179) Ye wase-wase-ede ye lobai.
3.SG RED-search-EDE 3.SG find
'She searched and searched and... found her.' (T 2.20)
- (180) Ye boni, ka kai kai ye gehe-ede, ka keno.
3.SG night 1.EXC food eat 3.SG be finished-EDE 1.EXC sleep
'It became night, we ate food, it was finished, we slept.' (or
'After we had had dinner in the evening, we went to sleep.')
(T 1.8)

The particle *ede*¹ indicates that the clause or clause chain to which it is attached is a presupposition to what follows (if it had not become night and we had not eaten, we would not have gone to sleep).² The particle *ede* contrasts with *na* 'and', which links two clauses which are logically independent from one another.

- (181) Huku-wa ka kau laei na ka wasabu.
fishing line-DET 1.EXC tie take and 1.EXC run
'We tied it (the eel) with a fishing line (to the coconut tree) and ran away.' (T 1.6)
- (182) Ka keno-keno na kabo nabu ye talu...
1.EXC RED-sleep and TAM rain 3.SG fall
'When we were sleeping, it started to rain...'
('We were sleeping and rain fell...') (T 1.9)

That the children ran away was because they were scared of the eel, not because they had tied it to the tree; and in the second example, the fact that it started to rain logically had nothing to do with the fact that they were sleeping³.

Another clause linker is *yee*, which we translate with 'until'. Note, however, that it is like *ede* attached to the first clause and does not introduce the second one.

- (183) Se manua sipwa-sipwa yee, mahana i dui...
3.PL bird RED-trap until sun 3.SG swim
'They went bird trapping until sun set...' (T 3.7)⁴

¹ [yede] when following [i] or [u], elsewhere [ede]

² In our texts *ede* occurs frequently: T 1.2, 1.5, 1.7, 1.14, 1.15, 1.17, 2.9, 2.15, 2.16, 2.19, 2.20, 3.11, 3.36.

³ Other examples of *na*: T 2.22, 2.24, 3.10, 3.13, 3.17, 3.32.

⁴ Further examples of *yee*: T 2.17, 2.26, 3.25, 3.30

14. The discourse particle EDE

In the last chapter we mentioned that when it is attached to the last constituent of a clause or clause chain, *ede* indicates that this is a presupposition to what follows. The following examples show that *ede* is also found as a suffix on the subject (184, 185) or the predicate phrase (186, 187) within a clause.

- (184) Hesa-m saha? Hesa-gu-ede Lona.
name-2.SG what name-1.SG-EDE Lona
'What's your name? My name is Rona.' (S 16)
- (185) Kowa ka-m paisoa-ede taki hede-hedede mo
2.SG POSS-2.SG habit-EDE just RED-talk only
'All you do is talk.' ('Your habit is just talking.')(D 8)
- (186) Tenem nogi-ne hauhau-na-ne ya henua-ede.
that g.s.-DET new-SG-DET 1.SG like-EDE
'That new grass skirt is the one I like.'
- (187) Teina ya henua-ede.
this 1.SG. like-EDE
'This is the one I like.' (N 63)

All these examples have in common that *ede* is attached to the constituent which refers to some already given or presupposed information, e.g. 'my name' (184), the fact that you have a habit (185), and the fact that I like something (186, 187). Taking the occurrences of *ede* both at clause boundaries and at phrase boundaries into account, it now becomes clear that it is not a conjunction or a clause linker, but a discourse particle whose function it is to present some piece of information as presupposed.¹

15. Texts

KALINA SALIBA PILIPILIDAI-DI. RONA NADILE YE KULI-DI
word Saliba story-3.PL Rona Nadile 3.SG write-3.PL
Stories in Saliba written by Rona Nadile

1. MWAEDO PILIPILIDAINA
eel story-3.SG

1. Huya hesau kabo wawaya-o yo-ma haiyona ka dobi ka
day one TAM child- PL POSS-1.EXC three 1.EXC go down 1.EXC

¹ Cooper (1992) observes a similar function for the demonstrative *mate* 'that (closer to the hearer)' in the Suaic language Buhutu. He mentions that *ede* is used in Suau and Bonalua texts 'to optionally mark equational constructions' and states that 'no other features were found in the Suau or Bonalua texts which could be mapped to the discourse function of *mate*'. As far as I can see from the scarce data, Saliba *ede* seems to be similar to Buhutu *mate* in that it can mark units larger than phrases as 'topics'. - Thanks to Malcolm Ross for drawing my attention to Cooper's article.

huku sagasaga e-na. 2.Ka huku-huku-ede mwaedo ka katuni.
fish mouth of river PP-SG 1.EXC RED-fish-EDE eel 1 EXC catch

3. Mwaedo-ne woyawaudoi-na. 4. Mwaedo-wa woyawaudoi-na 'unai
eel- DET huge-SG eel-DET huge-SG PP.SG

ka matausei. 5. Ka matausei-ede, ka lau-ede niu-wa
1.EXC scared 1.EXC scared-EDE 1.EXC go-EDE coconut-DET

wuwu-na-wa 'unai ka kau. 6. Huku-wa ka kau laei
root-3.SG -DET PP.SG 1.EXC tie fishing-line-DET 1.EXC tie take

na ka wasabu.7.Ka wasabu-ede ka uyo yo-ma numa.
and 1.EXC run 1.EXC run-EDE 1.EXC return POSS-1.EXC house

8. Ye boni ka kai kai ye gehe-ede ka keno. 9. Ka
3.SG night 1.EXC food eat 3.SG finish-EDE 1.EXC sleep 1.EXC

keno-keno na kabo nabu ye talu mana ye towa, namanamali
RED-sleep and TAM rain 3 SG fall wind 3.SG blow lightning

ye sili, tulutulu ye koi, meta huya yababa palapa.
3.SG flash thunder 3.SG break that weather bad really

10. Tubu-gu sinebada ye tooolo kabo ye yoga.
grandmother-my old woman 3.SG wake up TAM 3.SG call out

11. "Wawaya-o-wa kwa hanoi-di, kwa henamaiye-di wau mayadai-wa
child-PL-DET 2.PL wake up 3.PL 2.PL ask-3.PL this day-DET

saha se ginauli?" 12. Sina-gu yo tama-gu se hanoi-gai
what 3.PL do mother-my and father-my 3.PL wake up-1.EXC

kabo se henamaiye-gai. 13. Kai-wa ka matausi palapa nige
TAM 3.PL ask-1.EXC 1.EXC-DET 1.EXC scared really not

saha ka hedede. 14. Se muyomuyou-ede kabo yo-di-wa ka
what 1.EXC tell 3.PL insist EDE TAM POSS-3.PL DET 1.EXC

hede-hedede. 15. Ka wana, "Mwaedo woyawaudoi-na ka katuni-ede
RED-tell 1.EXC say eel huge-SG 1.EXC catch-EDE

ka kau laei niu wuwu-na e-na." 16. Gom se lapui kabo
1.EXC tie take coconut root-3.SG PP-3.SG when 3.SG hear TAM

se kouyalayala se dilai-gai. 17. Se dilai-gai ye gehe-
3.PL angry 3.PL scolded-1.EXC 3.PL scold-1.EXC 3.SG finished-

ede kabo masigili-wa 'unai ka dobi sagasaga-wa.
EDE TAM night-DET PP.SG 1.EXC go down mouth of river-DET

18. Tama-gu nigwa ye hai huku-wa maina-na ye boli
father-1.SG knife 3.SG take hook-DET string-3.SG 3.SG cut

kabo mwaedo-wa ye boli gabaei. 20. Tenem pilipilidai gehe-na.
TAM eel-DET 3.SG cut throw away this story end-3.SG

The story of the eel

1. One day we three children went fishing at the mouth of the river.
2. We were fishing and caught an eel. 3. It was a huge eel. 4. We were
scared of the hugeness of the eel. 5. We were so scared that we went
and tied it to the root of a coconut tree. 6. We tied it with a
fishing line and ran away. 7. We ran back to our house. 8. It became
night, when we had eaten, we slept. 9. When we were sleeping, rain
fell, the wind blew, lightning flashed, thunder rumbled, it was a
terrible thunderstorm. 10. My grandmother woke up and called out.
11. "Wake up the children and ask them what they did during the
day!" 12. My parents woke us up and asked us. 13. We were really
frightened and did not tell anything. 14. They insisted, so we told
them. 15. We said, "We caught a huge eel, we tied it to the root of a
coconut tree". 16. As soon as they heard this, they became angry,
they scolded us. 17. After they had scolded us, we went down to the
mouth of the river. in the darkness 18. My father took a knife, he
cut the string of the hook to set the eel free. 19. This is the end
of the story.

2.AOAO NATU-NA
crow child-3.sg.

1.Bwanabwanalua hesau 'unai manua aoao ye kabi noi ye
island a certain PP.SG bird black crow 3.SG make nest 3.SG

mia. 2. Huya hesau kabo aoao-wa ye diyaka. 3. Natu-na ye
stay day one TAM crow-DET 3.SG pregnant child-3.SG 3.SG

labasi-wa waihiu tamoai nige manua. 4. Teina 'unai aoao-wa
give birth-DET girl human not bird this PP.SG crow DET

ka-na paisoa tamoai yo-di koya e- di mwauyope yo
POSS-3.SG habit human POSS-3.PL garden PP-3.PL pawpaw and

baela buina-di ye kai-kaiwahali-di na natu-na-wa 'unai ye
banana ripe-PL 3.SG RED-steal-3.PL and child-3.SG-DET PP.SG 3.SG

heka-he-kai. 5. Wawaya-wa ye tubu-sae ye hasala.
RED-CAUS-eat child-DET 3.SG.grow-up 3.SG young girl

6. Hasala-na ye namwa kalili. 7. Huya hesau kabo magu ye
girl-3.SG 3.SG.good very day one TAM tide 3.SG

siwa. 8. Huya-wa ye daumwali, huya namwa-namwa
go-down(water) weather 3.SG calm weather RED-good

9. Hasala-wa ye tooolo-ede ye dobi ye kamuyawa.
girl-DET 3.SG wake up-EDE 3.SG go.down 3.SG wade

10. Ye kamuyawa usina kabo hewa-hewali tau-yamayama boda-di
3.SG wade while TAM RED-young man man-RED-fish group-3.PL

se sugulage. 11. Hasala-wa se kita si wane, 12. "Ena kaitea
3.PL appear girl-DET 3.PL see 3.PL say If who

i bayao kabo waihiu-ne i hai mwane-na e-na."
3.SG strong TAM woman-DET 3.SG take spouse-3.SG PP-3.SG

13. Hewa-hewali maudo-di kabo se heloi. 14. Tahali-wa 'unai se
RED-young man all-3.PL TAM 3.PL run reef-DET PP.SG 3.PL

heloi se lau-wa ye kwailolo. 15. Hewali kesega saesae-na
run 3.PL run-DET 3.SG hard young man one handsome-3.SG

iya ye heloi baya-bayao-ede hasala-wa ye kelebesi. 16. Kabo
3.SG 3.SG run RED-strong-EDE girl-DET 3.SG catch TAM

ye laei-ede yo-na waga 'unai ye usai ye laei hewali-wa
3.SG take-EDE POSS-3.SG canoe PP.SG 3.SG put 3.SG take young man DET

yo-na magai e-na. 17. Aoa-wa natu-na-wa ye nayai yee
POSS-3.SG village PP-3.SG crow-DET child-3.SG-DET 3.SG wait until

ye boni. 18. Ye masigili besina ye keno.
3.SG night 3.SG dark necessary 3.SG sleep

19. Mala-wa ye tom-ede kabo ye lau ye wase-nei
light-DET 3.SG break-EDE TAM 3.SG go 3.SG search-TR

20. Ye wase-wase-ede hewali-wa saesae-na-wa yo-na
3.SG RED-search-EDE young man-DET handsome-SG-DET POSS-3.SG

magai e-na ye lobai. 21. Hewali-wa meta hasala-wa
village PP-3.SG 3.SG find young man-DET that girl-DET

i tawasolao yako. 22. Kabo aoao-wa numa-wa gatowa-na-wa
3.SG get married PERF TAM crow-DET house-DET roof-3.SG-DET

'unai ye towa na kabo ye dou i wane, 23. "Sine natu-na
PP.SG 3.SG fly and TAM 3.SG cry 3.SG say woman child-3.SG

tau natu-na bwayobwayo aoao sine natu-na tau natu-na
man child-3.SG black crow woman child-3.SG man child-3.SG

bwayobwayo aoao. 24. Aoa-wa ka-na nabu, ka-na mahana,
black crow crow-DET POSS-3.SG rain POSS-3.SG sun

ka-na mana, ka-na wowoli na ye dou kesegai mo.
POSS-3.SG wind POSS-3.SG storm and 3.SG cry continuously only

25. Natu-na-wa ka-na mwayoyope yo baela buina-di
child-3.SG-DET POSS-3.SG pawpaw and banana ripe-3.PL

ye mose-i iyamo nige ye kai-di. 26. Ye dou kesegai yee,
3.SG give-TR but not 3.SG eat-3.PL 3.SG cry continuously until,

ye dou siya-siyayau, ye dou mwalo-mwaloi, ye mwaloi.
3.SG cry RED-broken hearted 3.SG cry RED- die 3.SG die

27. Hewali-wa ma mwane-na se kai se mia.
young man-DET with spouse-3.SG 3.PL eat 3.PL lived

28. Tenem pilipilidai gehe-na.
this story end-3.SG

The crow's child

1. On a certain island a black crow made a nest and stayed there. 2. One day the black crow became pregnant. 3. The child she gave birth to was a human girl, not a bird. 4. Because of this the black crow had the habit to steal ripe pawpaw and bananas from the gardens of human beings and let her child eat them. 5. The child grew up and became a young girl. 6. She was a very beautiful girl. 7. One day the tide was going out. 8. The weather was calm, it was good weather. 9. The girl woke up, went down to the sea and looked for shellfish. 10. While she was looking for shellfish, a group of fishermen appeared. 11. They saw the girl and said, 12. "Whoever is the strongest, will take the woman as his wife." 13. All the young men ran quickly. 14. The reef they ran to and walked on was hard. 15. One handsome young man ran with all his energy and caught the girl. 16. He took her, he put her into his canoe, he took her to his (the young man's) village. 17. The crow waited for her child, until it got dark. 18. It became night, she had to sleep. 19. The day broke, she searched for her. 20. She searched and searched and found her in the handsome young man's village. 21. That young man had already married the girl. 22. The crow flew to the roof of the house, she cried and said, 23. "A woman's child, a man's child, a black crow's child. A woman's child, a man's child, a black crow's child." 24. Through the rain, the sun, the wind, the storm, she only cried and cried. 25. Her child gave her a ripe pawpaw and a ripe banana, but she didn't eat them. 26. She cried and cried, she cried broken heartedly, dying she cried, she died. 27. The young man and his wife ate and lived together.

3. Taubinawaia yo Tautelewaia pilipilidai-di
Taubinawaia and Tautelewaia story-3.PL

1. Huya hesau waihiu hesau ma mwane-na yo natu-di bebe
time one woman one with husband-3.SG and child-3.PL baby

Bwasilaki 'unai se mia-mia. 2. Waihiu-wa lou-na-o labui
Bwasilaki PP.SG 3.PL RED-stay woman-DET brother-3.SG-PL two

hesa-di Taubinawaia yo Tautelewaia. 3. Teina hewa-hewali-uwo-ta
name-3.PL Taubinawaia and Teutelewaia this RED-young man-PL-DET

nige koya-i se pai-paisoa. 4. Iha-di iya
not garden-in 3.PL RED-work brother-in-law-3.PL he

ye bom koya ye koi-di ye gabu-di deula-i-di
3.SG alone garden 3.SG clear-3.PL 3.SG burn-3.PL divide-TR-3.PL

ye tuda-i-di, ye paisoa-i-di.5. Taubinawaia maiya-na saeya
3.SG dig-TR-3.PL 3.SG work-TR-3.PL Taubinawaia with-3.SG brother

Tautelewaia ka-di paisoa-ede se luu nukula-ne
Tautelewaia POSS-3.PL work-EDE 3.PL go inside bush-DET

manua se sipwasipwa.6. Mayadai maudo-i-na tenem kadi paisoa.
bird 3.PL RED-trap day all-3.SG that POSS-3.PL work

7. Se manua sipwasipwa yee mahana i dui si sugulage magai,
3.PL bird trap until sun 3.SG set 3.PL appear village

lou-di i lauliga si kai kai si keno.
sister-3.PL 3.SG cook 3.PL food eat 3.PL sleep

8. Iha-di-wa yo-di lau-lau-ne ye kita-kita ye
brother-in-law-3.PL-DET POSS-3.PL RED-go-DET 3.SG RED-see 3.SG

nua yababa 'unaede nige koya paisoa-di 'udiedi se sagu-sagui.
heart bad because not garden work-3.PL PP.PL 3.PL RED-help

9. Huya hesau kabo ye hedede-lau mwane-na 'unai i wane,
day one TAM 3.SG talk-go spouse-3SG PP.SG 3.SG say

10. "Bebe ya kita hetete na kowa ku lau koya." 11. Bebe-wa
baby 1.SG look after and 2.SG 2.SG go garden baby-DET

ma tama-na se mia-mia ye meimeilahi-ede ye lauliga.
with father-3.SG 3.PL RED-stay 3.SG afternoon-EDE 3.SG cook

12. Kai gulewa-di labui ye liga-di. 13. Iya ma natu-na-o
food pot-3.PL two 3.SG cook-3.PL 3.SG with child-3.SG-PL

ka-di gulewa kesega na iha-na-o-wa ka-di gulewa
POSS-3.PL pot one and brother-in-law-3.SG-PL-DET POSS-3.PL pot

'udo-i.14. Iha-na-o ka-di gulewa-wa meta ye kabi namwa-namwa-ei.
other b.-3.SG-PL POSS-3.PL pot-DET that 3.SG make RED-good-TR

15. Kai namwa-namwa-di saesae-di, yo niu 'unai ye tam
food RED-good-3.PL best-3.PL and coconut PP.SG 3.SG squeeze

hemo-he-momona. 16. Mahana ye dui Taubinawaia ma ka-na
RED- CAUS-oil sun 3.SG set Taubinawaia with POSS-3.SG

kaha se sipwa-sipwa lautom se sugulage.
brother 3.SG RED-trap finish 3.PL appear from the bush.

17. Ka-di kai-wa gulewana-wa se bahei, se laei yo-di
POSS-3.PL food-DET pot-DET 3.PL carry 3.PL take POSS-3.PL

numa kabo se tuuli na se suasua se kaikai. 18. Kai-wa
house TAM 3.PL sit and 3.PL RED-serve 3.PL RED-eat food-DET

gulai-na-wa se numa ye dobi kabo sami-wa
liquid-3.SG-DET 3.PL drink 3.SG go down TAM sugarcane leaf-DET

se hai-di niu-wa momona-na-wa se namosi-di, se kai
3.PL take-3.PL coconut-DET oil-3.SG-DET 3.SG lick-3.PL 3.PL eat

tautaubiga-ne-di.19. Sami-wa se hai he-kohi-di
patient-TR-3.PL sugarcane leaf-DET 3.PL take CAUS-all-3.PL

mosomoso se kita.20. Mosomoso-wa wawaya biki-na. 21. O se nua
rubbish 3.PL see rubbish-DET child poo-3.SG O 3.PL heart

yababa, se siyayau 'unaede iha-di ye kabi yababa-i-di.
bad 3PL broken-hearted because b.-3.PL 3.SG make bad-TR-3.PL

22. Boniyai lohaloha kabo Taubinawaia maiya-na Tautelewaia se dui,
night long TAM Taubinawaia with-3.SG Tautelewaia 3.PL bathe

se yausi, se kaipasa se wana malamalatom.23. Mala ye uyali
3.PL oil 3.PL decorate 3.PL sing morning light 3.SG break

se tolo se dalahai.24. Lou-di-wa natu-na ye bahei
3.PL got up 3.PL set off sister-3.PL-DET child-3.SG 3.SG carry

lou-na-o-wa ye he-muli-wata-ni-di. 25. Se
brother-3.SG-PL-DET 3.SG CAUS-bottom-follow-TR-3.PL 3.PL

yona yee Bwasilaki, Sidea duwaduwali-di-ne 'unai
walk along the beach until Bwasilaki Sidea middle-3.PL-DET PP.SG

solasola se dui dobi 'unai. 26. Se kaikewa sae-wa
passage 3.PL swim down PP.SG 3.PL look up-DET

Bwasilaki koya-na sola se kita-kita. 27. Besina se dui
Bwasilaki mountain-3.SG still 3.SG RED-see necessary 3.PL swim

kawasi, se yona dobi teha Saliba.28. Lou-di-wa ma natu-
across 3.PL walk go down side Saliba sister-3.PL-DET with child-

na nige gonoa-na se dui kawasi. 29. Natu-na-wa ye bahe-i
3.SG not can-3.SG 3.PL swim across child-3.SG-DET 3.SG carry-TR

lisilisi-na-wa 'unai, lou-na-o-wa ye dou-dou wata-wata-ni-di
hip-3.SG-DET PP.SG brother-3.SG-PL-DET RED-cry RED-follow-TR-3.PL

se buidi se hemala weku. 30. Taubinawaia yo Tautelewaia se
3.PL change 3.PL become stone Taubinawaia and Tautelewaia 3.PL

yona yee Sidea, Saliba duaduali-di-ne solasola 'unai se dui
walk until Sidea Saliba middle-3.PL-DET passage PP.SG 3.PL swim

dobi. 31. Se kita sae Bwasilaki koya-na nige se kita.
go down 3.PL see up Bwasilaki mountain-3.SG not 3.PL see

32. Se tuuli, se dune labu-labui, deba-di se hepatu
3.PL sit 3.PL bend RED-two forehead-3.PL put together

kesegai-di na se buidi se hemala weku.
together-3.PL and 3.PL change 3.PL become stone

33. Iha-di-wa yo-di numa-wa 'unai se lau-gabae-i
b.-3.PL-DET POSS-3.PL house-DET PP.SG 3.PL go-leave-TR
- 34 Ye toolo-wa mwane-na, natu-na,
3.SG get up-there spouse-3.SG child-3.SG
- iha-na-o-wa se lau-gabae-i yako. 35. Ye toolo kabo hinage
b-3.SG-PL-DET 3.PL go-leave-TR PERF 3.SG get up TAM too
- ye dou.36. Ye dou kai-kaigiyali ye lau-lau-ede kaiwa-wa
3.SG cry 3.SG cry RED-kick legs 3.SG RED-go-EDE wood-DET
- kala-kalasi-na kae-na-wa 'unai ye koi hepito-ede numa-wa
RED-burn-SG leg-3.SG-DET PP.SG 3.PL strike kick-EDE house-DET
- ye kalasi-ede iya hinage ye kala mwaloi.37. Ena huya hesau
3.SG burn-EDE 3.SG too 3.SG burn dead if time one
- kwa lau Bwasilaki yo Sawasawaga solasola-di-ne kabo Taubinawaia
2.PL go Bwasilaki and Sawasawaga passage-3.PL-DET TAM Taubunawaia
- yo Tautelewaia ma lou-di se hemala weku kabo kwa kita-di.
and Tautelewaia with sister-3.PL become stone TAM 2.PL see-3.PL
38. Tenem pilipilidai gehe-na.
that story end-3.SG

The story of Taubinawaia and Tautelewaia

1.Once upon a time there lived a woman with her husband and their baby child on Bwasilaki island. 2.The woman had two brothers,their names were Taubinawaia and Tautelewaia. 3.These two young men never worked in the garden. 4.Their brother-in-law, he was by himself, he cleared the gardens, he burned them, he divided them up by laying logs, he dug and worked on them. 5.The work of Taubinawaia and his brother Tautelewaia was to go into the bush and trap birds.6.All day long that was their work.7.They were trapping birds, the sun set, they appeared from the bush in the village, their sister cooked, they ate, they slept.8.Their brother-in-law saw their behaviour, he was not happy, because they did not help with the works in the gardens.9.One day he talked to his spouse and said, 10."I look after the baby and you go to the garden." 11.The baby stayed with the father, it became afternoon, he cooked. 12.He cooked two pots of food. 13.One pot for him, his wife and his child, and the other pot for his brothers-in-law.14. He made the pot of his brother-in-laws really good. 15.The food was excellent and he squeezed oil from coconuts (on it). 16.The sun set, Taubinawaia and his brother finished trapping, they appeared from the bush. 17.They carried the pot of their food (and took it) to their house, then they sat down, served the food and ate.18.They drank the liquid of the food down to the bottom of the pot, they took the sugarcane leaves (which were at the bottom of the claypot), they licked the coconut oil (from the leaves), they ate patiently. 19. They took all the sugarcane leaves, they saw rubbish. 20.The rubbish was the child's poo. 21.They were unhappy, they were broken-hearted, because their brother-in-law had treated them badly. 22.All night long Taubinawaia and Tautelewaia bathed, oiled their bodies, decorated themselves and sang into the morning. 23. The first light of dawn was breaking, they got up, they set off. 24. Their sister carried

her child, she followed her brothers. 25. They walked along the beach, they dived into the passage between Bwasilaki and Sidea. 26. They looked up, they could still see the mountain of Bwasilaki. 27.They had to swim across, they walked along the beach of Saliba. 28. Their sister could not swim across with her child. 29. She carried her child on her hip, she cried after her brothers, they (she and her child) changed, they became stones. 30. Taubinawaia and Tautelewaia they walked along the beach, they dived into the passage between Sidea and Saliba. 31. They looked up, they could not see the mountain of Bwasilaki. 32. They sat down, they bent down, they put their foreheads together, they changed, they became stones. 33. They had left their brother-in-law in their house.34. He got up, his wife, his child, his brothers-in-law had left him. 35. He got up, he too cried. 36. He cried kicking his legs, he went on and on, he struck a burning piece of firewood with his leg, the house burnt, he too burnt to death. 37. If you go one day to the passage of Bwasilaki and Sawasawaga, you will see that Taubinawaia and Tautelewaia and their sister have become stones. 38. That is the end of the story.

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