

A grammar of Savosavo,
a Papuan language of the Solomon Islands

© 2008, Claudia Wegener

Cover drawing: 'Mapagha zeva kabughue', © 2008, Edmond Gagavo

Cover design: Ponsen & Looijen bv, Wageningen

Typeset with L^AT_EX

Printed and bound by Ponsen & Looijen bv, Wageningen

A grammar of Savosavo,
a Papuan language of the Solomon Islands

Een wetenschappelijke proeve
op het gebied van Letteren

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
op gezag van de rector magnificus prof. mr. S.C.J.J. Kortmann,
volgens besluit van het College van Decanen
in het openbaar te verdedigen op maandag 15 december 2008
om 10.30 uur precies

door
Claudia Ursula Wegener
geboren op 6 september 1976 te Detmold (Duitsland)

Promotores: Prof. dr. Stephen C. Levinson
Prof. dr. Ulrike Mosel (Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel)

Copromotor: Dr. Michael Dunn (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen)

Manuscriptcommissie:

Prof. dr. Leon Stassen

Prof. dr. Bernard Comrie (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig)

Prof. dr. Greville G. Corbett (University of Surrey, Guildford)

The research reported in this thesis was supported by a grant from the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, München, Germany.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank the people of Savo Island, who generously allowed me to be part of their lives and shared their language with me. I am very grateful to my Savo family: My parents James Pulusala and Georgina Gelina, my brothers and sisters James Jr., Carol, Anna, Stephanie and Felix, and kukua Rosby, Irine Sinogo and John Itoro Patteson. My father James helped me tremendously, not just by giving me very valuable advice in all kinds of situations, but also by providing some of the data, and convincing other people to contribute data, and by working with me on transcriptions and in elicitation sessions. Unfortunately, he was absent in 2004 and 2005 to work on a fishing boat. My initial fears that I might have to stay somewhere else because of this proved to be totally unfounded - it was a matter of course for Georgina that I would stay with them, and she did a wonderful job in looking after me. *Ite sue, none aiva edo sua mamae no na - ngai toa ngoini seranighue!* During the time of my father's absence, Joel Sasapa Viriala took over the task of working with me, and his curiosity, his interest in his own languages and his incredible patience and perseverance in elicitation sessions have made working with him a great pleasure.

I would like to thank the Savo Ghizi Kato House of Chiefs for supporting my work, especially the chairman Sir Allan Kemakeza. I also have to thank a number of other families on Savo who I had the chance to stay with for some time over the years: Wilson Sungi and his wife, where I stayed my first two nights ever on Savo Island; Theresa Sipa, Francis Moore and their family, especially Chief Vana; Claudette Vangere, Juvence Selevale and their family, especially their daughter Janet, who became a good friend of mine; Ben Duva, his wife Jennifer and their family, especially their daughter Anna Ghuala and her husband John Selo, who safely led me into the crater and back again; my friend Gloria Pepa with her husband Collin and their family; Raphael Rasa, his wife Jennifer and their family; and Chief Anthony Pisupisu, his wife Madeleine Vinabu and their family. In Honiara, I would like to thank Anne Sade and her family for their friendship, and Hazelyn at the King Solomon Hotel for helping me to find a good doctor.

As for my supervisors, I would like to thank Stephen Levinson, for offering me a PhD position at the MPI in Nijmegen although I had never been to a third-world country before, and for providing a stimulating and challenging work environment. Many heartfelt thanks to Ulrike Mosel for her support and understanding in all situations. Her enthusiasm for linguistics and fieldwork, her pragmatic mind and her gift to fully immerse herself in a linguistic text and linguistic data have never ceased to amaze me, and were invaluable in

keeping me going through hard times. Angela Terrill supervised me during the first year of my PhD, and I am very grateful to her for her guidance during that time, including (but of course not limited to) advice on what to take and not to take on fieldwork (but I still take a scarf with me every time I go). Michael Dunn supervised me during the rest of my PhD time, and provided many a helpful comment and beautiful maps up to the very end. He was also the one who gave me my first Solomon Islands Pijin lessons and helped me set up my field site, together with Robert Foley and Marta Mirazon-Lahr. I really appreciated their support during my first week in Honiara and my first days on Savo. Many thanks also to Ger Reesink, who was always happy to discuss my data and had many helpful comments.

In my work, I have benefitted a lot from helpful comments on conference presentations or in discussions, in particular from participants of the COOL 6 in Port Vila, Vanuatu, the ALL 2 in Oxford, UK, the COOL 7 in Nouméa, New Caledonia, the ALT 7 in Paris, France, and from colleagues attending various talks given at the University of Kiel and the MPI in Nijmegen. I would like to thank Peter Austin, Isabelle Brill, Greville Corbett, Bethwyn Evans, Carol Genetti, Robin Hooper, Edvard Hviding, Eva Lindström, Pete Lincoln, John Lynch, Claire Moyse-Faurie, Anna Margetts, Andrew Pawley, Françoise Rose, Malcolm Ross and Nick Thieberger, and especially Nick Evans, Alexandre François, Geoffrey Haig, Even Hovdhaugen, Åshild Næss and Bill Palmer. Many thanks to Bernard Comrie for very helpful comments, and to Alex François for the overview map. Finally, I am grateful to Evelyn Todd, for generously sharing some of her data and insights with me, and I am very sorry that I didn't get the chance to meet her in person.

I would also like to thank Prof. Christian Lehmann. My decision to study linguistics and to do fieldwork in remote areas of the world was taken in a flash. Curious about what linguistics was, I had ambled into Prof. Finke's introduction to linguistics at the University of Bielefeld, and on that very day there was a five-minute talk about linguistic fieldwork in Mexico in the middle of it, given by Prof. Lehmann. I went to enroll right after the course. I am also very grateful to Gunter Senft, who supported and encouraged me during the last years of my studies in Bielefeld, and all through the PhD period. I am also very grateful to Prof. Dieter Metzger, for employing me after my M.A., and especially for letting me go.

In Nijmegen, I would like to thank Birgit Hellwig and Friederike Lüpke for putting me up during a number of visits in the early days. Thanks also to Jidong Chen for being a great housemate for my first few months in Nijmegen, and to my other fellow PhDs, then and now. A big thank you goes especially to Gaby Cablitz, Birgit Hellwig, Gertie Hoymann, Loretta O'Connor, Stuart Robinson, and Hulya Sahin, who became really good friends over the years. Stuart and Rupe, thanks for the wonderful pizza-and-CSI-evenings!

At the institute, I would also like to thank Edith for her support through occasional emergencies and stressful periods. Jan Achterberg drove me to the airport several times on my way to the field, and picked me up when I came back, and he was always cheerful and

just really, really nice - Hartelijk bedankt! Thanks also to the administration and to the technical group, in particular to Rick van Viersen, Alex Dukers and Ad Verbunt. Outside of the institute, I am very grateful that I had the chance to be part of the Kendoverein Kevelaer. It was wonderful and tremendously beneficial to my mental health to be able to forget all about my work for a few hours. Many thanks to Herbert and Elke Cürvers, Norman Tannemann, Sebastian Lasczok, Andreas Krause and Patrick Hilgers - Domo arigato gozaimasu!

After my three years in Nijmegen, I found a wonderful home at the Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz. I would like to thank Eva Schultze-Berndt and Bernhard Hurch for giving me the opportunity to work there. Eva, thanks also for helping me to settle in, sharing your apartment and your piano with me, helping me to move into an apartment on the fourth floor (not a small task!), lovely dinners and being a great boss and friend! Thanks also to Felicity Meakins, who was my officemate for a few months, and also became a very good friend. I would like to thank my colleagues in Graz, especially Dieter Hallwachs and Veronika Mattes, and the students who attended my classes, and sometimes challenged me with very tricky questions. That my time in Graz will always be a wonderful memory is also due to my friends Bettina Kluge and Alexandra Slattenschek. Thanks also to Bertrand, Marietta and the other regulars in the university sports group. Bertrand was the first to ever send me a text message in Savosavo - many thanks for that! I would also like to thank my fellow kendoka at the Mumonkan Kendo-Verein Graz, especially Ian and Monika, Klaus, Georg, Franz, Kaori and Daisuke - Domo arigato gozaimasu to you as well!

After spending one year and a half in Graz, I came back to Nijmegen for six months. Thanks to Niclas, Heike, Linn and Nils Burenhult, for sharing their home and family life with me for some weeks, and for being such good friends. I am also very grateful to Loretta and Arnold, and to Gertie, for letting me stay with them for a while and for their continuous support, in work-related as well as private matters. Thanks to Gertie also for the translation of the summary into Dutch. Many thanks also to Nick Wood, for always having an open ear and being a good friend. And many thanks for the whisky!

Finally, I got the chance to finish this thesis at the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University - thanks to Nick Evans, Malcolm Ross, Darrell Tryon, Andrew Pawley, John Bowden and Meredith Osmond for providing a wonderful environment for the 'finishing touch'.

There are some more people I have to thank. Andrea Rocha-Lieder and Thorsten Köhn have been good friends for a long time. Stefanie Gaidies was and is one of my best friends. Steff, I am immensely grateful that you were always there for me, even though our lives became very different. Thanks also to Sebastian Fedden, for reading my whole thesis draft, for being a great house- and officemate for some months in Nijmegen, and in general for being one of my best friends. Finally, and most of all, I would like to thank my family. My mother Ursula Wegener and my sister Carmen Hesse always supported me in every imaginable way and never ceased to believe in me. Danke.

Contents

1	The language and its speakers	1
1.1	Location and linguistic affiliation	1
1.2	Typological profile	5
1.3	Previous work on Savosavo	7
1.4	The nature of the data used in this thesis	8
1.5	Orthography and conventions used in examples	10
2	Phonology	13
2.1	Phoneme inventory	13
2.1.1	Consonants	13
2.1.2	Minimal contrast between consonants	18
2.1.3	Vowels	19
2.1.4	Minimal contrast between vowels	20
2.1.5	Vowel combinations	21
2.1.6	Diphthong	21
2.2	Syllable and root structure	23
2.3	Stress	24
2.3.1	Root stress	24
2.3.2	Influence of affixes and clitics on stress	26
2.4	Morphophonology	29
2.4.1	Influence of affixes and enclitics	29
2.4.1.1	Avoidance of identical vowel sequences	30
2.4.1.2	Stem modifications	31
2.4.2	Reduplication	32
2.5	Intonation	35
2.5.1	Basic clausal pitch contours	35
2.5.2	Intonation associated with some discourse particles	40

3	Word formation	43
3.1	Terminology	43
3.2	Morphological processes	45
3.2.1	Affixation and cliticization	45
3.2.2	Reduplication	46
3.2.3	Stem modification	47
4	Word classes and phrase types	49
4.1	Verbs and the verb complex	50
4.1.1	Verbs	50
4.1.1.1	Transitive verbs	52
4.1.1.2	Intransitive verbs	57
4.1.1.3	Ambitransitive verbs	57
4.1.2	Verb complex – short overview	58
4.2	Nouns and noun phrases	58
4.2.1	Nouns	58
4.2.1.1	Gender	61
4.2.2	Noun phrase – short overview	68
4.3	Adjectives and adjective phrases	69
4.3.1	Adjectives	69
4.3.2	Adjective phrases	73
4.4	Quantifiers and quantifier phrases	74
4.4.1	Quantifiers	74
4.4.1.1	Numerals and the counting system	74
4.4.1.2	Other quantifiers	76
4.4.2	Quantifier phrases	77
4.5	Pronominals	78
4.5.1	Personal pronouns	78
4.5.1.1	Free personal pronouns	79
4.5.1.2	Enclitic subject personal pronouns	80
4.5.2	Possessive pronouns	81
4.5.3	Emphatic pronouns	82
4.5.4	<i>Mapamapa</i> ‘RECIP’	84
4.6	Determiners and the demonstrative <i>ai</i> ‘this’	85
4.6.1	Determiners vs. personal pronouns	86
4.6.2	Demonstratives vs. definite articles	89
4.7	Locationals	91
4.7.1	A note on frames of reference	93
4.8	Derivative markers	96

4.8.1	The attributive marker <i>sua</i> and <i>sua</i> -phrases	97
4.8.2	The proprietive marker <i>lava</i> and <i>lava</i> -phrases	99
4.8.3	The privative marker <i>zepo</i> and <i>zepo</i> -phrases	102
4.9	Postpositions and postpositional phrases	103
4.9.1	<i>l-aka</i> ‘with’	106
4.9.2	<i>l-omata</i> ‘at, to(wards), from’	106
4.9.3	<i>l-omiti</i> ‘for’	108
4.10	The emphatic modifier <i>toa</i> ‘really’	109
4.11	The modifiers <i>memere</i> ‘little bit’ and <i>pono</i> ‘only’	111
4.12	Adverbs	113
4.12.1	Temporal adverbs	113
4.12.2	Other adverbs	113
4.13	Particles	114
4.13.1	Coordinators, subordinators and cosubordinators	114
4.13.2	Miscellaneous particles	115
4.14	Interjections	115
4.14.1	Hesitation markers	115
4.14.2	Exclamations	115
5	Noun phrases	117
5.1	NP structure	117
5.1.1	Order of constituents within an NP	117
5.1.1.1	NPs headed by a noun or nominal compound and headless NPs	119
5.1.1.2	NPs headed by a pronoun	125
5.1.1.3	NPs headed by a locational	128
5.1.2	Number and gender marking	128
5.1.3	Possession	131
5.2	Case marking	132
5.2.1	Nominative	135
5.2.2	Accusative	137
5.2.3	Genitive	138
5.2.4	Locative	141
5.2.5	Ablative	146
5.3	Composite NPs	148
5.3.1	Coordination in and between NPs	149
5.3.1.1	Coordination by juxtaposition	150
5.3.1.2	Coordination with <i>zu</i> ‘and’	153
5.3.1.3	Coordination with <i>bo</i> ‘or’	154

5.3.1.4	Coordination with <i>tei kia</i> ‘or’	154
5.3.2	Appositional construction	155
5.3.3	Inclusory construction	157
6	The verb complex	161
6.1	Structure of individual verb stems	161
6.2	Inner layer morphology	164
6.2.1	Object marking	164
6.2.1.1	Object affixes: agreement or pronominal suffixes?	167
6.2.2	Transitivity-changing devices	169
6.2.2.1	The transitivity suffix <i>-vi</i>	169
6.2.2.2	The detransitivizing suffix <i>-za</i>	171
6.3	Outer layer morphology	173
6.3.1	Finiteness	173
6.3.2	Tense and aspect	174
6.3.2.1	The future marker <i>ta</i>	174
6.3.2.2	The anticipatory marker <i>-ata</i>	175
6.3.2.3	The simultaneous marker <i>-a</i>	176
6.3.2.4	The present and past imperfective markers <i>-tu</i> and <i>-zu</i>	177
6.3.2.5	The background imperfective markers <i>-ale</i> and <i>-atu</i>	177
6.3.3	Mood	179
6.3.3.1	The imperative markers <i>-a</i> and <i>-lu</i>	179
6.3.3.2	The apprehensive marker <i>-le</i>	179
6.3.3.3	The irrealis marker <i>-ale</i>	180
6.3.4	The same-subject marker <i>-a</i>	181
6.4	Reduplication	182
6.5	Serial verb constructions	186
6.5.1	SVCs with fully lexical verbs	187
6.5.2	SVCs with aspectual verbs	189
6.5.2.1	Completive: SVC with <i>l-aju</i> ‘finish’	189
6.5.2.2	Background imperfective: SVC with <i>pale/patu</i> ‘stay’	191
6.5.2.3	Ingressive: SVC with <i>alu</i> ‘stand’	192
6.5.3	SVCs with verbs that increase the transitivity of the verb complex	192
6.5.3.1	Benefactive: SVC with <i>l-ame-li</i> ‘give’	193
6.5.3.2	Causative: SVC with <i>l-au</i> ‘take’	194
7	Independent basic clauses	197
7.1	Affirmative declarative clauses	197
7.1.1	Verbal clauses	199

7.1.1.1	Verb-initial minimal clauses	201
7.1.1.2	Adjuncts	203
7.1.1.3	Summary and a note on basic word order	204
7.1.2	Non-verbal clauses	205
7.1.2.1	Locational clauses	207
7.1.2.1.1	Subject–predicate locational clauses	208
7.1.2.1.2	Predicate–subject locational clauses	208
7.1.2.2	Property clauses and classificational clauses	211
7.1.2.2.1	NP predicates	213
7.1.2.2.2	<i>Sua-</i> and <i>lava-</i> phrase predicates	216
7.1.2.3	Non-verbal clauses with a NVC predicate	218
7.2	The emphatic morphemes <i>=e</i> and <i>te</i>	220
7.2.1	The emphatic enclitic <i>=e</i>	220
7.2.1.1	Non-verbal clauses and <i>=e</i> ‘EMPH’	221
7.2.1.2	Verbal clauses and <i>=e</i> ‘EMPH’	225
7.2.1.3	Nominalized verbal clauses marked by <i>=e</i> ‘EMPH’	226
7.2.1.4	Functions of <i>=e</i> ‘EMPH’	228
7.2.2	The emphasizing particle <i>te</i> ‘EMPH’	234
7.3	Negation	238
7.3.1	<i>Oma</i> ‘not’	238
7.3.2	The negative existentials <i>baigho</i> and <i>baighoza</i>	240
7.3.3	The irrealis suffix <i>-ale</i>	241
7.3.4	The prohibitive particle <i>sika</i>	241
7.3.5	The apprehensive suffix <i>-le</i>	241
7.4	Questions	241
7.4.1	Content questions	242
7.4.2	Polar questions	244
7.5	Apprehensive clauses	245
8	Complex clauses	249
8.1	Coordination of clauses	250
8.1.1	Coordination with <i>zu</i> ‘and, but’	251
8.1.2	Coordination with <i>bo</i> ‘or’	252
8.1.3	Coordination with <i>apoi</i> ‘because’	253
8.2	Subordination	254
8.2.1	Relative clauses	254
8.2.1.1	Relative clauses with <i>-tu</i> ‘REL’	255
8.2.1.2	Relative clauses with <i>sua</i> ‘ATT’	261
8.2.2	Adverbial clauses	264

8.2.2.1	Conditional clauses with <i>monei</i> ‘if only’	266
8.2.2.2	Conditional and future temporal clauses with <i>kia</i> ‘if’	267
8.2.2.3	Past and present temporal clauses	270
8.2.2.3.1	Temporal clauses with <i>tuka</i> ‘whenever’	270
8.2.2.3.2	Temporal clauses with <i>tulola</i> ‘then’	272
8.2.2.4	Simultaneous clauses	275
8.2.2.5	Purpose clauses	281
8.2.2.5.1	Purpose clauses with <i>te/ke</i> ‘CONJ’	281
8.2.2.5.2	Asyndetic, embedded purpose clauses	284
8.2.3	Complement clauses	285
8.3	Cosubordination	286
8.3.1	Structure of clause chains	286
8.3.2	Same-subject marking	290
8.3.3	Scope of verbal morphology in the final clause	293
8.3.4	Tail-head linkage	296
9	Nominalization with <i>-ghu</i> ‘NMLZ’	299
9.1	Theoretical background on ‘nominalization’	299
9.1.1	Lexical vs. clausal nominalization	302
9.2	Derivation of nouns	303
9.3	Nominalizations in a support verb construction	307
9.4	Nominalizations as state-of-affairs complements	310
9.5	Nominalizations in subject or predicate position	313
9.5.1	Subject of a verbal clause	314
9.5.2	Constituent of a non-verbal clause	314
9.6	Nominalized verbal clauses in a presentational construction	318
9.6.1	Internal structure of NVCs	318
9.6.2	NVCs as athetic structure	323
9.6.3	Discourse function of NVCs	324
9.7	Summary	327
A	Example texts	331
A.1	Koi Polupolu	331
A.2	Man & Tree game	340
A.3	Making poporaghi pudding	353
	Bibliography	359
	Samenvatting (Dutch summary)	369

List of Tables

1.1	The data, sorted by text type	9
1.2	Data elicited with stimulus sets	9
1.3	Orthographies	11
2.1	Phonemes: consonants	14
2.2	Consonants: minimal or near-minimal sets	19
2.3	Phonemes: vowels and diphthong	20
2.4	Vowels: minimal sets	20
2.5	Vowels: vowel combinations	21
2.6	Stress patterns	25
2.7	Influence of bound morphemes on root stress	28
3.1	Derivational suffixes	45
3.2	Inflectional enclitics and suffixes	46
3.3	Derivational and inflectional functions of reduplication	47
4.1	Subdivisions in the class of verbs	51
4.2	Transitive verbs: closed classes	53
4.3	Transitive verbs: suffixing stems	53
4.4	Object marking affixes with examples.	54
4.5	Verbs marking their object by stem modification	56
4.6	Nouns: animate referents of one specific sex	63
4.7	Canonical and non-canonical adjectives and intransitive verbs.	71
4.8	Numerals	75
4.9	Free personal pronouns with syntactically conditioned alternative forms	79
4.10	Clitic nominative personal pronouns	81
4.11	Possessive pronouns	82
4.12	Determiner paradigm	85
4.13	Third person personal pronouns	86
4.14	Adverbial and attributive forms of the locationals.	91

4.15	The attributive marker <i>sua</i>	98
4.16	The proprietive marker <i>lava</i>	100
4.17	The postposition <i>l-aka</i> ‘with’.	106
4.18	The postposition <i>l-omata</i> ‘at’.	107
4.19	The postposition <i>l-omiti</i> ‘for’.	109
4.20	Allomorphs of <i>toa</i> ‘really’	110
5.1	Constituents occurring in NPs and their function.	119
5.2	Structure of an NP headed by a noun	121
5.3	Structure of a headless NP with an adjective	121
5.4	Structure of an NP headed by a possessive pronoun	126
5.5	Structure of an NP headed by a personal pronoun	127
5.6	Forms of number-marking constituents of NPs	129
5.7	Syntactic functions of case categories: Summary	133
5.8	Means of expression of case categories	134
5.9	The nominative case markers	136
5.10	Genitive suffix paradigm	138
6.1	Verb structure: verb root and inner layer of morphology	162
6.2	Outer layer morphemes	163
6.3	Combinability of <i>ta</i> , <i>-ale</i> and <i>-ata</i>	163
6.4	Object marking affixes	165
6.5	Verb stems found with <i>-ale</i> and <i>-atu</i> ‘BG.IPFV’.	178
7.1	Predicate type and semantic predicate categories	198
7.2	Non-verbal predicate types and associated meanings	206
7.3	Allomorphs of <i>=e</i> ‘EMPH’ on personal pronouns	221
7.4	Proximal third person pronouns	223
7.5	Interrogative proforms	242
8.1	Syntactic positions that can be relativized	259
8.2	Types of adverbial clause	265
8.3	Functions of conditional subordinating morphemes	265
8.4	Functions of temporal subordinating morphemes	265
9.1	Verbal and nominal features	301
9.2	Nominal modifiers commonly used to modify nominalized propositions.	307
9.3	Lexemes often used in speech formulas to evaluate states of affairs.	315
9.4	NVCs and VCs in eleven selected texts	326

List of Figures

1.1	Map of the Solomon Islands	2
1.2	Language map of the Solomon Islands	3
1.3	Map with the languages and islands around Savo Island.	4
2.1	Pitch contours of verbal clauses	36
2.2	Pitch contours of three nominal clauses	37
2.3	The pitch contours of a polar question and the corresponding answer . . .	38
2.4	Pitch contour of a question offering two alternatives	39
2.5	Pitch contours of two content questions	39
2.6	Pitch contour of two questions with rising pitch at the end	40
2.7	The pitch contours of two examples with the question tag <i>ni</i>	41
2.8	The pitch contours of the affirmative and the negative ‘vocal gesture’ . . .	42
4.1	Schematic representation of the up–down and bushwards–seawards axes . .	94
5.1	Composite noun phrases	149
5.2	Pitch contour of juxtaposed NPs	153
7.1	Pitch contour of example (431).	216
7.2	Pitch contours of examples (454) and (455)	223
7.3	Pitch contours of two nominalized verbal clauses	227
7.4	Stimulus picture of three bananas	229
7.5	Pitch contour of example (476)	230
8.1	Pitch contour of example (623).	283
9.1	Count of finite verbal clauses vs. NVCs in the eleven selected texts.	327

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
Adj	adjective
ADV	adverb
AFF	affirmative
ANT	anticipatory
APPR	apprehensive
ATT	attributive marker
BG	background
CERT	certainty marker
COM	comitative marker
CONJ	conjunction
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
DET	determiner
DETR	detransitivizing suffix
DS	different subject
DU	dual
EMPH	emphasis
EP	epenthetic vowel
EX	exclusive
F	feminine
FIN	finiteness marker
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IN	inclusive
IPFV	imperfective

IRR	irrealis
LOC	locational
M	masculine
N	noun
NMLZ	nominalizing morpheme
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NSG	non-singular
NVC	nominalized verbal clause
O	object
PA	particle
PL	plural
PersPr	personal pronoun
Phr	phrase
POSS	possession
PossPr	possessive pronoun
PRIV	privative
PROPR	proprietary
PROX	proximal
PRS	present
PST	past
Quan	quantifier
RECIP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
RelCl	relative clause
S	subject
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous
SS	same subject
SVC	serial verb construction
TR	transitivizing suffix
V	verb
VBLZ	verbalizing morpheme
VC	verb complex
-	separates morphemes
=	separates clitics
~	marks reduplication
.	separates items in multi-item glosses

/ separates alternatives
[] non-overt elements
_____ marks borrowings from Solomon Islands Pijin and English

Chapter 1

The language and its speakers

1.1 Location and linguistic affiliation

Savosavo is one of four Papuan (i.e., non-Austronesian) languages spoken in the Solomon Islands, part of a region called Island Melanesia in the southwest Pacific (see Fig. 1.1). The Solomon Islands became the British Solomon Islands Protectorate in 1893 and gained independence in 1978, within the Commonwealth of Nations.

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

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

Island Melanesia is the link between Polynesia, an area where only languages of the Austronesian family are spoken, and Papua New Guinea. All those languages on Papua New Guinea and in Island Melanesia that are not Austronesian have been subsumed under the label 'Papuan'. In contrast to the Austronesian languages, which are all members of one family and can be shown to be related, the group of Papuan languages comprises very diverse languages. Some of them can be shown to be related, but for a large number the genetic affiliation is still unclear. While speakers of Austronesian languages arrived

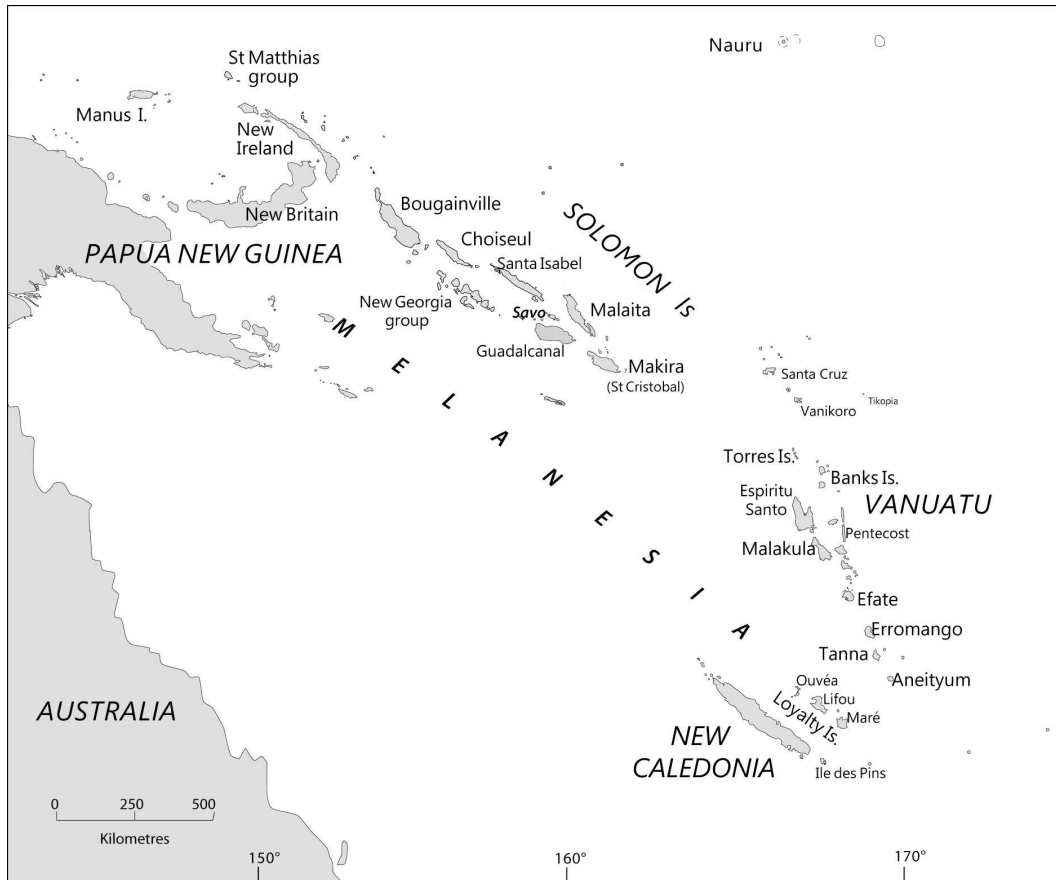


Figure 1.1: Map of the Solomon Islands and neighboring countries.

only about 3,000 years ago, the time depth for the ancestors of the Papuan languages is much deeper, possibly up to 35,000 years in Papua New Guinea, and 25,000 years for the Solomon Islands. This means that it is often quite challenging to prove genetic relationships between Papuan languages. Island Melanesia is thus a very interesting area for historical linguistics and research on language contact.

The Solomon Islands are the easternmost country where Papuan languages are spoken, and Savosavo is the easternmost Papuan language of the Solomon Islands. For a small number of languages in the Temotu province (the east-most province of the Solomon Islands, see Fig. 1.1), there was a long-standing discussion whether they should be classified as Austronesian or non-Austronesian languages (cf. Wurm 1978; Lincoln 1978; Ross 2001), but Ross and Næss have provided convincing evidence that they are indeed Austronesian (Ross and Næss 2007). Savosavo, spoken on Savo Island in the Central Province (Fig. 1.2) is one of the four languages in the central Solomon Islands that have been unequivocally classified as Papuan. The other three are Bilua (Obata 2003) and Touo in the Western Province, and Lavukaleve (Terrill 2003) in the Central Province (see Fig. 1.2).

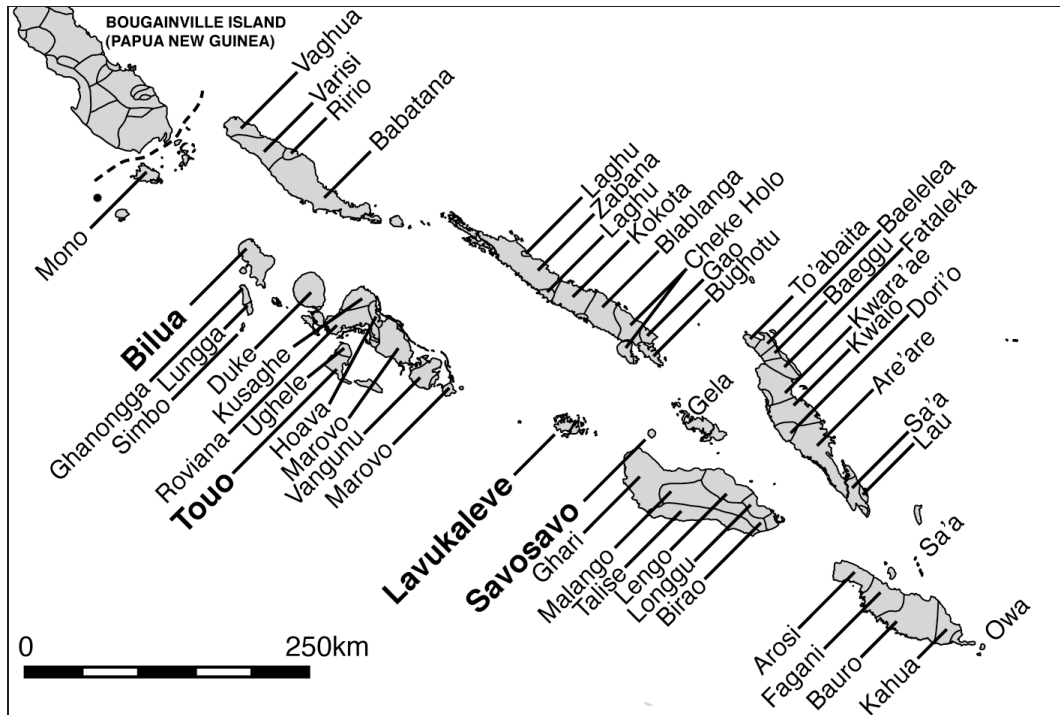


Figure 1.2: Language map of the Solomon Islands. The names of the Papuan languages are bold and in a larger font.

These four languages are not closely related and quite different from each other, both in structure and in the lexicon, but have been claimed to belong to one language family, the East Papuan family (Ross 2001; Dunn et al. 2002, 2005; Terrill 2002). A comparison of 324 lexical items across Austronesian and Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands conducted by Tryon and Hackman (1983) shows that while the Austronesian languages share a high percentage of their lexicon (sometimes up to 70 or 80%), the four Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands have few lexical items in common. For example, Savosavo and Lavukaleve show the highest percentage of shared vocabulary of all possible pairings between the Papuan languages, which is only about 13.7% (Tryon and Hackman 1983: 456, 460); in contrast, Savosavo has up to 20% shared vocabulary with neighboring Austronesian languages (Tryon and Hackman 1983: 464). But although there has been intensive contact between Savosavo and the neighboring Austronesian languages for a long time, as evidenced by borrowings and loans, it has retained very distinct grammatical features (e.g. SOV word order and a gender system) and kept its unique character. It is unintelligible for speakers of other languages, whether Austronesian or Papuan, and (like the other Papuan languages in the country) has a reputation of being difficult to learn.

Although the official language of the Solomon Islands is English, the most important contact language these days is Solomon Islands Pijin (SIP), the lingua franca of the whole

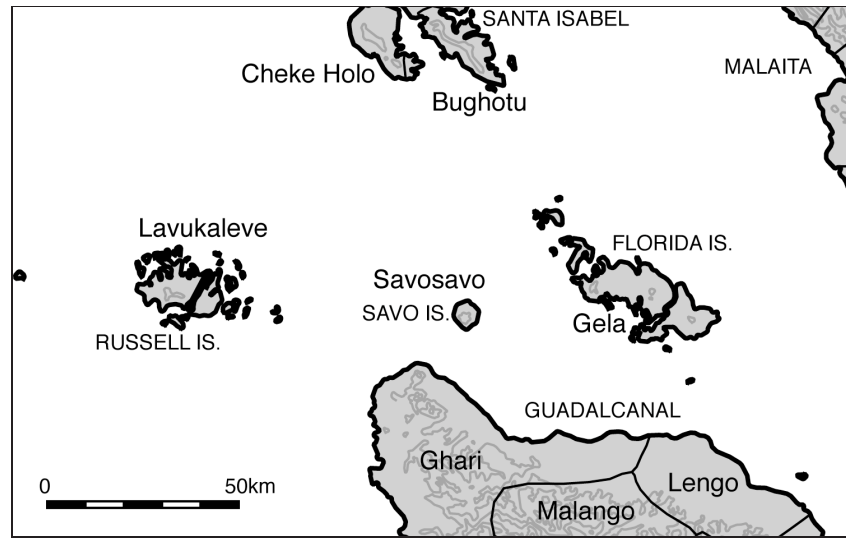


Figure 1.3: Map with the languages and islands around Savo Island.

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

Other important contact languages are the neighboring Austronesian languages. Lavukaleve, the only neighboring Papuan language, is of lesser importance, as very few Savosavo speakers have knowledge of Lavukaleve and vice versa. The closest neighboring Austronesian languages are Ghari (northwest Guadalcanal, comprising a number of dialects (Gordon 2005)), Lengo (northeast Guadalcanal), Gela (Florida Islands, Central Province, Crowley 2002a) and Bughotu (St. Ysabel). Figure 1.3 shows where these languages are located in relation to Savo Island. Of special importance to the Savosavo-speaking community is Gela, as there are some villages in the area of Pokilo in the northeast of Savo Island where Gela, and not Savosavo, is the primary language. In the south of Savo, Ghari is the most important contact language, but Savosavo still is the primary language in this area. Historically, the Savo people also had contacts and alliances with other, more distant, groups, e.g. with speakers of Marovo in the Western Province, marked in Fig. 1.2 (Edvard Hviding, pers. comm.).

For a long time, oral transmission was the only way of passing on knowledge of historical events, customs and beliefs from one generation to the other. Still, today, according to Cronin et al. (2004: 110), the “Central Province has the lowest literacy rate of the Solomon Islands (c. 52%, measured as those who have attended at least 4 years of school).” With

the disruption in the educational services due to ethnic tension escalating between 1998 and 2001, illiteracy might be even higher in the current generation of children of school age, as many did not go back when the schools started again after two or more years. The number given above also pertains to literacy in English, literacy in the local languages such as Savosavo is much lower, as people rarely learn to write their own language.

Today, Savosavo is occasionally used in writing. There are currently two orthographies in use, introduced by the Catholic and the Anglican church respectively, which differ in the graphemic representation of a few phonemes. These alternative spelling systems (cf. Sec.1.5) add to the insecurity many speakers feel when they write in their own language. Many people go and ask elders for help when they have to have something written. Savosavo is sometimes used to write short notes and notices to the public, and it is sometimes used in private letters, but apart from that there are almost no written materials in Savosavo, with the exception of a translation of about 20 pages from the prayer book used by the Anglican church.

1.2 Typological profile

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Savosavo has a ‘marked nominative’ case system, i.e. syntactic subject noun phrases are marked as nominative, while object noun phrases are unmarked. Other cases marked by bound morphology are the genitive, which is the subject case in nominalized clauses

and some subordinate and cosubordinate clauses, the locative, which is a multi-functional case also used for other semantic roles, e.g. instruments, and the ablative.

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

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

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

1.3 Previous work on Savosavo

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

The earliest recordings of Savosavo are two recordings (made in 1958 and in the 1960s) in a collection of tapes recorded by Arthur Capell, stored in the PARADISEC repository. Both recordings, comprising 21 minutes of elicited and narrative material, have been transcribed, glossed and translated as far as possible by myself, and the annotation has been archived in the PARADISEC repository as well.¹

1.4 The nature of the data used in this thesis

The data used in this thesis was collected during 13 months of fieldwork. Most of this fieldwork (12 months between 2002 and 2005) was funded by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen and connected to the interdisciplinary research project “Pioneers of Island Melanesia”², one more month of fieldwork in 2007 was financed by the Volkswagen Foundation as part of the project “Documentation of Savosavo” in the DoBeS (‘Documentation of Endangered Languages’) program³. All the data used in this thesis is stored in the archive of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. The access to the data itself is restricted, but the structure of the corpus and some basic metadata can be accessed under <http://www.mpi.nl/world/corpus/index.html>.

During this time I recorded about 42 hours of text, from 46 different speakers (30 male, 16 female), ranging in age from 14 to about 85. Basic metadata in IMDI format exist for all recordings. The description presented in this thesis is based on about 24 hours of these recordings which are transcribed and glossed in Toolbox. The recorded material is supplemented by field notes of elicitation sessions. In total, the corpus contains about 13,000 records in Toolbox, with one record usually equivalent to one sentence. For some elicited material, a record contains a full turn of a speaker, e.g. a description of a picture. A lexical database in Toolbox format based on this corpus consists of about 2,000 entries at present.

The material used in this thesis comprises mostly narratives, procedural texts and material elicited by games and video stimuli developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. For each of these categories, Table 1.1 provides the number of individual texts, the recording time and records, and the number of speakers.

¹The recordings as well as the annotations are stored as AC1-013-B and AC1-106-A and can be accessed online (with password) in the PARADISEC repository at <https://store.apac.edu.au/paradisec/repository/AC1/013> and <https://store.apac.edu.au/paradisec/repository/AC1/106>. For more information on the repository, and for the procedure of requesting access, see <http://www.paradisec.org.au/home.html>.

²The Project was part of the European Science Foundation EUROCORES program “The Origin of Man, Language and Languages” (contract no. ERAS-CT-2003-980409); for more information see the homepage of the project: <http://www.eastpapuan.ling.su.se/index.html>.

³For more information see <http://www.mpi.nl/dobes>.

Text type	# Texts	Recording time	Records	# Speakers (m/f)
Narratives	54	13:51	9,264	31 (22/9)
Procedural	9	2:06	744	9 (7/2)
Stimulus-based Elicitation	25	8:10	3,863	16 (10/6)
TOTAL	88	24:07	13,873	46 ⁴ (30/16)

Table 1.1: Summary of the data used in this grammar, sorted by text type.

Table 1.2 provides the list of stimulus materials used to elicit data on specific topics. In addition, there are about 1,000 example sentences from grammatical elicitation sessions, including responses elicited with the Tense/Aspect questionnaire (Dahl 1985), and daily observations. The two recordings made by Arthur Capell (cf. Sec. 1.3 above) were also used; they comprise about 21 minutes (247 Toolbox records) of elicited and narrative material.

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

Table 1.2: Stimulus sets used to elicit data on specific topics, together with the number of sessions, the recording time and records, and the number of participants that contributed the data.

⁴Some speakers provided data from more than one category, therefore the total number of speakers is not the sum of the number of speakers for each type of text.

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

1.5 Orthography and conventions used in examples

As mentioned above in Sec. 1.1, there are a number of orthographies found on Savo Islands, all differing in the spelling of the same few sounds (see Tab. 1.3; grey cells mark differences between orthographies). Probably the most widespread orthographies are those introduced by the Anglican and the Catholic churches, which make use of digraphs for some sounds, but other variants (e.g. in the translation of some pages of the prayer book used by the Anglican church) use diacritics or slanted letters instead. Although people on Savo in general agree that it would be preferable and less confusing to have just one orthography, no decision has been made as to which version should be given preference.

The orthography used in this grammar follows the tradition of the two most widespread orthographies in representing some sounds by digraphs, but differs slightly in what digraphs are used. There were two reasons for this: firstly, I did not want to choose one particular orthography over the others as long as the decision has not been made by the speech community. To choose one of the existing orthographies would look like that orthography was somehow better than the others. While I do prefer digraphs to diacritics and slanted letters because they are easier to produce in handwriting and, in a language without consonant clusters, also easily recognized, both the Anglican and the Catholic orthographies are consistent and fully functional in themselves. The matter of choosing one or possibly two orthographies as the standard is currently being discussed in the community.

The second reason to choose a slightly different orthography were considerations of practicality and accuracy for linguistic description: I chose to follow the Anglican tradition in using [g] instead of [q] to represent the phoneme /g/ because it corresponds to the IPA symbol. For the phoneme /u/ I also decided to follow the Anglican spelling of using [gh]. Both the Anglican and the Catholic orthographies agree on using [ng] for the phoneme /ŋ/, which also makes sense linguistically, representing the manner of articulation by [n] and place of articulation by [g]. For the phoneme /ɲ/ I decided to use the digraph [ny], which differs from all other orthographies, because it represents the phoneme better than [gn] and reduces the risk of mistakes. Transposing [n] and [y] would not cause major problems, the originally intended word would still be clearly recognizable; however, if both [gn] and [ng] are used, the risk of mistakenly using one instead of the other is always present, and such mistakes could only be noticed by someone familiar with the language

Phoneme	Anglican	Catholic	Other variants	Used here
/a/	A a	A a		A a
/b/	B b	B b		B b
/d/	D d	D d		D d
/e/	E e	E e		E e
/g/	G g	Q q	G, g	G g
/ɥ/	Gh gh	G g		Gh gh
/i/	I i	I i		I i
/j/	J j	J j		J j
/k/	K k	K k		K k
/l/	L l	L l		L l
/m/	M m	M m		M m
/n/	N n	N n		N n
/ɲ/	Gn gn	Gn gn	Ñ ñ	Ny ny
/ŋ/	Ng ng	Ng ng	Ñ ñ, N	Ng ng
/o/	O o	O o		O o
/p/	P p	P p		P p
/r/	R r	R r		R r
/s/	S s	S s		S s
/t/	T t	T t		T t
/u/	U u	U u		U u
/β/	V v	V v		V v
/z/	Z z	Z z		Z z

Table 1.3: Representation of phonemes in different orthographies.

and the lexeme in question. Indeed, switching [gn] and [ng] is one of the most common spelling errors I observed in the writing of native speakers. Because of this I decided to use [ny] instead when I had just started to work on the language, and as this thesis is intended for a linguistic audience which will also most likely not be familiar with the language, [ny] will be used here as well.

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

- Each example consists of at least three lines: the first provides the Savosavo text, separated into morphemes, the second the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and the last provides a translation into English, enclosed in quotes (“); sometimes both a free and a literal (lit.) translation are given. For long examples, there can be more than one pair of text and gloss lines.

- In the Savosavo text, punctuation reflects intonation. A period (.) marks a sentence-final drop in pitch followed by a distinctive pause, while a question mark (?) stands for a sentence-final rise in pitch, again followed by a distinctive pause. A small, sentence-internal rise in pitch that is not followed by a pause is marked by a comma (,), while a sentence-internal drop in pitch that is not followed by a pause is marked by a semicolon (;). A solidus is used to indicate pauses (/). If material is omitted because of morphophonological processes, it is provided in parentheses.
- In both the Savosavo text line and the line containing the glosses, suffixation is indicated by a hyphen (-), cliticization by an equals sign (=), and reduplication by a tilde (~). If a gloss consists of multiple words or abbreviations, they are separated by a period (.). Savosavo words consisting of two morphemes that cannot be easily separated, e.g. when the suffixation leads to a stem-internal sound change, are not separated in the Savosavo text. The glosses of the morphemes involved will be provided separated by a period. Square brackets ([]) indicate that a gloss does not correspond to any overt element in the Savosavo word. In a translation, however, square brackets mark additional information that is necessary for the understanding of the example.
- Solomon Islands Pijin and English words used in Savosavo examples are underlined, e.g. olomane ‘old man’.
- The translation is followed by a code consisting of letters and numbers that specifies the speaker, the text and the exact location of the example in the corpus. Furthermore, it provides information about whether the example is part of a longer, coherent stretch of free speech or not: When the letters precede the numbers, e.g. ap_polupolu_002, the example is one of natural free speech, from a narrative or connected discourse. This includes data elicited with the Man & Tree pictures (Pederson et al. 1998) and the Staged Events video clips (Staden et al. 2001), because the speakers interacted freely during these tasks. When the numbers precede the letters, e.g. 06-rr_bp, the example was taken from elicited material or noted during participant observation. The code used for examples taken from the recordings made by Arthur Capell, e.g. AC1-013-B.009, consists of the file name (AC1-106-A or AC1-013-B) and a three-digit number.

Chapter 2

Phonology

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

2.1 Phoneme inventory

The phoneme inventory consists of twenty-two phonemes, seventeen consonants and five vowels.¹ In addition to this there is also one marginal phoneme, a diphthong. The consonants will be presented first, followed by a discussion of the vowels.

2.1.1 Consonants

There are four places and six manners of articulation for consonants. Table 2.1 gives the IPA symbols for each phoneme.

If a word borrowed from Solomon Islands Pijin contains the labiodental fricative [f], it is often, but not always, changed into [p] or [β]. Whether [f] is used or not seems to

¹According to Maddieson (1984:7) “the typical size of an inventory lies between 20 and 37 segments”; compared to this, the size of the inventory of Savosavo (22) is cross-linguistically typical. In particular, it is a typical inventory size for the geographic area (cf. Lynch et al. 2002). The vowel system consists of the five most common vowels (Maddieson 1984:125). Comparing the number of vowels and consonants, one gets a ratio of 0.29 (no. of vowels / no. of consonants), which is slightly below the median value of 0.36 for Maddieson’s UPSID data (Maddieson 1984:9).

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

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

depend whether the word is a recent loan or not, and on the level of proficiency of the speaker in English and/or Pijin. As [f] is currently restricted to more recent loanwords from Solomon Islands Pijin, and to the speech of speakers who are proficient in English and/or Pijin, it is not taken to be a phoneme of Savosavo.

Correspondence of phonemes to graphemes

Savosavo examples are given in a practical orthography. For most phonemes, the corresponding graphemes are identical to the respective IPA symbols, except for the following:

Phoneme	Grapheme
ɟ	<i>j</i>
ɲ	<i>ny</i>
ŋ	<i>ng</i>
β ɾ	<i>v</i>
ɥ	<i>gh</i>

The digraphs are never ambiguous, because there are no consonant clusters in Savosavo (cf. Sec.2.2). For a discussion of the orthography used in this thesis and a comparison with other orthographies used on Savo Island see Section 1.5.

Stops

There are three voiceless stops (/p/, /t/, /k/) and four voiced stops(/b/, /d/, /ɟ/, /g/). The voiceless stops are not or only slightly aspirated, aspiration is not phonemic. The

voiced stops have prenasalized and non-prenasalized allophones. Word-initially as well as word-medially both allophones can occur. However, the prenasalized allophones are much more frequent, especially in non-initial position. Non-prenasalized allophones are mostly found in word-initial position and only rarely word-medially.

- /p/ voiceless bilabial stop

→ [p]

Examples:

<i>pade</i>	[^h pa ^h de]	‘one’
<i>mapa</i>	[^h mapa]	‘person’

- /t/ voiceless alveolar stop

→ [t]

Examples:

<i>tone</i>	[^h tone]	‘brother’
<i>ata</i>	[^h ata]	‘here’

- /k/ voiceless velar stop

→ [k]

Examples:

<i>kurighidi</i>	[^h kuri ^h ʔi ^h di]	‘fly’
<i>roko</i>	[^h roko]	‘plank canoe’

- /b/ voiced bilabial stop

→ [^mb] (~ [b])

Examples:

<i>batu</i>	[^m batu] ~ [^h batu]	‘head’
<i>ghobu</i>	[^h ʔo ^m bu]	‘middle’

- /d/ voiced alveolar stop

→ [ⁿd] (~ [d])

Examples:

<i>dala</i>	[ⁿ dala] ~ [^h dala]	‘kite’
<i>pada</i>	[^h pa ⁿ da]	‘thunder’

- /ʃ/ voiced palatal stop

→ [ⁿʃ^z] ~ [ⁿʃ^z] ~ [ⁿc^ɛ] ~ [c^ɛ] ~ [ⁿc^ɛ] ~ [c^ɛ]

Examples:

<i>jai</i>	[ⁿ ʃ ^z ai] ~ [ⁿ c ^ɛ ai] ~ [c ^ɛ ai]	‘river’
<i>majali</i>	[^h ma ⁿ ʃ ^z ali]	‘ghost’

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

- All allophones have a fricative release, but the ratio of the stop portion to the fricative portion varies: Sometimes the stop is almost inaudible, sometimes it is dominant. With respect to this feature the allophones seem to be in free variation.

- It can be voiced or voiceless. The voiced allophone is always, the voiceless one often prenasalized. The voiceless allophones are found more often word-initially than word-medially. This also holds for the prenasalization: as with voiced stops, the non-prenasalized allophones occur mainly word-initial. The voiced allophones are more common than the voiceless ones.
- The place of articulation can be alveo-palatal or palatal, the alveo-palatal variety being more common in both positions.

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

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

- /g/ voiced velar stop

→ [ᵑg] (~ [g])

Examples:

<i>gazu</i>	[ᵑgazu] ~ [gazu]	‘ripe coconut’
<i>age</i>	[ᵑge]	‘branch’

Nasals

- /**m**/ bilabial nasal

→ [m]

Examples:

<i>muzi</i>	[ˈmuzi]	‘night’
<i>kakami</i>	[ˌkaˈkami]	‘to play’

- /**n**/ alveolar nasal

→ [n]

Examples:

<i>nale</i>	[ˈnale]	‘tooth’
<i>zine</i>	[ˈzine]	‘mat’

- /**ɲ**/ palatal nasal

→ [ɲ]

Examples:

<i>nyari</i>	[ˈɲari]	‘small’
<i>vonyu</i>	[ˈβɔɲu]	‘turtle’

- /**ŋ**/ velar nasal

→ [ŋ]

Examples:

<i>ngitu</i>	[ˈŋitu]	‘breadfruit seed’
<i>musanga</i>	[ˈmusɑŋa]	‘evening’

Fricatives

- /**s**/ voiceless alveolar fricative

→ [s]

Examples:

<i>suba</i>	[ˈsu ^m ba]	‘garden’
<i>ghase</i>	[ˈuɣase]	‘to be happy’

- /**z**/ voiced alveolar fricative

→ [z]

Examples:

<i>ze</i>	[ze]	‘they’
<i>muzi</i>	[ˈmuzi]	‘night’

Trill

- /**r**/ alveolar trill

→ [r] ~ [r̥]

Examples:

<i>reka</i>	[ˈreka]	‘dust, ground’
<i>ara</i>	[ˈara]	‘five’

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

Lateral

- /l/ alveolar lateral
→ [l]

Examples:

<i>lapi</i>	[ˈlapi]	‘tongue’
<i>kwala</i>	[ˈkuβala]	‘afternoon’

Approximants

- /β̣/ voiced bilabial unrounded approximant
→ [β̣] ~ [v]

Examples:

<i>vila</i>	[ˈβ̣ila]	‘lightning’
<i>kove</i>	[ˈkoβ̣e]	‘rainbow’

This phoneme is sometimes realized as a voiced labiodental approximant. Again, these allophones are in free variation.

Todd (1977: 808) analyzed this phoneme as a voiced bilabial fricative (/β̣/).

- /ɰ/ voiced velar approximant
→ [ɰ]

Examples:

<i>gharo</i>	[ˈɰaro]	‘gecko’
<i>ivaghru</i>	[iˈβ̣aɰu]	‘day’

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

2.1.2 Minimal contrast between consonants

Minimal sets or near-minimal sets between phonetically close consonants are listed in Table 2.2.

	Initial	Medial
p:b	<i>puzu</i> ‘waist’ <i>buzu</i> ‘breadfruit’	<i>kapu</i> ‘to be full’ <i>kabu</i> ‘to run away’
p:v	<i>pazu</i> ‘palm leaf’ <i>vazu</i> ‘to bud’	<i>sape</i> ‘to follow (2DU)’ <i>savea</i> ‘fin’
b:v	<i>boli</i> ‘intestines’ <i>voli-li</i> ‘to buy (3SG.M)’	<i>labu</i> ‘belly button’ <i>lavu</i> ‘place’

	Initial	Medial
b:m	<i>barata</i> ‘hillside’ <i>marara</i> ‘to be bright’	<i>kaba</i> ‘shell’ <i>kama</i> ‘armpit’
t:d	<i>tada</i> ‘man’ <i>dada</i> ‘to be afraid’	<i>pata-li</i> ‘to separate rope (3SG.M)’ <i>pada-li</i> ‘to count (3SG.M)’
d:n	<i>data</i> ‘outside’ <i>nata</i> ‘flat area’	<i>vudu</i> ‘boyfriend’ <i>vunu-li</i> ‘to smell (3SG.M)’
d:r	<i>doi</i> ‘earth’ <i>roi</i> ‘to sink’	<i>kudo</i> ‘hen’ <i>kuro</i> ‘pot’
d:l	<i>dole</i> ‘louse’ <i>lole</i> ‘enough’	<i>dada</i> ‘to be afraid’ <i>dala</i> ‘kite’
d:j	<i>dai</i> ‘good’ <i>jai</i> ‘river’	<i>kudia</i> ‘fin’ <i>kuji</i> ‘bamboo (for picking apples)’
r:l	<i>raju</i> ‘to level sth.’ <i>l-aju</i> ‘to finish (3SG.M)’	<i>kuro</i> ‘pot’ <i>kulo</i> ‘seawards’
r:n	<i>rata</i> ‘to be slippery’ <i>nata</i> ‘flat area’	<i>ura</i> ‘crayfish’ <i>una</i> ‘earring’
l:n	<i>lo</i> ‘he’ <i>no</i> ‘you’	<i>male</i> ‘left’ <i>mane</i> ‘then’
s:z	<i>sala</i> ‘to follow (3SG.M)’ <i>zala-li</i> ‘to look for (3SG.M)’	<i>posovata</i> ‘yellow’ <i>pozogho</i> ‘bottom’
k:g:gh	<i>karu</i> ‘edge’ <i>garu</i> ‘hard’ <i>gharu</i> ‘to move’	<i>ake</i> ‘what’ <i>age</i> ‘branch’ <i>aghe</i> ‘we (excl.)’
g:ng	<i>gasi-li</i> ‘to close (3SG.M)’ <i>ngasi</i> ‘to be hard’	<i>koga-li</i> ‘to erect posts (3SG.M)’ <i>konga-li</i> ‘to worship (3SG.M)’

Table 2.2: Minimal or near-minimal sets for consonant phonemes

2.1.3 Vowels

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

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	
diphthong	ai		

Table 2.3: Vowel phonemes and the diphthong

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

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

In addition, non-phonemic nasalization of vowels is found when they are preceded or followed by nasals. There is no contrast between long and short vowels. However, in monosyllabic words the vowel is usually lengthened, e.g. *mi* [mi:] ‘fish’ and *tu* [tu:] ‘midrib of a palm leaf’, at least when uttered in isolation.

2.1.4 Minimal contrast between vowels

Table 2.4 gives minimal sets for the vowels.

	Initial	Final
a:e:i	<i>auye</i> ‘we (dual incl.)’	<i>kata</i> ‘bushwards (dist.)’
	<i>euqe</i> ‘Ngali nut tree’	<i>k-ate</i> ‘to hold (3SG.F)’
	<i>iuqe sua</i> ‘new’	<i>kati</i> ‘bushwards (prox.)’
o:u	<i>ora</i> ‘to burn’	<i>kaɔ</i> ‘bushwards’
	<i>ura</i> ‘crayfish’	<i>k-au</i> ‘to take (3SG.F)’

Table 2.4: Minimal sets for vowel phonemes

2.1.5 Vowel combinations

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

Apart from identical vowel sequences all possible vowel combinations are attested, but /ie/ only occurs when the enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ is added to a word ending in /i/ (e.g. *mi* ‘fish’ + =*e* ‘EMPH’ → *mie*), and /uo/ is only attested in one word that is a frozen reduplicated form (*ovuovu* ‘gas, steam’). Table 2.5 lists all vowel combinations together with an example.

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

Table 2.5: Vowel combinations

2.1.6 Diphthong

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

The example that suggests that /ai/ sometimes has the status of a diphthong is the noun *vaitula* ‘servant’, which has primary stress on the first syllable: *'vaitula*. If /ai/

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

'vaitula ‘servant’ + =*gha* ‘PL’ → *ˌvaitu'lagha*

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

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

If /ai/ is analyzed as a diphthong in this case, it would mean that this is a disyllabic root. There are, however, no disyllabic roots that have stress on the last syllable in Savosavo. If, on the other hand, /ai/ is viewed as a vowel sequence, this root is a trisyllabic root. And indeed, it does behave like a normal trisyllabic root: primary stress is on the second syllable, and this does not change when a bound morpheme is added.

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

The conclusion that follows is that in some cases this vowel combination is indeed a diphthong, but in others it is not.² Cases that force one or the other analysis are rare. In cases that allow for both analyses I decided to treat /ai/ as a vowel combination, not as a diphthong, i.e. a root like *ghai'oko* ‘dugout canoe’ is analyzed as a four-syllable root in what follows.

²A similar situation is found in Samoan, where vowel combinations functioning as diphthongs in penultimate syllables have to be considered as constituting two syllables when occurring in word final position (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 29).

2.2 Syllable and root structure

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

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

Roots consist of one or more syllables.

$$W \rightarrow \sigma^*$$

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

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

About 2% are roots with more than four syllables; again most of these roots contain reduplicated material that might have been analyzable in an earlier stage. For example, the verbs *,'sabesa'bera* 'to hang (naturally, e.g. a fruit on the tree)' and *,'kula,kula'papa* 'to put your arms around your neighbors' are at present apparently only used in these reduplicated forms. However, reduplication on verbs is used to change the aktionsart of a verb to give it a durative or iterative reading (cf. Sec.6.4), and the meaning of these verbs does have a durative or iterative component: a fruit hanging at a tree, and putting one's arms around both neighbors or each other. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that non-reduplicated forms existed once, but fell out of use.

The few other roots with more than four syllables, some of which also look like reduplicated forms, are to my knowledge unanalyzable in present day Savosavo, but can to a large extent still be identified as complex forms that were analyzable earlier on, e.g. *,'koro'dikolo* 'small lizard' can be traced back to *koropi-* 'to claw at something or someone' and *diko-* 'to pinch', describing the way the lizard moves, and *,'muzi'kavili* 'darkness' is composed of *'muzi* 'night' and **kavili*, which is to my knowledge not a root in present-day Savosavo. It is striking that many of these words are names of plants and animals (e.g. *,'dakida'kili* 'big black ant', *,'kuraku'rape* 'frog', *,'kaupe'beta* 'kind of pandanus', *,'kapisi'vatu* 'kind of shell', and *,'biliko'kio* 'kind of bird'). At least the last example is onomatopoeic, imitating the bird's cry.

Although there is no monosyllabic root that consists of one vowel only, some disyllabic roots consist only of vowels (e.g. *ai* 'who', *au* 'move down', and *-ou* 'eat'). Very few roots have a sequence of three vowels (e.g. *,'ghai'oko* 'dugout canoe'), and no root has sequences

of more than three vowels. Words with more than three vowels in a sequence are rare, and are the result of reduplication and/or affixation, as for example in the case of ,*eo'eo* ‘hanger’, derived from *eo-* ‘to hang something’.

2.3 Stress

A stressed syllable is marked by longer, clearer pronunciation, higher intensity and sometimes higher pitch.³ Roots with three or more syllables can have more than one stressed syllable. Stress assignment proceeds from the end of the root. Therefore, if there is more than one stressed syllable in a root, the rightmost stressed syllable is analyzed as carrying primary stress. Stress on other syllables is analyzed as secondary, although there is usually no or only little difference in realization.

The next section describes the stress patterns found with roots in Savosavo (2.3.1); after this the influence of affixation on stress patterns is discussed (2.3.2). The influence of reduplication on root stress is discussed in the section on reduplication, Section 2.4.2 on page 34.

2.3.1 Root stress

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

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

³The description in this chapter is based on auditory impression, supplemented by qualitative analysis of pitch and intensity with the PRAAT software.

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

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

The stress patterns of roots with two to four syllables can be schematized as in Table 2.6. As the examples show, syllable structure does not have an influence on stress assignment.

	Examples:
' $\sigma\sigma$	<i>'tada</i> 'man' <i>'age</i> 'branch' <i>'tau</i> 'to fall'
, $\sigma'\sigma\sigma$	<i>,a'gutu</i> 'work' <i>,ma'ghani</i> 'decoration' <i>,ku'ava</i> 'nine'
' $\sigma\sigma\sigma$	<i>'adaki</i> 'woman' <i>'sivugha</i> 'hair, fur, feather' <i>'kaunga</i> 'elder'
, $\sigma\sigma'\sigma\sigma$	<i>,kuri'ghidi</i> 'fly' <i>,aga'soru-</i> 'to consume all of something' <i>,bebe'ula</i> 'butterfly'

Table 2.6: Stress patterns of roots with two to four syllables.

2.3.2 Influence of affixes and clitics on stress

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

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

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

The syllable structure of enclitics is V, CV or CV.CV and thus also increases the number of syllables of a word. Although all clitics form a phonological word with their host, some have a stronger influence on its stress pattern than others.

Further investigation is required provide a full account of stress pattern changes triggered by different suffixes and enclitics combined. The remainder of this section will focus on two common bound morphemes, the suffix *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ and the enclitic *=gha* ‘PL’. Especially *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ is often found in short utterances (see examples (1) and (2) below), so its influence on stress patterns can be observed in everyday speech very easily. This discussion is then followed by some remarks about the object marking suffixes that are added to verb stems.

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

Primary stress stays on first syllable:

<i>'sota</i> ‘to be calm’ + <i>-ghu</i> ‘NMLZ’	→	<i>'sotaghu</i>
<i>'kake</i> ‘taro’ + <i>=gha</i> ‘PL’	→	<i>'kakegha</i>

Primary stress moves to second syllable:

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

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

Stress does not change		Stress changes	
<i>'oru</i>	'to roll'	<i>'lomu</i>	'to fill a container'
<i>'bani</i>	'fence'	<i>'basi</i>	'to vanish'
<i>'ida</i>	'pana'	<i>'iva</i>	'to become day'
<i>'kuma</i>	'rain'	<i>'kula</i>	'to be short'
<i>'ravu</i>	'tribe'	<i>'samu</i>	'food'
<i>'sara</i>	'to reach'	<i>'kabu</i>	'to move away'

Examples (1) and (2) show one verb of each kind in a commonly used nominalized verbal clause in which the stress is clearly detectable, aided by the pitch peak of the clausal intonation falling on the stressed syllable of the verb (see Sec. 7.2.1.3, p. 227):

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

When the above-mentioned morphemes are added to **trisyllabic roots** having their primary stress on the second syllable the stress stays there; in contrast, if they are added to those having stress on the first syllable, the primary stress moves to the third (penultimate) syllable, thereby assuming the regular stress pattern of four-syllable roots.

Primary stress stays on second syllable:

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

Primary stress moves from first to third syllable:

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

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

Primary stress stays on third syllable:

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

Primary stress moves to fourth syllable:

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

So, the influence of the morphemes =*gha* ‘PL’ and -*ghu* ‘NMLZ’ can be summarized as in Table 2.7:

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

Table 2.7: Influence of the affixes =*gha* ‘PL’ and -*ghu* ‘NMLZ’ on the stress pattern of a root.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<i>'gasi</i> ‘to close’ + <i>-ghu</i> ‘NMLZ’	→	<i>ga'sighu</i>
<i>'gasi</i> ‘to close’ + <i>-li</i> ‘3SG.M.O’	→	<i>ga'sili</i>

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

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

2.4 Morphophonology

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

2.4.1 Influence of affixes and enclitics

The addition of suffixes starting with a vowel or the enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’⁴ can lead to addition or loss of material. In most cases when material is added or removed, it is to

⁴This enclitic is used to emphasize a constituent and is found on both topical and focal constituents (see Sec. 7.2.1)

avoid a sequence of two identical vowels. Stem modifications as a result of affixation or the addition of the enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ that are not motivated by the collision of two identical vowels are rare and will be discussed at the end of this section.

2.4.1.1 Avoidance of identical vowel sequences

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

<i>pata-li</i> ‘tear-3SG.M.O’	+ <i>ale</i>	→	<i>pataliale</i>
<i>sua</i> ‘spit’	+ <i>ale</i>	→	<i>suale</i> ⁵

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

The enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ can attach to a number of (non-verbal) words or phrases (see Sec. 7.2.1). Again, if the host ends in /e/, the two vowels merge. This is normally not the case with words ending in another vowel (but see p. 31 for exceptions):

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

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

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

So the general rule for identical vowel sequences resulting from the attachment of suffixes or enclitics is that they merge into one vowel. There is one exception to this rule: if the stem is monosyllabic, the vowels do not merge, but an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the stem and the suffix. There are no monosyllabic stems ending in /e/ or /i/ which could take the respective suffixes, but there are two monosyllabic verb stems ending

⁵When material is omitted because of morphophonemic processes anywhere in examples given in this thesis it will be provided in parentheses. For example, in an example the verb form *suale* ‘spit.IRR’ would be given as *sua-(a)le* ‘spit-IRR’.

in /a/, *ba* ‘come’ and *ka* ‘move bushwards / go ashore’. If *-a* ‘IMP.SG’, ‘SIM’, ‘SS’ is attached, an additional /i/ is inserted:

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

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

2.4.1.2 Stem modifications

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

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

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

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

BUT:

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

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

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

<i>ngei</i> ‘cry’	+ <i>-a</i> ‘IMP.SG’, ‘SIM’, ‘SS’	→	<i>ngia</i>
	+ <i>-ale</i> ‘IRR’	→	<i>ngiale</i>
	+ <i>-ata</i> ‘ANT’	→	<i>ngiata</i>
<i>tei</i> ‘say’	+ <i>-a</i> ‘IMP.SG’, ‘SIM’, ‘SS’	→	<i>tia</i>
	+ <i>-ale</i> ‘IRR’	→	<i>tiale</i>
	+ <i>-ata</i> ‘ANT’	→	<i>tiata</i>

<i>l-ou</i> ‘3SG.M.O- eat’	+ <i>-a</i> ‘IMP.SG’, ‘SIM’, ‘SS’	→	<i>lua</i>
	+ <i>-ale</i> ‘IRR’	→	<i>luale</i>
	+ <i>-ata</i> ‘ANT’	→	<i>luata</i>
<i>bo</i> ‘go’	+ <i>-a</i> ‘IMP.SG’, ‘SIM’, ‘SS’	→	<i>bua</i>
	+ <i>-ale</i> ‘IRR’	→	<i>buale</i>
	+ <i>-ata</i> ‘ANT’	→	<i>buata</i>

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

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

<i>l-ou</i> ‘3SG.M.O- eat’	+ <i>-i</i> ‘FIN’	→	<i>loi</i>
----------------------------	-------------------	---	------------

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

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

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

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

2.4.2 Reduplication

This section concentrates on the structural aspects of reduplication. Reduplication is found mostly with verbs, but sometimes also with nouns and adjectives and only occa-

sionally with quantifiers, determiners and particles (e.g. *dulo~dulo* ‘all’, *lo~lo* ‘the/that’ and *sika~sika* ‘don’t’). Derivational and inflectional functions of reduplication are listed in Section 3.2.2.

Typically, only the first or the first two syllables of a word are reduplicated. The copied material is then prefixed. The following table exemplifies the structural possibilities of reduplication:⁶

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

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

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

There are only a few examples so far. In the first case there is a functional difference: *bo~boragha* is an adjective meaning ‘black’, whereas *bora~boragha* is still a verb, the reduplication expresses a difference in aktionsart and the resulting form means ‘to become black’. However, there does not seem to be a functional difference in the other two examples; when asked about these variants, informants said they mean the same, but they preferred the reduplication of two syllables in both cases and suggested that the shorter versions might be a result of fast speech.

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

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

⁶Reduplication of CV.CV is by far the most common form in the text corpus (532 out of 723, 73.6%), followed by CV (96, 13.3%), CV.V (53, 7.3%), V.CV (38, 5.3%) and V.V (4, 0.6%).

- (3) *Te=ze* *l-au* *kuli-a* *te=ze*
 CONJ=3PL.NOM 3SG.M.O-take move.seawards-SS CONJ=3PL.NOM
molumolu~molumolu=gha=la tavatu-i.
 REDUP~island=PL=LOC.M transfer-FIN
 ‘And they put them seawards and they transferred to different islands.’
 (pc_biti_018)

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

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

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

As we saw in Section 2.4.1, the conjunction of two identical vowels can lead to the addition or the removal of material. Just like affixation, reduplication can result in two identical vowels coming together; this would have to be the reduplication of two word-initial syllables of the structure $V_1.CV_1$. Since V.CV reduplication itself is rare (see footnote 6 on p. 33), there are not many examples of a $V_1.CV_1$ reduplication in my corpus. The only examples are: *Aba~aba* ‘Ghari language (language spoken on Guadalcanal)’, *aka~aka* ‘to gasp for air’, *ala~alalia* ‘where (distributive)’, and *olo~olomanegha* ‘different old men’. Here neither of the vowels is omitted; this is probably due to the fact that one of them bears stress and they are therefore clearly distinguishable (*’Aba’aba*, *’aka’aka*).

There are only two occasions on which the reduplication of a stem triggers a stem modification at the same time. When the adjective *nyari* ‘small’ is reduplicated, the

second consonant of the stem is omitted, and when the aktionsart of the transitive verb stem *rajea-* ‘to stroke someone or something’ is changed by reduplication to a durative or iterative reading the end of the stem changes:

nyari ‘small’ + CV Redup → *nyanyai* ‘tiny’

rajea-⁷ ‘to stroke someone or something’ + CV Redup → *raraji* ‘to stroke’

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

2.5 Intonation

This section briefly describes some basic pitch contours found in Savosavo. A comprehensive description of intonation in Savosavo would require a much more thorough and detailed computational analysis of a wide range of data from different speakers, which was not feasible for this thesis. The aim of this section is thus to provide a background for some variations from basic intonation patterns that will be important in later sections. The focus will be on the intonation of basic verbal and non-verbal clauses, declarative as well as interrogative (2.5.1). Intonation patterns found in special constructions or complex clauses are then discussed together with the respective construction or clause type in later chapters. There are a small number of discourse particles that have very specific intonation contours. These will be discussed briefly at the end of this section (2.5.2).

2.5.1 Basic clausal pitch contours

The intonation contour found with a short independent declarative clause, whether verbal or non-verbal, exhibits a clause-final fall over the last few syllables. There is (at least) one pitch peak before the intonation drops. This peak is usually located on the end of a constituent, including any enclitic morphemes following it. It can be more or less pronounced. It does not matter whether the subject is expressed by a full NP, by an enclitic pronoun, or whether indeed the clause only contains a verb complex with an enclitic pronoun. Figure 2.1 shows the pitch contours of three verbal clauses, one with a full subject NP (4), one with an enclitic subject NP preceding the verb complex (5), and one a minimal verbal clause with an enclitic pronoun following the verb complex (6).

⁷It is not clear if the final /a/ is part of the verb stem or a kind of epenthetic vowel; several transitive verbs show an /a/ between the stem and the object marking suffix and/or the detransitivizing suffix, but in the reduplicated (intransitive) form of these stems it is omitted. An example would be *jotoa-* ‘to push firewood together’, with the forms *jotoali* and *jotojoto*. This is only found on disyllabic verb stems, so it might be the case that /a/ is inserted to get a more regular four syllable structure when the suffixes are added, instead of a three syllable structure. However, there are several disyllabic transitive verb stems that do not have this /a/, e.g. *duku-* ‘to cut a tree’, with the forms *dukuli* and *dukuduku*.

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

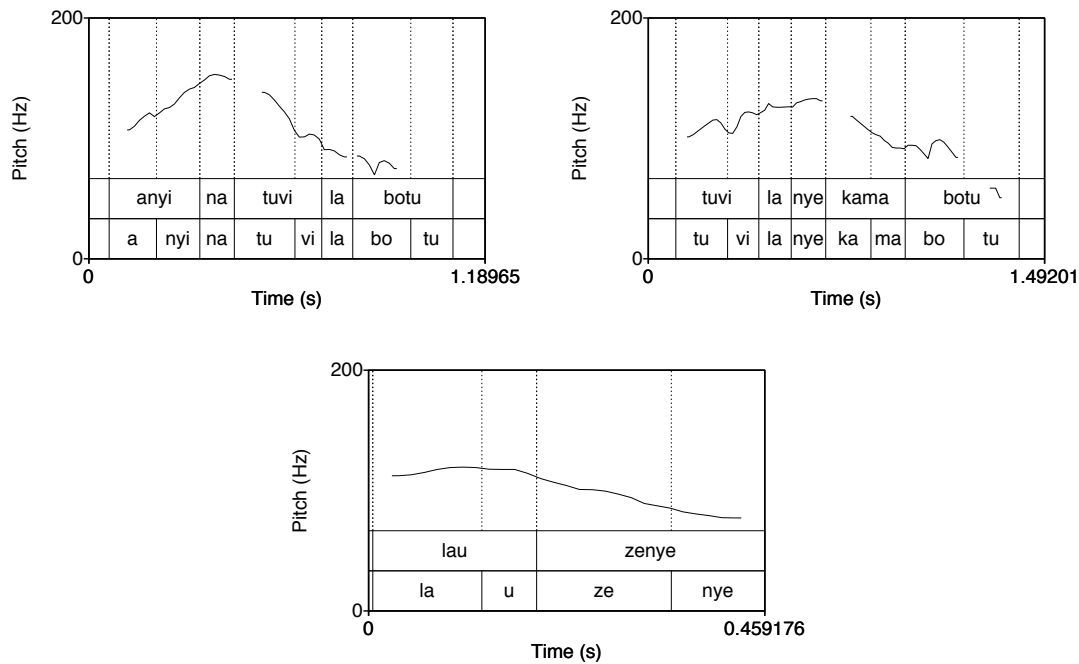


Figure 2.1: Pitch contours of the verbal clauses in examples (4), (5) and (6).

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

Figure 2.2 shows that non-verbal clauses such as examples (7) to (9) exhibit a similar pitch contour to the verbal clauses given above.

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

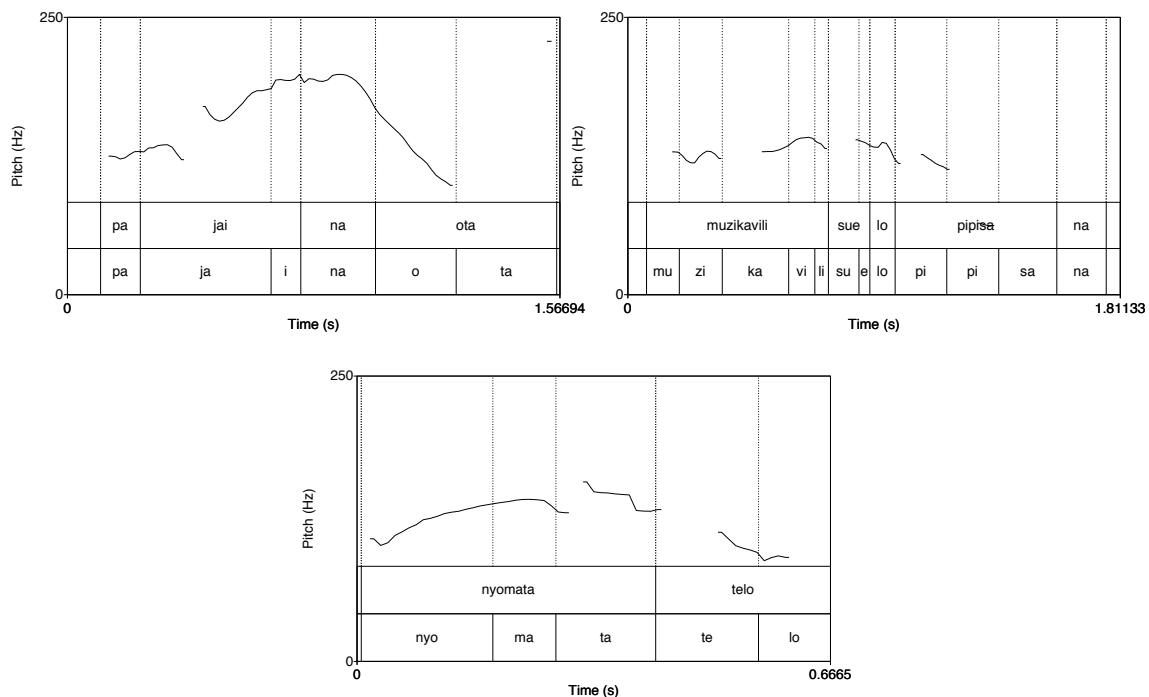


Figure 2.2: Pitch contours of three nominal clauses, examples (7), (8) and (9).

The intonation of content questions and polar questions is not uniform, as could be observed both in natural and elicited data. Polar questions often differ from declarative clauses only in that the pitch peak is slightly higher in polar questions, and that it is located on the last word. It is nonetheless followed by a drop in pitch. Because the peak

is shifted towards the end of the clause, the clause-final drop is compressed and steeper than in declarative clauses. Figure 2.3 shows the pitch contours belonging to a polar question (10) and the answer (11). For better comparability, only the pitch contour of the material following *eo* ‘yes’ in the beginning of (11) is given in the figure.

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

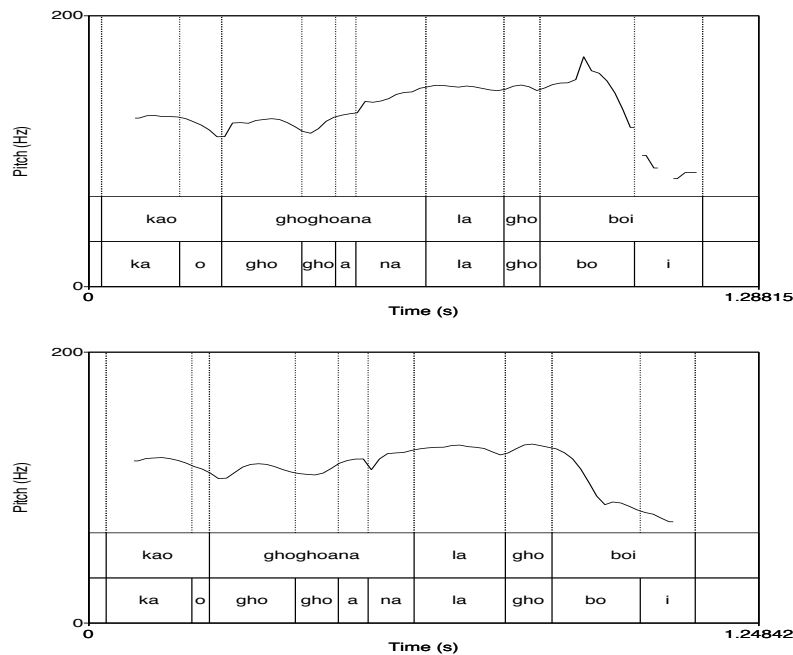


Figure 2.3: The pitch contours of a polar question and the corresponding answer (10, 11).

If the question offers alternatives, as in example (12), there is a peak on at least the first of the alternatives, see Figure 2.4.

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

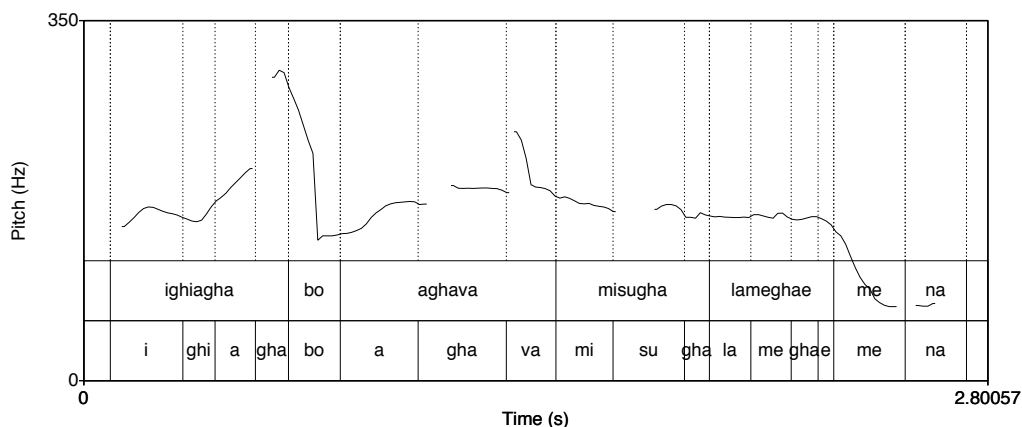


Figure 2.4: Pitch contour of a question offering two alternatives (12).

The intonation contour of content questions is also often almost identical to that of a declarative clause. The pitch peak can be a bit higher ((13), Fig. 2.5), or a secondary peak can occur on the interrogative proform itself, but there is nonetheless a fall in pitch over the last syllables, even if the interrogative proform is the last constituent of the clause, as in example (14) (see Fig. 2.5). In examples like (14), the distinguishing criterion could be the steepness of the rise and/or drop rather than the height of the pitch peak.

- (13) *Ai=na te lo zine l-ogha-i.*
 who=NOM EMPH DET.SG.M mat 3SG.M.O-weave-FIN
 ‘Who has woven the mat?’ (160_003_srb)

- (14) *Zu ko mama=kona ala.*
 but DET.SG.F mother=NOM where
 ‘But where (is) mother?’ (ws_cs_ghulia_128)

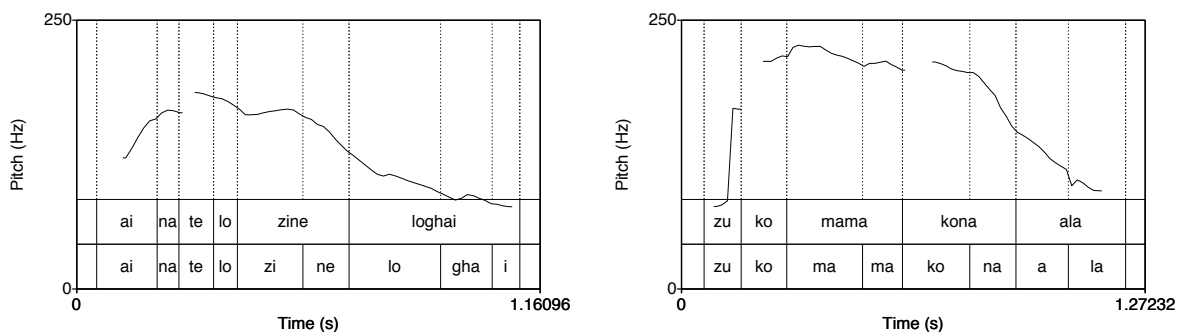


Figure 2.5: Pitch contours of two content questions ((13), 14); male speakers).

Sometimes, however, there is a rise in pitch at the end of a question, as in the content question in (15) and the polar question in (16) (see Fig. 2.6; both show non-verbal clauses, but the same is true for verbal clauses). The last pitch peak of the clause, preceding the final drop, is then often not higher than in declarative clauses, thus the clause final rise seems to make a steep rise or fall earlier in the clause unnecessary.

- (15) *Lo kola=na ala?*
 DET.SG.M stick=NOM where
 ‘Where (is) the stick?’ (cp_api_mt_273)
- (16) *Oma dada so=gha=e me=na?*
 not be.afraid ATT=PL=EMPH 2PL=NOM
 ‘Were you not afraid?’ (png_WWII_1_136)

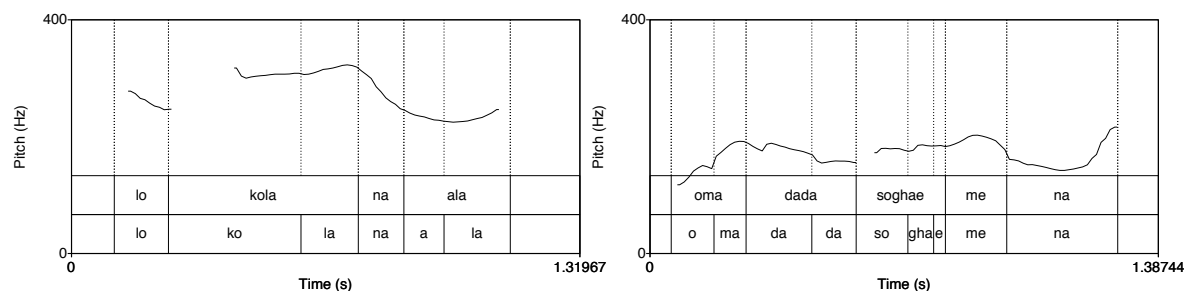


Figure 2.6: Pitch contour of a content question and a polar question with rising pitch at the end ((15, 16); one female speaker (left), one male speaker (right)).

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

2.5.2 Intonation associated with some discourse particles

There are a few discourse particles that always occur with very specific intonation contours. One is *ni* ‘AFF’, a question tag following a statement, requesting affirmation, comparable to English tag questions or a *right?* or *ok?* following a statement. The preceding clause has a normal intonation contour, including the clause final fall, and is then followed by a steep rise on *ni* (17). When the speaker is reasonably sure that the statement is correct and uses this tag more for emphasis than as a request for affirmation, this rise may be followed by a fall (18). For the intonation contour of examples (17) and (18) see Figure 2.7.

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

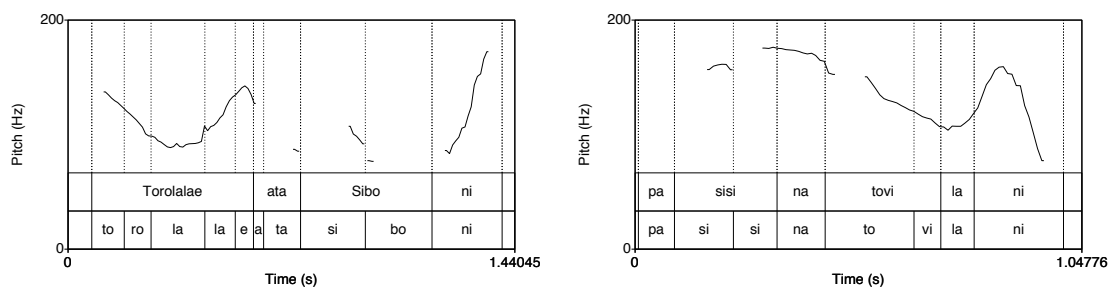


Figure 2.7: The pitch contours of two examples with the question tag *ni* (17, 18).

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

In Savosavo, there is a ‘vocal gesture’ used to object to a statement made before, or answer a question in the negative, and one to signal agreement and affirm what has been said. Both can be used on their own to fulfill this function, they do not have to be combined with *eo* ‘yes’ and *ghoma* ‘no’ respectively. They each exhibit a very specific intonation contour. The affirmative can be transcribed as *mm*, it is a long syllable with a low or mid-high level tone (see left part of Fig. 2.8). Occasionally a glottal stop is inserted: /mʔm/. The negative is either *mmm* or *aaa*, with an intonation contour that has been described by François (2006) as ‘high-low-rising’ (see right part of Figure 2.8) and is, according to the author, very commonly used for this purpose in north Vanuatu and the eastern Solomon Islands, albeit often with a different vowel.

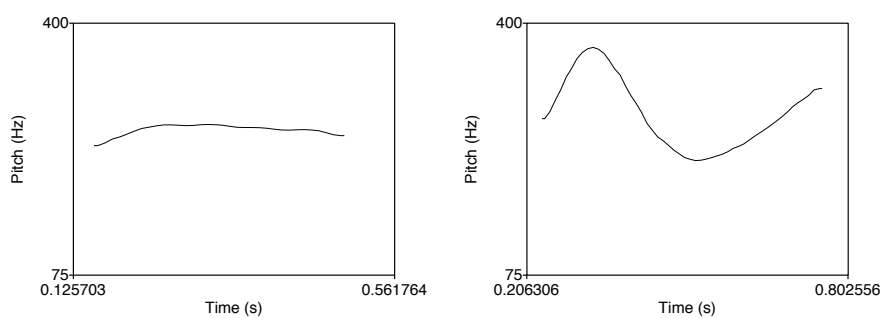


Figure 2.8: The pitch contours of the affirmative (left) and the negative (right) ‘vocal gesture’, performed by the same (female) speaker.

Chapter 3

Word formation

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

3.1 Terminology

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

Roots and stems

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

Word

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

Particles

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

Affix vs. clitic

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

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

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

Inflectional vs. derivational operations

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

of morphemes have characteristics of both derivation and inflection as discussed in the literature, the definition applied here is useful in a discussion of nominalization.

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

3.2 Morphological processes

3.2.1 Affixation and cliticization

Suffixes and enclitics

As mentioned above, suffixation is by far the most common form of affixation. Suffixes are used for derivational as well as inflectional purposes. All clitics in Savosavo follow their host. They are not used for derivational purposes. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 give an overview over the functions of enclitics (marked by =) and suffixes (marked by -). Bolded references refer to sections that are dedicated to the respective morphemes, references in normal print refer to important information embedded in other sections.

Suffix	Function	Chapter
<i>-ghu</i> ‘NMLZ’	verb → noun	4.1, p. 50; 9, p. 299
<i>-sa</i> ‘VBLZ’	noun, NP, adjective, AP, quantifier, QuanP → verb	4.2, p. 59; 4.3.1, p. 69; 4.4.1, p. 76
<i>-za</i> ‘DETR’	transitive verb → intransitive verb	4.1, pp. 51, 55; 6.2.2.2, p. 171
<i>-vi</i> ‘TR’	intransitive verb → transitive verb	4.1, pp. 51, 57; 6.2.2.1, p. 169

Table 3.1: Overview of the derivational suffixes.

Suffix/Enclitic	Function	Attached to	Chapter
= <i>(za)lo</i> ‘DU’, = <i>gha</i> ‘PI’	mark number	some NP constituents	4.2.2, p. 68; 5.1.2, p. 128
= <i>na</i> ‘NOM’, = <i>kona</i> ‘NOM.F’, = <i>tona</i> ‘NOM.DU’	nominative case	subject NPs	5.2.1, p. 135

= <i>la</i> ‘LOC.M’, = <i>ka</i> ‘LOC.F’	locative case	NPs	5.2.4, p. 141
- <i>va</i> ‘GEN.M/PL’, - <i>ma</i> ‘GEN.SG.F’	genitive case	pers. pronouns	5.2.3, p. 138
e.g. - <i>nyi</i> ‘1SG’, - <i>pi</i> ‘2DU’	object agreement	verb stems	6.2.1, p. 164; 4.1.1.1, p. 52
- <i>i</i> ‘FIN’	marks finiteness	verb stems	6.3.1, p. 173
- <i>ata</i> ‘ANT’	anticipatory	verb stems	6.3.2.2, p. 175
- <i>a</i> ‘SIM’	simultaneous	verb stems	6.3.2.3, p. 176
- <i>tu</i> ‘PRS.IPFV’	present imperfective	verb stems	6.3.2.4, p. 177
- <i>zu</i> ‘PST.IPFV’	past imperfective	verb stems	6.3.2.4, p. 177
- <i>atu</i> , - <i>ale</i> ‘BG.IPFV’	background imperf.	verb stems	6.3.2.5, p. 177
- <i>a</i> ‘IMP.SG’, - <i>lu</i> ‘IMP.PL’	imperative marking	verb stems	6.3.3.1, p. 179
- <i>le</i> ‘APPR’	apprehensive	verb stems	6.3.3.2, p. 179
- <i>ale</i> ‘IRR’	irrealis	verb stems	6.3.3.3, p. 180
- <i>a</i> ‘SS’	same-subject	verb stems	6.3.4, p. 181

Table 3.2: Overview of the inflectional enclitics and suffixes.

Prefixes

The only prefixes found in Savosavo are inflectional. Some verbs mark agreement with the object by means of prefixation, either exclusively or in combination with the object suffixes mentioned in Table 3.2. For the full paradigm of the prefixes and a discussion of the verbs they attach to see Sections 4.1.1.1 and 6.2.1.

3.2.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is used almost exclusively for derivational purposes. It is used to derive verbs from nouns and nouns from verbs and other nouns. In addition, it can change the aktionsart of some verbs; depending on the semantics of the base, this adds either a durative or an iterative reading.¹ The only inflectional function reduplication has been

¹See Section 6.4 for a discussion of why this is analyzed as a change of aktionsart, and not as aspect marking.

found to fulfill so far is to mark distributive plural in NPs.² The functions of reduplication are listed in Table 3.3.

Derivation	
Function	Chapter
verb → noun ('(the) action of Xing')	4.1, p. 51
noun → noun (language of X place)	4.2, p. 60
noun → verb ('to be/become X')	4.2, p. 59
change aktionsart of verbs	6.4, p. 182ff.
Inflection	
Function	Chapter
distributive plural	5.1, p. 131

Table 3.3: Overview over the derivational and inflectional functions of reduplication.

3.2.3 Stem modification

Stem modification is only used for inflection and not very common. Four verbs show agreement with the object by means of stem modification; these are *pala* 'to make something', *sala* 'to follow someone or something', *solo* 'to throw something or someone' and *bola* 'to shoot someone or something with a weapon'. For the full paradigms and more information on these verbs see Section 4.1.1.1, p. 55.

Two postpositions, *l-omata*³ 'at' and *l-omiti* 'for', exhibit a change of the first vowel from /o/ to /e/ in the second person dual and plural, and allow both forms of the root, with /o/ or with /e/, for the third person plural. For more information see Section 4.9.2, p. 106, and Section 4.9.3, p. 108.

Finally, the proprietive derivative marker *lava* shows stem modification marking number and gender. It is discussed in more detail in Section 4.8.2, p. 99.

²Distributive plural marked by reduplication is not considered to be derivational because of two reasons: it does not change the word class or subclass of a lexeme, and it functions on the phrase level, not on the word level. To express distributive plural in an NP, it does not have to be the head that is reduplicated, it could also be a modifier or even the determiner (see Sec. 5.1.2).

³Postpositions agree with their complement by means of a prefix. The citation form is the third person singular masculine throughout this thesis.

Chapter 4

Word classes and phrase types

This chapter provides an overview of the following word classes and phrase types that can be distinguished in Savosavo on morphological and syntactic grounds:¹

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

¹An earlier version of parts of this chapter was published as Wegener (2005).

4.1 Verbs and the verb complex

4.1.1 Verbs

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

- (19) *Oma lo mapa=gha=na bo ta-i.*
 not DET.PL person=PL=NOM go FUT-FIN
 ‘The people will not go (there).’ (ap_uzi_059)
- (20) *Anyi=na oma ata pa misu l-eghe-i.*
 1SG=NOM not here one dog 3SG.M.O-see-FIN
 ‘I didn’t see any dog here.’ (pk_mk_mt_154)
- (21) *Kise-ghu=na te pala-i.*²
 fight-NMLZ=NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘The fight made it (i.e. caused it).’ (jv_tarai_228)

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

Verbs are the biggest word class in Savosavo, making up for a bit less than half of the lexemes in the working dictionary (47%). The second large word class is the noun class with about 40%.³ Verbs form an open word class to which borrowed items can be added. Some examples for borrowed verbs are *kuki(-li)*⁴ ‘to cook (something)’ and *daeva(-li)* ‘to dive (for something)’ from Solomon Islands Pijin, and *lela* ‘to stroll’ and *tate* ‘to show’ from neighboring Austronesian languages, Ghari and Gela respectively.

Three major subclasses of verbs can be distinguished on the basis of (morphologically defined) transitivity, i.e. on the obligatory or optional presence of object agreement affixes on the verb stem. TRANSITIVE verb stems always occur with object marking

²The verb *pala* ‘make (3SG.M.O)’ marks its object by stem modification, see Section 4.1.1.1.

³Note that the proportion of verbs and nouns in the working dictionary does not necessarily reflect the proportion of verbs and nouns in the language, but is an artifact of the types of data used in this thesis. For example, no extensive collection of names for plants, animals, cultural artifacts etc. has been conducted yet, which would be expected to add a substantial number of nouns to the dictionary.

⁴The parentheses here indicate that the stem is ambitransitive, i.e. that it can occur with or without the object marking suffix.

(unless detransitivized), INTRANSITIVE verb stems cannot take object marking (unless transitivized), and AMBITRANSITIVE verb stems can occur either with or without object marking. Of a total of 711 verbs in the current corpus, 43.5 % (309) are transitive, 36.3 % (258) intransitive, and 20.3 % (144) are ambitransitive.

Verbs with object marking can take an unmarked object NP as well, but it is not required.⁵ In contrast, an intransitive verb cannot take such an unmarked object NP, but participants other than the subject can be encoded in case-marked NPs and postpositional phrases (cf. Ch. 7).

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

Table 4.1 provides an overview of the hierarchical organization of the class of verbs in Savosavo, and indicates whether the subclasses are open or closed; the major subclasses are described and illustrated in the following sections.

VERBS	transitive (Sec. 4.1.1.1) N = 309	suffixing (open) N = 265	can be detransitivized by <i>-za</i>
			reduplication can change aktionsart
			can occur with reduplication and <i>-za</i>
			cannot occur with either
		prefixing (closed) N = 34	
		prefixing & suffixing (closed) N = 6	both affixes marking the same object
	marking two different objects		
	stem modification (closed) N = 4		
	intransitive (Sec. 4.1.1.2) N = 258	can be transitivized by <i>-vi</i> (closed)	
		cannot be transitivized by <i>-vi</i> (open)	
ambitransitive (open) (Sec. 4.1.1.3) N = 144	can be detransitivized by <i>-za</i>		
	cannot be detransitivized by <i>-za</i>		

Table 4.1: Hierarchical organization of the class of verbs.

Nouns are usually derived from verbs by means of the nominalizing suffix *-ghu* (21). For some verbs, the reduplication of a verb root yields a noun, e.g. *gibu-li* ‘to bury

⁵The optionality of an overt object NP could be seen as evidence that the object marking affixes are themselves referential, and thus that an overt NP is only an extension. For a discussion of why the object marking affixes are nonetheless analyzed as agreement, not as pronominals, see Section 6.2.1.1.

someone' → *gilu~gilu* 'grave' or *gele* 'to look' → *gele~gele* 'appearance'. The derivative attributive marker *sua* is used to derive adjective-like adnominal modifiers from verbs, e.g. *seghe* 'to be full' → *seghe sua* 'being full' (cf. Sec. 4.8.1).

4.1.1.1 Transitive verbs

As mentioned above, 309 (43.5 %) of 711 verbs in Savosavo are transitive. Transitive verbs always agree with their object in person, number and, in the third person singular, gender by means of:

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

The choice of cross-referencing morphology is determined by the verb stem. There is no choice and no variability for a given stem. Thus, with regard to their cross-referencing morphology, transitive verb stems can be subdivided into the four classes listed above. Of a total of 309 transitive verbs,

- 265 (85.8 %) are suffixing (V_s),
- 34 (11 %) are prefixing (V_p),
- 6 (1.9 %) take both prefixes and suffixes at the same time (V_{ps}), and
- 4 (1.3 %) agree with their object by stem modification (V_{mod}).

Loanwords are always added to the suffixing class, e.g. *uasi-li* 'to wash something'. The members of the three closed subclasses of transitive verbs are listed in Table 4.2. Examples of suffixing verbs can be found in Table 4.3.

Stems taking prefixes only: V_p			
<i>l-agi</i>	'to order so.'	<i>l-aga</i>	'to marry so.'
<i>l-agonalu</i>	'to erect sth.'	<i>l-aivo</i>	'to fuck so.'
<i>l-aju</i>	'to finish sth.'	<i>l-aka</i>	'to help so.'
<i>l-akaghaze</i>	'to chide so.'	<i>l-ali</i>	'to hit so./sth.'
<i>l-ane</i>	'to bite off betel nut skin'	<i>l-ate</i>	'to hold sth./so.'
<i>l-au</i>	'to take sth.'	<i>l-aughi</i>	'to exceed so./sth. in sth.'
<i>l-avagha</i>	'to hang sth. up'	<i>l-eghe</i>	'to see sth./so.'
<i>l-egheta</i>	'to give birth to so.'	<i>l-evo</i>	'to burn sth./so.'

<i>l-obu</i>	‘to crack sth. (nuts)’	<i>l-ogo</i>	‘to collect sth.’
<i>l-ogha</i>	‘to weave sth.’	<i>l-loghoni</i>	‘to be like so./sth.’
<i>l-olomi</i>	‘to know sth./so.’	<i>l-omaga</i>	‘to carry sth./so.’
<i>l-omu</i>	‘to fill a container’	<i>l-one</i>	‘to sharpen sth.’
<i>l-onyo</i>	‘to hide sth./so.’	<i>l-ou</i>	‘to eat sth./so.’
<i>l-ovata</i>	‘to cut firewood’	<i>l-ovi</i>	‘to scrape sth.’
<i>l-ovogho</i>	‘to move over sth./so.’	<i>l-ovu</i>	‘to put sth./so.’
<i>l-ozu</i>	‘to occlude sth./so.’	<i>l-ozigha</i>	‘to dry sth. in the sun’
<i>l-uma</i>	‘to feed sth./so.’	<i>l-uvani</i>	‘to wash so.’
Stems taking prefixes and suffixes: V_{ps}			
<i>l-ave-li</i>	‘to kill so. or sth.’	REDUP ~ <i>l-esangi-li</i> ⁶	‘to spoil sth./so.’
<i>l-ogho-li</i>	‘to fill sth.’	<i>l-oghoa-li</i>	‘to own sth.’
<i>l-ova-li</i>	‘to bite sth./so.’	<i>l-ame-li</i>	‘to give sth. to so./sth.’
Stems showing stem modification: V_{mod}			
<i>sala</i>	‘to follow so./sth.’	<i>pala</i>	‘to make sth.’
<i>solo</i>	‘to throw sth./so.’	<i>bola</i>	‘to shoot so./sth. (weapon)’

Table 4.2: An exhaustive list of the transitive verbs of the three closed subclasses.

Some stems taking suffixes only: V_s			
<i>aghi-li</i>	‘to pull sth. or so.’	<i>gulo-li</i>	‘to spear so. or sth.’
<i>jurake-li</i>	‘to shatter sth.’	<i>kuvi-li</i>	‘to cover sth. or so.’
<i>rami-li</i>	‘to shoot so. or sth.’	<i>tau-li</i>	‘to wait for so. or sth.’

Table 4.3: Examples for verb stems taking object marking suffixes.

Apart from the hypothesis on the origin of the stem-modification class discussed below (p. 55), it is not clear at present what motivates these different classes within the class of transitive verbs. The fact that all but the suffixing class are very small and closed makes

⁶This verb is exceptional in that the prefix and the stem-initial vowel are always reduplicated. For example, the third person singular masculine form would then be *le-lesangili*, and the third person plural form *ze-zesangimi*.

it even more difficult to find a rationale behind this differentiation. That all verb stems taking prefixes start with a vowel, and that most transitive verbs starting with a vowel take prefixes to mark their objects is conspicuous. But since there are also verb stems starting with vowels that take suffixes, and not prefixes, the phonological form does not offer a sufficient explanation. The semantics of the transitive verbs also does not provide an answer, as all classes contain verbs of different semantic domains.

Table 4.4 provides a paradigm of the prefixes and suffixes, as they would occur on a prefixing verb stem, a suffixing verb stem, and a verb stem that takes both prefixes and suffixes (see also Sec. 6.2.1).

		Prefixing <i>l-au</i> ⁷ ‘to take’	Suffixing <i>kuvi-li</i> ‘to cover’	Pre- and suffixing <i>l-ave-li</i> ‘to kill’
Sg	1	<i>ny-au</i>	<i>kuvi-ny</i> <i>i</i>	<i>ny-ave-ny</i>
	2	<i>n-au</i>	<i>kuvi-n</i> <i>i</i>	<i>n-ave-n</i>
	3 masc.	<i>l-au</i>	<i>kuvi-l</i> <i>i</i>	<i>l-ave-l</i>
	3 fem.	<i>k-au</i>	<i>kuvi-g</i> <i>hi</i>	<i>k-ave-g</i>
Du	1 incl.	(<i>mai</i>) <i>ny-au</i>	<i>kuvi-m</i> <i>inyi</i>	(<i>mai</i>) <i>ny-ave-m</i>
	1 excl.	(<i>aghe</i>) <i>ny-au</i>	<i>kuvi-g</i> <i>hinyi</i>	(<i>aghe</i>) <i>ny-ave-g</i>
	2	<i>p-au</i>	<i>kuvi-p</i> <i>i</i>	<i>p-ave-p</i>
	3	<i>t-au</i>	<i>kuvi-t</i> <i>i</i>	<i>t-ave-t</i>
PL	1 incl.	(<i>mai</i>) <i>ny-au</i>	<i>kuvi-m</i> <i>inyi</i>	(<i>mai</i>) <i>ny-ave-m</i>
	1 excl.	(<i>ave</i>) <i>ny-au</i>	<i>kuvi-v</i> <i>inyi</i>	(<i>ave</i>) <i>ny-ave-v</i>
	2	<i>m-au</i>	<i>kuvi-m</i> <i>i</i>	<i>m-ave-m</i>
	3	<i>z-au</i>	<i>kuvi-m</i> <i>i</i>	<i>z-ave-m</i>

Table 4.4: Object marking affixes with examples.

As the first person prefixes themselves are invariant for number, a free personal pronoun (given in parentheses in Table 4.4) is obligatory for non-singular first person objects when a prefixing verb stem is used as the only verb or as the first verb of a serial verb construction (22).

⁷The citation form of verbs with object marking is the third person singular masculine, as this form is the default in Savosavo.

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

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

The transitive status of verbs taking prefixes (with or without suffixes) and those marking agreement by stem modification cannot be changed. They cannot be used intransitively, nor can they be detransitivized. In contrast to this, about 80% of the suffixing verbs can be detransitivized by the suffix *-za*, often with a stative meaning (cf. Sec. 6.2.2.2), and/or allow a change of aktionsart to a durative or iterative reading by reduplication, which also often results in an intransitive stem (cf. Sec. 6.4). Examples are:

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

Four transitive verbs mark their object by stem modification: *sala* ‘to follow someone’, *pala* ‘to make something’, *solo* ‘to throw something’ and *bola* ‘to shoot someone or something with a weapon’ (Tab. 4.5). The paradigms of these verbs are quite regular and similarities to the suffix paradigm are obvious, especially in the first person non-singular forms. In these forms it seems as if the normal object marking suffixes are added to a modified stem. The alternative forms suggest that these forms are currently in a process of change. This class of verbs may well be the result of grammaticalization processes involving both a monosyllabic verb stem and the object suffixes (which originally may have had the form *-Ce(*nyi*) instead of the present form -Ci(*nyi*), but more research is needed before any claims in this direction can be made).

		<i>sala</i> ‘to follow’	<i>pala</i> ‘to make’	<i>solo</i> ‘to throw’	<i>bola</i> ‘to shoot’
Sg	1	<i>sanye</i>	<i>panye</i>	<i>sonye</i>	<i>bonye</i>
	2	<i>sane</i>	<i>pane</i>	<i>sone</i>	<i>bone</i>
	3 masc.	<i>sala</i>	<i>pala</i>	<i>solo</i>	<i>bola</i>
	3 fem.	<i>saka</i>	<i>paka</i>	<i>soko</i>	<i>bogha</i>
Du	1 incl.	<i>sameminyi</i>	<i>pameminyi</i>	<i>someminyi</i>	<i>bomeminyi</i>
	1 excl.	<i>sagheghinyi</i> / <i>saghenyi</i>	<i>pagheghinyi</i>	<i>sogheghinyi</i> / <i>soghenyi</i>	<i>bogheghinyi</i> / <i>boghenyi</i>
	2	<i>sape</i>	<i>pape</i>	<i>sope</i>	<i>bope</i>
	3	<i>sate</i>	<i>pate</i>	<i>sote</i>	<i>bote</i>
Pl	1 incl.	<i>sameminyi</i>	<i>pameminyi</i>	<i>someminyi</i>	<i>bomeminyi</i>
	1 excl.	<i>samevinyi</i> / <i>savevinyi</i>	<i>pamevinyi</i> / <i>pavevinyi</i>	<i>somevinyi</i> / <i>sovevinyi</i>	<i>bomevinyi</i>
	2	<i>same</i>	<i>pame</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>bome</i>
	3				

Table 4.5: Paradigm of those verbs that mark their object by stem modification.

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

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

4.1.1.2 Intransitive verbs

The second-largest verb class (258, or 36.3%, of a total of 711) are intransitive verbs. They are defined by their inability to occur with object marking affixes. New members can be added to this subclass of verbs. Only four intransitive verbs can be transitivized by the suffix *-vi*, i.e. when this suffix is added, an object marking suffix must follow it:

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

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

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

4.1.1.3 Ambitransitive verbs

Like intransitive verbs, ambitransitive verbs are an open subclass of verbs. As mentioned above, 144 (20.3%) of 711 verbs are ambitransitive. When used transitively, these verbs mark their object exclusively by means of suffixes. Typical examples for ambitransitive verbs are:

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

Some ambitransitive verbs can take the detransitivizing suffix *-za*, e.g. *gagela* ‘to open’, *gagela-li* ‘to open something’ → *gagela-za* ‘to be open’.⁸

⁸Another possible analysis would be that the object suffixes derive a transitive verb stem from an intransitive verb stem. But that would make what is now the class of ambitransitive verbs into a new subclass of intransitive verbs, with an implication that they are actually underlyingly intransitive, and the transitive variant is the one that is derived. One argument against this view is that the detransitivizing

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

4.1.2 Verb complex – short overview

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

- (23) *No mau=na te ela ata [l-onyo-i]_{VC}*
 2SG[GEN] father=NOM EMPH maybe here **3SG.M.O-hide-FIN**
 ‘Maybe your father hid it here.’ (wr_cs_poghoroghuliagha_142)
- (24) *Beki=kona kama [avu ba-i]_{VC}*
 Becky=NOM.F already **exit come-FIN**
 ‘Becky already came out.’ (ap_jeff_beki_180)

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

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

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

4.2 Nouns and noun phrases

4.2.1 Nouns

Nouns are the second-largest word class (after verbs) and make up 40% of the working dictionary. They are an open class to which new items such as loanwords can be added. Examples for loanwords in the class of nouns are *buka* ‘book’ and *seleni* ‘money (from shilling)’ from Solomon Islands Pijin and *verauli* ‘place’ from Ghari.

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

suffix *-za* can be used with some ambitransitive verbs, but not with any intransitive verb. Therefore, the potential for transitivity seems to be indeed part of the stem, which cannot be seen as underlyingly intransitive.

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

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

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

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

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|--|
| <i>elu</i> ‘Ngali nut’ | → | <i>elu~elu</i> ‘to gather Ngali nuts’ |
| <i>kumara</i> ‘sweet potato’ | → | <i>kuma~kumara</i> ‘to harvest sweet potatoes’ |
| <i>kosu</i> ‘bird’ | → | <i>kosu~kosu</i> ‘to hunt for birds’ |
| <i>karango</i> ‘reef’ | → | <i>kara~karango</i> ‘to look for food on the reef’ |
| <i>ilaghi</i> ‘basket’ | → | <i>ila~ilaghi</i> ‘to carry a basket’ |
| <i>itoro</i> ‘walking stick’ | → | <i>ito~itoro</i> ‘to walk with a walking stick’ |

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (29) *Pozogho lo lo-va mama-ghi soma=e*
 basically 3SG.M 3SG.M-GEN.M **call.mother-3SG.F.O** ATT.SG.F=EMPH
ko adaki=kona.
 DET.SG.F woman=NOM.F
 ‘Basically, the woman (was) one he called ‘mother’.’ (as_WWII047)

Example (29) is a non-verbal clause. The predicate of the non-verbal clause is a relative clause formed with the feminine form of the derivative attributive marker *sua* (cf. Sec. 4.8.1). The predicate of this relative clause is the kinship term *mama* ‘mother’, with third person singular feminine object marking; thus the relative clause itself could be translated as ‘one he called ‘mother’’. The non-verbal clause as a whole then ascribes a property to the subject, the woman, namely that she is one who is called ‘mother’ by him.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (33) *Honiara=nye bo-tu.*
 Honiara=1SG.NOM go-PRS.IPFV
 ‘I am going to Honiara.’ (010b-jnwsbm_ques)
- (34) ...*Aba=la=tu Gelaghi kia Gelaghi=tu Savo=la.*
 Guadalcanal=LOC=ABL Gela when Gela=ABL Savo=LOC.M
 ‘...from Guadalcanal to Gela, then from Gela to Savo.’ (mp_mapagha_451)

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

4.2.1.1 Gender

The system of nominal classification in Savosavo is in some ways a typical gender system, but shows a flexibility that is reminiscent of, for example, classifier systems, where the classification depends on which features of the referent a speaker wants to highlight rather than which noun is used. The typical gender features of the Savosavo system are that there are two classes, and that class assignment is marked by obligatory agreement, on

targets other than the noun (cf. Corbett 1991; Grinevald 2000). For all referents that have a readily discernible sex, class assignment is semantically motivated and is very stable. The two classes will thus be labeled as ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ respectively. All other referents are by default masculine, but the feminine class is used for marking diminutivization and discourse prominence (see below). Speakers can move back and forth between these two classes for a given referent very easily, sometimes within the same sentence.

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

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

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

- (35) *O, tei sua taemu=la=nye elakati k-au*
 o be.like.this **ATT.SG.M** time=**LOC.M**=1SG.NOM CERT **3SG.F.O-take**
ta-i, ai ko mapa.
 FUT-FIN this **DET.SG.F** person

‘O, at such-and-such a time I will take her, this woman.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_065)

- (36) *Muzi mali te=ze ota lo ngai mapa l-omata*
 night be.like CONJ=3PL.NOM there **DET.SG.M** big person **3SG.M-at**
ka bua te=ze zua-li-zu.
 already go.SS CONJ=3PL.NOM **ask-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV**

‘It became night and they already went to the big man there and they asked him.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_027)

- (37) *Apoi ko=ke ko boze soma=e*
 because 3SG.F=EMPH.F DET.SG.F be.heavy ATT.SG.F=EMPH
ko=na.
 3SG.F=NOM
 ‘Because she, she is a heavy one.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_130)

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

There are only a few terms that always refer to animates of one sex; these invariably occur with the respective agreement marking, as long as there is in fact a real-world referent (see below). An exhaustive list of terms of this kind found so far is given in table 4.6.

Female referent → feminine	Male referent → masculine
<i>adaki</i> ‘woman’	<i>tada</i> ‘man’, ‘husband’
<i>kakai</i> ‘girl’	<i>koko</i> ‘boy’
<i>mama</i> ‘mother’	<i>mau</i> ‘father’
<i>madaki</i> ‘wife’	<i>tone</i> ‘brother’ (only used by men)
<i>mudu</i> ‘friend (f)’ ⁹	<i>vudu</i> ‘friend (m)’
<i>kudo</i> ‘hen’	(<i>mama</i> ‘priest’)
<i>ghubaro</i> ‘heron (f)’	
<i>baza</i> ‘sow’	

Table 4.6: Nouns that always refer to animate beings of the same sex and therefore are invariably assigned to one of the two noun classes, as long as there is a real-world referent.

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

⁹This term is only used in the singular. In the plural, the male form *vudu* has to be used, with the plural enclitic =*gha*, even if the group only consists of women.

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

Although the nouns listed in Table 4.6 can only refer to either male or female referents, there is one context where the noun *adaki* ‘woman’ has consistently been found with masculine agreement: when there was no real-world referent, as in example (38). The example is from a story about a chief who invites all men to come and dance, so that the chief’s daughter can pick one to marry. She, however, does not like any of them, so she utters the sentence given as example (38).

- (38) *Lo tada=gha=e ze=na; zu baigho=e lo-va*
 DET.PL man=PL=EMPH 3PL=NOM but not.exist=EMPH **3SG.M-GEN.M**
adaki=na.
woman=NOM
 ‘They are men; but there is no wife (lit. woman) of any (of them).’
 (ap_cs_sivugha_029)

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

As mentioned above, nouns referring to inanimate referents, including abstract concepts, and animate beings whose sex is not readily discernible are by default masculine¹⁰. They can, however, be temporarily assigned to the feminine class (39).

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

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

¹⁰Note that although the terms ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ are still used, they do no longer have any implications with regard to the sexual identity of a referent. One could also call them class 1 and 2 for the discussion of inanimates and non-sexed animates. But since the same agreement morphology is used to distinguish these two classes I decided to keep these labels to make it easier to identify which nouns are grouped together.

Possible exceptions are *kughe* ‘moon’¹¹, *sisi* ‘ornamental flower’, names of months (loanwords from English), and the names of some coconut species which are for some speakers feminine. These speakers will then be relatively consistent in using feminine agreement. According to informants this is a matter of personal preference; both are grammatical and speakers do not regard it as a mistake if someone else treats them as masculine. When asked, especially more conservative speakers insist that the masculine is the ‘proper’, better form, although they concede that it is not grammatically wrong to treat these nouns as feminine.

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

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

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

- (41) *Ela sua mai ka l-olomi tite, ai lo Savo lo*
 one ATT.SG.M 1NSG.IN already 3SG.M.O-know thus this 3SG.M Savo 3SG.M
molumolu lo kokoilo mali sua; ko nyari molumolu.
 island 3SG.M ball.nut.tree be.like ATT.SG.M **3SG.F** small island

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

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

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

¹¹But when *kughe* is used to refer to a month instead of the moon as such, it is masculine. This is particularly interesting in the light of the fact that the names of months borrowed into Savosavo are often feminine.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.2 Noun phrase – short overview

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

If there is more than one noun in an NP the right-most one is head of the NP, modified by the preceding noun (e.g. *totolo kalugha* ‘string (of traditional) money’), or they are of equal status and coordinated by juxtaposition (e.g. *fuuli*¹² *piva* ‘fuel (and) water’), or they form a right-headed compound (e.g. *nyoko puti* ‘nostril’) see Ch. 5; for a detailed treatment of compounds in one specific semantic domain, the body part domain, see Wegener (2006)).

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

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

Typical examples for NPs would be the following:

- (44) [*Lo soa mapa*<sub>Head=*gha*}]=*na ka ba-i*.
 DET.PL saw ATT person=PL=NOM already come-FIN
 ‘The sawing people (people who came to do sawing) have already come’
 (es_agutu_015)</sub>

- (45) [[*Lo nyari*] *lo-va nini*_{Head}]=*e [Saraputu*_{Head}].
 DET.SG.M small 3SG.M-GEN.M name=EMPH Saraputu
 ‘The name of the small (brother was) Saraputu.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_008)

In example (44) the head noun is marked for plural number. It is preceded by a modifier phrase (*so soa*) and a determiner (*lo*), and the NP is followed by the case marking enclitic *=na*. Example (45) is more complex. It is a non-verbal clause. The first NP with the head noun *nini* ‘name’ is the syntactic subject of the clause. It is marked by *=e* ‘EMPH’,

¹²Underlined words are borrowed from Solomon Islands Pijin or English.

which is in complementary distribution with nominative case marking. This subject NP contains another NP, *lo nyari* ‘the small’, denoting the possessor of *nini* ‘name’. This possessor NP is headless and consists only of the adjective *nyari* ‘small’ plus determiner *lo*. Finally, the predicate NP is headed by and contains only the name *Saraputu*.

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

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

Having a derivative bound morpheme with scope over a phrasal or clausal structure is not uncommon in Savosavo: the verbalization suffix *-sa* ‘VBLZ’ can also be used with adjective phrases and quantifier phrases (see Sec. 4.3.2 and Sec. 4.4.2 below), and the nominalization suffix *-ghu* can have scope over anything from single lexical items to complex clause structures (described in detail in Ch. 9).

4.3 Adjectives and adjective phrases

4.3.1 Adjectives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(53) * **ora** doi

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

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

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

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

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

In addition to some canonical adjectives, and a large number of canonical intransitive verbs, Savosavo has lexical items that are not canonical in that they diverge from the patterns outlined above in one way or another. To investigate this variation in more detail, I selected a set of 60 lexical items (including the 16 lexical items that were subsequently identified as adjectives), and determined their syntactic behavior by first looking at occurrences in the spontaneous data and then asking three speakers separately in elicitation sessions for grammaticality judgements. The latter was necessary because, although there

may not be an example in the corpus, a specific item in a specific context could still be grammatical. The group of 60 lexical items included 16 items that were found as modifiers in NPs in almost all examples in the corpus (potential adjectives) as well as 42 items that were usually used in VCs (intransitive verbs) but whose semantics are commonly expressed by adjectives in other languages.

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

Of the 60 lexical items, 16 were classified as adjectives (including 13 canonical adjectives) and 45 as verbs (including 29 canonical verbs), with one item belonging to both classes. The non-canonical verbs and adjectives for the most part fell between the two classes, being more permissive than the canonical class members. Only one item, an adjective, was more restrictive than a canonical adjective. Table 4.7 summarizes the findings, which are explained in more detail below.

Category	#	Items
canonical verbs	29	e.g. <i>aje</i> ‘to be straight’, <i>boragha</i> ‘to be black’, <i>evu</i> ‘to be cooked’, <i>kula</i> ‘to be short’, <i>laga</i> ‘to be strong’, <i>seghe</i> ‘to be full’
verbs (more permissive)	15	e.g. <i>sisi</i> ‘to be red’, <i>supu</i> ‘to be many’, <i>ghaule</i> ‘to be cold’, <i>kobakoba</i> ‘to be empty’
classified as both verb and adjective	1	<i>kejegha</i> ‘to be brave’
adjective (more permissive)	1	<i>tunuwa</i> ‘to be inherited’
canonical adjectives	13	<i>dai</i> ‘good’, <i>duzi</i> ‘elder’, <i>eko</i> ‘green/blue’, <i>gola kiba</i> ‘green, lit. raw leaf’, <i>kolobu</i> ‘unripe’, <i>lumu</i> ‘dirty, old’, <i>ngai</i> ‘big’, <i>nyari</i> ‘small’, <i>posovata</i> ‘yellow’, <i>supurongo</i> ‘many’, <i>kaungarongo</i> ‘great’, <i>isarongo</i> ‘bad’, <i>tugana</i> ‘mighty’
adjective (more restrictive)	1	<i>bona</i> ‘plain’

Table 4.7: Canonical and non-canonical adjectives and intransitive verbs.

Three of the canonical adjectives seem to be derived by a derivational suffix *-rongo* which is, at least synchronically, not productive. Diachronically it is probably related to

the intensifying modifier *torongo* that can follow an adjective in an adjective phrase, see Section 4.3.2 below. *Kaungarongo* ‘great’ is derived from the noun *kaunga* ‘elder, chief’, *isarongo* ‘bad’ from the intransitive verb *isanga* ‘to be bad’, and *supurongo* ‘many’ from the intransitive verb *supu*¹³ ‘to be many’. The last canonical adjective in the list, *tugana* ‘mighty’, seems to be a loanword from an Austronesian language spoken on Guadalcanal (probably Ghari).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹³This verb can be used as a modifier in an NP without derivation, see discussion below. As an alternative to *supurongo*, speakers also use the adjective phrase *supu torongo* ‘very many’; in addition to the formal similarity between the suffix *-rongo* and the modifier *torongo*, this supports the analysis that these two items are diachronically related.

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

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

4.3.2 Adjective phrases

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

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

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

- (55) [**Ngai_{Head}** *toa*] *nyega-ghu=la=lo* *ka basi(-i)*.
big really be.long-NMLZ=LOC.M=3SG.M.NOM already be.lost(-FIN)
 ‘It is already lost for really long (lit. really big length).’ (cgh_bon_043)

- (56) [**Ngai_{Head}** *torongo*] *laga lame* [**supu_{Head}** *torongo*] *mapa=gha=na*
big very be.strong PROPR.PL **many** very person=PL=NOM
koata.
 before
 ‘Great strength having ones (were) very many people in the old days.’
 (bd_cs_tonelo_005)

- (57) [*Memere* **ngai_{Head}**] *eghe(=e)*.
 little.bit **big** ngali.nut.tree(=EMPH)
 ‘(It was a) rather big Ngali nut tree.’ (es_cs_kakamora_027)

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

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

4.4 Quantifiers and quantifier phrases

4.4.1 Quantifiers

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

4.4.1.1 Numerals and the counting system

Savosavo has a decimal counting system. Table 4.8 lists the numerals from one to nine, the words for the tens from ten to ninety, the terms for one hundred, one thousand, and one million, as well as some complex examples. The terms given are the ones normally used in counting. Additional forms for other purposes are given in parentheses and explained below.

There are two words for ‘one’, *ela* and *pade*. *Ela* ‘one’ is used in counting and to form the translation equivalent of the ordinal numeral ‘first’, *ela sua*.¹⁴ When used as a modifier in an NP it means ‘some’, as in example (59):

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

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

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

Pa also functions as an indefiniteness marker (61). In combination with *oma* ‘not’ it means ‘no one’ (62).

- (61) *Elakati=me pa totomate pala ta-i.*
 CERT=1NSG.IN.NOM **one** plan make.3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘We will make a plan.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_306)
- (62) *Ghaule sua lo kuli-tu lo*
 be.cold ATT.SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] move.seawards-REL DET.SG.M
taemu=la oma lo pa=na ave-i.
 time=LOC.M **not** DET.SG.M **one**=NOM die-FIN
 ‘At the time the cold one (volcano) erupted no one died.’ (cv_biti_008)

¹⁴The translation equivalent of English ordinals are phrases formed with the attributive marker *sua* (cf. Sec. 4.8.1), e.g. *edo sua* ‘second’, *atale sua* ‘tenth’, *ighivaleza pa sua* ‘thirty-first’ etc.

1	<i>ela (pade/pa)</i>	30	<i>ighivaleza</i>
2	<i>edo</i>	40	<i>aghavaleza</i>
3	<i>ighiva (ighia)</i>	50	<i>aratale</i>
4	<i>aghava</i>	60	<i>poghoatale</i>
5	<i>ara</i>	70	<i>pogheroatale</i>
6	<i>poghoa</i>	80	<i>kuiatale</i>
7	<i>poghero</i>	90	<i>kuavatale</i>
8	<i>kui</i>	100	<i>pa kela</i>
9	<i>kuava</i>	200	<i>edo kela</i>
10	<i>atale (pa kua/pa pigu)</i>	269	<i>edo kelagha poghoatale kuava</i>
11	<i>panipiti</i>	999	<i>kuava kelagha kuavatale kuava</i>
12	<i>edonipiti</i>	1,000	<i>pa togha</i>
13	<i>ighivanipiti</i>	2,000	<i>edo togha</i>
20	<i>nebolo</i>	7,777	<i>poghero toghagha poghero kelagha pogheroatale poghero</i>
21	<i>nebolo pa</i>	10,000	<i>atale togha</i>
22	<i>nebolo edo</i>	100,000	<i>pa kela togha</i>
23	<i>nebolo ighiva</i>	300,000	<i>ighia kela togha</i>
26	<i>nebolo poghoa</i>	1,000,000	<i>pa mola</i>
29	<i>nebolo kuava</i>	1,234,567	<i>pa mola edo kelagha ighivaleza aghava toghagha ara kelagha poghoatale poghero</i>

Table 4.8: Cardinal numerals used in counting

The full form *pade* emphasizes that there is a single referent (63).

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

The word for ‘three’ has two variants. Only *ighia* can function as a modifier in an NP (64). This form is also used in complex numerals when giving the number of hundreds or thousands, e.g. *ighia kela/togha* ‘three hundred/thousand’, where it can be analyzed as modifying the following numeral *kela* ‘hundred’ or *togha* ‘thousand’. In contrast, *ighiva* is used in counting for the number ‘three’ as well as for complex numerals like *ighivaleza*

ighiva ‘thirty-three’. *Ighiva* is also used to express the translation equivalent of ordinal numerals with three (e.g. *ighiva sua* ‘third’, *nebolo ighiva sua* ‘twenty-third’), and as the base for verbalization (see (67) below).

- (64) [[**Ighia** *totoa*_{Head}=*gha*]_{NP}=*na papale=la*]_C [[**ighia**=*gha*]_{NP}=*na papale=la*]_C *zu*
three sibling=PL=NOM side=LOC.M **three**=PL=NOM side=LOC.M and
 [*ko ze-ma adaki totoa=kona te ghobu=la*]_C
 DET.SG.F 3PL-GEN.SG.F woman sibling=NOM.F EMPH middle=LOC.M
 ‘Three siblings (were) on (one) side, three (were) on (the other) side, and their
 sister (was) in the middle.’ (wr_cs_poghoroghuliagha_055)

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

- (65) **pa kua kolei**
one ten(eggs) megapode.egg
 ‘ten Megapode eggs’
- (66) **pa pigu gazu**
one ten(coconuts) ripe.coconut
 ‘ten ripe coconuts’

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

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

4.4.1.2 Other quantifiers

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

- **alea** ‘how many, however many; all; every’
- **ela** ‘some’: this quantifier was already mentioned above, see ex. (59)
- **elave** ‘some more’
- **padenge** ‘only one’
- **pameve/pame** ‘one more’

- *daivata* ‘plenty’
- *du(lo)* ‘all’; some speakers use *du* with dual and *dulo* with plural, while for other speakers these two variants are in free variation
- *palea/paleva* ‘few’: when modifying a personal pronoun only the second form can be used; the first form takes the plural enclitic =*gha* when it is head of an NP, the second does not

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

- (68) *Daivata sere so=gha=nye z-ogo-i.*
 plenty be.white ATT=PL=1SG.NOM 3PL.O-collect-FIN
 ‘I collected plenty of white people (that swam ashore during the war).’
 (png-WWII.3-296)

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

4.4.2 Quantifier phrases

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

(*kode(nge)/kede* ‘only (NSG)’) **Quan_{Head}** (*dopadopa/dodopa* ‘only’) (*toa* ‘really’)

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

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

- (69) “*Pe=pe ai-va [kode edo dodopa toa]*
 2DU=EMPH.2DU 1SG.GEN-GEN.M only.NSG **two** only really
nyuba=lo=e pe=na.”
 child=DU=EMPH 2DU=NOM
 ‘You two, my really only two children (are) you.’ (dr_cs_taragau.057)

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

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

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

4.5 Pronominals

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

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

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

4.5.1 Personal pronouns

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

4.5.1.1 Free personal pronouns

Free personal pronouns are categorized for person, number and in the third person singular the gender of the referent. In addition to this, they distinguish between the inclusion or exclusion of the addressee in the first person non-singular. Table 4.9 provides the full paradigm (cf. Todd 1977:813; Codrington 1974:561).

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

Table 4.9: Free personal pronouns with syntactically conditioned alternative forms

Personal pronouns either function as heads of NPs (cf. Sec.5.1) or adnominal possessive modifiers. As modifiers, they can take the genitive case suffix (cf. Sec.5.2.3). The allomorph *ai*¹⁵ of the first person singular pronoun is usually used in this context. Occasionally *anyi* is found as well, but this is then quite emphatic. The other personal pronouns do not have specific genitive forms.

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

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

- (71) *Lo tada=gha=e ze (*zepo)=na.*
 DET.PL man=PL=EMPH **3PL**=NOM
 ‘Men (are) they.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_023)

¹⁵This form is clearly different from the homophonous demonstrative *ai* (cf. Sec.4.6). The latter has to be followed by a determiner or a personal pronoun, and can occur in the same NP with the genitive first person singular pronoun *ai*.

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

According to informants it is also the preferred choice for NPs used with the other two postpositions, *-omata* ‘at’ (74) and *-omiti* ‘for’, although *ze* is also possible. In NPs specifying a possessor, which then precedes a genitive pronoun (cf. Sec. 5.2.3), both forms are possible, but *ze* is only used rarely (75). Finally, in NPs marked by the locative particle *la* both forms can be used.

- (74) *Apoi Saunana Lakamate ma zepo (?ze) z-emata te pale*
 because Saunana Lakamate COM 3PL 3PL-at EMPH stay
sue anyi mau=na.
 ATT.EMPH 1SG[GEN] father=NOM
 ‘Because my father stayed with Saunana, Lakamate and those.’ (pk_WWIL065)
- (75) *Ze ai lo manga=la zepo (ze) ze samu l-au*
 3PL this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M 3PL 3PL[GEN] food 3SG.M.O-take
tuka, ze ba ave ny-uma-ghu=e lo=na.
 whenever 3PL[GEN] come 1PL.EX 1O-feed-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘Whenever they took their food at this day, they came and fed us.’ (ts_marovo_050)

4.5.1.2 Enclitic subject personal pronouns

Enclitic personal pronouns are very similar to the free forms, see the paradigm in Table 4.10 (cf. Todd 1977:814f.). They are nominative pronouns which can only be used for syntactic subjects (cf. Sec. 5.2.1). They do not carry primary stress and are attached to the first constituent of a clause, i.e. they are Wackernagel-enclitics.

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

Enclitic personal pronouns are never head of an NP and cannot be modified or modify anything. They are usually used in verbal clauses, but they are also found in a certain structural type of locational non-verbal clause (see Sec. 7.1.2.1, p. 208). They can co-occur with nominative-marked free pronouns or other NPs referring to the subject (77).

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

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

Table 4.10: Clitic nominative personal pronouns

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

4.5.2 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns (Tab. 4.11) are pronouns that correspond to English ‘mine’, ‘yours’ etc. They are always the head of an NP and cannot be used as adnominal modifiers.¹⁶ Possessive pronouns can only be modified by determiners (78) or an NP denoting the possessor.

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

¹⁶The translation equivalent of, for example, ‘your house’ is *nova twi*, formed with a genitive-marked second person personal pronoun *no-va* (cf. Sec. 5.2.3).

		Sg	Du	Pl
1.	incl.		<i>maia/maima</i>	
	excl.	<i>anyia/anyima</i>	<i>aghea/aghema</i>	<i>avea/avema</i>
2.		<i>nonoa/nonoma</i>	<i>pepea/pepema</i>	<i>memea/memema</i>
3.	m	<i>loloa/loloma</i>	<i>totoa/totoma</i>	<i>zezea/zezema</i>
	f	<i>kokoa/kokoma</i>		

Table 4.11: Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are clearly derived from the free personal pronouns by suffixation of either *-ma* in case of a feminine third person singular possessum¹⁷ or *-a* anywhere else, and, for monosyllabic pronouns, reduplication.¹⁸

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

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

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

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

4.5.3 Emphatic pronouns

A small number of pronominal forms occur in the corpus that appear to be part of a set of emphatic pronouns with a connotation of ‘as well’. The documented forms are: *maivana*

¹⁷The feminine forms were not mentioned in Wegener (2005). As there are only very few instances of possessive pronouns in the corpus, and because feminine agreement is so rarely found and usually restricted to female animates, only one example of the feminine possessive pronoun exists in the corpus at present, example (79); it was only recently confirmed by elicitation that this form is not an error, but that there are corresponding forms for all person-number-gender combinations.

¹⁸The genitive case suffixes (*-va* ‘GEN.M’, *-ma* ‘GEN.SG.F’) are similar to the endings of the possessive pronouns and must be of common origin, see Section 5.2.3.

‘1NSG.IN.as.well’ (81), *novana* ‘2SG.as.well’ (82), *pemana*¹⁹ ‘2DU.as.well’ (83), *mevana* ‘2PL.as.well’ (84), and *zevana* ‘3PL.as.well’ (84).

- (81) *Ene-li tulola ze-va “Apoi=na te ota*
 hear-3SG.M.O then 3PL-GEN.M what=NOM EMPH there
zaba-tu. Bo-lu ke bo gele~gele
 become.visible-PRS.IPFV go-IMP.PL CONJ go REDUP~look
maivana ghoi.
1NSG.IN.as.well also

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

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

Te=lo “O; anyi-va sasi-ghu=e lo=na”
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM O 1SG-GEN.M be.wrong-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
tei. “Bua; novana ghoi.”
 say go.IMP.SG **2SG.as.well** also

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

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

‘There he went and drank and returned. “Grandchildren, go as well.” ’
 (st_cs_vangazua_055)

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

“De; me-va edo=gha; ze=me bo me-va
 take.this 2PL-GEN.PL two=PL CONJ.SS=2PL.NOM go 2PL-GEN.PL
edo=gha k-au-lu; ze=me bo mevana
 two=PL 3SG.F.O-take-IMP.PL CONJ.SS=2PL.NOM go **2PL.as.well**
l-evo.” Zevana edo=gha k-au-a ke=ze bo...
 3SG.M.O-burn **3PL.as.well** two=PL 3SG.F.O-take-SS CONJ=3PL.NOM go

¹⁹According to a consultant, this should have been *pevana* instead, but it is not clear whether this is because *pemana* is not a valid word form or because it is not appropriate in the context.

‘“Take this; your two (eggs); and you go take your two; and you go burn yours as well.” They as well took two and they went...’ (ej_cs_nyero_031-032)

It is not clear whether these forms are synchronically analyzable. They look like personal pronouns plus genitive suffix (*-va* or *-ma*, cf. Sec. 5.2.3) and an additional nominative enclitic *=na* on the end. This would be unusual for Savosavo, as genitive and nominative cannot co-occur anywhere else. In most examples found so far, the pronoun appears to function as the syntactic subject (81–83), which would be consistent with an analysis of /na/ as the nominative enclitic, but in example (84) the pronoun *mevana* ‘3PL.as.well’ is found in an object slot. A nominative marking in this position is not possible. Another difference between this example and the preceding ones is that the pronoun here has to be interpreted as meaning ‘theirs’, denoting the two eggs. This could mean that these pronouns are in fact emphatic versions of the possessive pronouns, not of the personal pronouns, and that the other examples should be translated as e.g. ‘ours’, as in ‘our turn’ in (81).

4.5.4 *Mapamapa* ‘RECIP’

The reciprocal marker *mapamapa*,²⁰ sometimes shortened to *mamapa*, is probably derived from the noun *mapa* ‘person’. It is used to express reciprocity and can occur in three syntactic positions: as object (85), complement of a postposition (86) or possessor (87).

- (85) *Mapamapa*_{o=ze} *te ghajia bola-tu.*
 RECIP=3PL.NOM EMPH self shoot.3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV
 ‘They were themselves shooting each other.’ (as_WWIL_107)
- (86) [*Mapamapa l-omata*]_{postp=to} *te alu kozi(-i).*
 RECIP 3SG.M-at=3DU.NOM EMPH stand face(-FIN)
 ‘They (two) stand facing towards each other.’ (jp_ji_mt_184)
- (87) *Mapamapa*_{poss} *lo mane=la=ze te epi-atu.*
 RECIP 3SG.M[GEN] side=LOC.M=3PL.NOM EMPH sit-BG.IPFV
 ‘They are sitting at each other’s side.’ (008_sl_rec)

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

²⁰Parts of this section are excerpts of Wegener (In press).

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

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

4.6 Determiners and the demonstrative *ai* ‘this’

Savosavo has one set of determiners and a single proximal demonstrative (see discussion below). Determiners are used to express definiteness.²¹ They act as modifiers rather than heads in NPs, preceding everything but relative clauses and the demonstrative *ai* ‘this’. They mark number and, in the singular, gender of the head of the NP. Table 4.12 gives the paradigm of forms used as determiners in Savosavo (see also Todd (1977:809), who labels these morphemes “pre-nominal particles”). The form of the demonstrative is invariant.

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

Table 4.12: The paradigm of the determiners.

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

- (88) *Ko nyuba ko-va nini=e koi Poluku.*
 DET.SG.F child 3SG.F-GEN.M name=EMPH **DET.SG.F** P.
 ‘The daughter’s name (was) Poluku.’ (rra_cs.likuliku_043)

²¹A genitive pronoun encoding a possessor also entails definiteness; genitive pronouns and determiners can co-occur (cf. Sec. 5.2.3, p. 141).

- (89) ***Koi*** *ai=e* *no=na?*
DET.SG.F who=EMPH 2SG=NOM
 ‘“Who (are) you?” (asking a woman)’ (rra_cs_likuliku_015)
- (90) ***Koi*** *ighivaleza aghavaleza polo=e* *ze* *l-ate* *sua*.
DET.SG.F thirty forty pig=EMPH 3PL[GEN] 3SG.M.O-hold ATT
 ‘Thirty, forty pigs they held (i.e. slaughtered them for the feast)’ (jd_house_026)

The forms used as determiners are identical to the third person singular masculine and the third person dual personal pronouns (cf. Tab. 4.9). Only the third person plural form and, potentially, the third person singular feminine form differ, which raises the question about how a distinction between determiners and personal pronouns can be drawn. Below it will be shown that there are contexts in which either the third person plural determiner or the respective personal pronoun can be used, but not both. Furthermore the alternative singular feminine form *koi* can only be used in some contexts. An additional question is whether determiners could be further divided into demonstratives and articles. In an early description, Codrington refers to these determiners as “demonstratives”, and states that “[t]he Demonstrative *lo* is used as an Article; [...] but it is a Demonstrative Particle, not really an Article” (Codrington 1974: 560). It will become clear in the following discussion that although determiners can be used in opposition to the demonstrative *ai* ‘this’, the forms provided above are not demonstratives.

4.6.1 Determiners vs. personal pronouns

The paradigm for determiners given above in Table 4.12 and the third person personal pronouns are identical except for the plural form and the additional alternative form for the third person singular feminine, *koi*, which is restricted to the determiner paradigm. For purposes of comparison Table 4.13 repeats the personal pronouns for the third person.

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

Table 4.13: The paradigm of the personal pronouns for third person.

Although according to Himmelmann (1996: 210) it is “sometimes difficult to decide whether a given element is to be considered a demonstrative, an article or a pronoun” there are reasons to distinguish between one class of determiners and another class of

personal pronouns in Savosavo. In addition to this, whether one could also argue for a distinction between articles and demonstrative pronouns will be discussed below.

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

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

(91) *Ai lo mapa=gha=na ba-i.*
 this **DET.PL** person=PL=NOM come-FIN
 'These people came.'

(92) * *Ai ze mapagha=na ba-i.*

(93) BUT:

Ai ze=na ba-i.
 this **3PL=NOM** come-FIN
 'These came.'

(94) * *Ai lo=na ba-i.* (for referring to more than one person)

(95) *Ai lo=na ba-i.*
 this **3SG.M=NOM** come-FIN
 'This one (m) came.'

(96) *Ai koi Anna=kona ba-i.*
 this **DET.SG.F** Anna=NOM.F come-FIN
 'This Anna came.'

(97) * *Ai koi=(ko)na ba-i.*

(98) *Ai ko=na ba-i.*
 this **3SG.F=NOM** come-FIN
 'This one (f) came.'

These examples show that if the demonstrative *ai* is used, it occurs together with one of the forms of the determiner paradigm (91, 96). If it modifies a personal pronoun this form is omitted and *ai* stands alone (93, 98). This is because, as was mentioned above, determiners, that is the forms of the paradigm in Table 4.12, cannot be head of an NP and cannot modify a personal pronoun. A third person plural NP cannot have *lo* or *ai lo* as its head, it must have the appropriate personal pronoun *ze/zepo*. Similarly, *koi* cannot be used as head of a third person singular feminine NP, only *ko* is possible here.

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

(99) *lo due=gha ze-va napu*
 DET.PL bamboo.segment=PL **3PL-GEN.M** mouth
 ‘the orifice of the bamboo segments’ (ap_kukui_013)

(100) * *lo due=gha lo-va napu*

(101) *lo due lo-va napu*
 DET.SG.M bamboo.segment **3SG.M-GEN.M** mouth
 ‘the orifice of the bamboo segment’

(102) *ko adaki ko-va napu*
 DET.SG.F woman **3SG.F-GEN.M** mouth
 ‘the mouth of the woman’

(103) * *ko adaki koi-va napu*

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

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

4.6.2 Demonstratives vs. definite articles

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

In a typical situation where demonstratives are used, e.g. choosing from a set of objects laid out, maybe accompanied by pointing gestures, the demonstrative *ai* can precede the determiners to express proximity. It would, for example, be used when the speaker refers to something she is holding or that is very close to her. If she wants to refer to something further away she would use the determiner forms without *ai*, therefore the determiner forms can have a distance-related demonstrative interpretation in some cases, when they are used in direct opposition to *ai*. To provide additional information about the location of the object, the determiner can be used together with locationals such as *koti* ‘seawards (prox.)’ and *kulo* ‘seawards’, e.g. *koti lo* ‘that one seawards a bit away’, which encode not only distance, but also direction. These locationals are not in complementary distribution with *ai* ‘this’; both the proximal and the non-proximal forms can be combined with it. Thus the only candidates for a counterpart for *ai* ‘this’ would be the determiners, with a hypothesis that a determiner on its own always has a distance-related, non-proximal, reading.

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

- (104) a. ***Mago*** *lo* *manga=e* *noveba=la*.
mango 3SG.M[GEN] time=EMPH november=LOC.M
 ‘(The) mango season (lit. time of mango) (is in) November.’
- b. ***Lo*** ***mago*** *lo* *manga=e* *noveba=la*.
DET.SG.M mango 3SG.M[GEN] time=EMPH november=LOC.M
 ‘The mango season (lit. time of the/that mango) (is in) November.’
- (105) ***Lo*** ***ae-ghu*** *lo-va* *vuni-ghu*.
DET.SG.M be.married-NMLZ 3SG.M-GEN.M start-NMLZ
 ‘the beginning of marriage’, lit. ‘the marriage its beginning’ (ap_aeghu_002)

4.7 Locationals

Members of this word class are inherently locative, i.e. when used as adjuncts expressing a location they are not marked by the locative case enclitics. They function as heads and modifiers in NPs, as adverbs, and as predicates in non-verbal clauses. They do not occur with the locative case marker *la*, but can be used with the ablative case markers *=tu* and *=le*, similar to ablative-marked NPs. Locationals can be modified by one specific form of the general modifier *toa* ‘really’, namely *toala* (see Sec. 4.10). This class comprises twenty-seven forms based on a twelve-way semantic distinction, listed in Table 4.14, and includes the interrogative locational *ala* ‘where’.

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

Table 4.14: Adverbial and attributive forms of the locationals.

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

- (108) *Kulo*=*me* *sobo pale-ata...*
 seawards=2PL.NOM float stay-ANT
 ‘You (Pl.) will keep floating seawards first...’ (wr_cs_vulaole.245)

- (109) *Manyigha mane=la, koti pazale lo*
 village side=LOC.M seawards.PROX beach 3SG.M[GEN]
kuata=lo te voda-i.
 seawards=3SG.M.NOM EMPH explode-FIN
 ‘At the side of the homestead, a little bit seawards, seawards of the beach it exploded.’ (as_WWII_012)
- (110) *Te=nye “Ei oma; ai ilaghi=na te ka kulo.”*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM ei no 1SG.GEN basket=NOM EMPH already seawards
 ‘And I (said) “Ei, no, my basket (is) already seawards.’ (jv_tarai_073)
- (111) *Lo-va sokasoka=na [lo-va kata papale]_{NP}=la.*
 3SG.M-GEN.M brush=NOM 3SG.M-GEN.M bushwards side=LOC.M
 ‘His brush (is) at his bushwards side.’ (jp-ji_mt-336)

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

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

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

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

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

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

namely *kulo* ‘seawards’, *kao* ‘bushwards’, *tagha* ‘on top, clockwise’, *ota* ‘there’, *ata* ‘here’ and *ala* ‘where’.

4.7.1 A note on frames of reference

Speakers of Savosavo do not use the relative frame of reference²², i.e. to describe the location of a referent in relation to a ground, they do not use the terms *tovi* ‘right’, *male* ‘left’, *nyaghoa* ‘front’ and *buringa* ‘back’ from a perspective external to the ground, as in *the cup_{Figure} is left of the plate_{Ground} (from my point of view)*. Intrinsic use of these terms, based on intrinsic properties of the ground itself, is more common. However, even in these contexts the terms do not refer to directions, but function attributively to identify certain body parts or areas adjacent to the ground referent (113).

- (113) *Lo-va_{Ground} tovi papale=la=lo_{Figure} te alu-i;*
 3SG.M-GEN.M right side=LOC.M=3SG.M.NOM EMPH stand-FIN
lo sokasoka=na.
 DET.SG.M brush=NOM

‘It is standing at his (the man’s) right side, the brush.’ (jp_ji_mt_322)

The most common way to describe the location of a referent is to employ an absolute coordinate system based on the border between land and sea. This system consists of two orthogonal axes, a bushwards–seawards axis and an axis that follows an idealized coastline, see Figure 4.1. For movement around the island, the direction of movement can be left unspecified by using *mala* ‘along the coast’, or the terms for vertical ‘up’ and ‘down’, *tagha* ‘up’ and *neu* ‘down’, can be used, with *tagha* ‘up’ designating the direction clockwise around the island, and *neu* ‘down’ the direction counterclockwise around the island. As Savo is a small, roundish island, one can keep going ‘around’, i.e. ‘up’ or ‘down’, eternally. The fact that the direction of movement along the coast can be left unspecified is evidence that the two axes are not equal in status, but that the bushwards–seawards axis is primary. The opposition between up–down and seawards–bushwards is exemplified by (114), in which one speaker (facing inland) describes a picture with two identical balls lying side by side to another speaker during an elicitation game (the Man & Tree task, cf. Pederson et al. (1998)).

- (114) *Ai lo taemu=la edo bolo=zalo. Pa=na taghata, pa=na*
 this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M two ball=DU one=NOM **on.top** one=NOM
neuta. Oma kao zu kulo. Neu zu tagha.
 below not bushwards and seawards down and up

²²For information on frames of reference see Levinson (1996, 2003) and references therein

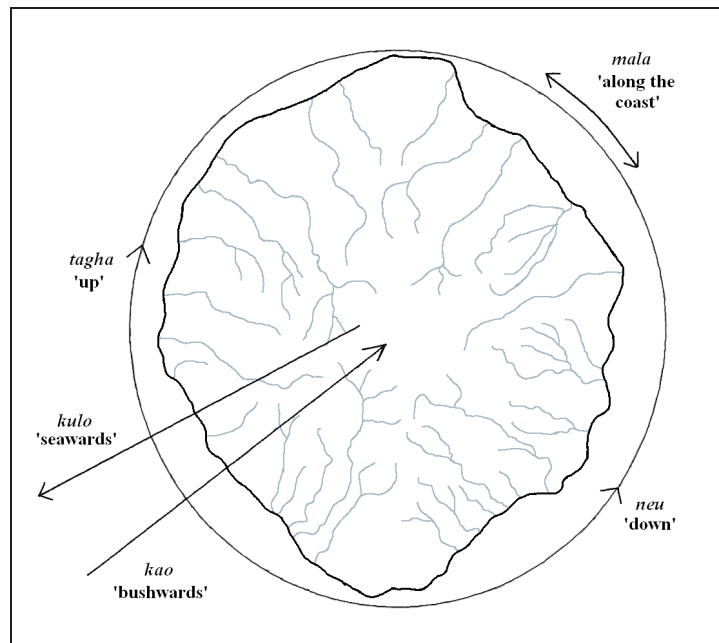


Figure 4.1: A schematic representation of the up–down and bushwards–seawards axes employed for spatial reference in Savosavo.

‘This time (there are) two balls. One (is) on top (i.e. in clockwise direction), one (is) below (i.e. in counterclockwise direction). Not bushwards and seawards. Down and up.’ (cp_api_mt_101)

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

- (115) a. *L-au ba-i-a lo popo.*
 3SG.M.O-take come-EP-IMP.SG DET.SG.M bowl
 ‘Bring the bowl (here).’ (007_003_sgb)
- b. *Ala lo.*
 where 3SG.M
 ‘Which one?’, lit. ‘it (which is) where’ (007_004_sgb)
- c. ***Kulo** lo.*
 seawards 3SG.M
 ‘The one seawards.’, lit. ‘it (which is) seawards’ (007_005_sgb)

- (116) *Ai ghavi~ghavi neu bua ke=nye neu*
 1SG.GEN REDUP~paddle **down** go.SS CONJ=1SG.NOM **down**
toa=la Lakevala sara tulola ai-va ghoi ghavi~ghavi
 really=LOC.M Lakevala reach then 1SG.GEN-GEN.M also REDUP~paddle
liaza ba-ghu=e.
 return come-NMLZ=EMPH

‘I paddled (and) went down (i.e. counterclockwise along the coast) and I reached Lakevala really (far) down and then I also paddled back.’ (es_agutu_058)

The priority of these absolute terms over terms such as *tovi* ‘right’ and *male* ‘left’ can be glimpsed from the frequency of their occurrence: there are 588 instances of forms for ‘bushwards’, and 560 instances of forms for ‘seawards’, but only 95 instances of *tovi* ‘right’ and 55 instances of *male* ‘left’. Examples like (115) and (116) above are quite typical in everyday speech. Example (117), again taken from a Man & Tree game, again shows that ‘left’ and ‘right’ are restricted to sides of the body.

- (117) a. Speaker 1:

Nova neu alu kozi tuka, nova tovi=e
 2SG-GEN.M **down** stand face whenever 2SG-GEN.M **right**=EMPH

ala=lia te pale sua.
 where=about EMPH stay ATT

‘When you stand facing down (i.e. counterclockwise), where is your right (side)?’ (jp_ji_mt_323)

- b. Speaker 2:

Kuata -
seawards

‘Seawards -’ (jp_ji_mt_324)

- c. S1:

- *papale=la?*
 side=LOC.M

‘- side?’ (jp_ji_mt_325)

- d. S2:

Nyanyui lo papale=la.
 sea 3SG.M[GEN] side=LOC.M

‘The side of the sea.’ (jp_ji_mt_326)

e. S1:

O zu kia, lo-va tovi=la te=lo.
 o but if 3SG.M-GEN.M **right**=LOC.M PA=3SG.M.NOM
Apoi=lo neu te alu kozi(-i); lo
 because=3SG.M.NOM **down** EMPH stand face(-FIN) DET.SG.M
mapa=na.
 person=NOM

‘O but if (so), it is at his right (side). Because he is facing down, the man.’
 (jp_ji_mt_327)

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

4.8 Derivative markers

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (119) $Zu [zepo]_{Subj} \ ghoi [tei \quad \textbf{sua}]_{Pred}$
 and 3PL also be.like.this **ATT**
 ‘And they did the same.’, lit. ‘And they (were) also like this.’ (png_WWII3_015)

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

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

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

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

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

The attributive marker *sua* is inflected for gender in the third person singular, with *sua* for the masculine (118, 121) and *soma* or, rarely, *suama* for the feminine (120). The *-ma* found in the third person singular feminine form may be of common origin with the feminine genitive suffix (see Tab. 5.10, p. 138). In the dual and plural, *sua* is used, but when a *sua*-phrase is the sole constituent of an NP and happens to be host to the number marking enclitics, the marker *sua* in the forms *sua=lo* and *sua=gha* is often shortened to *so*, yielding *so=lo* and *so=gha* respectively (122). The paradigm of the attributive marker *sua* is given in Table 4.15.

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

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

Table 4.15: The paradigm of the attributive marker *sua*. When the marker is host to the number marking enclitics =*lo* ‘DU’ and =*gha* ‘PL’ it is usually shortened to *so*. In the third person singular, the long form *suama* is only rarely used.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Direct recursion²³, which would mean that a *sua*-phrase would directly function as the complement of another *sua*-phrase, is not possible. The recursion can only be indirect, i.e. with at least one intermediate syntactic level. In example (127), there are two intermediate syntactic levels: The embedded *sua*-phrase is part of an NP, which is part of a clause that is complement of the superordinate *sua*-phrase.

- (127) ... $\left[\left[\left[\textit{oma}^{24}\left[\left[\textit{tei}\quad\textit{sua}\right]\right]\textit{kapisi}\right]_{NP}\textit{l-eghe}\right]_c\quad\textit{so=lo}\right]_{NP\textit{Pred}=e}$
 not be.like.this **ATT.SG.M** thing 3SG.M.O-see **ATT=DU=EMPH**
aghe=na.
 1DU.EX=NOM
 ‘[Whenever father and I went out to go fishing,] we haven’t seen such a thing.’,
 lit. ‘Not such a thing seeing ones (were) we.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_244)

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

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

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

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

The proprietive marker formally distinguishes between singular masculine, singular feminine, dual and plural. *Lava* is the third person singular masculine form, while the corresponding feminine form is *lama*. Gender is only marked in the singular. In the dual, *laghe* is used, and the plural form is *lame*. The paradigm is provided in Table 4.16.

²³Following the terminology used by Parker (2006, Sec. 5.2.1).

²⁴*Oma* ‘not’ could be analyzed as being within the relative clause (‘We (were) ones not seeing such a thing’) or outside of the NPs on the clausal level (‘We (were) not ones seeing such a thing.’)

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

Table 4.16: The paradigm of the proprietive marker *lava*.

In contrast to *sua*, the similarity of the third person singular forms to the genitive suffixes (Tab. 5.10, p. 138) is not only found in the feminine (*-ma*), but also in the masculine (*-va*). The origin of the *ghe* and *me* in the non-singular forms remains unclear, although there are interesting formal similarities to the personal pronouns (Tables 4.9 and 4.10) in the first person dual exclusive (*aghe*, =*ghe*) and second person plural (*me*, =*me*) as well as the first person non-singular inclusive enclitic pronoun (=me).

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

(130) **Lava=e** *no=na*.

PROPR.SG.M=EMPH 2SG=NOM

‘(Do) you have (it)?’, lit. ‘Having (are) you?’ (cp_api_mt_038)

(131) *Apoi lo boko=e [lo [piva lava]_{NP} ghoi*.

because DET.SG.M river.bed=EMPH DET.SG.M water **PROPR.SG.M** also

‘Because the river bed was also carrying water.’, lit. ‘Because the river bed (was) also the one having water.’ (ap_cs_sua_048)

(132) *To edo koko=lo=e, [lo [ko-va suba*

DET.DU two boy=DU=EMPH DET.SG.M 3SG.F-GEN.M garden

lo kulo te pale sua] manyigha laghe].

3SG.M[GEN] seawards EMPH stay ATT.SG.M homestead **PROPR.DU**

‘The two boys owned the homestead that was seawards of her garden.’

(bi_cs_kakula_098)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (138) *Boto sue.*
 stink ATT=EMPH
 ‘(About a decaying body:) It stank.’ (no_WWII_077)

- (139) *Boto-? lava=e.*
 stink-? PROPR.SG.M=EMPH
 ‘(About sulphur:) It stinks.’ (mp_biti_075)

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

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

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

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

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

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

present what the semantic difference is between a *zepo*-phrase used on its own and a *sua*-phrase with a *zepo*-phrase as its complement.

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

- (143) *Sika=no kamati sala l-au*
 don't=2SG.NOM very.much follow.3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take
vane~vane zepo-ale lo-va alea vaitula=gha=la.
REDUP~pick PRIV-IRR 3SG.M-GEN.M all order=PL=LOC.M
 ‘Don’t you follow him too uncritically in his orders.’, lit. ‘Don’t you very much follow him without selection in his whole orders.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_108)
- (144) *...apoi soghe=na ghoi melo mata-li;*
 because shark=NOM also bonito want-3SG.M.O
tei-ghu=la=lo tegulu sala l-au
 do-NMLZ=LOC.M=3SG.NOM shell.hook follow.3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take
vane~vane zepo[-i].
REDUP~pick PRIV[-FIN]
 ‘...because sharks also like tuna; therefore it follows the shell hook persistently.’
 (cgh_bon_014)

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

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

4.9 Postpositions and postpositional phrases

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

- (145) *Oma=no* $\left[\left[no \quad toka-mi-tu \quad lo \quad mapa=gha \right]_{NP} \right.$
 no=2SG.NOM 2SG[GEN] be.sibling-3PL.O-REL DET.PL person=PL
 $\left. z-aka \right]_{PP} \quad mare \quad kakami \quad ta-i.$
3PL.O-with joke play FUT-FIN
 ‘You will not play or joke with the people that are your (cross-sex) siblings.’
 (ap_custom_020)
- (146) *Bo sara-vi-ghi* *tulola lo* *tada mapa=na* *bo* $\left[\left[lo \right.$
 go reach-TR-3SG.F.O then DET.SG.M old.M person=NOM go 3SG.M[GEN]
 $\left. misu=gha \right]_{NP} z-emata \right]_{PP} \quad sara-i.$
 dog=PL **3PL-at** reach-FIN
 ‘When (the dogs) had gone and reached her [the pig], the old man went and
 reached his dogs.’ (ap_cs_sua_040)
- (147) “*Zu maitei-ghu=la=no* *te* $\left[ny-omiti \right]_{PP} \quad ai \quad lo$
 but be.how-NMLZ=LOC.M=2SG.NOM EMPH **1-for** this DET.SG.M
ngai toa *matenya lava* *dudurongo l-au-i?*” *tei(-i).*
 big really value PROPR.SG.M thing 3SG.M.O-take-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘“But why did you take this very valuable thing for me?” (she) said.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_214)

All three have prefixes identical to the object marking prefixes used on verbs (see Table 4.4, p. 54, and the tables provided below).

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

- (148) $\left[Ny-omata \right]_{PP} \quad te=lo.$
1-at PA=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘It is (here) with me.’ (jp_ji_mt_240)

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

If the reference is clear the NP can be omitted (147). The only exception is if the referent is first person non-singular; then the postposition has to be preceded by the respective personal pronoun, because the prefix does not contain any number or clusivity²⁵ information (149).

²⁵This recently coined term refers to the inclusive-exclusive distinction (cf. Filimonova 2005)

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

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

There are two more lexical items that look like postpositions, at least in some contexts, *l-oghoni* ‘like’ and *l-aughi* ‘exceed, out of’. *L-oghoni* is analyzed as a transitive verb, marking its object by a prefix, because it occurs as the verbal predicate in a relative clause formed with the suffix *-tu* (Sec. 8.2.1) and has been found with the nominalizing suffix *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’, both not possible for any of the postpositions. However, it has never been found as the only verb in a verbal clause containing TAM morphology, and the corpus also contains one example where *l-oghoni* is followed directly by *=nye*, the enclitic personal pronoun for the first person singular, which is usually not possible for verbs (see Sec. 7.1.1, p. 201). Further investigations will show whether the current analysis is appropriate.

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

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

In the first context, *l-aughi* seems to always directly precede the verb complex and could be analyzed as the first verb of a serial verb construction. In the second context, however, *l-aughi* behaves much more like an adjunct, as in example (151). The two examples are the only non-elicited, natural examples available at present. Elicitation proved that in the second context, the prefixes can only be non-singular, which follows from the meaning

the item expresses here. In the first context, all person-number-gender combinations provided by the object prefix paradigm are possible. For the moment and until more data is available, the best strategy for analyzing this seems to be to assume that there are two homophonous lexical items, a prefixing transitive verb with the meaning ‘exceed so. or sth.’ and a postposition with the meaning ‘out of’.

4.9.1 *l-aka* ‘with’

This postposition is used to express a comitative or an addressee. Specifically, it is employed to talk about doing something together with someone (152, 153) or telling someone something (154). The paradigm is completely regular, it is provided in Table 4.17.

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

Table 4.17: The postposition *l-aka* ‘with’.

- (152) $[[Sista=gha]_{NP} \mathbf{z-aka}]_{PP}=nye \quad te \quad bo \quad pale-i.$
 sister=PL **3PL-with**=1SG.NOM EMPH go stay-FIN
 ‘I went to stay with (the) sisters (i.e. nuns).’ (agh_png_028)
- (153) $Te \quad lo \quad manga=na \quad sara \quad tulola \quad ave \quad mane \quad bo$
 CONJ DET.SG.M day=NOM reach then 1PL.EX[GEN] consecutively go
 $[\mathbf{z-aka}]_{PP} \quad vuni \quad agutu-ghu=e.$
3PL-with start work-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And when the day came we then went to start working with them.’ (ji_ramsi_019)
- (154) $Te=gho \quad [\mathbf{l-aka}]_{PP} \quad tei(-i): \quad “Ba-i-a.”$
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM **3SG.M-to** say(-FIN) come-EP-IMP.SG
 ‘And she said to him: “Come.”’ (ap_cs_polupolu_012)

4.9.2 *l-omata* ‘at, to(wards), from’

A postpositional phrase with *l-omata* refers to the area close to the complement referent, which is usually animate. It is only occasionally used with inanimates. It contrasts with

the locative case marking, which is not used with animates when expressing a location²⁶, see Section 5.2.4. For the paradigm of this postposition see Table 4.18. It is very regular, but note the change in the root of /o/ to /e/ in the second person non-singular forms. In the third person plural form, *z-emata* and *z-omata* are in free variation.

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

Table 4.18: The postposition *l-omata* ‘at’.

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

- (155) *Zu lo edo-nipiti=na [Sotu]_{NP}=la taghati [lo*
 and DET.SG.M two-teen=NOM **Sotu=LOC.M** up.PROX DET.SG.M
veji l-omata]_{PP} te bo pale-i.
 bamboo **3SG.M-at** EMPH go stay-FIN

‘And the twelve went and stayed at Sotu a bit up where the bamboo is (lit. at the bamboo).’ (png-WWII1-033)

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

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

- (156) *Pa kakami=kona te ata [ny-omata]_{PP}*
 one play=NOM.F EMPH here **1-at**
 ‘One game is here with me, lit. at my location.’ (jp-ji_mt_061)

²⁶The locative case is multi-functional and for example also used to express instruments (cf. Sec. 5.2.4).

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

- (157) *Ekati=me* [dokta *l-omata*]_{PP} *bo ta-i*.
 CERT=2PL.NOM doctor **3SG.M-at** go FUT-FIN
 ‘“You (pl.) will go to the doctor” ’ (ji_rams_i_010)
- (158) *Lo* *mapa=na* [*anyi ny-omata*]_{PP} *te alu kozi(-i)*.
 DET.SG.M person=NOM 1SG **1-at** EMPH stand face(-FIN)
 ‘The man stands facing towards me’ (jp_ji_mt_340)
- (159) *Duadua-ghi* *tulola ko-va* *lo* *ko* *dulo*
 drown.tr-3SG.F.O then 3SG.F-GEN.M DET.SG.M 3SG.F[GEN] all
maghani [*ko k-omata*]_{PP} *sua-li-a...*
 decoration 3SG.F **3SG.F-at** take.off-3SG.M.O-SS
 ‘When (she) had drowned her, she took off all her decoration...’, lit. ‘...her that her all decoration off from her taking...’ (cr_cs_savokiki_108)

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

- (160) *No-va* [*anyi ny-omata*]_{PP}=*tu gele bo kia=no*
 2SG-GEN.M 1SG **1-at=ABL** look go when=2SG

ekati l-eghe ta-i.
 CERT 3SG.M.O-see FUT-FIN

‘When you look from my position you will see it.’ (jp_ji_mt_319)

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

4.9.3 *l-omiti* ‘for’

Postpositional phrases with *l-omiti* express the beneficiary of an action, as in examples (161) and (162). For the paradigm of this postposition see Table 4.19. As with *l-omata* ‘at’, the paradigm is regular except the change of /o/ to /e/ on the root in the second person non-singular, and the free variation between *z-emiti* and *z-omiti* in the third person plural.

- (161) *Pogala=nye mane bo [n-omiti]_{PP} agoza ta-i.*
 tomorrow=1SG.NOM consecutively go **2SG-for** take.prey FUT-FIN
 ‘Tomorrow I will go and hunt for you.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_127)
- (162) *Oghai [ko mau l-omiti]_{PP} sue lo=na.*
 as.if 3SG.F[GEN] father **3SG.M-for** ATT.EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘[Talking about a disabled child used as a bait for her father, the giant:] As if it was for her father.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_141)

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

Table 4.19: The postposition *l-omiti* ‘for’.

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

4.10 The emphatic modifier *toa* ‘really’

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

- (163) *Mai=me [[nyanyai toa]=gha]=e mai=na.*
 1NSG.IN=EMPH.1NSG.IN small **really=PL=EMPH** 1NSG.IN=NOM
 ‘We, really small ones (are) we.’ (es_cs_kakamora_070)

- (164) *Kemo=gha=na* [dai **toa**]-sa-zu.
 sugarcane=PL=NOM good **really**-VBLZ-PST.IPFV
 ‘(The) sugarcane was really good.’ (es_cs_kakamora_146)

The modifier has four different allomorphs. An overview of the allomorphs and their syntactic distribution is provided in Table 4.20.

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

Table 4.20: Allomorphs of *toa* ‘really’ and their syntactic distribution

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

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

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

The form *toala*²⁷ is used with locationals (166), temporal adverbs, and other particles such as *elakati* ‘CERT’, *ghoma* ‘not’, *monei* ‘nearly’, *ighe* ‘recently’, *tomai* ‘just’ and *sika* ‘don’t’.

²⁷It is unclear at present whether the *la* at the end of this form is identical to the locative marking enclitic *=la*; an argument against this is that *=la* ‘LOC’ is normally not found with lexemes such as *elakati* ‘CERT’, *ghoma* ‘not’, etc. Therefore, *toala* is analyzed and written as one word, also to distinguish between those situations in which *toala* is used and those in which *=la* ‘LOC’ is added to an NP headed by a non-locational nominal modified by *toa*, e.g. *ota toala* ‘exactly there’, lit. ‘there really.LOC’, in contrast to [*lo ivaghu toa*]=*la* ‘on this very day’, lit. ‘DET.SG.M day really=LOC.M’.

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

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

- (167) *Ko* [*dai toma*] *kakami sua ririkou mola=e*.
 3SG.F **good really.F** play ATT.SG.M circle canoe=EMPH
 ‘(It is) a really good toy car²⁸.’ (ap_dr_se_570)
- (168) *Ei*, [*ai toa*] *tada=e no=na*.
 ei **who really** man=EMPH 2SG=NOM
 ‘Ei, who the heck are you?’ (dr_cs_taragau_084)

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

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

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

- (169) *Lo* *popo=ze* ***memere*** *geto~geto-li*
 DET.SG.M bowl=3PL.NOM **little.bit** REDUP~capsize-3SG.M.O
l-au keva-i.
 3SG.M.O-take do.all.about-FIN
 ‘They capsized the bowl a little bit here and there (thereby spilling some of the content).’ (jp_ji_mt_042)

²⁸The class assignment is changed to feminine because the referent is smaller than a usual referent, because it is a toy and not a real car (cf. Sec. 4.2.1.1).

- (170) *Tei-ghu=e ko memere rongorongu=kona.*
 be.like.this-NMLZ=EMPH DET.SG.F **little.bit** story=NOM.F
 ‘Like that (is) the small story.’ (jn_lotu_144)

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

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

In nominative-marked NPs it always precedes case marking (171), but in locative-marked NPs it has been found to follow it occasionally (173).²⁹

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

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

²⁹This could be evidence that it started out as an adverb on the clause level, located between subject or object NP and verb complex (in the sense of *I only saw two people*), but was reanalyzed as being part of the NP (in the sense of *I saw [only two people]*). Even though it follows the case marking in examples like (173), the fact that an enclitic personal pronoun has to attach to *pono* ‘only’ and cannot be hosted by the locative enclitic is evidence that *pono* ‘only’ is nonetheless part of the locative NP.

4.12 Adverbs

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

4.12.1 Temporal adverbs

There are eight temporal adverbs, providing information about the temporal setting: *koata* and *ighoka* ‘before, long time ago’³⁰, *ighe* ‘recently’, *moaba* ‘day before yesterday’, *moibia* ‘yesterday’, *azigha* ‘earlier today’, *pogala* ‘tomorrow’, and *eghata* ‘day after tomorrow’.

There are also two complex terms for two days after tomorrow and two days before yesterday: *ighiva loghala* ‘two days after tomorrow’, containing the numeral *ighiva* ‘three’ and possibly the locative case enclitic =*la*, and *moaba golota* ‘two days before yesterday’, consisting of *moaba* ‘day before yesterday’ and *golota*, a word unknown to the speakers asked and not occurring on its own in the corpus.

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

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

4.12.2 Other adverbs

So far, eleven additional adverbs have been found: *ela kalele* ‘little by little’, *elakati* ‘CERT’, *elamoka* ‘maybe’, *ghoi* ‘also’, *ghoma* ‘not’, *kama* ‘already’, *kamati* ‘very much’, *kelatu* ‘luckily’, *mane* ‘consecutively’, *monei* ‘nearly’, *oma natu* ‘not yet’, and *pozogho* ‘basically’.

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

The complex adverb *ela kalele* ‘little by little’ is unanalyzable at present. The other complex adverb, *oma natu* ‘not yet’, consists of an allomorph of the negative particle

³⁰*Koata* is much more frequently used. Maybe one of them is a loanword, or there is a difference in meaning that could not be detected so far.

ghoma and *natu*, which has not been found to occur on its own and could not be translated by speakers. Historically, it may have been analyzable into an unknown morpheme plus the background imperfective suffix *-atu*, which is used in combination with *oma* ‘not’ to express that something has not happened yet (see Sec. 7.3.1).

The semantics of two of these adverbs needs to be commented on in more detail: *elakati*, glossed as ‘CERT’ and often shortened to *ekati* or even *kati*, and *kama* ‘already’, often shortened to *ka*. *Kama* ‘already’ is usually used in past and present tense contexts, but also rarely in a future tense context, and indicates that something happened already, was already done, or is already happening at the reference time which may be the time of speaking. This can be expressed in English by using *already*. *Elakati* ‘CERT’, on the other hand, is used in utterances concerning the future, and indicates that there is a certainty and confidence that whatever is said will indeed happen. It also sometimes serves to assure and appease the addressee. Unfortunately there is no corresponding lexical item in English to express this; the German particle *schon* can be used in a similar way, e.g. in *Ich werde das schon machen*. ‘(Don’t worry,) I WILL do it’. *Elakati* and *kama* can co-occur.

4.13 Particles

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

4.13.1 Coordinators, subordinators and cosubordinators

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

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

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

4.13.2 Miscellaneous particles

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

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

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

4.14 Interjections

4.14.1 Hesitation markers

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

4.14.2 Exclamations

The most common exclamation particles are the following:

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

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

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

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

Chapter 5

Noun phrases

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

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

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

5.1 NP structure

5.1.1 Order of constituents within an NP

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

If an NP head is present, it is preceded by all other NP constituents except the emphatic modifier *toa* ‘really’ and the limiting modifier *pono* ‘only’.¹ The number enclitics

¹Note, however, that these two modifiers operate on different syntactic levels: *toa* ‘really’ has scope only over the preceding word, while *pono* ‘only’ has scope over the whole phrase. As a consequence, if a

will attach to the head. An example of a typical NP headed by a noun is ((174); the head of an NP is marked by bold print in all examples of this section).

- (174) *ighia ngai vaka_{Head=gha}*
 three big **ship=PL**
 Quan Adj N
 ‘three big ships’ (bk_WWII028)

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

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

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

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

Apart from nouns, pronouns and locationals, which all can be head of an NP, there are two groups of NP constituents: those that are autonomous in the sense that they can occur by themselves in a headless NP, and those that cannot occur alone. Table 5.1 provides a list of all elements that can occur in an NP, sorted by function. While none can be said to be obligatory, they can be divided into those that function as heads, those that are modifiers, but can occur alone in a headless NP, and those that can only be used in combination with an element of the former categories. A minimal NP would consist of a single constituent from one of the first two categories.

Head
nouns, nominal compounds, fixed expressions (see below)
free personal pronouns (Sec. 4.5.1.1)
possessive pronouns (Sec. 4.5.2)
locational (Sec. 4.7)

head noun is modified by *pono* ‘only’, the number enclitics will attach to the noun and thus precede the modifier (e.g. *mapa=gha pono* ‘only people’), whereas in case of *toa* ‘really’, the number enclitics will attach to the complex consisting of noun and modifier as a whole (e.g. *mapa toa=gha* ‘real people’).

Autonomous modifiers, including constituents that can be NP heads
nouns, adjectives and quantifiers, Sec. 4.2–4.4)
locationals (Sec. 4.7)
adjective phrases (Sec. 4.3.2)
quantifier phrases (Sec. 4.4.2)
<i>sua</i> -phrases (Sec. 4.8.1)
relative clauses formed with <i>sua</i> , a subtype of <i>sua</i> -phrases (Sec. 8.2.1)
<i>lava</i> -phrases (Sec. 4.8.2)
(<i>zepo</i> -phrases (4.8.3)) ²
Other NP constituents
<i>pono</i> ‘only’ (Sec. 4.11)
determiners (Sec. 4.6)
relative clauses formed with <i>-tu</i> (Sec. 8.2.1)
a genitive-marked NP (Sec. 5.2.3)
an unmarked NP (only with possessive pronouns, see Sec. 5.1.1.2)

Table 5.1: Constituents occurring in NPs and their function.

NPs headed by a noun or nominal compound are very similar in structure to headless NPs, but differ quite substantially from NPs headed by a pronoun or a locational. NPs headed by a noun or nominal compound can contain all modifiers listed in Table 5.1, and headless NPs are identical in structure to a noun-headed NP, but do not contain any noun. In pronominal or locational NPs, only very few modifiers can be used. The following sections provide descriptions of the structure of an NP headed by a noun or nominal compound and of headless NPs (Sec. 5.1.1.1), of pronominal NPs (Sec. 5.1.1.2) and of NPs headed by a locational (Sec. 5.1.1.3).

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

An NP headed by a noun shows the greatest range of variation in that it can contain all word classes and phrase types that can be used in an NP. A structural template of such an

²*Zepo*-phrases have been found as the only constituent of a headless NP, but not directly used as modifiers. To be used attributively, a *zepo*-phrase has to be complement of a *sua*-phrase, which can then function as an adnominal modifier (see Sec. 4.8.3).

NP headed by a noun is provided in the schema in Table 5.2. The order is rather strict, with little variation. NPs with all possible constituents are not attested in the corpus. (176) is a constructed example of a near-maximal NP.

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

As was mentioned above, headless NPs only differ in structure from NPs headed by a noun or nominal compound in that there is no head, therefore it is simple to derive the structural template of any headless NP from this schema. At least one of the constituents marked by bold print has to be present in a headless NP, and it has to be the right-most constituent with the exception of the number marking enclitics and the only post-head modifier *pono* ‘only’. The schema provided in Table 5.3 shows the structure of a headless NP where an adjective is the right-most autonomous constituent.

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

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

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

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

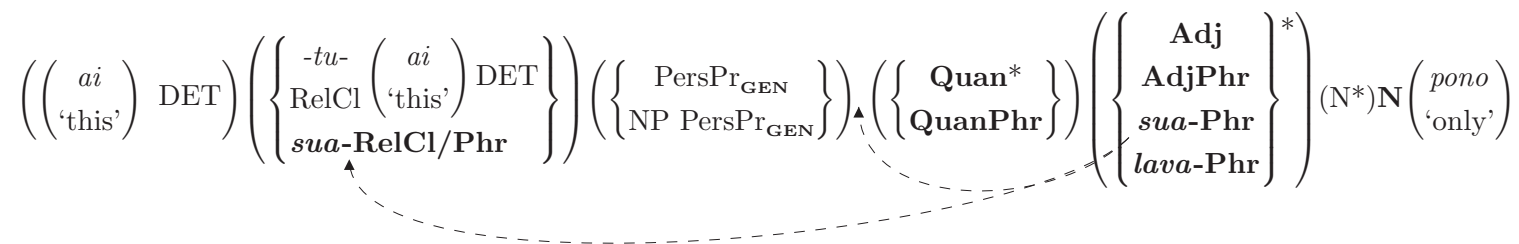


Table 5.2: Structure of an NP headed by a noun. Alternatives are indicated by curly brackets and parentheses stand for optionality. A star marks that there may be multiple instances of a particular word class or phrase type. Arrows represent the flexibility in terms of positioning of *sua*-phrases/relative clauses, the only NP constituent that can appear in different positions (see p. 123). Bold print marks autonomous NP constituents.

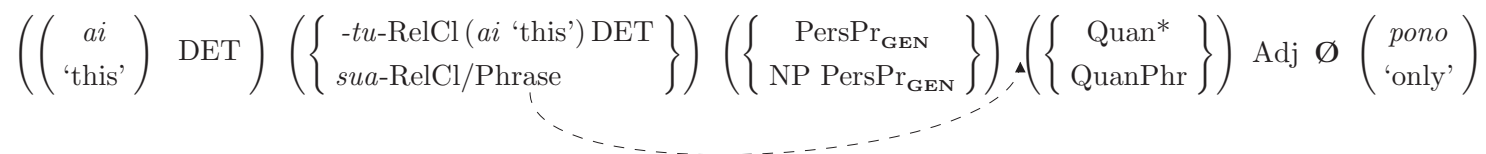


Table 5.3: Structure of a headless NP with an adjective as the right-most autonomous constituent.

As for NPs with a nominal head, the schema in Table 5.2 applies not only to NPs headed by a noun, but also to NPs headed by a noun compound or a lexicalized expression such as *sisi kalugha* ‘traditional shell money’, lit. ‘be.red money’³.

Most compounds in Savosavo are right-headed constructions. For example, in *nyoko puti* ‘nostril’ the noun *nyoko* ‘nose’ modifies the noun *puti* ‘hole’, thereby specifying what kind of hole the expression refers to. There are very few cases of copulative compounds. One is *nitonyoko* ‘face’, a compound that consists of the two nouns *nito* ‘eye’ and *nyoko* ‘nose’, and another *mama mau* ‘parents’, consisting of *mama* ‘mother, aunt’ and *mau* ‘father, paternal uncle’. In these cases none of the components can be identified as the head, they are of equal status. Evidence for analyzing *nitonyoko* ‘face’ as a compound (instead of as a case of coordination by juxtaposition) is that the order is conventionalized and that the complex term appears to be unified, as it carries only one primary stress, and the meaning of the whole extends beyond the reference of the parts.⁴ The situation for *mama mau* ‘parents’ is more complex, as the data shows that the expression *mama mau* is morphosyntactically treated in two ways: as a compound meaning ‘parents’, triggering singular agreement (181), and as two coordinate nouns, meaning ‘mother (and) father’ with dual (182) or plural agreement (183).

- (181) $\left[\left[Lo \quad [mama \quad mau]_{NP} \right]_{NP} \quad [lo]_{NP} \right]_{NP-va} \quad nanaghiza=na \quad te$
 DET.SG.M **mother father** **3SG.M-GEN.M** teaching=NOM EMPH
baighoza-i.
 not.exist-FIN

‘The teaching of the parents does not exist (any more).’ (ap_custom_028)

- (182) $Lo=na \quad avu-a \quad te=lo \quad bo \quad mala \quad \left[[lo \right.$
 3SG.M=NOM exit-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM go along.coast.side **3SG.M[GEN]**
 $\left. [mama \quad mau]=zalo \right]_{NP} \quad [to]_{NP} \right]_{NP} \quad tuvi=la.$
mother father=DU **3DU[GEN]** house=LOC.M

‘He went out and he went along the coast to the house of his mother and father.’
 (cr_cs_savokiki_334)

³*Sisi* ‘to be red’ is an intransitive verb that can be used as a modifier in an NP without derivation, see the discussion on the continuum between adjectives and intransitive verbs in Section 4.3.1.

⁴There are individual differences between speakers with respect to the interpretation of *nitonyoko*, varying from the immediate surrounding areas of nose and eyes, to an area equivalent of the English term ‘face’, suggesting that this term might be in the process of lexicalization and semantic reinterpretation, possibly due to contact with English. For a more detailed discussion of this, also in relation to the corresponding Solomon Islands Pijin term *fes*, see Wegener (2006).

- (183) *Apoi to=na te anyi pozogho* [*ai* [*mama*
because 3DU=NOM EMPH 1SG basically 1SG.GEN **mother/aunt**
mau]_{NP}=*gha*]_{NP} *z-emata ny-au kabu-i.*
father/pat.uncle=PL 3PL-at 1O-take move.away-FIN
'Because they (two) basically brought me away to my mother and fathers (i.e. parents, aunts and paternal uncles).' (as-WWII_042)

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

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

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

- (185) [*tei sua pa vata_N sodu_N* **rongorongu**]
be.like.this ATT.SG.M one kind piece **story**
'such a kind of a piece of story' (cv_biti_020)
- (186) [*to-va bosu_N uvi*]
3DU-GEN.M basket **yam**
'their basket of yam.' (st_cs_vangazua_129)
- (187) [*lo kabu_N ita*]
DET.SG.M heap **rubbish**
'the heap of rubbish' (jp_ji_mt_005)

Sua-phrases⁵ are the only NP constituents that can appear in different places. They are occasionally fronted and precede the quantifier slot and sometimes also the slot for the genitive pronoun. This is usually found when the *sua*-phrase is rather long and complex (188).

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

⁵The attributive marker *sua* takes a variety of complements including verbs, a type of non-finite clause, locative-marked NPs and postpositional phrases (cf. Sec. 4.8.1 and 8.2.1.2). A phrase headed by *sua* 'ATT' can function as a non-verbal predicate (cf. Sec. 7.1.2.2) or as a modifier in an NP. When the complement is a non-finite clause, the resulting *sua*-phrase is a type of relative clause (cf. Sec. 8.2.1.2).

The *sua*-phrase used as a modifier in the NP in (188) precedes both the genitive pronoun and the numeral. The locative-marked NP cannot function directly as a modifier in an NP, but must be embedded in a *sua*-phrase. The locative-marked NP is complex itself: it contains not only a head, but two modifiers. One of them, *negha sua*, is still analyzable as a *sua*-phrase with the locational *negha* ‘somewhere else’ as its complement, but today its meaning has lost the locative component and is just ‘different’.

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

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

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

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

Zepo-phrases⁶ are special in that they can be the sole constituent of a headless NP, as evidenced by the presence of the number marking enclitic for example in (191), but they are apparently not used directly as adnominal modifiers. They can be direct complement of a *sua*-phrase, which is then used as an adnominal modifier (see Sec. 4.8.3).

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

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

5.1.1.2 NPs headed by a pronoun

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

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

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

- (193) *Zu* [*lo* *boti*]_{NP=e} *ka* *ghoi*
 and DET.SG.M boat=EMPH already also

$[[lo\ japani=gha]_{NP}\ zezea]_{NP}$
 DET.PL Japanese=PL **3PL.POSS.M**

‘And the boat (was) also the Japanese’s.’ (pk_WWIL047)

- (78) *Oma=lo* [*ai lo* **anyia**]_{NP} *l-au*
 no=3SG.M.NOM this 3SG.M **1SG.POSS.M** 3SG.M.O-take
epi-li-zu.
 hit.target-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘It didn’t fit mine (lit. this one mine).’ (jp_ji_mt_328)

⁶The privative derivative marker *zepo* can take nouns or NPs as complements and express the lack of something (cf. Sec. 4.8.3). Phrases headed by *zepo* ‘PRIV’ are not very common and so far all seem to be instances of a *zepo*-phrase used as the sole constituent of a headless NP.

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

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

Although there is no example with a possessive pronoun and two or more other constituents, it is likely that the demonstrative and the determiner could be combined with a possessor NP, and with *pono* ‘only’. To summarize, the structure of an NP headed by a possessive pronoun is provided in Table 5.4.

(*ai* ‘this’ DET) (NP_{Poss,or}) **PossPr** (*pono* ‘only’)

Table 5.4: Structure of an NP headed by a possessive pronoun. Parentheses indicate optionality, and the head is marked by bold print.

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

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

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

- (198) *Minister, secretary*, [*dulo* [*bo-tu*]_{RelCl} *me*]_{NP=me} *kati ka zui*
 minister secretary all go-REL **2PL=EMPH.2PL** CERT already end
so=gha=e me=na.
 ATT=PL=EMPH 2PL=NOM

‘Minister, Secretary, you all who went, you will all be fired.’ (js_marine_221)

The demonstrative *ai* ‘this’ can also follow a relative clause modifying a personal pronoun (199).

- (199) [[*lo ata ny-omata varavi-tu*]_{RelCl} *ai lo*]_{NP=na}
 DET.SG.M here 1-at lean-REL this **3SG.M=NOM**
 ‘it which is leaning here towards me’ (jp_ji_mt_198)

Example (200) suggests that other quantifiers such as numerals can also be used as modifiers for personal pronouns.

- (200) ...[*ighiva ze*]_{NP} *ze kama gharani-za-ghu=e*
 three **3PL** 3PL[GEN] already injure-DETR-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...they three were already injured.’, lit. ‘they three their already being injured.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_405)

One could ask whether *ighiva* constitutes a headless NP in an appositional construction with the pronoun (see Sec. 5.3.2 below for more information on this construction). However, it is not marked for plural number, although the referents are human, in which context the number marking is usually consistent and accurate (see Sec. 5.1.2 below). This is evidence that it is better seen as part of the same NP as the pronoun, which is inherently specified for number and would make any additional number marking impossible.

Table 5.5 shows the possible structures of an NP headed by a personal pronoun.

		PersPr	
	<i>ai</i> ‘this’	PersPr	(196)
((<i>ai</i> ‘this’) DET)	- <i>tu</i> -RelCl (<i>ai</i> ‘this’)	PersPr	(197, 199)
<i>du</i> ‘all’ (DET.PL)		plural PersPr	(195)
((<i>du</i> ‘all’) DET.PL)	- <i>tu</i> -RelCl (<i>ai</i> ‘this’)	plural PersPr	(198)

Table 5.5: Possible structures of an NP headed by a personal pronoun.
 Parentheses indicate optionality.

Personal pronouns may not occur often with modifiers, but their referents can be specified by another NP joined with the pronoun in an appositional or inclusory construction, see Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3 below.

5.1.1.3 NPs headed by a locational

There are only very limited possibilities for modification in an NP headed by a locational. A locational can be modified by a genitive NP (201). *Ota* ‘there’ can also be modified by a relative clause (202).

- (201) *Zu lo gola kiba sisi=na te [lo ulunga*
and DET.SG.M green orn.flower=NOM EMPH DET.SG.M pillow
*lo-va]*_{Possession} **taghata.**
3SG.M-GEN.M **on.top**

‘And the green flower (is) on top of the pillow.’, lit. ‘And the green flower (is) the pillow its top.’ (pk_mk_mt_157)

- (202) *Bua te=ghe bo [lo topotopo-tu]*_{RelCl} **ota sara-i.**
go.SS CONJ=1DU.EX.NOM go 3SG.M[GEN] bubble-REL **there** reach-FIN
‘(We) went and we reached there where it bubbles [hot water springs].’
(mp_biti_058)

The schematic representation of a locational phrase is as follows:

(relative clause / genitive NP) **Loc**_{Head}

5.1.2 Number and gender marking

Number is encoded in personal and possessive pronouns, determiners, the genitive suffix and the derivative markers *sua* ‘ATT’ and *lava* ‘PROPR’ ((203, 204); cf. Sec. 4.8). In addition, the enclitics *=(za)lo* ‘DU’ and *=gha* ‘PL’ are used in dual or plural NPs when the head of the NP does not inherently mark number (204).

- (203) **ko ai-ma kula soma levolevo**
3SG.F 1SG-GEN.SG.F be.short ATT.SG.F talk
‘this short story of mine’ (ap_uzi_025)

- (204) *boragha sua korakora mijila lame mapa=gha*
be.black ATT.SG.M skin body **PROPR.PL person=PL**
‘people having a black skin (and) body’ (pc_biti_015)

On the kinship noun *tone* ‘brother’, the dual suffix occasionally takes the form *=to* (205), but the form *=(za)lo* can also be used (see ex. (206) below).

- (205) *Koata kuaranya=la=e, edo tone=to=e kulo*
before long ago=LOC.M=EMPH two **brother=DU=EMPH** seawards
Vatilau=la te pale so=lo.
Vatilau=LOC.M EMPH stay ATT=DU

‘Long time ago, two brothers were staying seawards on Vatilau Island.’
(jr_cs_soghe_001)

The possessive pronouns, the genitive suffix and the derivative marker *sua* ‘ATT’ mark number indirectly, by virtue of having a specific third person singular feminine form. Table 5.6 lists the respective forms of the word classes listed above that would be used in an NP referring to a third person referent, which is the most common context. Shaded cells mark syncretism in the paradigms.

NP Referent		Pers. pron.	<i>lava</i> ‘PROPR’	DET	<i>sua</i> ‘ATT’	Poss. pron. ⁷	GEN suffix	NB Encl.
3SG	M	<i>lo</i>	<i>lava</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>sua</i>	<i>loloa</i>	<i>-va</i>	=∅
	F	<i>ko</i>	<i>lama</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>soma</i>	<i>loloma</i>	<i>-ma</i>	=∅
3DU		<i>to</i>	<i>laghe</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>sua</i>	<i>loloa</i>	<i>-va</i>	=(<i>za</i>) <i>lo</i>
3PL		<i>ze</i>	<i>lame</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>sua</i>	<i>loloa</i>	<i>-va</i>	= <i>gha</i>

Table 5.6: The forms of number-marking constituents of NPs in relation to the person, number and gender of the referent. Syncretism is marked by shading of the respective cells.

The number marking enclitics are the only morphemes that do not conflate gender and number marking. For all other NP constituents, syncretism in the paradigms always involves the third person singular masculine and plural categories, and occasionally also the dual category. The third person feminine is always distinguished.

Personal pronouns have different forms for all person-number combinations (cf. Sec. 4.5.1.1). Most of the other NP constituents have either not been found with first and second person referents (this concerns possessive pronouns, determiners and the genitive suffix), or the form used for those referents is similar to that used for third person singular masculine referents (in the case of *sua* ‘ATT’ and *lava* ‘PROPR’).

The enclitics =(*za*)*lo* ‘DU’ and =*gha* ‘PL’ are exclusively used in non-pronominal NPs.⁸ They attach to the head noun as the right-most lexical constituent (see example (204) above). The allomorph =*zalo* is not very common and is usually used in NPs with animate referents (206).

⁷The possessive pronouns for a third person singular masculine possessor are used exemplarily here, as the pattern is the same for all other possessors. For all other forms see Table 4.11 in Section 4.5.2.

⁸With the possible exception of locative-marked pronominal NPs with human referents that are used to express a topic or reason, but it is unclear at present whether it is indeed the plural enclitic =*gha* or a different, homophonous morpheme that is used in this context, see Section 5.2.4.

- (206) [*To tone=zalo*]_{NP} *to kama ae-ghu=e*
 DET.DU brother=**DU** 3DU[GEN] already be.married-NMLZ=EMPH
lo=na.
 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘The brothers were already married.’, lit. ‘The brother’s being already married
 (was) it.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_280)

In an NP with the only postnuclear modifier *pono* ‘only’, they will attach to the head noun and thus come between the noun and the modifier (207).

- (207) *ighia mili=gha pono*
 three string=**PL** only
 ‘only three strings’ (jz_mili_011)

In headless NPs, the number marking follows the last autonomous constituent, i.e. it also usually precedes *pono* ‘only’ (208).

- (208) [*Anyi edo=gha pono*]_{NP=na} *te ata.*
 1SG[GEN] two=**PL** only=NOM EMPH here
 ‘Only two of mine (are) here.’, lit. ‘My two only (are) here’ (cp_api_mt_470)

But if the last lexical constituent is an adjective or a *sua*-phrase, *pono* ‘only’ precedes the number marking (209, 210).

- (209) [*Du to*]_{NP=te} [*sisi pono=lo*]_{NP}
 all 3DU=EMPH.3DU be.red only=**DU**
 ‘Both (are) only red ones [i.e. not of different colors].’ (pk_mk_mt_294)
- (210) [*Ny-omata izi sua*]_{RelCl} *pono=gha*]_{NP=e} [*ze*]_{NP=na}.
 1-at sleep ATT only=**PL**=EMPH 3PL=NOM
 ‘They (were) just sleeping at my place.’ (png_WWII_3_112)

This appears to be the only case where *pono* ‘only’ can be host of the number marking enclitics.

Number marking is not always consistent. Occasionally, NPs are not marked as plural, and agreement is also in the singular, although it is clear from the context that the NP refers not just to a single referent. This is found with inanimate as well as animate referents, although appropriate number marking and agreement is much more likely to be found when the referent is animate. In particular, number marking is omitted in contexts where a noun is used in a rather generic way, e.g. to refer to something that is collected or harvested (211).

- (211) ...*no mane [kola uvi]_{NP} ghoi*
 2SG[GEN] consecutively **cassava** also
zili-li-ghu=e
 take.out.of.ground-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...you then also harvest cassava.’ (ap_manga_037)

In example (211), there is no plural marking on the compound *kola uvi* ‘cassava’ (lit. ‘stick yam’), and the agreement on the verb is singular as well, but it is clear from the ‘harvesting’ context that not just one cassava root will be taken out of the ground. Such a generic usage seems to be possible only for nouns referring to inanimates.

Reduplication of the head (212, 213), a modifier or a demonstrative (214) is occasionally used to mark distributive plural, either instead of, or in addition to, the plural enclitic =*gha*.

- (212) *Ai mapa=gha me; samu nogho-li-lu; ze me*
 1SG.GEN person=PL 2PL food divide-3SG.M.O-IMP.PL CONJ.SS 2PL[GEN]
samu k-aju kia, me mane [me
 have.meal 3SG.F.O-finish when 2PL[GEN] consecutively 2PL[GEN]
manyi~manyigha]_{NP}=la liaza-ghu=e
REDUP~village=LOC.M return-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘You my people, share the food, and when you finished eating, then you return to your respective villages.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_045)
- (213) *To levolevo-ghu lo buringa=la to-va*
 3DU[GEN] talk-NMLZ 3SG.M[GEN] back=LOC.M 3DU-GEN.PL
[rumu~rumu=gha]_{NP}=la liaza-ghu=e.
REDUP~room=PL=LOC.M return-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘After their conversation they returned to the respective rooms.’ (ap_jeff_beki_147)
- (214) *Ze te mane [lo~lo gana=gha]_{NP} kulo*
 3PL[GEN] EMPH consecutively **REDUP~DET.PL gun=PL** seawards
bo vata-mi-ghu=e.
 go line.up-3PL.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then they went and installed those respective guns seawards.’, lit. ‘(It was) their then going (and) lining up those guns seawards.’ (bk_WWII_109)

5.1.3 Possession

A possessive relation between two referents can be expressed in three ways: by means of a possessive pronoun, e.g. *zezea* ‘theirs’ ((215, 216), cf. Sec. 4.5.2), by a genitive NP

((216), cf. Sec. 5.2.3), or by a *lava*-phrase ((217), cf. Sec. 4.8.2). In contrast to the neighboring Austronesian languages, and similar to Lavukaleve (cf. Terrill 2003), there is no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession.

- (215) *Tei patu kakau=gha=na zezea l-au tagha*
 be.thus BG.IPFV kakau.tribe=PL=NOM **3PL.POSS.M** 3SG.M.O-take up
nyari Kaogele bo l-ovu-i.
 small Kaogele go 3SG.M.O-put-FIN
 ‘[Talking about traditional altars:] As it was like that, the Kakau tribe took theirs and placed it up (clockwise along the coast) at small Kaogele.’ (ap_headhunt_063)
- (216) **Ko tada lo-va ti=gho te**
3SG.F[GEN] man 3SG.M-GEN.M tea=3SG.F.NOM EMPH
pala-tu, bo kokoa.
 make.3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV or **3SG.F.POSS.M**
 ‘Is she making her husband’s tea or hers?’ (ap_dr_se_056)
- (217) ...**ai lo manyigha lava mapa=e lo**
this DET.SG.M homestead PROPR.SG.M person=EMPH DET.SG.M
isarongo toa mapa.
 bad really.m person
 ‘...the man owning (lit. having) this homestead (is) a really bad person.’
 (bd_cs_tonelo_187)

An NP containing a possessive pronoun or a genitive NP refers to the possessum (the altar in (215) and the tea in (216)), and the possessive pronoun or the genitive NP provides information about the possessor. In contrast, the referent of an NP containing a *lava*-phrase is the possessor (the man in (217)), and the *lava*-phrase is used to attribute the possession of something to this referent.

Possessive pronouns and *lava*-phrases are treated in more detail in Sections 4.5.2 and 4.8.2 respectively. For more information on genitive NPs see Section 5.2.3 below.

5.2 Case marking

The term ‘case marking’ refers to the marking of an NP determined by the syntactic function it has in the clause or phrase (cf. Haspelmath, to appear b). Case marking is done by suffixes, enclitic case markers and postpositions. The suffixes and case markers are ‘phrase marking’, i.e. they are attached to the NP as a whole and occur only once. The enclitics form a phonological word with the last constituent of the NP, regardless of its word class.

In total, six overtly marked cases can be distinguished in Savosavo, associated with different syntactic functions: nominative, genitive, locative, ablative, comitative and benefactive. Not every syntactic function requires an NP to be case-marked, therefore unmarked NPs are also found. Object NPs are also unmarked, but as Savosavo is a nominative-accusative language (see below), unmarked NPs functioning as objects are analyzed as accusative. Table 5.7 provides an overview of the syntactic functions and the case categories, including a category for unmarked NPs.

Case	Syntactic function of NP
nominative (= <i>na</i>)	subject of verbal clauses
	subject of non-verbal locational clauses
	subject of non-verbal property clauses (P–S order)
	subject of some subordinate clauses
accusative (unmarked)	object of verbal clauses
genitive (= <i>va</i> / <i>-ma</i>)	modifier in NP (possessor)
	subject of several subordinate clauses
	subject of nominalized clauses
locative (= <i>la</i> , <i>l-omata</i>)	adjunct of verbal clauses
	predicate of non-verbal clauses
	complement of <i>sua</i> ‘ATT’
ablative (= <i>tu</i> / <i>=le</i>)	adjunct of verbal clause
comitative (= <i>aka</i>)	adjunct of verbal clauses
	complement of <i>sua</i> ‘ATT’
benefactive (= <i>omiti</i>)	adjunct of verbal clauses
	complement of <i>sua</i> ‘ATT’
unmarked	predicate of non-verbal property clauses
	subject of non-verbal property clause (S–P order)
	complement of <i>lava</i> ‘PROPR’
	complement of <i>zepo</i> ‘PRIV’

Table 5.7: Summary of syntactic functions associated with different case categories.

Of the marked cases, the locative is used not only for locations, but for a range of semantic roles including instruments or substance. Table 5.8 shows which case is expressed by which structural means.

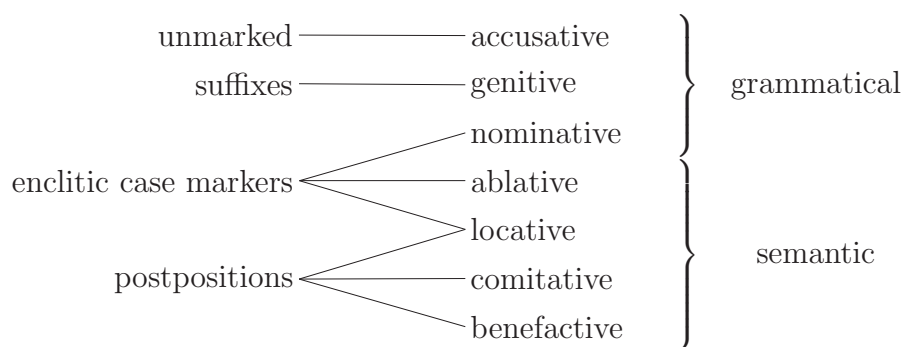


Table 5.8: Morphosyntactic means employed in Savosavo to express the seven different case categories.

Sometimes a distinction is made in the literature between ‘grammatical’ and ‘semantic’ cases. The ‘grammatical’ cases are said to express “a purely syntactic as opposed to semantic relation” (Blake 1997:33), i.e. the difference is between those cases that are unspecified in terms of semantic role, and those that are tied more closely to one or more semantic roles. Other terms used for this distinction are, for example, ‘core’ vs. ‘peripheral’ cases, or ‘abstract’ vs. ‘concrete’ cases (see Haspelmath (to appear b) and references therein). When classifying the case categories of Savosavo in this manner, there appears to be a relation between the type of case and the way it is marked: the ‘grammatical’ cases nominative, accusative and genitive⁹ are either unmarked or marked by bound morphology, i.e. by means of suffixes or enclitic markers.¹⁰ The ‘semantic’ cases are always marked overtly, either by enclitic morphemes or postpositions. The ‘grammatical’ cases cannot be combined, and none of the ‘semantic’ cases can be combined with any of the ‘grammatical’ cases, but within the group of ‘semantic’ cases, the ablative case markers often combine with the locative case marker and postposition, and one of them has also been found with the comitative postposition (see Sec. 5.2.5).

⁹The genitive case can be seen as a ‘semantic’ case, because it is connected to the semantic role ‘possessor’, but in this case the semantic role ‘possessor’ is equivalent to the syntactic relation of being a pronoun used as an attribute. The genitive is also the subject case of some subordinate and nominalized clauses.

¹⁰The main difference between enclitics and suffixes, according to how the terms are used in this thesis (cf. Sec. 3.1), is that suffixes only attach to members of one particular word class, while enclitics can attach to members of several word classes.

Savosavo is a language with a “marked nominative” case system (Dixon 1979, Haspelmath, to appear), overtly marking the subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs as well as some non-verbal clauses on the NP (see Sec. 7.1.2), but leaving object NPs unmarked. The pattern of NP-marking is reversed in the marking of core participants on the verbs: there is no subject marking, but obligatory object marking for transitive and transitively used ambitransitive verbs (cf. Sec. 4.1). A system with overt marking of subjects, while objects are unmarked, is typologically unusual (cf. Greenberg’s Universal 38: “Where there is a case system, the only case which ever has only zero allomorphs is the one which includes among its meanings that of the subject of the intransitive verb” (Greenberg 1966: 95)), but is found, for example, in languages from the Yuman and Cushitic families (Dixon 1979: 77).

As for terminological considerations, Dixon (1979: 78) notes that “none of the terms ‘nominative’, ‘accusative’, ‘absolutive’, or ‘ergative’ are really appropriate” for such a system; as alternatives he proposes either ‘extended ergative’ and ‘restricted absolutive’, or ‘marked nominative’ and ‘unmarked accusative’ (Dixon 1979: 78). More recently, Haspelmath (to appear b) states that “there is a tendency to call the (zero-marked) case of the P [i.e. most patient-like argument of a transitive clause] *absolut(iv)e case*, and to call the marked nominative not ‘nominative’, but *subject(iv)e case*.” Using ‘(extended) ergative’ and ‘(restricted) absolutive’, or ‘subjective’ and ‘absolutive’, however, may give the impression that the underlying system is ergative-absolutive, i.e. that somewhere in the grammar the object of transitive clauses and the subject of intransitive clauses are grouped together, contrasting with subjects of transitive clauses. So far, this has not been observed; on the contrary, Savosavo appears to be thoroughly nominative-accusative. Thus, the terms ‘nominative’ and ‘accusative’ will be maintained for the subject- and object-case respectively.

The following sections provide more detailed information on the nominative (5.2.1), accusative (5.2.2), genitive (5.2.3), locative (5.2.4) and ablative (5.2.5), which are marked directly on the referring expression, inherently or by means of enclitic morphemes. Information on the comitative and the benefactive, marked by postpositions, can be found in Sections 4.9.1 and 4.9.3.

5.2.1 Nominative

Nominative NPs function as subjects of intransitive and transitive verbal clauses (218, 219) as well as subjects of some non-verbal clauses ((220); see Sec. 7.1.2). They are marked as nominative by means of an enclitic.

- (218) [To *mau*]_{NP}=**na** *ka* *ave-i*.
 3DU[GEN] father=**NOM** already die-FIN
 ‘Their father had died already.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_005)

- (219) [*No*]_{NP}=**na** *ka* [*korikori bulake*]_{NP} *l-oi?*
 2SG=**NOM** already korikori bulake 3SG.M.O-eat.FIN
 ‘Have you eaten korikori bulake yet?’ (ss_cl_pudding_198)
- (220) [*Alea pera=gha*]_{NP}=**na** *te* [*lo mane*]_{NP}=*la*.
 how.many basket=PL=**NOM** EMPH DET.SG.M side=LOC.M
 ‘How many baskets are at the side?’ (pk_mk_mt_097)

With the first person singular pronoun, this marking is sometimes, but not always, omitted (221). On all other pronouns the marking is obligatory.

- (221) *Anyi soing lo-va poi te l-au-i; kos*
 1SG sewing 3SG.M-GEN.M thing EMPH 3SG.M.O-take-FIN course
 ‘I took the sewing thing; course.’ (agh_png-111)

There are two allomorphs of *na*, *kona* and *tona*, that have to be used on non-pronominal NPs in the third person feminine (222) and the third person dual (223). The paradigm of the nominative case marker is provided in Table 5.9.

- (222) *Zu [ko nyuba]*_{NP}=**kona** *oma ave-i*.
 but DET.SG.F child=**NOM.F** not die-FIN
 ‘But the child (f) had not died.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_062)
- (223) *To edo kola=zalo=tona lo polo=gha ze kata*.
 DET.DU two tree=DU=**NOM.DU** DET.PL pig=PL 3PL[GEN] bushwards
 ‘The two trees (are) bushwards of the pigs.’ (cp_api_mt_215)

		Sg	Du	Pl
1. + 2.		<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
3.	masculine		<i>tona</i>	
	feminine	<i>kona</i>		

Table 5.9: The nominative case markers used with non-pronominal NPs. When pronominal NPs are marked as nominative, =*na* always has to be used.

A single example suggests that they can occur on pronominal NPs as well, but only if the modifier *pono* ‘only’ comes between the pronoun and the enclitic (224).

- (224) *To pono=tona te ave-i*.
 3DU only=**NOM.DU** EMPH die-FIN
 ‘Only they two died.’ (tt_bd_war_159)

The form as well as the distribution of the two longer forms *tona* and *kona* suggest that their diachronic origin is a combination of *na* and the personal pronouns *ko* ‘she’ and *to* ‘they (DU)’, respectively.

In contrast to free personal pronouns, the set of enclitic personal pronouns (Sec. 4.5.1.2, Tab. 4.10) can only be used for syntactic subjects in the same clause types where nominative-marked NPs can be found, and therefore have to be regarded as inherently nominative (225). Enclitic pronouns and nominative-marked NPs can co-occur.

- (225) *Oma=nye k-eghe-i.*
 not=1SG.NOM 3SG.F.O-see-FIN
 ‘I didn’t see her.’ (agh_png_399)

In the neighboring Papuan language Lavukaleve, *na* is the singular masculine definite article (Terrill 2003: 90ff.). NPs in Lavukaleve can contain several post-head modifiers, but the definite article is always the last element of the phrase when it is used (Terrill 2003: 75). There is no case marking on core participant NPs in Lavukaleve. Although Blake (1997) does not mention articles as a potential source for the diachronic development of case markers, and although a genetic relationship between the two languages is still under debate, the similarity in form and position suggests the hypothesis that the definite article *na* in Lavukaleve and the nominative case marker *na* in Savosavo could have the same diachronic origin. Definiteness of an NP is an indicator that the referent of the NP “is treated as an identifiable entity in the discourse” (Lambrecht 1994: 158). The topic of a sentence is usually identifiable, and in many languages (also in Savosavo) preferably encoded as the subject. Thus it is conceivable that the NP-final definite article in Lavukaleve and the enclitic nominative marker in Savosavo are diachronically related. Some time ago they probably marked topical status rather than syntactic subjecthood. Further evidence for this is that the nominative markers, in contrast to all other case markers, are in complementary distribution with the emphatic enclitic *=e* ‘EMPH’, which can signal either that a constituent is in focus or that a topic shift or topic reactivation is taking place (see Sec. 7.2.1). However, apart from that the nominative markers are synchronically reliably connected to the syntactic function of an NP as subject of a clause, not primarily to its topicality, and are thus for example also found when referents are mentioned for the first time.

5.2.2 Accusative

Syntactic subjects are overtly marked as nominative on the NP, while the NPs in object function are unmarked (226).

- (226) *Ighiva sua* *manga=la* [*lo* *tada sua*]_{NP=na} [*lo*
 three ATT.SG.M day=LOC.M DET.SG.M old.M giant=NOM **DET.SG.M**
ghau]_{NP} *bo duku-li*.
fishing.bamboo go cut-3SG.M.O
 ‘On the third day the old giant went (and) cut the fishing bamboo.’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_151)

As Savosavo shows a nominative-accusative patterning both in marking of NPs and in participant marking on the verbs, unmarked NPs functioning as syntactic objects are analyzed as accusative. Unmarked NPs in other syntactic functions are analyzed as not being of a particular case.

5.2.3 Genitive

The genitive is marked by a suffix with two allomorphs reflecting the gender of a singular possessum, shown in 5.10.

	Sg	Du + Pl
masculine	<i>-va</i>	<i>-va</i>
feminine	<i>-ma</i>	

Table 5.10: The paradigm of the genitive suffix.

Only personal pronouns (cf. Sec. 4.5.1) can take this suffix. There is a special first person singular personal pronoun form for the genitive, *ai*, which is usually used (227); only rarely is the normal form *anyi* found, usually to emphasize that the possessor is indeed the speaker (228).

- (227) *ai-va* *mau*
1SG.GEN-GEN.M father
 ‘my father’ (pk_WWII_117)
- (228) *Ka* *pe* *gheza kinu=e* *bo tei* *kia anyi-va*
 already 2DU[GEN] own smell=EMPH or be.like.this if **1SG-GEN.M**
kinu=e.
 smell=EMPH
 ‘[The giants asked what that nice smell was, and she answers:] (It must be) already your own smell or maybe my smell.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_113)

The forms of the genitive pronouns for the first person non-singular possessor and a feminine possessum (*mai-ma*, *ave-ma* and *aghe-ma*) are identical to the corresponding

possessive pronouns (cf. Tab. 4.11), because in the first person the pronoun is not reduplicated to derive the possessive pronouns. The same is true for the (only occasionally used) full form of the first person singular dependent pronoun, *anyima*. But since possessive pronouns are always head of an NP referring to the possessum, while genitive pronouns function as subjects in nominalized and some subordinate clauses or adnominal modifiers that need to be part of an NP headed by a noun, any of these forms can be clearly identified by the syntactic context it is found in.

If the possessum is a singular referent, the genitive suffix marks its gender. Thus, the genitive pronouns represent the possessor (marking person, number and gender) and at the same time agree with the possessum (via the suffix, marking gender in the singular); see example (229).¹¹

- (229) $(lo_{\text{Possessor}})$ **lo-ma** $ngai\ nyuba_{\text{Possessum}}$
 3SG.M **3SG.M-GEN.SG.F** big child
 ‘his older daughter’ (ap_jeff_beki_059)

In practice, the genitive suffixes are usually omitted, yielding what will be referred to as **reduced genitive pronouns**. The forms of such a reduced genitive pronoun and the corresponding normal personal pronoun are identical, except in the first person singular; it remains *ai* when the suffix is omitted and is thus still clearly identifiable as genitive. However, the syntactic distribution allows one in most cases to identify a form as a reduced genitive pronoun or a free personal pronoun. As an example, instead of the NP in (229) one would usually hear the following:

- (229') $(lo_{\text{Possessor}})$ **lo** $ngai\ nyuba_{\text{Possessum}}$
 3SG.M **3SG.M[GEN]** big child
 ‘his older child’

Note that example (229') could refer to a female as well as a male child, as the information on the gender of the possessum is lost when the genitive suffix is omitted.

The genitive has two important syntactic functions in Savosavo: it is used to express a possessor within an NP ((230), cf. Sec. 5.1.3 above) and for the encoding of the subject in nominalized clauses ((231), discussed in detail in Ch. 9) and in some types of subordinate clause, e.g. relative clauses ((232), cf. Sec. 8.2).

- (230) $ze_{\text{Possessor}}$ **-va** $agutu_{\text{Possessum}}$
3PL-GEN.M work
 ‘their work’ (js_marine_098)

¹¹As indicated in example (229), the personal pronoun that receives the genitive marking can be preceded by an NP providing further information on the possessor. For more detail on this see Section 5.1.3.

- (231) *Muzi ghobu=la to_{Subject}-va kama bo-ghu=e.*
 night middle=LOC.M 3DU-GEN.M already go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘In the middle of the night they (two) went.’, lit. ‘...their already going.’
 (ap_cs_kakula_052)
- (232) *lo_{Subject}-va k-au bo-tu ko adaki*
3SG.M-GEN.M 3SG.F.O-take go-REL DET.SG.F woman
 ‘the woman he took away’ (ap_cs_saraputu_217)

A genitive-marked personal pronoun can stand alone (as in examples (230) to (232) above), or it can be preceded by an NP specifying the possessor ((229) above and (233)).

- (233) [*ko popo*]_{Possessor} *ko-va kuvikivi*
DET.SG.F bowl **3SG.F-GEN.M** lid
 ‘the bowl’s lid’, lit. ‘the bowl its lid’ (jp_ji_mt_024)

The pronoun NP and the preceding NP are either fully coreferential, i.e. in apposition ((229, 233); cf. Sec. 5.3.2), or the set of referents denoted by the first NP is a proper subset of the referents denoted by the personal pronoun and they are combined in an inclusory construction ((234); cf. Sec. 5.3.3).

- (234) [*lo-va tone*]_{Possessor} *to-va mola*
3SG.M-GEN.M brother **3DU-GEN.M** canoe
 ‘the canoe of him and his brother’, lit. ‘his brother their canoe’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_011)

Any adnominal modifier can be found in the NP preceding the pronoun, thus indirect recursion is possible: it can contain another genitive NP, which can again contain a genitive NP, and so forth (235).

- (235) [[*Savo=gha ave-va*] *ae-ghu lo-va*]
 Savo=PL **1PL.EX-GEN.M** be.married-NMLZ **3SG.M-GEN.M**
vuni-ghu=e tei sua.
 start-NMLZ=EMPH be.like.this ATT
 ‘The beginning of the marriage of us Savoans (is) like this.’ (ap_aeghu_003)

In example (235) the derived noun *vunighu* ‘beginning’ is the possessum. The possessive relation is expressed by genitive suffix *-va* on the complex NP specifying the possessor, consisting of the personal pronoun *lo* ‘he’ and the NP *Savogha aveva aeghu* ‘the marriage of us Savoans’. This NP contains another genitive-marked possessor NP, consisting of the personal pronoun *ave* ‘us’, which is then again in apposition with the NP *Savogha*

‘Savoans’. In principle this nesting can go on and on, but in practice it is very rare to get more than two nested genitives.

A genitive pronoun renders an NP definite. Evidence for this is that the numeral *pa* ‘one’, which can function as an indefinite article when no determiner is present, can only be interpreted as a quantifier when used together with a genitive pronoun, e.g. *aiva pa tone* ‘my one brother’. It is possible to add a determiner to an NP with a genitive pronoun, e.g. *lo aiva pa tone* ‘the one brother of mine’.

5.2.4 Locative

The locative, marked by the enclitics *la* ‘LOC.M’ and *ka* ‘LOC.F’, is a multi-functional case. It is called ‘locative’ here because of its basic meaning and most common usage. So far, five functions of locative-marked NPs have been identified: marking a **location**, an **instrument**, the **substance** something is made of, the **topic** of, or **reason** for, a conversation or concern, and providing a **set**, a subset of which is identified by the speaker. Each of these functions will be described below. The feminine form of the locative enclitic, *ka*, is restricted to, but not obligatorily used with, feminine NPs. This allomorph has so far only be encountered in locative-marked NPs expressing a location or a topic/reason.

In locative NPs headed by a pronoun referring to humans, a morpheme *-gha*, formally identical to the plural enclitic *=gha*, is commonly attached to the head (236).

- (236) *Omadai mai-va* *no-gha=la* *zughu-le*.
 lest 1NSG.IN-GEN.M **2SG-?=LOC.M** disagree-APPR
 ‘Lest we argue about you.’ (ap_jeff_beki_336)

This is quite special, as personal pronouns do not normally occur with the plural enclitic, but mark number inherently. The morpheme *-gha* in this context seems to be associated with animacy and could be some kind of politeness phenomenon, but at present its function remains unclear (cf. further examples and comments on p. 145).

- **Location:**

In the prototypical locative, the NP is a place name or refers to a precise location, e.g. ‘house’ or ‘table’, whereas a postpositional phrase with *l-omata* ‘at’ (which agrees with its complement by a prefix) specifies an area near the referent of the complement NP (see Sec. 4.9.2). The complement of such a postpositional phrase can be either inanimate or animate, but expressing a location by means of a locative-marked NP requires an inanimate referent.

Locative NPs can express not only the spatial (237), but also the temporal setting of an action or state (238), and also the goal of a movement (239).

- (237) *Oma. Kama kulo [nyanyui pono]_{NP}=la.*
 no already seawards sea only=**LOC.M**
 ‘No. (They fought) only seawards on the sea.’ (bk_WWII_161)
- (238) [*Muzi*]=**la**=*me* *mane* *tungi-li*
 night=**LOC.M**=1NSG.IN.NOM consecutively put.fire.to.sth-3SG.M.O
ta-i.
 FUT-FIN
 ‘At night then we will light it.’ (wr_cs_vulaole_215)
- (239) ...*ke=gho* *ela kalele ghavi~ghavi*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM little.by.little REDUP~paddle
kuli-ghu=e; [*ko* *molumolu*]_{NP}=**ka**.
 move.seawards-NMLZ=EMPH DET.SG.F island=**LOC.F**
 ‘...and she paddled leisurely seawards, to the (small) island.’
 (wr_cs_vulaole_044)

This allative function is one context in which the feminine form *ka* is used with feminine NPs (239). Recall that while masculine is the default gender of inanimates, they are sometimes treated as feminine, e.g. to form diminutives (Sec. 4.2.1.1). Furthermore, some nouns such as the names of the months are treated as feminine by many speakers (240).

- (240) *Ela=e* *mane* [*noveba*]_{NP}=**ka** *suba so=gha.*
 some=EMPH consecutively november=**LOC.F** plant ATT=PL
 ‘Some plant in November.’, lit. ‘Some (are) ones planting in November.’
 (ap_manga_102)

Another item that is often used with *ka* is *buringa* ‘back’ (241). The result, *buringa=ka*, is usually contracted to *buringka*. Although almost half of examples in the corpus have *buringa* followed by *ka*, this is not obligatory; in slightly more than half of the examples, *buringa* is used with *la* (242).

- (241) *Me=na* *kama ota* [*buring(a)*]_{NP}=**ka** *alu-lu.*
 2PL=NOM already there **back**=**LOC.F** stand-IMP.PL
 ‘You will stand there in the back.’ (jk_mat_001)
- (242) *Zu* [*ko ko* *buringa*]_{NP}=**la** *ai to* *edo=lo=tona*
 and 3SG.F 3SG.F[GEN] **back**=**LOC.M** this DET.DU two=DU=NOM.DU
kao lo tada koko l-omata te alu kozi(-i).
 bushwards DET.SG.M man boy 3SG.M-at EMPH stand face(-FIN)

‘And behind her (lit. at her back) these two stand facing bushwards towards the adolescent boy.’ (jp_ji_mt_177)

Finally, when a speaker cannot remember the name of a place, the filler *poi* ‘thing’ is usually used with *ka* (243). Only rarely it is followed by *la*.

- (243) *Pa suti=e neu / Balo- ei poi=ka; / ala=e*
 one spotlight=EMPH down / Balo- ei **thing=LOC.F** / where=EMPH
ota.
 there
 ‘One spotlight (was) down (at) / Balo- ei, at whatsitcalled; / what (place is) there?’ (bk_WWII_134)

Locative NPs can be additionally marked by the ablative case markers *=tu* and *=le* (see Sec. 5.2.5 below), as well as the enclitics *=lia* ‘about’ and *=ti* ‘PROX’. The enclitic *=lia* ‘about’ is also found to occur with locationals (Sec. 4.7) and some temporal adverbs (Sec. 4.12.1). It is used to express that the location given is a rough estimate (244). The enclitic *=ti* ‘PROX’ is also used on locationals (Sec. 4.7). When it is used, a proximal reading is added (245).

- (244) *Lo enemi=na pozogho [Sesepi]_{NP}=la=lia.*
 DET.SG.M enemy=NOM basically Sesepi=**LOC.M=about**
 ‘The enemy (was) basically somewhere at Sesepi.’ (png-WWII_3_119)
- (245) *Zu [Sesepi]_{NP}=la=ti=lo te alu kozi-zu;*
 And Sesepi=**LOC.M=PROX=3SG.M.NOM** EMPH stand face-PST.IPFV
lo mapa=na.
 DET.SG.M person=NOM
 ‘And he stands facing close to Sesepi, the man.’ (jp_ji_mt_244)

- **Instrument:**

NPs marked with *la* can also refer to an instrument used in an action (246, 247).

- (246) [*Kato*]_{NP}=**la=ze** te l-evo ta-i.
 stone=**LOC.M=3PL.NOM** EMPH 3SG.M.O-burn FUT-FIN
 ‘They will cook (lit. burn) it using a (hot) stone.’ (ss_cl_pudding_014)
- (247) [*Lo nyari molo*]_{NP}=**la=gho** lo age
 DET.SG.M small knife=**LOC.M=3SG.F.NOM** DET.SG.M branch
sodu-li.
 cut.in.two-3SG.M.O
 ‘With the small knife she cuts the branch.’ (20a-ws_cb)

As the example (248) shows, locative NPs can also express the price or the costs of things purchased.

- (248) [*Alea=gha*]_{NP}=**la**=*no* *te* *ai* *lo* *l-au-i*.
 how.many=PL=**LOC.M**=2SG.NOM EMPH this 3SG.M 3SG.M.O-take-FIN
 ‘How much did this cost you?’, lit. ‘At how many did you take this?’
 (ap_jeff_beki_209)

• **Substance:**

Another function for *la*-marked NPs is to specify a substance something is made of (249). Compare in particular examples (250) and (246) above: the NP clearly has two different thematic roles, although it is formally identical.

- (249) *Du lo* *taemu=la* *kama* [*ida*]_{NP}=**la**=*no* *te*
 all DET.SG.M time=LOC.M already pana=**LOC.M**=2SG.NOM EMPH
agutu-li *ta-i*.
 work-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘You will always make it (i.e. a specific type of pudding) with pana tubers.’,
 lit. ‘At all times with pana tubers you will work it.’ (ss_cl_pudding_222)
- (250) [[*Kato*]_{NP}=**la** *sua* *molo*].
 stone=**LOC.M** ATT.SG.M knife
 ‘(A) stone knife.’, lit. ‘Of stone being knife’ (mp_mapagha_077)

• **Topic/reason:**

Occasionally a locative NP can provide the topic of or reason for a conversation or concern (251, 252), expressing ‘about X’ or ‘because of X’. These two interpretations cannot always be distinguished, therefore this is treated as one function.

- (251) [*Lo* *pukupuku-ghu*]_{np}=**la**=*nye* *ekati*
 DET.SG.M breadfruit.pudding-NMLZ=**LOC.M**=1SG.NOM CERT
zua-ni *ta-i*.
 ask-2SG.O FUT-FIN
 ‘I will ask you about the making of breadfruit pudding.’ (ss_cl_pudding_003)
- (252) *Jeffi=na*, *baigho=e* [[*lo-va*]_{Mod} [*ela sua*]_{Mod} [*ko*
 Jeff=NOM not.exist=EMPH 3SG.M-GEN.M one ATT.SG.M DET.SG.F
adaki nyuba]_{NP}=**ka** *sua*]_{Mod} *pa*_{Mod} *ghanaghana*]_{NP}=*na*.
 woman child=**LOC.F** ATT.SG.M one thought=NOM
 ‘Jeff, he didn’t have any thought whatsoever about/because of the young woman.’ (ap_jeff_beki_360)

This is the only function apart from the locational use where the specifically feminine allomorph *ka* is documented (252).

In this function, the suffix *-gha*, which is formally identical to the plural enclitic *=gha*, appears to be obligatory on personal pronouns referring to humans, even if they are singular (253) and/or first or second person (254). It might also be obligatory for some or all of the other functions, and is also found in locative NPs that encode a set (see below), but personal pronouns referring to humans are more likely to occur in functions like topic/reason than in others, e.g. as instruments.

- (253) *Zu Jeffi=na te [ko-gha]_{NP}=la oma ngou-tu.*
 but Jeff=NOM EMPH **3SG.F-?=LOC.M** not worry-PRS.IPFV
 ‘But Jeff doesn’t worry about/because of her (i.e. he doesn’t care about her).’
 (ap_jeff_beki_370)

- (254) *Zu anyi-gha=la=no ghase patu tei kia...*
 but **1SG-?=LOC.M=2SG.NOM** be.happy BG.IPFV be.like.this if
 ‘But if you are still happy about/because of me...’ (jv_tarai_149)

Example (253) shows that when the suffix *-gha* is used in this context, the case marking will not take the feminine form, despite the fact that the referent is a woman. This could be seen as evidence that the suffix *-gha* is indeed identical to the plural enclitic *=gha*, because gender is in general not distinguished for non-singular NPs.

If the pronoun refers to a state of affairs, *NP* to a person, the morpheme is not necessary (255).

- (255) *Te=lo [lo]_{NP}=la l-ali*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM **3SG.M=LOC.M** 3SG.M.O-hit
l-ave-li-ghu savu-li-a...
 3SG.M.O-kill-3SG.M.O-NMLZ tell-3SG.M.O-SS
 ‘And he said he would kill him because of that (i.e. because of what he had done)...’ (ap_cs_saraputu_130)

The function of *-gha* in this context is unclear.

- **Set:**

Finally, a *la*-marked NP, commonly a non-singular personal pronoun, can specify a set and then be followed by an NP identifying a subset of this set to which a statement applies (256).

- (256) *Tei te, no zu anyi, [mai-gha]_{NP}=la pa=na ave kia...*
 be.like.this CONJ 2SG and 1SG 1NSG.IN-?=LOC.M one=NOM die if
 ‘So then, you and I, if one of us dies...’ (ap_jeff_beki_265)

As in locative NPs specifying a topic/reason, pronouns need to take a suffix *-gha* in this context. An analysis of *-gha* as the plural suffix would in this case seem more convincing as no singular pronouns can be used. However, the question remains why number would have to be marked twice, once inherently in the pronoun, here *mai* ‘we (incl.)’, and in addition by the plural suffix.

5.2.5 Ablative

There are two ablative enclitics in Savosavo, *=tu* and *=le*. The first one is used about ten times more often than the second one. The exact semantic difference between the two is unclear at present. They attach to place nouns, locationals and locative-marked NPs. The enclitic *=le* is mostly used on locationals, in particular *ota* ‘there’, but also others (257).

- (257) *Ze-va [kulo]=le tavatu kia, kulo me me*
 3PL-GEN.M seawards=ABL transfer if seawards 2PL 2PL[GEN]
z-ali-ghu=e.
 3PL.O-hit-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘If they cross (the river) from seawards, you seawards (i.e. the group positioned seawards) hit them.’ (png_WWII_3_185)

When *=le* ‘ABL’ is found attached to the locative marker *la*, the NP only rarely refers to a location (258). More often it is used metaphorically for the reason of the state of affairs (259).

- (258) *Elakati=ve, [ai lo ighia*
 CERT=1PL.EX.NOM this DET.PL three
kuikui=gha]_{NP}=la=le=ve te, lo ave-tu lo
 point=PL=LOC.M=ABL=1PL.EX.NOM EMPH DET.PL die-REL DET.PL
mapa=gha=na, ze-va uzi=na, ota=tu=ze te
 person=PL=NOM 3PL-GEN.M soul=NOM there=ABL=3PL.NOM EMPH
mane bo soko kuli ta-i.
 consecutively go throw.3SG.F move.seawards FUT-FIN

‘We will, from these three points we, the people who have died, their soul, from there they will then go off seawards.’ (ap_uzi_013)

- (259) *Ke=lo lo=la=le nyanyui-sa-i, lo*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM **3SG.M=LOC.M=ABL** salt-VBLZ-FIN DET.SG.M
rasaniu=na.
 grated.coconut=NOM
 ‘So that because of that it becomes salty, the grated coconut.’ (ss_cl_pudding_072)

The enclitic *=tu* is found in the same contexts as *=le*. Example (258) also contains the locational *ota* ‘there’ marked with *=tu* ‘ABL’, and in example (260) it is attached to a locative-marked NP providing a reason instead of a location.

- (260) *Te=nye lo=la=tu te ai to edo*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM **3SG.M=LOC.M=ABL** EMPH this DET.DU two
koko=lo te elakati te rongorongo-ti l-ame-mi
 boy=DU EMPH CERT EMPH tell.story-3DU.O 3SG.M.O-give-2PL.O
ta-i.
 FUT-FIN
 ‘And because of that I will tell the story about these two boys for you.’
 (bd_cs_tonelo_009)

However, in contrast to *=le*, it is very often also used on locative-marked NPs providing a spatial (261) or temporal (262) location, expressing the source or origin of a movement or development.

- (261) *Aba=la=tu=lo te ba-zu.*
 Guadalcanal=**LOC.M=ABL=3SG.M.NOM** EMPH come-PST.IPFV
 ‘He was coming from Guadalcanal.’ (tt_bd_war_055)
- (262) *Forty-two=la=tu ai lo ivaghu=la toko-ghu.*
 forty-two=**LOC.M=ABL** this DET.SG.M day=LOC.M arrive-NMLZ
 ‘From (19)42 to this day.’ (png_WWII_1_270)

Sometimes *=tu* is found on postpositional phrases with *l-aka* ‘with’ (263). In all of these examples the clause is about physical movement, going or coming, performed together with someone else, but *=tu* does not appear to be obligatory in his context (264). It is unclear at present what function the enclitic has in this context.

- (263) *Ko-va kama z-aka=tu ale bo-ghu=e.*
 3SG.F-GEN.M already **3PL-with=ABL** enter go-NOM=EMPH
 ‘She already went inside with them.’ (ap_jeff_beki_579)
- (264) *Aghe=na Sesepi=gha z-aka te koi ba-i.*
 1DU.EX=NOM Sesepi=PL **3PL-with** EMPH board come-FIN
 ‘We came with those from Sesepi.’ (st_cs_vangazua_150)

5.3 Composite NPs

Composite NPs consist of two or more NPs which are of structurally equal status. Composite NPs can be used in the same syntactic functions as non-composite NPs. In Savosavo, there are three constructions that represent different types of relation between the NPs constituting a composite NP: **coordination**, **apposition** and the **inclusory construction**.

In **coordination**, two or more NPs of equal status are combined. The NPs refer to distinct (groups of) entities. The coordination can either be asyndetic, i.e. unmarked, or by means of a coordinating morpheme. In Savosavo, three coordinators can be used to link NPs: *zu* ‘and’, *bo* ‘or’ and *tei kia* ‘or’. An example is provided in (265). They are described in more detail in Section 5.3.1.

- (265) *Lo ropo=la* $\left[\left[\textit{Beki} \right]_{NP} \textit{zu} \left[\textit{lo dokta} \right]_{NP} \right]_{NP}$
 DET.SG.M morning=LOC.M **Becky** and **DET.SG.M doctor**
to kama lo dokta lo manyigha=la
 3DU[GEN] already DET.SG.M doctor 3SG.M[GEN] homestead=LOC.M
kama bo-ghu=e.
 already go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘On that morning Becky and the doctor went to the doctor’s house.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_459)

In an **appositional** construction, two NPs of equal status are juxtaposed. The NPs in an appositional construction are co-referential, i.e. they refer to exactly the same entity or group of entities. For an example see (266). A description of the appositional constructions is provided in Section 5.3.2.

- (266) *Dai-sa patu=lo;* $\left[\left[\textit{ai mapa=gha} \right]_{NP} \left[\textit{me} \right]_{NP} \right]_{NP}$
 good-VBLZ BG.IPFV=3SG.M.NOM **1SG.GEN person=PL 2PL**
 ‘It is ok, you my people.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_056)

Finally, in an **inclusory construction** one NP has to be a non-singular personal pronoun, and the other NP is non-pronominal. According to Haspelmath (2004: 25), inclusory constructions are “notionally like conjunction and are rendered by ‘and’-conjunction in English, but [they] are crucially different from ordinary conjunction in that one of the constituents has the same reference as the entire construction”. The pronoun refers to the group denoted by the construction as a whole, while the non-pronominal NP specifies a subset of this group. (267) is an example of such an inclusory construction. The details are laid out in Section 5.3.3.

- (267) *Oma kao doi=la [[lo mau]_{NP} [pe]_{NP}]_{NP} p-oghoni*
 not bushwards earth=LOC.M **DET.SG.M father 2DU** 2DU.O-be.like
togho sue anyi=na.
 live ATT=EMPH 1SG=NOM
 ‘I (am) not one living bushwards ashore like you (Sg.) and your father (lit.: you two (including) the father).’ (wr_cs_poghoroghuliagha_156)

An inclusory construction thus lies semantically between a coordination and an appositional construction: there is no overlap between the reference of the coordinated NPs, whereas NPs in an apposition construction are co-referential. In an inclusory construction the NPs show a partial overlap in that one specifies a subset of the other. This is schematically depicted in Figure 5.1.

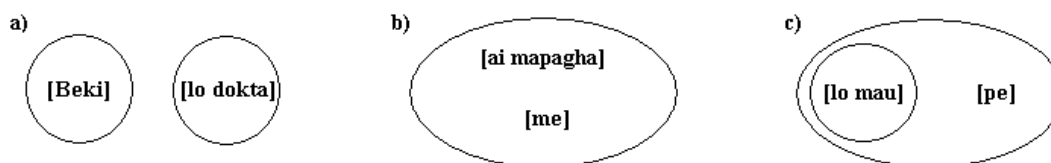


Figure 5.1: Schematic representation of a) a coordinating construction (265), b) an appositional construction (266), and c) an inclusory construction (267). The solid line represents the reference of the NPs.

5.3.1 Coordination in and between NPs

The term ‘coordination’ is used not only for coordination of NPs, but also for coordination of lexical items, other phrase types and clauses. In this section, coordination in and between NPs will be discussed. For coordination between other phrase types and clauses see Section 8.1.

Savosavo can be classified as an ‘AND-language’, i.e. a language employing the ‘coordinate encoding strategy’ as described by Stassen (2000: 7; emphasis added):

A fundamental formal characteristic of [the coordinate encoding] strategy is that it encodes the two participants in the construction by way of NPs **with equal structural rank**. Thus, the two NPs involved are not differentiated as to syntactic function; they have the same thematic role, and in languages in which such NPs receive case marking they will both have the same case. Typically, though not necessarily, the two NPs in such constructions can be seen to form a constituent, viz., a coordinate (plural or dual) NP. As a result

of this, **they typically govern dual or plural number agreement** on predicates, if they have a grammatical function for which this agreement is defined.

In Savosavo, coordinated NPs are of equal structural rank, and they clearly form one constituent. Evidence for this is that case marking attaches to the ‘coordinate NP’, using Stassen’s term, as a whole, not to the coordinands (268).

- (268) *Te* [[*ai* *madaki*] *zu* [*ai* *pa adaki nyuba*]]=**tona**
 CONJ 1SG.GEN wife and 1SG.GEN one woman child=**NOM.DU**
rughu ta bo-i.
 go.to.bush FUT go-FIN
 ‘Then my wife and one of my daughters went to work in the garden.’
 (es_agutu_041)

As for number, each of the coordinand NPs in Savosavo can have singular, dual or plural referents, and so the whole coordinate NP can be semantically either dual or plural.¹² External agreement targets such as verbs and postpositions agree with the number of the coordinate NP. NP-internal number marking tends to be separate for each coordinand NP and marked on the respective head, e.g. when the coordination is done by means of *zu* ‘and’ (269).

- (269) [[*lo-va* *tone=gha*] **zu** [*lo* [*mama mau*]=**zalo**]]
 3SG.M-GEN.M brother=**PL** and 3SG.M[GEN] mother father=**DU**
 ‘his brothers and his mother (and) father’ (bd_cs_tonelo_394)

The following sections will briefly describe coordination of NPs and within NPs, first by juxtaposition (5.3.1.1), then by means of *zu* ‘and’ (5.3.1.2), *bo* ‘or’ (5.3.1.3) and *tei kia* ‘or’ (5.3.1.4).

5.3.1.1 Coordination by juxtaposition

A common way of coordinating NPs, nouns, adjectives or quantifiers is by juxtaposition. Usually this expresses conjunction (270), but sometimes also disjunction, especially with numerals (271).

- (270) ...*ghobu=la* *baigho=e* *ghoi* [**fu***li* **pi***va*] *l-omu*
 middle=LOC.M not.exist=EMPH also **fuel** **water** 3SG.M.O-fill.a.container
sua.
 ATT
 ‘...in the middle there is no (station) filling up fuel and water.’ (js_marine_247)

¹²As mentioned in Section 5.1.2, agreement with mass nouns is singular in most cases. When two mass nouns are coordinated, as in example (270) below, the agreement is also usually singular.

- (271) ...*pa* [***ighia aghava***] *kughe=gha=na* *babo-a...*
 one **three four** month=PL=NOM go.past-SS
 ‘...some¹³ three, four months went by...’ (jn_lotu_072)

The distinction between juxtaposed nouns and compounds is not easy. A combination of two nouns will be analyzed as juxtaposed if its meaning is compositional (including non-singular number), but as a compound if it can be used to refer to a singular referent (e.g. *nitonyoko* ‘face’, lit. ‘eye-nose’). This criterion is not unproblematic, as number marking, especially for inanimates, often is inconsistent. Furthermore, mass nouns such as *fiuli* ‘fuel’ and *piva* ‘water’ do not take non-singular number marking, unless they are used to refer to, e.g., several pools of water, and would therefore not be expected to be marked for non-singular number if juxtaposed (as in (270)). Example (272) shows a combination of coordination by juxtaposition on two different syntactic levels within the same clause.

- (272) *Elakati* [[***anyi-va*** [***bekeni salu***]]_{NP} *me-va*
 CERT 1SG-GEN.M **betel.nut betel.leaf** 2PL-GEN.M
ena-li *kia=me* *oma* [[*me* [***mama***
 chew.betelnut-3SG.M.O if=2PL.NOM not 2PL[GEN] **mother**
mau]=*gha*]]_{NP} [*me* [***toka kulagha***]=*gha*]]_{NP}
father/pat.uncle=PL 2PL[GEN] **sibling mat.uncle/nephew/niece=PL**
z-olomi *ta-i.*
 3PL.O-know FUT-FIN
 ‘If you chew my betel nut (and) leaf, then you won’t know your mothers (incl. aunts) and fathers (incl. paternal uncles), your siblings and maternal uncles (any more).’ (ws_cs_ghulia_025)

It contains three complex NPs consisting of pairs of nouns, each pair modified by a genitive pronoun, and two also sharing number marking enclitics. Two of these NPs, those containing number marking, are again coordinated by juxtaposition. This shows that the number marking can be shared by the coordinands, e.g. *me toka kulagha=gha* ‘your siblings (and) maternal uncles’, or each coordinand can have its own number marking, as in the coordination of the two complex NPs *me mama mau=gha* ‘your mothers, parental aunts, fathers (and) paternal uncles’ and *me toka kulagha=gha* ‘your siblings and maternal uncles’.

The first pair of nouns in (272), *bekeni salu* ‘betel nut (and) betel leaf’ often occur together, and are not marked for non-singular number, but first of all they refer to inanimates,

¹³*Pa* ‘one’ is commonly used as an indefinite article (cf. Sec. 4.4.1), and commonly found to precede such a disjunctive juxtaposition of two numerals.

where number marking is often inconsistent, and secondly they could also be analyzed as referring to an unspecified mass of nuts and leaves instead of a specific set of individual items. They also do not always occur by themselves, but sometimes in combination with a third noun, *poke* ‘betel lime’ (273).

- (273) *Ekati me* [*ai-va* [*bekeni salu poke*]]_{NP}
 CERT 2PL[GEN] 1SG.GEN-GEN.M betel.nut betel.leaf betel.lime
ena-li *kia=me...*
 chew.betelnut-3SG.M.O if=2PL.NOM
 ‘If you chew my betel nut, leaf (and) lime, then you...’ (ws_cs_ghulia_040)

In the kinship domain, examples with as much as four nouns combined in one NP are attested in the corpus (274).

- (274) *Koata*, [*mai* [*bibiu dodoe molumolu kavekave*]=*gha*]_{NP}
 before 1NSG.IN[GEN] gen3 gen4 gen6 gen5=PL
ze-va *tuvi are-li-a* *ke=ze* *pala*
 3PL-GEN.M house plan-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3PL.NOM make.3SG.M.O
tei *tuka...*
 want.to.do whenever
 ‘Before, when our great-grandparents, great-great-grandparents, great-great-great-great-grandparents (and) great-great-great-grandparents planned a house and wanted to build it...’ (jd_house_003)

However, kinship terms are usually presented in pairs, as in (272). The order of kinship terms seems to be conventionalized, as it is exactly the same in all examples in the corpus. Even the reversed order of *kavekave* ‘great-great-great-great-grandparents’ and *molumolu* ‘great-great-great-grandparents’ is preserved.

As was mentioned above, also NPs consisting of more than one element are coordinated by juxtaposition. When several NPs of a similar structure are juxtaposed, the complex NP has a very peculiar intonation pattern: it starts out at a normal within-sentence height and also ends at this height, but there are a number of drops in pitch in between, sometimes together with a short break. The drops are not, as might be expected, between the last element of one NP and the first element of the following NP, but rather **inside** of the following NP (see example (275); a semicolon signals a pitch drop). The corresponding pitch contour is provided in Figure 5.2.¹⁴

¹⁴The breaks in the example have been shortened by 1.5 seconds and 1 second respectively.

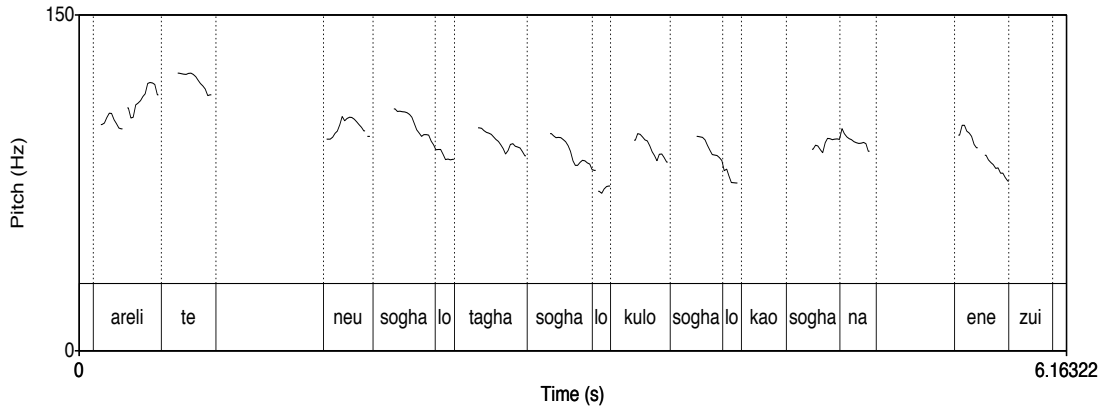


Figure 5.2: The pitch contour of the juxtaposed NPs in example (275).

- (275) *Are-li te / neu so=gha lo; tagha so=gha lo;*
 command-3SG.M.O CONJ / down ATT=PL DET.PL up ATT=PL DET.PL
kulo so=gha lo; kao so=gha=na / ene zui(-i).
 seawards ATT=PL DET.PL bushwards ATT=PL=NOM / hear end(-FIN)
 ‘(He) ordered it and (the) ones staying downwards (and) the ones staying upwards
 (and) the ones staying seawards (and) the ones staying bushwards heard it all.’
 (ap_cs_sivugha_006)

5.3.1.2 Coordination with *zu* ‘and’

One coordinator used to link two NPs is *zu* ‘and’. This coordinator is also used for the coordination of PPs and clauses, see Section 8.1.1.

Examples (268) to (277) show the coordination of NPs in different syntactic positions, as subject (268), object (276) and postpositional complement (277).

- (276) *Te* $\left[\left[\begin{array}{ccc} [ai & mau & lo \\ \text{CONJ 1SG.GEN father 3SG.M[GEN] tell.story-NMLZ} \end{array} \right] \mathbf{zu} \left[\begin{array}{cc} ai & lo \\ \text{DET.SG.M} \end{array} \right] \right]_{obj}$
sere sua lo ba rongorongu-ghu]
 be.white ATT.SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] come tell.story-NMLZ 1SG.GEN-GEN.M
t-eghe...
 3DU.O-see

‘Then I saw my father’s storytelling and this white man’s coming and story-telling...’ (mp_biti_256)

- (277) *Te=gho* $\left[\left[\textit{lo} \quad \textit{sua} \right] \textit{zu} \left[\textit{lo} \quad \textit{madaki} \right] \right]_{PPCompl}$
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM DET.SG.M giant **and** 3SG.M[GEN] wife
t-omata te *pale soma=e.*
 3DU-at EMPH stay ATT.SG.F=EMPH
 ‘Then she stayed with the giant and his wife.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_103)

Usually case marking is shared between coordinated NPs (278), but occasionally each NP is each marked for case (279).

- (278) $\left[\left[\textit{Lo} \quad \textit{sisi} \right] \quad \textit{zu} \left[\textit{lo} \quad \textit{ulunga} \right] \right] = \textit{na} \quad \textit{kulo} \quad \textit{sughu=la}$
 DET.SG.M orn.flower **and** DET.SG.M pillow=**NOM** seawards be.far=LOC.M
toala=tu.
 really=PRS.IPFV
 ‘The flower and the pillow (are) very far seawards.’ (pk_mk_mt_176)
- (279) $\left[\left[\textit{Mati} \quad \textit{Aba=la} \right] \quad \quad \quad \textit{zu} \left[\textit{ata} \quad \textit{Savo=la} \right] \right] \quad \textit{sara}$
 along.coast.PROX Guadalcanal=LOC.M **and** here Savo=LOC.M reach
sua *muzi.*
 ATT.SG.M cloud
 ‘A cloud extending to Guadalcanal there and here on Savo.’ (bk_WWII_172)

5.3.1.3 Coordination with *bo* ‘or’

Bo ‘or’ is a coordinator usually employed to connect clauses (see Sec. 8.1.2). However, occasionally it is used to express disjunctive coordination of NPs (280), although this function is more often fulfilled by *tei kia*, see Section 5.3.1.4 below.

- (280) *Ze=na* $\left[\textit{lo} \quad \textit{apoi} \right]$, $\left[\left[\textit{lo} \quad \textit{kapu} \right]; \textit{bo} \left[\textit{lo} \quad \textit{gilasi} \right] \textit{bo} \right]$
 3PL=NOM DET.SG.M what DET.SG.M cup **or** DET.SG.M glas **or**
 $\left[\textit{apoi} \right]_{obj} \textit{te} \quad \textit{ghoi mapamapa l-ame-li.}$
 what EMPH also RECIP 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.M.O
 ‘They again give each other what, cups; or glasses or what.’ (037_bd_rec)

5.3.1.4 Coordination with *tei kia* ‘or’

The complex coordinator *tei kia* ‘or’ is used to connect NPs, and also nouns or quantifiers within one NP. Literally, *tei kia* means something like ‘if, say,’ or ‘if like that’. As a coordinator, it is usually used with a disjunctive connotation (281–282); even example (283) can be interpreted that way, as only one of the two coordinands, life or death, can prevail.

- (281) [*Edo* **tei kia** *ighia elegho=gha*]=*lo* *pale-i*.
 two **or** three year=PL=3SG.M.NOM stay-FIN
 ‘Two or three years he stayed.’ (ap_gilugilu_076)
- (282) [*Oma* [[*pa mapa*]_{NP} **tei kia** [*pa kosu*]_{NP} **tei kia** [*pa maramane=la sua*
 not one person **or** one bird **or** one world=LOC.M ATT.SG.M
apoi]_{NP}]_{NP} *lo-va* *ata ba zala-nyi sue*]_{Pred} [*anyi*]_{Subj}=*na*.
 everything 3SG.M-GEN.M here come look.for-1SG.O ATT.EMPH 1SG=NOM
 ‘No man or bird or anything that is in this world ever comes here to look for me.’,
 lit. ‘I (am) someone, not a person nor a bird nor anything (else) in the world
 comes here (and) looks for me.’ (dr_cs_taragau_143)
- (283) *Edo=gha=na ny-omata; ave-ghu* **tei kia** *togho-ghu*.
 two=PL=NOM 1-at die-NMLZ **or** live-NMLZ
 ‘[A wounded man is speaking:] Two are with me; death and life.’
 (png_WWII_3_251)

The combination of *tei* ‘say, want to do, be thus’ and *kia* ‘if, when’ is not always used for coordination; in (284), *kia* is used to subordinate the preceding clause which happens to have *tei* as the final element (for more information on *kia* see Sec. 8.2.2.2).

- (284) *Oma ze lo polo samu pala l-ame-li*
 not 3PL[GEN] DET.SG.M pig food make.3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.M.O
tei kia, *ze pa sodu doi l-ame-li-ghu=e*.
 say if 3PL[GEN] one piece earth 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘If they don’t want to make the pig (and other) food for him,¹⁵ they give him a
 piece of land.’ (ap_gilugilu_042)

However, this is very different from (but diachronically probably related to) the coordinating function in (283) to (282).

5.3.2 Appositional construction

Appositional constructions consist of two juxtaposed co-referent NPs. Very often this construction combines a pronoun of the first or second person and a preceding co-referential NP that characterizes the referents (285, 286).

¹⁵ *Tei* is a multi-functional morpheme used to express ‘say’, ‘be like this’ and ‘want’. ‘Say’ does not appear to be an appropriate translation in this context, but the sentence could also mean ‘If they don’t make the pig and food for him like this [i.e. as described in the sentence before this]...’

- (285) $[[\text{No}$ $\text{mapa=gha}]_{NP}$ $[\text{ave}]_{NP}]_{NP=na}$ $kulo$ ata $no-va$
 2SG[GEN] person=PL 1PL.EX=NOM seawards here 2SG-GEN.M
nito=la.
 eye=LOC.M
 ‘[Addressing the volcano:] We, your people, (are) here seawards at your eye.’
 (ap_biti_035)
- (286) *Apoi* $[[\text{ai}$ mama $\text{mau=zalo}]_{NP}$ $[\text{pe}]_{NP}]_{NP=na}$ te $k-au$
 because 1SG.GEN mother father=DU 2DU=NOM EMPH 3SG.F.O-take
ngai-sa-zu.
 big-VBLZ-PST.IPFV
 ‘Because you, my parents, have been raising her.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_117)

But it is also possible to combine two non-pronominal NPs (287).

- (287) *Kao,* $[[\text{ko}$ $\text{mau}]_{NP}$ $[\text{lo}$ $\text{sua}]_{NP}]_{NP}$ lo
 bushwards 3SG.F[GEN] father DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M[GEN]
baba=la=ze *bo ka* *sara tulola...*
 hole=LOC.M=3PL.NOM go move.bushwards reach then
 ‘Bushwards, when they went inland (and) reached the hole of the giant, her father,...’ (ws_cs_ghulia_045)

The first NP in an appositional construction can be quite complex (288). It can also be a coordinate NP (289b).

- (288) $[\text{Neu}$ lo papale=la sua $\text{mapa=gha}]_{NP}$ $[\text{me}]_{NP}]_{NP=na}$
 downwards 3SG.M[GEN] side=LOC.M ATT person=PL 2PL=NOM
vuni-a-li¹⁶ *ta-i,* lo ba *dele-ghu.*
 start-EP-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN DET.SG.M come dance-NMLZ
 ‘You people from the downwards side will start it, the coming and dancing.’
 (ap_cs_sivugha_008)

- (289) a. *Dulo mai=me,* lo $tuvi=e$ te
 all 1NSG.IN=EMPH.1NSG.IN DET.SG.M house=EMPH EMPH
mai *togho-ghu.*
 1NSG.IN[GEN] live-NMLZ
 ‘(For) all of us, the house (is) our life.’ (rr_house_035)

¹⁶Some verbs have an epenthetic /a/ inserted between the stem and the object suffix, cf. fn. 7, p. 35.

- b. $\left[\left[\left[\text{Sere } so=gha \right]_{NP} \text{ zu } \left[\text{boboragha}=gha \right]_{NP} \right]_{NP} \left[\text{mai} \right]_{NP} \right]_{NP}$
 be.white ATT=PL and black=PL 1NSG.IN
 ‘Us whites and blacks.’ (rr_house_036)

Although the order of pronominal and non-pronominal NP is fixed, and although the non-pronominal NP provides an additional characterization of the referent(s) just as modifiers within an NP would, there is no structural evidence that one of the two NPs in an appositional construction should be analyzed as the head of the construction.

5.3.3 Inlusive construction

The inlusive construction in Savosavo is intermediate between coordination and the appositional construction. It conforms to all of the defining and prototypical features of an inlusive construction provided by Singer (2001: 22, (11) and (12); cf. also Singer 2005). It consists of two NPs, a non-singular personal pronoun preceded by a non-pronominal NP. The pronoun refers to the whole set of referents denoted by the composite NP (called ‘superset’ following Singer (2001)), while the non-pronominal NP specifies a subset of this superset. The superset and the subset are in a relationship “of proper inclusion” (Singer 2001: 22). Thus, in contrast to the appositional construction, the NPs are not co-referent, but they also do not refer to completely distinct (sets of) referents, as is the case with coordinated NPs. The inlusive construction is “equivalent to a single argument of a predicate” (Singer 2001: 25). It can occur in the same syntactic positions as other NPs and functions as one NP, similar to the other composite NPs. As in many other languages (cf. Brill 2004: 524), the inlusive construction in Savosavo is restricted to human and personified referents.

The construction has two variants: in the dual, the NPs are simply juxtaposed; in the plural, the comitative particle *ma*¹⁷ is inserted before the pronoun.

In the dual variant, the whole construction refers to two people, the personal pronoun thus has to be a dual pronoun. Note, however, that the use of the first person inclusive pronoun *mai*, which is otherwise used both for dual and plural, is excluded from this construction, i.e. only *aghe* ‘1DU.EX’, *pe* ‘2DU’ and *to* ‘3DU’ can be used.

The NP preceding the dual pronoun can only refer to a single person. Commonly this NP is a name (290), but it can also be a normal non-pronominal NP (291).

- (290) $\left[\left[\text{Joele} \right] \left[\text{pe} \right] \right]$
 Joel 2DU
 ‘you and Joel’, lit. ‘Joel you two’ (jv_tarai_301)

¹⁷The similarity in form and function between the comitative marker *ma* in Savosavo and reflexes of the Proto-Oceanic (POc) **ma* ‘and’ (used to connect NPs in POc, Lynch et al. 2002: 75) as well as the Proto-Polynesian **ma* ‘and, with’ (Clark 1981: 74) in many contemporary Oceanic languages (Moyses-Faurie and Lynch 2004) suggests that it is a borrowed element.

- (291) $\left[\left[ai \quad pa \quad nyanyai \quad nyuba \right] \left[aghe \right] \right]$
 1SG.GEN one small child 1DU.EX
 ‘me and my one small child’, lit. ‘my one small child us two’ (as_WWIL115)

If, as in these examples, the pronoun is first or second person dual, the referents are clear: the inclusory construction refers to the speaker or the hearer plus the referent of the noun or NP. When the pronoun is third person dual, the referent not expressed by the NP specifying the subset has to be inferred from the context (292).

- (292) $\left[\left[Buebue \right] \left[to \right] \right]$
 Buebue 3DU
 ‘s/he and Buebue’, lit. ‘Buebue they two’ (tt_bd_war_022)

The subset NP can also be *ai* ‘who’, then the inclusory construction is used to inquire about the identity of one of the two people (293).

- (293) $\left[\left[Ai \right] \left[pe \right] \right] = na \quad te \quad bai.$
 who 2DU=NOM EMPH come-FIN
 ‘You and who came?’, lit. ‘You two who came?’ (agh_png_472)

Although the pronoun referring to the superset is usually a normal, free personal pronoun, in a small number of examples a genitive-marked personal pronoun fulfills this function (294).

- (294) $\left[\left[Ai \quad tada \right] \left[aghe \right] \right] -va \quad kama \quad to \quad sagito \quad t-omata$
 1SG.GEN man 1DU.EX-GEN.M already DET.DU married.couple 3DU-at
 $te \quad kama \quad pale-ghu=e \quad lo=na.$
 EMPH already stay-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘My husband and I already stayed with that married couple.’, lit. ‘My man our already with the married couple staying (was) it.’ (as_WWIL041)

The plural variant of the inclusory construction is used to refer to more than two people, thus a plural pronoun has to be used. This pronoun then has to be preceded by the comitative particle *ma*. The subset NP can refer to one person (295), or to more than one (296).

- (295) $Ai \quad zepo=e \quad te \quad ota \quad bo \quad sukulu \quad sue;$ $\left[\left[ai \quad ko \right] \right]$
 this 3PL=EMPH EMPH there go school ATT.EMPH this DET.SG.F
 $mami] \quad ma \quad [zepo]$.
 mummy COM 3Pl
 ‘These went there to attend school; this mummy and they (i.e. her family).’
 (jv_tarai_210)

- (296) *Apoi* [[**Saunana Lakamate**] *ma* [*zepo*]] *z-emata te pale*
 because **Saunana Lakamate COM 3PL** 3PL-at EMPH stay
sue anyi mau=na.
 ATT.EMPH 1SG[GEN] father=NOM

‘Because my father (was) staying with Saunana, Lakamate and the ones associated with them.’, lit. ‘Because one staying at (the place of) Saunana, Lakamate and those (was) my father.’ (pk_WWIL065)

Example (297) shows that again a genitive personal pronoun can be used to refer to the superset, although in this case the genitive suffix is omitted (as is often the case, cf. Sec. 5.2.3).

- (297) *Zu lo sua lo manyigha=e mati*
 and DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M[GEN] homestead=EMPH along.coast.PROX
ota [[*lo Rasa*] *ma* [*ze*]] *keghi pale=lia.*
 there **DET.SG.M Rasa COM 3PL[GEN]** coconut.tree inside=about

‘But the homestead of the giant (was) close along the coast there somewhere in the coconut plantation of Rasa and them (i.e., his family).’ (st_cs_vangazua_064)

On the basis of these examples one could also think of the composite NP as a coordination of two NPs with distinct referents by means of a specific coordinator. So far, none of these examples forces the analysis that the referents of the first NP are indeed included in the set of referents denoted by the pronoun. Proof that this is nonetheless the case comes from example (298):

- (298) [[*Mami*] *ma* [*me*]].
 mummy COM 2PL

‘you (≥ 2) and mummy’ (bk_WWIL027)

While this example can be used to refer to more than three people, namely mummy and more than two other people, it could also be used to refer to **exactly three** people, i.e. mummy and two other people. This is clear evidence that the referent of the preceding NP is included in the set of referents of the pronoun. In a coordination of NPs with distinct referents, a dual pronoun instead of a plural pronoun would be expected and required. However, it is impossible to use a dual pronoun with *ma*, and if it is used without *ma*, the result would be a typical inclusory construction denoting two people.

Those referents that are not identified by the non-pronominal NP have to be inferred from the context. The use of the inclusory construction implies that there is some connection between those referents that are specified and those that are not, but the nature of this connection can vary. A plural inclusory construction as in (295) to (297) will often

be used to refer to people connected in a relatively time-stable manner, e.g. a person and her family, or a person and her friends, though in an appropriate context it can also refer to a more short-lived association, e.g. to refer to a person and the people she accompanied to the village store. But in this case the association between the referents has to be recoverable for the addressee.

Inclusory constructions are also quite common in Oceanic languages (cf. Brill 2004). For example, Mwotlap, an Oceanic language spoken in North Vanuatu, has a construction so similar to the one found in Savosavo for the dual that literal translation is possible in most cases (François (2001:389) refers to this construction as “le duel associatif”, the ‘associative dual’). Not only is the structure itself very similar (juxtaposing an NP and a dual pronoun in that order), the pragmatic implications associated with this construction and the typical situations where it is used are very similar as well (François 2001:384ff.). However, in some respects the constructions in Savosavo and Mwotlap do differ. One difference is that in Savosavo, a comitative marker is required to be used in the plural inclusory construction, while this is also done by juxtaposition in Mwotlap. Furthermore, in Mwotlap, the third person dual pronoun can be used to actually coordinate two NPs, and thus specify both participants (François 2001:389), and the order of NP – dual pronoun can be reversed to ensure that the topical participant is mentioned first (François 2001:390f.).

Another very similar inclusory construction is found in Solomon Islands Pijin, but the pronoun (superset) precedes the NP (subset): compare SIP *iutufala Anna* ‘Anna and you’, lit. ‘you two Anna’, and Savosavo *Anna pe* ‘Anne and you’, lit ‘Anna you two’. Another difference from Savosavo is that in SIP, as in Mwotlap, no comitative morpheme is needed when the plural pronouns are used: *olketa John* ‘John and they’, lit. ‘they John’. Unfortunately, as there is not much documentation of SIP in general or inclusory constructions in SIP in particular it is impossible to provide a more thorough comparison at this point.

As for other languages of the Solomon Islands, the neighboring Papuan language Lavukaleve does not have an inclusory construction (Angela Terrill, pers. comm.), but it is found in some Oceanic languages in the vicinity, e.g. Kokota, spoken on St. Isabel (Palmer 1999:102f.) and Longgu, spoken on Guadalcanal (Hill 1992:294).¹⁸

¹⁸However, in Longgu the construction seems to be limited to the dual, and in Kokota to a pronoun plus personal name. As the phenomenon is not described in much detail in either of these grammars, the accuracy of this impression is unclear.

Chapter 6

The verb complex

The following description of the verb complex, the nucleus of a verbal clause, will start with the structure of individual verbs (Sec. 6.1). Two ‘layers’ of morphology can be identified. The compatibility of morphemes within each of these two layers will be described. After that the functions of these morphemes are presented, first those of the inner layer (Sec. 6.2), then those of the outer layer (Sec. 6.3). This is followed by a short discussion of reduplication on verbs (Sec. 6.4). The last part of this chapter provides an overview of serial verb constructions (SVC hereafter), i.e. constructions consisting of more than one individual verb (Sec. 6.5).

6.1 Structure of individual verb stems

Verbs in Savosavo consist of a verb root, surrounded by two ‘layers’ of morphology. The inner layer, closest to the nucleus, consists of the object marking prefixes and suffixes as well as transitivity-changing morphology, namely the transitivity suffix *-vi* and the detransitivizing suffix *-za*. The outer layer contains further suffixes, marking tense, aspect, mood, and finiteness, and the nominalization suffix *-ghu* as well as a same-subject marker used in clause chaining constructions. This marker is used on a non-finite verb or SVC when the subject of the following clause is identical to that of the preceding clause. When the subject of the following clause differs from that of the preceding clause no overt marking is used. See Section 8.3 for a more detailed discussion. This can be schematized as follows:

$$\begin{array}{cc} \text{Inner layer} & \text{Outer layer} \\ \left[[(\text{Obj-}) V (-\text{Obj}/-\text{DETR}/-\text{TR-Obj})] \right] & (-\text{TAM}/-\text{FIN}/-\text{SS}/-\text{NMLZ}) \end{array}$$

These two layers are completely independent from each other. In particular, the status of a verb as finite or non-finite does not depend on the presence or absence of inner layer

morphemes. A non-finite as well as a nominalized transitive (or transitivized) verb has the same inner layer morphology as the finite forms. If the object is not specified, the third person singular masculine form will be taken as the default for the object affixes.

In the inner layer, only a few morphemes can be combined. Table 6.1 shows the structural makeup of member of the different verb classes distinguished in Section 4.1.

Morphological class		Internal structure
transitive	stem modification	V
	prefixing	Obj- V
	suffixing	V $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-Obj} \\ \text{-za 'DETR'} \end{array} \right\}$
	prefixing & suffixing	Obj- V -Obj
intransitive	can be transitivized	V (- <i>vi</i> 'TR' -Obj)
	cannot be transitivized	V
ambitransitive		V $\left(\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{-Obj} \\ \text{-za 'DETR'} \end{array} \right) \right)$

Table 6.1: The inner layer of morphology on verb roots and its application to different verb classes. Curly brackets indicate complementary distribution, parentheses mark optionality.

The object marking affixes and the detransitivizing suffix *-za* are in complementary distribution. The transitivizing suffix *-vi* has to be followed by an object marking suffix.¹

The situation is more complex when we look at the outer layer morphology, which contains all TAM markers and the same-subject marker *-a* used in clause-chaining constructions. Table 6.2 shows all outer layer morphemes. The suffixes in the left column specify the verb as finite while those in the right column are unspecified with respect to finiteness.²

All finite suffixes are in complementary distribution with each other and with the nominalizing suffix *-ghu*. All morphemes, the other unspecified markers included, are in complementary distribution with the simultaneous marker *-a* and the same-subject marker *-a* used in clause chaining constructions. This complementary distribution may either be due to an incompatibility of the simultaneous and same-subject markers with

¹The transitivizing suffix *-vi* is synchronically not productive. It has only been found occurring on four verb stems, see Section 6.2.2.1.

²The analysis of the simultaneous suffix *-a* as unspecified with respect to finiteness is tentative; further research may show that it is better described as finite (see discussion in Sec. 6.3.2.3).

Finite			Unspecified		
Morpheme	Gloss	Function	Morpheme	Gloss	Function
<i>-i</i>	‘FIN’	finite	<i>ta</i>	‘FUT’	future
<i>-a</i>	‘IMP.SG’	imperative (Sg)	<i>-ale</i>	‘BG.IPFV’	background imperfective
<i>-lu</i>	‘IMP.PL’	imperative (Pl)			
<i>-tu</i>	‘PRS.IPFV’	present imperf.	<i>-ata</i>	‘ANT’	anticipatory
<i>-zu</i>	‘PST.IPFV’	past imperf.	<i>-a</i>	‘SIM’	simultaneous
<i>-atu</i>	‘BG.IPFV’	imperfective	<i>-a</i>	‘SS’	same subject
<i>-ale</i>	‘IRR’	irrealis		Non-finite	
<i>-le</i>	‘APPR’	apprehensive	<i>-ghu</i>	‘NMLZ’	nominalization

Table 6.2: Overview of the outer layer morphemes in the verb complex.

other TAM markers, or it can be a result of restrictions on TAM marking imposed by the syntactic environment they occur in; none of these possibilities can be excluded at present.

The three unspecified markers *ta* ‘FUT’, *-ale* ‘BG.IPFV’ and *-ata* ‘ANT’ can occur in combination with some finite outer layer morphemes: The future marker *ta* and the background imperfective marker *-ale* can be followed by *-i* ‘FIN’. The latter as well as the anticipatory marker *-ata* can also co-occur with the future marker *ta* plus *-i* ‘FIN’ and the nominalizing suffix *-ghu*. This is impossible for *ta*. Finally, the anticipatory marker *-ata* can be followed by the imperative suffixes *-a* and *-lu*. These structural possibilities are summarized in Table 6.3.

V	<i>ta</i>	<i>-i</i>	‘FIN’
V- <i>ale</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -i \text{ ‘FIN’} \\ ta-i \text{ ‘FUT-FIN’} \\ -ghu \text{ ‘NMLZ’} \end{array} \right\}$		
V- <i>ata</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ta-i \text{ ‘FUT-FIN’} \\ -a/-lu \text{ ‘IMP.SG/PL’} \\ -ghu \text{ ‘NMLZ’} \end{array} \right\}$		

Table 6.3: Possible combinations of *ta* ‘FUT’, *-ale* ‘BG.IPFV’ and *-ata* ‘ANT’ with other outer layer morphemes.

Although the anticipatory suffix *-ata* can occur together with *ta-i* ‘FUT-FIN’ and other suffixes not compatible with a finite verb form, it has not yet been found to occur

with the finiteness suffix *-i* alone. This may be due to the fact that it is commonly used in contexts in which a non-finite verb form is required. The examples in contexts that require a finite verb form all show this suffix in combination with one of the three listed above. It seems likely that *-ata* can be combined with *-i* ‘FIN’, but more data is needed to have evidence of this.

Some of the morphemes listed above are very similar to each other, or indeed homophones, e.g. *-atu* ‘BG.IPFV’ and *-tu* ‘PRS.IPFV’, *-ale* ‘BG.IPFV’, *-ale* ‘IRR’, and *-le* ‘APPR’, or *-a* ‘SIM’, *-a* ‘SS’ and *-a* ‘IMP.SG’. The ones that are formally similar have, however, different distributions as parts of different paradigms and are not interchangeable. As for the suffix *-a*, it can only have one of the three meanings in a given syntactic context, and although the meanings ‘SIM’ and ‘SS’ can be seen as different interpretations of a basic meaning of continuity, they are for now analyzed as different morphemes.

In the following section the functions of the inner layer morphology are presented. This is followed by an overview of the outer layer morphology, followed by sections on reduplication and serial verb constructions.

6.2 Inner layer morphology

The inner layer of verbal morphology contains the object marking affixes as well as transitivity changing suffixes.

6.2.1 Object marking

Objects are indexed by affixes added to the verb root. There are exclusively prefixing verb roots, exclusively suffixing verb roots and a handful of verbs that take both a prefix and a suffix at the same time (see discussion in Sec 4.1.1.1). There is no variability or choice here. Via these affixes, verb stems agree with their object in person, number, and gender. The paradigms are given in Table 6.4 (cf. Todd 1977:815f.). In many cases the affixes are formally similar to the corresponding free personal pronouns, repeated here from Section 4.5.1.1 for convenience. This kind of agreement, where the agreement morphology shows “an obvious [phonological] resemblance to the independent pronouns of the language” (Steele 1978:611), has been termed ‘copy agreement’ by Steele (1978:612).

Examples (299), (300) and (301) show a prefixing verb stem, a suffixing verb stem and a stem that takes both prefix and suffix, respectively.

- (299) *Ze=na te ai [lo gana=gha]_{obj} z-ovu-i.*
 3PL=NOM EMPH this DET.PL gun=PL **3PL.O-put-FIN**
 ‘They put up these guns.’ (bk_WWII103)

		Prefixes	Suffixes	Pronouns
Sg	1	<i>ny-</i>	<i>-nyi</i>	<i>anyi</i>
	2	<i>n-</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>no</i>
	3 masc.	<i>l-</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>lo</i>
	3 fem.	<i>k-</i>	<i>-ghi</i>	<i>ko</i>
Du	1 incl.	<i>(mai) ny-</i>	<i>-minyi</i>	<i>mai</i>
	1 excl.	<i>(aghe) ny-</i>	<i>-ghinyi</i>	<i>aghe</i>
	2	<i>p-</i>	<i>-pi</i>	<i>pe</i>
	3	<i>t-</i>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>to</i>
PL	1 incl.	<i>(mai) ny-</i>	<i>-minyi</i>	<i>mai</i>
	1 excl.	<i>(ave) ny-</i>	<i>-vinyi</i>	<i>ave</i>
	2	<i>m-</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>me</i>
	3	<i>z-</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>ze</i>

Table 6.4: Object marking affixes. The forms of the free personal pronouns are provided for comparison.

- (300) *Ko tada=na boso-ghi(-i).*
 3SG.F[GEN] man=NOM leave-3SG.F.O(-FIN)
 ‘Her husband left her.’ (agh_png_036)
- (301) *O, ekati=ze kama t-ave-ti ta-i!*
 o CERT=3PL.NOM already 3DU.O-kill-3DU.O FUT-FIN
 ‘O, they will kill them (two)!’ (pk_WWIL032)

When a verb takes both a prefix and a suffix, the affixes usually agree with the same object, as in example (301). There is only one verb where this is different. This is the verb *l-ame-li* ‘to give something to someone’, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Under certain circumstances a prefixing verb stem has to be preceded by a personal pronoun (given in round brackets in Tab. 6.4) referring to the object as well as the prefix.³ This happens when:

1. a prefixing verb stem is used as the only verb or as the first transitive verb of a serial verb construction **AND**
2. the object is first person dual or plural

³This requirement seems to suggest that the object affixes are pronominal, and not just agreement morphemes. A discussion of this question is provided in Section 6.2.1.1

Examples of this are (22), repeated here from page 54 for convenience, and (302). If there is no personal pronoun, the interpretation would be that the first person singular is the object.

- (22) *Te=lo* *Prime Minister lo* [*ave*]_{obj} *ny-ovu ny-au*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM Prime Minister 3SG.M[GEN] **1PL.EX 1O**-put 1O-take
bo-ghu=e.
 go-NMLZ=EMPH

‘And the Prime Minister sent us (out).’ (js_marine_201)

- (302) “*O, kati lo pa vaka=na ba mai ny-au ta-i*”
 o CERT DET.SG.M one ship=NOM come **1NSG.IN 1O**-take FUT-FIN
tei(-i).
 say(-FIN)

‘“O, later a ship will come and take us” (he) said.’ (pk_WWII_076)

This is the only situation where an object NP is obligatory even though the object referent may be clear from the context. Because of this rule there is no ambiguity of number when a first person prefix is used. Note, however, that there is no such rule to solve the ambiguity in the suffix paradigm between the second and third person plural.

As was mentioned above, the verb *l-ame-li* ‘to give something to someone’ is exceptional (as it is in many languages, cf. e.g. Newman 1997; Margetts and Austin 2007). It takes both a prefix and a suffix, which refer to different objects. The suffix on this verb indexes the recipient and shows regular agreement, making use of the full paradigm in Table 6.4, but the prefix does not show regular agreement. Usually the third person singular masculine form is used. When another form is used (see below) it becomes clear that the prefix can agree with the theme. The theme is indeed usually third person singular masculine, because themes of ‘give’ are commonly inanimate objects, and inanimate objects are by default masculine singular in Savosavo. However, this form of the prefix is also found when the theme is dual or plural (303), feminine (304) or non-third person (305).

- (303) *Te=lo* [*lo edo kilekile=gha*]_{obj}
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM **DET.SG.M two axe=PL**
l-eme-ti-a *te lo* *tei-ghu=e:* “*Nyari*
3SG.M.O-give-3DU.O-SS CONJ 3SG.M[GEN] say-NMLZ=EMPH small
no=na ai lo, ngai no=na ai lo.”
 2SG=NOM this DET.SG.M big 2SG=NOM this DET.SG.M

‘And he gave them two axes and said: “You younger one this, you elder one this.” ’
 (st_cs_vangazua_117)

- (304) “*Pe* [pa adaki nyuba]_{obj} *l-ame-nyi* *kia ai*
 2DU[GEN] one woman child 3SG.M.O-give-1SG.O if 1SG.GEN
ka liaza-ghu=e *tei(-i)*.
 already return-NMLZ=EMPH say(-FIN)
 ‘“If you (two) give me a girl I will go back” (he) said.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_234)
- (305) *Anyi=na* [anyi]_{obj} *l-ame-ni*.
 1SG=NOM 1SG 3SG.M.O-give-2SG.O
 ‘I give myself to you.’ (094_001_srb)

Although the third person singular masculine is used most of the time, there are a few examples of a third person plural prefix that agrees with a third person plural theme⁴, e.g. example (306).

- (306) ...[edo erongo=gha]_{obj} *ai kati z-ame-mi-ghu=e*.
 two something=PL 1SG.GEN CERT 3PL.O-give-2PL.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...two things I will give you.’ (js_marine_254)

Especially with a female animate theme (304) the feminine prefix form is also accepted by speakers (304’).

- (304’) “*Pe* [pa adaki nyuba]_{obj} *k-ame-nyi* *kia ai ka*
 2DU[GEN] one woman child 3SG.F.O-give-1SG.O if 1SG.GEN already
liaza-ghu=e *tei(-i)*.
 return-NMLZ=EMPH say(-FIN)
 ‘“If you (two) give me a girl I will go back” (he) said.’

But there are no examples of this kind in the spontaneous texts of the corpus collected so far.

In serial verb constructions, this verb serves as a means of giving argument status to a benefactive, see description in Section 6.5.3.1.

6.2.1.1 Object affixes: agreement or pronominal suffixes?

In some languages, the distribution of bound object morphology on verbs and overt object NPs provides strong evidence for analyzing the morphemes as pronominal or as agreement: if the overt NPs and the bound morphology are in complementary distribution, the bound morphemes are pronominal, if the overt NPs are obligatory whether or not the bound morphology is present, the bound morphemes are agreement markers. In Savosavo, object

⁴There are at the moment no examples with a first or second person plural theme in the corpus.

affixes are obligatory on transitive verbs, and overt object NPs are optional in most contexts (there is one context in which an overt object NP is obligatory, and one context in which no overt NP can be used, see discussion below). This situation does not provide evidence for either analysis. One could analyze the affixes as agreement morphology, and say that it is possible to drop overt object NPs, or one could analyze the affixes as pronominal, and regard the overt NPs as extensions.

While the truth probably lies somewhere in the middle, I analyze the object affixes in Savosavo as agreement morphology, and not as pronominal suffixes. I will start by presenting the counterarguments before turning to the arguments supporting my analysis.

Based on the criteria provided by Corbett (2006: 103ff.), the arguments for an analysis of the Savosavo agreement morphology as pronominal suffixes are as follows:

1. While it is possible to use only a verb with object marking, without any overt object NP, subjects, which are not indicated by morphology on the verb, cannot usually be dropped.
2. The prefix used on prefixing transitive verbs does not distinguish number in the first person, it is always *ny-*. When the object is non-singular first person, a prefixing verb that is the only or the first verb in a clause has to be preceded by a free non-singular first person pronoun (e.g. (*anyi*) *ny-au* ‘take me’, but *aghe ny-au* ‘take us (dual exclusive)’; cf. Sec. 6.2.1, p. 165 above). This is the only context in which an overt object NP is obligatory. The free pronoun seems to be necessary to establish the reference in this case; but note that there is also syncretism in the suffix paradigm involving the second and third person plural, which does not require any free pronoun to be added (e.g. *rami-mi* ‘shoot you (PL)/them (PL)’).

Although these two arguments against the agreement analysis may seem quite convincing, there are more and, in my view, stronger arguments that support the agreement analysis adopted in this thesis:

1. Only the object, but not the subject, is indicated by means of morphology on the verb; this is according to Corbett (2006: 103) typical in “the indisputable instances of verb agreement”, while pronominal affixes “typically [...] index all main arguments”.
2. On the verb *l-ame-li* ‘to give something to someone’, the suffix indicates the recipient and the prefix the theme. The suffix shows the full range of distinctions in person, number and gender available to object marking affixes, but the paradigm for the prefix is severely restricted (cf. Sec. 6.2.1 above). Although this leads to extensive syncretism, an overt NP is no more obligatory for the theme than for the recipient.
3. In serial verb constructions consisting of more than one transitive verb sharing the same object referent, each and every verb has to have the appropriate object

marking. According to Corbett (2006:109), “[i]f there is more than one target within the clause (that is, if the marker in question is not unique), then we are dealing with agreement”, a heuristic that “is based on the intuition that we do not expect a pronoun to be repeated”.

4. Relativization of objects provides the last argument in favor of the agreement analysis. If an object is relativized, the verb in the relative clause still has to have the appropriate object marking, but it is not possible to use any overt NP (cf. Sec. 8.2.1). The only exception to this rule is again the obligatory non-singular first person personal pronoun that is required if a prefixing verb is the only or first verb in the clause, at least in relative clauses formed with *sua* ‘ATT’ (cf. Sec. 8.2.1.2, p. 262). Despite this exception, the ban on overt object NPs in relative clauses where the object is relativized is seen as evidence against an analysis of overt NPs as extensions of pronominal object affixes. If the affixes were pronominal and fully referential, why should it be prohibited to use an extensional NP, and only in this context? When the complement of a postposition (which agrees with its complement by prefixes from the same paradigm used by verbs) is relativized, there can be a pronoun NP in addition to the prefix on the postposition inside the relative clause. Analyzing the affixes as agreement with the external head of the relative clause seems to me a more convincing analysis.

Thus, although the object marking in Savosavo is not a canonical agreement system, and in particular the obligatory non-singular first person pronoun required in some contexts is problematic, I analyze the object marking affixes as agreement morphology for the time being.

6.2.2 Transitivity-changing devices

Savosavo has two transitivity changing suffixes. The suffix *-vi* derives a transitive stem from an intransitive root, whereas the suffix *-za* derives an intransitive stem from a transitive or ambitransitive root. The following sections describe these two suffixes in more detail.

6.2.2.1 The transitivizing suffix *-vi*

The suffix *-vi* is not productive, but is only used with four intransitive verbs in my data: *raghe* ‘run’, *sara* ‘reach’, *sogha* ‘jump’ and *tete* ‘balance’. The suffix is directly attached to the verb stem and followed by an obligatory object suffix. The following table shows the resulting forms (in the usual default citation form, i.e. with a third person masculine object suffix):

<i>raghe</i> ‘run’	+ <i>-vi</i> + <i>-li</i> ‘-3SG.M.O’	→	<i>raghe-vi-li</i> ‘to run to so. or sth.’
<i>sara</i> ‘reach’	+ <i>-vi</i> + <i>-li</i> ‘-3SG.M.O’	→	<i>sara-vi-li</i> ‘to reach so. or sth.’
<i>sogha</i> ‘jump’	+ <i>-vi</i> + <i>-li</i> ‘-3SG.M.O’	→	<i>sogha-vi-li</i> ‘to jump at so. or sth.’
<i>tete</i> ‘balance’	+ <i>-vi</i> + <i>-li</i> ‘-3SG.M.O’	→	<i>tete-vi-li</i> ‘to balance on sth.’

Although it is not productive, *-vi* is here analyzed as a transitivizing suffix, and the transitive forms as derived.

Similarity in form and function suggests that the diachronic origin of *-vi* could be the Proto-Oceanic transitivizing suffix **-i* (cf. Lynch et al. (2002: 44), Crowley (2002b: 34)). Similar in form, but slightly different in function, is the causative suffix *-ri* in the neighboring Papuan language Lavukaleve (Terrill 2003: 359ff.), which introduces a new subject while demoting the subject of the intransitive verb to the object of the derived form. In contrast to Savosavo *-vi*, it is “by far the most productive of the word-class changing affixes” (Terrill 2003: 360).⁵

Transitive verbs in Solomon Islands Pijin have the ending *-im*. On some verbs borrowed into Savosavo, this is just omitted. *Kuki(-li)* ‘to cook (something)’ for example, from Pijin *kuki* ‘to cook’ and *kukim* ‘to cook something’, is an ambitransitive verb stem in Savosavo and shows no trace of the ending *-im*.⁶ Occasionally, however, it is not lost but gets reanalyzed during borrowing into Savosavo. As syllables in Savosavo cannot end with a consonant, /u/ is added after /m/. The vowel /i/ is reanalyzed as part of the verb stem, especially when it is directly preceded by a consonant. The remaining /mu/ is not analyzed uniformly. On some lexemes, it is also analyzed as part of the verb stem, which is then treated as an ambitransitive verb that can occur with or without object suffixes, e.g. *batisimu(-li)* ‘to be baptized, to baptize someone’, from Pijin *baptaes* ‘to be baptized’ and *baptaesim* ‘to baptize someone’ in Pijin (Jourdan and Maebiru 2002: 14). On others, /mu/ is only found on the transitive forms. For example, parallel to the Pijin lexemes *ring* ‘to make a telephone call’ and *ringim* ‘to give someone a call’ (Jourdan and Maebiru 2002: 188), *ringi* is used in Savosavo as an intransitive verb, with the transitive counterpart *ringimu-li* ‘to give him a call’.⁷ This can be analyzed in two different ways: In one possible analysis, *ringi* was borrowed as an intransitive verb root and /mu/ was reanalyzed as a transitivizing suffix parallel to *-vi*. In that case, the transitive form would

⁵In both cases the similarity could also be due to chance, given the small number of vowels in the languages involved, although the similarity in function supports the hypothesis that they are diachronically connected.

⁶It is possible that this lexeme was borrowed directly from English, not from Pijin. Indeed, the presence or absence of a trace of *-im* could be seen as indicative of the source language. Further research is needed before anything can be said with certainty.

⁷The transitive form *batisimu-li* ‘to baptize someone’ is the causative of *batisimu* ‘to be baptized’, but with *ringi* vs. *ringimu-li* the difference is only in the presence or absence of the object. Whether this difference has anything to do with the observed difference in borrowing is unclear at present.

have to be analyzed as *ringi-mu-li* ‘make.a.call-TR-3SG.M.O’. The other possible analysis is that the intransitive and transitive forms were borrowed separately into Savosavo, so that there are both *ringi* ‘to make a call’ as an intransitive verb root and *ringimu-li* ‘to give someone a call’ as a transitive verb root. Neither analysis can be ruled out at the moment, and they are in fact not incompatible. Maybe pairs like those given above became segmentable in Savosavo after a large enough number of them was borrowed.⁸

6.2.2.2 The detransitivizing suffix *-za*

This suffix derives intransitive verb stems from some transitive and ambitransitive verb stems that index objects only by means of suffixes. It is lexically determined what changes will occur in the argument structure of a given verb when *-za* is added. There are three possibilities:

1. The subject is demoted and removed, the object is promoted to subject position.
2. The subject is unchanged, only the object is removed.
3. Both subject and object are removed and are replaced by a subject that is a semantic cognate of the verb, e.g. ‘a shout’ in case of a verb ‘to shout’.

The first pattern is the most frequent one; an example is given in (307) (transitive in (307a) and intransitive in (307b)).

- (307) a. [*Karoti*]_{obj}=*lo*_{subj} *te* **tozo-li(-i)**.
 carrot=3SG.M.NOM EMPH cut-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘He cut (a) carrot.’ (09a-cgh_cb)
- b. [*Lo* *karoti*]_{subj}=*na* **tozo-za-i**.
 DET.SG.M carrot=NOM cut-DETR-FIN
 ‘The carrot is cut.’ (09p2-ws_cb)

An example for the second pattern is the verb *ghogho-li* ‘to swear at someone or something’ ((308), transitive in (308a) and intransitive in (308b)).

- (308) a. ...*te*=*ze*_{subj} **ghogho-li** *te*=*ze*...
 CONJ=3PL.NOM swear-3SG.M.O CONJ=3PL.S
 ‘...and they swear at him and they...’ (ap_custom_077)
- b. *Ai lo* *taemu*=*la*=*ze*_{subj} *mane* *oma*
 this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M=3PL.NOM consecutively not
ghogho-za(-a)=*ze*.
 swear-DETR(-SIM)=3PL.NOM
 ‘This time they don’t swear.’ (jv_tarai_167)

⁸Thanks to Bernard Comrie for pointing this out.

Only a few verbs, all of them ambitransitive, have so far been found to follow the third pattern: *kanga(-li)* ‘to shout (to someone or something)’, *leka(-li)* ‘to laugh (about someone or something)’, *onea(-li)* ‘to listen (to someone)’, and *rongorongongo(-li)* ‘to tell a story’. For example, in the case of *kanga(-li)* ‘to shout (to someone or something)’ the person that shouts will be the subject when this verb is used transitively or intransitively (309a, 309b). In contrast, the subject of the intransitive verb derived by *-za* denotes the speech or shout that is uttered (309c).

- (309) a. *Te=lo*_{Subj} ***kanga-ti*** *t-au* *ba-i-a*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM **shout-3DU.O** 3DU.O-take come-EP-SS
te=lo *tei(-i)...*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM say(-FIN)
 ‘And he shouted to them (two) and said...’ (ap_cs_kakula_063)
- b. *Te* [*lo* *konga~kongali-za*⁹ *sua* *mapa*]_{Subj=na} ***kanga***
 And DET.SG.M REDUP~worship-DETR ATT.SG.M person=NOM **shout**
te=lo *l-aka* *tei(-i)...*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M-to say(-FIN)
 ‘And the priest (lit. worshipping person) shouted and said to him...’
 (ap_biti_034)
- c. [*Vere*]_{Subj=na} ***kanga-za-i***
 speech=NOM **shout-DETR-FIN**
 ‘The speech/word rang out/sounded/was shouted.’ (041_elicitation)

Neighboring Lavukaleve has a detransitivizing suffix *-a* (Terrill 2003: 362f.) that is similar in form and function to the Savosavo suffix *-za*, though it is not very productive; it has only been found on a handful of verbs so far (Terrill 2003: 362). When intransitive verbs are derived by means of *-a*, either the subject or the object becomes “the sole argument of the intransitivised verb” (Terrill 2003: 362), as with the first two patterns of detransitivization in Savosavo. But in Lavukaleve, the suffix *-a* can also occur with some intransitive verbs “to give them an iterative or intensified meaning” (Terrill 2003: 362).¹⁰

⁹Example (309b) also contains a verb form with *-za*. The verb *kongali* follows the second pattern, i.e. the subject of the transitively used verb and that of the verb form with *-za* will be the same.

¹⁰As in the case of the transitivizing suffix *-vi* (cf. Sec. 6.2.2.1), the similarity in form could be due to chance, but as the morphemes are similar in function as well, the hypothesis that there is a diachronic connection seems reasonable to me.

6.3 Outer layer morphology

In the outer layer of verb morphology we find markers for tense, aspect, mood and finiteness, as well as the same-subject marker used in clause chaining constructions.

6.3.1 Finiteness

Depending on the clause type (see Ch.7 and Ch.8), either a finite or a non-finite verb is required. Finite verbs are heads of verbal main clauses. Non-finite verb forms can be made finite by the finiteness marker *-i* or by one of the finite TAM markers (see Tab. 6.2). There is no overt marking of non-finite verbs, e.g. in subordinate clauses. They can occur with or without one of the unspecified TAM markers.

The finiteness suffix *-i* can be the only outer layer morpheme on a finite verb form, as in example (310), or combine with most TAM markers unspecified for finiteness, see Table 6.3 on page 163 and examples (311) and (312).

- (310) *Vangazua=na siko-i.*
 Vangazua=NOM **steer-FIN**
 ‘Vangazua steered.’ (st_cs_vangazua_028)
- (311) “*O, elakati=nye ai lo jai sala*
 o CERT=1SG.NOM this DET.SG.M river follow.3SG.M
ka-ghu tovoa-li ta-i” tei(-i).
 move.bushwards-NMLZ **try-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN** say(-FIN)
 ‘“O, I will try to follow this river inland” (he) said.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_067)
- (312) *Te pa olomane=na ota epi-ale-i.*
 CONJ one old.man=NOM there **sit-BG.IPFV-FIN**
 ‘And there was an old man sitting there.’ (ej_cs_turibibinu_063)

A finite verb without further specification of TAM is by default interpreted as past perfective (310, 313). Often adverbs or temporal adjuncts specify when the event took place (314, 315).

- (313) *Kise-ghu=na te pala-i.*
 fight-NMLZ=NOM EMPH **make.3SG.M-FIN**
 ‘(The) fighting caused it [i.e. that the bible college was closed].’ (jv_tarai_228)
- (314) *Ake ze=no te moibia kabu-i?*
 be.what PA=2SG.NOM CONJ **yesterday move.away-FIN**
 ‘What was wrong with you (lit. you were what) that you ran away yesterday?’
 (jv_tarai_048)

- (315) *Poi=na te ghoi bo-tu lo elegho=la ba-i,*
 thing=NOM EMPH also go-REL DET.SG.M year=LOC.M come-FIN
Murray.
 M.

‘Whatshisname also came last year (lit. the year that went (by)), Murray.’
 (jv_tarai_241)

6.3.2 Tense and aspect

The major tense distinction in Savosavo is between future and non-future. Future is marked overtly and obligatorily by the particle *ta*, and is incompatible with all other TAM markers except *-ata* ‘ANT’. The non-future on the other hand is not always marked, and when it is marked it is in combination with aspect.

Two markers express relative tense. The anticipatory marker *-ata* is used to express that the event has to happen before something else, while the simultaneous marker *-a* signals that two events are happening at the same time. The latter is, however, only used in very specific clause types.

For aspect, the major distinction is between perfective and imperfective. The imperfective is marked overtly. Savosavo has four suffixes that belong to the imperfective category. Two of them contain not only aspectual, but also temporal information. The present imperfective suffix *-tu* is used for events or states ongoing at the time of speaking, while the past imperfective suffix *-zu* is used when the event or state was ongoing at a reference time in the past. The other two imperfective suffixes, *-ale* and *-atu*, do not relate an event or state to a certain time, but rather to another event. They express that at the very time a certain event took place, some other event was ongoing, or a certain state held. In contrast to the past and present imperfective suffixes, these two suffixes can be used to express what was going on in the background when some other, foregrounded event happened, e.g. one that advances the plot of a story. They are therefore termed background imperfectives.

6.3.2.1 The future marker *ta*

The particle *ta* marks that the event encoded by the verb is situated in the relative future (316–318). It is obligatory in normal verbal clauses talking about future events. This morpheme cannot be combined with morphemes marking aspectual categories.

- (316) *Apoi=la=me k-uma ta-i?*
 what=LOC.M=1NSG.IN.NOM 3SG.F.O-feed FUT-FIN
 ‘What will we feed her with?’ (da_cs_kosakosa_089)

- (317) *Oma=nye k-agma ta-i.*
 no=1SG.NOM 3SG.F.O-marry FUT-FIN
 ‘I won’t marry her.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_116)
- (318) *Savosavo ta=gho*
 speak.savosavo FUT=3SG.F.NOM
 ‘She will speak Savosavo.’ (png_WWII1_107)

6.3.2.2 The anticipatory marker *-ata*

When the speaker wants to express that something will happen first, before something else, this suffix is used. It is usually used in direct speech, often ordering someone to do something first (319) or announcing what the speaker plans to do before something else will or can be done (320).

- (319) “*Ata tau-nyi-ata(-a)*” *tei(-i).*
 here wait-1SG.O-ANT(-IMP.SG) say(-FIN)
 ‘“Wait here for me first” (she) said.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_213)
- (320) “*Te=nye bo ai kukua=zalo zua-ti-ata*” *tei(-i).*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM go 1SG.GEN gen.2=DU ask-3DU.O-ANT say(-FIN)
 ‘“Then I will go and ask my grandparents first.” (she) said.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_214)

It is also occasionally used to express that one event preceded another (321, 322).

- (321) *Ze-va ny-ovu ny-au ‘O, pa vaka ze ota l-au tei’*
 3PL-GEN.M 1O-put 1O-take o one ship 3PL there 3SG.M.O-take want.to.do
tei kia, anyi bo nyaghoi l-eghe-ata-ghu=e.
 say when 1SG go be.first 3SG.M.O-see-ANT-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When they got me and said ‘O, they want to take a ship (from) there’, I would go first and look at it first.’ (js_marine_102)
- (322) *Te=lo memere vazu keva-(a)ta.*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM little.bit bud do.all.about-ANT
 ‘(Those pana tubers that will be planted again are put on a high bed) And then they all first germinate a bit (before they are planted).’ (ap_manga_056)

A verb complex containing *-ata* ‘ANT’ may be nominalized, as in example (321); another example for this is (323). This suffix can also co-occur with the future particle (324). However, both of these options are only rarely found in the corpus.

- (323) *Dai=e no buata-ghu.*
 good=EMPH 2SG go.ANT-NMLZ
 ‘It would be good for you to go.’ (ap_jeff_beki_035)

6.3.2.4 The present and past imperfective markers *-tu* and *-zu*

Both *-tu* ‘PRS.IPFV’ and *-zu* ‘PST.IPFV’ render a verb finite. The present imperfective suffix *-tu* is used when the event is ongoing at the time of speaking (327, 328).

- (327) *Anyi=na p-aka te mare-tu!*
 1SG=NOM 2DU-with EMPH joke-PRS.IPFV
 ‘I am just joking with you!’ (ap_cs_kakula_076)

- (328) *Ala=no bo-tu.*
 where=2SG go-PRS.IPFV
 ‘Where are you going?’ (es_cs_kakamora_018)

The only situation where *-tu* cannot occur is when the subject is encoded by an enclitic personal pronoun following the verb. In this case, the simultaneous marker *-a* will be used (see Sec. 6.3.2.3 above and Sec. 7.1.1.1).

The past imperfective marker *-zu* expresses that the event was ongoing at a specific moment in the past (329, 330).

- (329) *Te=gho epi-atu lo pa kanita melo=na*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM sit-BG.IPFV DET.SG.M one school.tuna tuna=NOM
ghogho-a te=lo ba sara-vi-ghi-zu.
 splash-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM come reach-TR-3SG.F.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘And she was still sitting there when a school of tuna was splashing around and coming up to her.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_191)

- (330) *Ze-va eareti=la ngoi-li-tu lo*
 3PL-GEN.M air.raid.alarm=LOC.M call-3SG.M.O-REL DET.SG.M
erongo=na ngei-zu.
 something=NOM cry-PST.IPFV
 ‘The thing they called air raid (alarm) was sounding.’ (pk_WWII_101)

6.3.2.5 The background imperfective markers *-ale* and *-atu*

Both suffixes have an imperfective meaning. They can only be used with very few commonly used verbs. With other verb stems, a SVC containing *pale* or *patu*, both forms of the verb *pale* ‘stay’, has to be used (see Sec. 6.5.2.2 below). Table 6.5 shows which verbs can be used with either *-ale* or *-atu* or both. These are the only verbs that could be found so far, despite extensive elicitation.

Verb	-ale	-atu
<i>epi</i> ‘sit’	✓	✓
<i>alu</i> ‘stand’	✓	✓
<i>l-ate</i> ‘hold’	✓	✓
<i>taunga</i> ‘remain’	✓	✓
<i>l-omaga</i> ‘carry’	✓	—
<i>izi</i> ‘sleep’	✓	—
<i>l-au</i> ‘take’	—	✓
<i>tabu</i> ‘be.whole’	—	✓

Table 6.5: Verb stems found with *-ale* and *-atu* ‘BG.IPFV’.

Both suffixes are used to provide background information for another event. One of these suffixes, *-ale*, is semantically a bit more general. It is used to express that an action is ongoing at the moment the reference event takes place (331, 332).

- (331) *Lo=na bua lo kaunga lo-ma adaki nyuba*
 3SG.M=NOM go.SIM 3SG.M elder 3SG.M-GEN.SG.F woman child
k-eghe-a=gho te epi-ale-i.
 3SG.F.O-see-SIM=3SG.F.NOM EMPH sit-BG.IPFV-FIN
 ‘As he went he saw the chief’s daughter sitting (there).’ (bd_cs_tonelo_213)

- (332) *Zu Kukui=na ghoi pa atale pise=gha lava*
 and/but Kukui=NOM also one ten bamboo.separation=PL PROPR.SG.M
molo=lo te ghoi l-omaga-(a)le-i.
 bamboo=3SG.M EMPH also 3SG.M.O-carry-BG.IPFV-FIN
 ‘And Kukui was also carrying a (piece of) bamboo that had ten segments. (If he had met his wife and daughter he would have killed and cooked them in it)’
 (ap_kukui_058)

The other suffix, *-atu*, has an additional meaning component, it is used for actions that are **still** ongoing at the time when the reference event takes place (333).

- (333) *To=na epi-atu lo sua=na kama ba-zu.*
 3DU=NOM sit-BG.IPFV DET.SG.M giant=NOM already come-PST.IPFV
 ‘They (two) were still sitting there as the giant was coming.’ (ap_cs_kakula_062)

There seems to be a tendency for *-atu* to occur in initial conjuncts and for *-ale* to occur in final conjuncts.

The suffix *-atu* is also found in negated clauses to express that something has not happened yet (i.e., that it is still not the case that something has happened), see example (334).

- (334) *Oma=no pa dai levolevo ny-aka savu-li-atu.*
 no=2SG.NOM one good talk 1-to tell-3SG.M.O-BG.IPFV
 ‘[He already told her that he loves her and wants to marry her. She hasn’t yet, so he says:] You still haven’t told me a good talk (or: you haven’t told me a good talk yet).’ (ap_jeff_beki_261)

Note that, in the context of a negated clause, *-atu* can be used with all verbs tested so far, not just the selection of verbs given above for the background imperfective usage, whereas the SVC with *patu*, which is used with all other verbs to express background imperfectivity, cannot be used in negated clauses like *-atu* can.

6.3.3 Mood

Savosavo has markers for the imperative distinguishing singular and non-singular addressee. Furthermore there is an apprehensive suffix expressing the fear that something undesirable might happen. An irrealis suffix that is formally similar to one of the background imperfective suffixes, *-ale*, is used for prohibitions as well as in the apodosis of hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses (see Sec. 8.2.2.1).

6.3.3.1 The imperative markers *-a* and *-lu*

The strongest way to order someone to do something is by using the suffixes *-a* and *-lu* for one or more addressees respectively, see examples (335) and (336). Note that this is the only context where there is any verb agreement with the subject of the clause, namely in number.

- (335) *E, liaza ba-i-a!*
 e move.back come-EP-IMP.SG
 ‘E, come back! (addressing one person)’ (jk_mat_061)
- (336) *Kao ba-lu!*
 bushwards come-IMP.PL
 ‘Come bushwards (addressing more than one person)!’ (ej_cs_nyero_018)

6.3.3.2 The apprehensive marker *-le*

This suffix is used to express the fear that the event described by the clause might happen, see examples (337) to (339). This function has received different labels in the literature,

e.g. ‘timitive’ (Palmer 2001: 131), ‘apprehensional’ Lichtenberk (1995), and ‘lest’, ‘apprehensive’ or ‘evitative’ (cf. Evans 2007: 392).

- (337) *Lo-va no ghoi n-ali n-ou-le.*
 3SG.M-GEN.M 2SG also **2SG.O-hit 2SG.O-eat-APPR**
 ‘Lest he kills and eats you, too.’ (ap_kukui_033)
- (338) *Pe bo kia, sika=pe ai lo lo mola*
 2DU[GEN] go when don’t=2DU.NOM this DET.SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] canoe
l-au zaba-(a)le; ko lo-va
 3SG.M.O-take become.visible-IRR 3SG.F[GEN] 3SG.M-GEN.M
roroko l-eghe-le.
 small.plank.canoe **3SG.M.O-see-APPR**
 ‘When you (two) go, don’t you let this canoe of his (the dead giant) be seen, lest she (the giant’s wife) sees his canoe.’ (st_cs_vangazua_134)
- (339) *“Ei, sika=no ai lo vata tarai=la buale; no*
 ei don’t=2SG.NOM this DET.SG.M kind pray=LOC.M go.IRR 2SG[GEN]
ave-le” tei(-i).
die-APPR say(-FIN)
 ‘“Ei, don’t you go to this kind of church, lest you die” (they) said.’ (jv_tarai_128)

6.3.3.3 The irrealis marker *-ale*

While a distinction between realis and irrealis is very important in many Papuan languages (cf. Foley 1986), in Savosavo the irrealis marker *-ale* is only used for prohibitions (cf. Sec. 7.3.3 and Sec. 7.3.4) and in the apodosis of hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses (cf. Sec. 8.2.2.1). The prohibitions are introduced by the particle *sika* ‘don’t’ (340).

- (340) *Sika=no ave ny-aka vere-ale!*
don’t=2SG.NOM 1PL.EX 1-with speak-IRR
 ‘Don’t you talk with us!’ (pk_mk_mt_069)

Conditionals of the type ‘if only x, then y’ are either used to express counterfactuals, i.e. situations that could not or did not happen (341, 342), or hypothetical situations, e.g. wishes that seem to be unrealistic or difficult to fulfill at the moment, but might come true (see example (343); see also Sec. 8.2.2.1).

- (341) *Anyi oma tei sua vere savu-li sua*
 1SG not be.like.this ATT.SG.M word tell-3SG.M.O ATT
monei=gho oma buale.
if.only=3SG.F.NOM not go.IRR

‘If only I had not said such a word, she wouldn’t have gone.’ (es_cs_kakamora_126)

- (342) *Pio, lo=la ave sua erongo monei ave=na*
 man 3SG.M=LOC.M die ATT.SG.M something **if.only** 1PL.EX=NOM
ka ave-ale.
 already **die-IRR**

‘Man, if it was something one would die from, we would have died already.’
 (jv_tarai_140)

- (343) *Ai ko adaki nyuba ai k-au k-aha-ghu*
 this DET.SG.F woman child 1SG.GEN 3SG.F.O-take 3SG.F.O-marry-NMLZ
monei,
if.only

ai-va ae-ghu lo pale k-aka
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M be.married-NMLZ 3SG.M[GEN] inside 3SG.F-with
taunga-ghu monei,
 remain-NMLZ **if.only**

dai toa taunga-ghu=la=ghe taunga-(a)le.
 good really remain-NMLZ=LOC.M=1DU.EX.NOM **remain-IRR**

‘If only I married this girl, if only I was in my marriage with her, we would have a very good life.’ (ap_jeff_beki_007)

As the examples show, no finiteness marking is needed with this suffix. This is one criterion to distinguish it from the background imperfective marker *-ale*, another one is that the latter can only be attached to a handful of verb stems, whereas the irrealis marker *-ale* can be used with all verb stems.

6.3.4 The same-subject marker *-a*

This marker is used in clause chaining constructions. It attaches to the non-finite verb or SVC of a non-final clause in the chain and signals that the following clause has the same subject as the preceding clause. If the subject of the following clause is different the verb or SVC remains unmarked ((344); square brackets indicate clause boundaries).

- (344) [*Ai lo Savo molumolu lo-va alea jai=gha=gho*
 this DET.SG.M Savo island 3SG.M-GEN.PL all river=PL=**3SG.F.NOM**
same-a] [*te=gho pizo-mi z-aju-i*].
 follow.2/3PL.O-**SIM** CONJ=**3SG.F.NOM** drink-3PL.O 3PL.O- finish-FIN
 ‘She followed all the rivers of this Savo Island and she drank them up.’
 (ap_cs_sekuna_027)

Clause chains as a whole can be nominalized by means of *-ghu*. In this case, the first subject encoding in the chain is usually genitive (see Sec. 8.3.3). Although this means that a clause with a genitive subject can be followed by a clause with a nominative subject, the same-subject marker *-a* is still used as long as the referent is the same (345).

- (345) [*Tei*] [*te to-va ba singe zala-li-a*]
 say CONJ 3DU-GEN.M come kind.of.vine look.for-3SG.M.O-SS
 [*te=to pata-li l-au ba-i-a*]
 CONJ=3DU.NOM separate.rope-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take come-EP-SS
 [*te=to piti-ghi-ghu=e*].
 CONJ=3DU.NOM tie-3SG.F.O-NOM=EMPH
 ‘(She) said and they came and looked for single vine and they cut (and) brought it and they tied her up.’ (bi_cs_kakula_118)

The same is true in case of tail-head-linkage, i.e. when the last predicate of the preceding clause is repeated as the first predicate of the following chain. These repeated predicates are treated as normal non-final clauses, except that the subject is usually not mentioned again (cf. Sec. 8.3.4). Example (345) starts with *tei* ‘say’, which is repeated from the preceding clause without mentioning the subject again (which was third person singular feminine). Because the omitted subject of *tei* ‘say’ at the beginning of the clause chain is different from that of the following clause, *-a* ‘SS’ is not used. In contrast, the subject referent in example (346) is identical in both clauses, therefore *-a* ‘SS’ is attached to the first predicate *sodoa-li* ‘to find/meet someone or something’.

- (346) [*Sodoa-li-a*] [*ke=lo l-au ave ny-omata*]
 find-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.O-take 1PL.EX 1-at
ba-ghu=e lo=na].
 come-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘(He) met him and he took him to us.’ (no_WWII_038)

A more detailed discussion of clause chaining and related phenomena is provided in Section 8.3.

6.4 Reduplication

Reduplication is a derivative process used to change the aktionsart of a verb. The resulting stem has a iterative (347, 348) or durative interpretation (349, 350), depending on the semantics of the verb. As was described in Section 2.4.2, either the first or the first two syllables are reduplicated.

- (347) *Lo karoti=lo te sodu~sodu-li*
 DET.SG.M carrot=3SG.M.NOM EMPH REDUP~cut.in.two-3SG.M.O
l-au nyari-sa-i.
 3SG.M.O-take small-VBLZ-FIN
 ‘He cuts the carrot small (i.e. in small pieces).’ (10a-is_cb)
- (348) *Zepo=e mala buringa=ka sogha~sogha ba-tu*
 3PL=EMPH along.coast.side back=LOC.F REDUP~jump come-REL
ze=na.
 3PL=NOM
 ‘They (a group of dolphins) are the ones who are coming jumping from back there along the coast.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_193)
- (349) *Savokiki=na ota tali~talighu-ghi-zu, ko*
 Savokiki=NOM there REDUP~go.around-3SG.F.O-PST.IPFV DET.SG.F
vali.
 stingray
 ‘Savokiki (a shark) was circling around the stingray there.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_140)
- (350) *...lo nyuba=na ngai~ngai-sa-i.*
 DET.SG.M child=NOM REDUP~big-VBLZ-FIN
 ‘...the child grew up, lit. became big.’ (wr_cs_vulaole_065)

Reduplication can co-occur with markers of tense, aspect, mood and finiteness (349, 350) and with the detransitivizing suffix *-za* (351). The resulting verb stem can be nominalized (352).

- (351) *Viri~viri-za sue.*
 REDUP~coil-Intr ATT.EMPH
 ‘(It is) coiled up.’ (cp_api_mt_059)
- (352) *...lo nyari keda pala kia, lo-va*
 DET.SG.M small fire make.3SG.M when 3SG.M-GEN.M
rangi~rangi-li-ghu=e.
 REDUP~heat-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...when making a small fire, he heats it (to dry it over fire, for a long time).’
 (ap_gilugilu_083)

A reduplicated verb stem can also be used within a SVC, as shown in examples (347), (348) above and (353) below.

- (353) *Ekati=nye ka l-ate zari~zari-li*
 CERT=1SG.NOM already 3SG.M.O-hold **REDUP~tear.in.pieces**-3SG.M.O
ta-i.
 FUT-FIN
 ‘I will hold it and tear it in pieces.’ (jk_mat_090)

Example (354) shows that object marking affixes are already in place when the reduplication comes in: the object marking prefix on the verb stem is reduplicated alongside material from the root.

- (354) “*Te=nye anyi=na mai-va dudurongo*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM 1SG=NOM 1NSG.IN-GEN.M everything
lovu~l-ovu sera-li ze=nye
REDUP~3SG.M.O-put do.properly-3SG.M.O CONJ.SS=1SG.NOM
pala sera-li” tei.
 make.3SG.M do.properly-3SG.M.O say
 ‘[After arrival, he orders his brother to stay and prepare the food] “And I put (away) our things properly and make it properly.” (he) said.’ (bd_cs_tonelo_115)

With suffixing transitive verbs, reduplication can detransitivize the verb stem. The subject of the resulting form will be identical to the subject of the transitive form (in contrast to the effect of the detransitivizing suffix *-za*, which in some cases leads to more complex changes in the argument structure, see Sec. 6.2.2.2). Some examples are:

- rami-li* ‘to shoot so. or sth.’ + CVCV REDUP~ → *rami~rami* ‘to be shooting’
eri-li ‘to push sth. or so.’ + VCV REDUP~ → *eri~eri* ‘to be pushing’
lusi-li ‘to squeeze sth.’ + CV REDUP~ → *lu~lusi* ‘to be squeezing’

This detransitivizing effect is analyzed as a byproduct of the change in aktionsart rather than a primary function of reduplication on verbs. When a transitive verb stem is reduplicated to change the aktionsart, adding a durative or iterative component, the focus is on the action as such, not on the individual object(s). However, this is not a mandatory consequence, see examples (347) and (352) above, both featuring a reduplicated transitive verb with an object suffix.

Example (355) shows a typical situation in which the reduplicated form is used without object suffixes.

- (355) *Kevasala=na epi uka~ukalele-tu,...* *Lolo=kona*
 Kevasala=NOM sit **REDUP~play.ukulele**-PRS.IPFV Lolo=NOM.F
lu~lusi-tu, *Martha=kona*
REDUP~squeeze-PRS.IPFV Martha=NOM.F

- Reduplication can co-occur with nominalization (see example (352) above), the same-subject marker *-a* (357), and in modifiers derived by the attributive marker *sua* (358).

(357) *K-ali* *k-ave-ghi-a* *te=lo*
 3SG.F.O-hit 3SG.F.O-kill-3SG.F.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM
sodu~sodu-ghi-a *te=lo*
REDUP~cut.in.two-3SG.F.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM
due *bo duku-li-a* *te=lo* *lo*
 bamboo.segment go cut-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M[GEN]
ba due-ghi-ghu=e.
 come put.in.bamboo-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘(He) killed her and cut her in pieces and went and cut bamboo and put her
 in the bamboo (to cook her).’ (ap_kukui_012)

(358) *Duku~duku so=gha=na* *duku~duku-tu,*
REDUP~cut ATT=PL=NOM REDUP~cut-PRS.IPFV
*paso~paso-a-li*¹¹ *so=gha=na*
REDUP~take.skin.off-EP-3SG.M.O ATT=PL=NOM
paso-a-li-tu.
 take.skin.off-EP-3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV
 ‘The ones (doing the) cutting (of the vines) are cutting, the ones (doing the)
 stripping (of the vines) are stripping.’ (ej_cs_botoli_084)

This is impossible for aspect markers, with the exception that *-ale* ‘BG.IPFV’ can occur in nominalized forms.

6.5 Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are commonly used in Savosavo. The criteria for identifying SVCs in Savosavo are that a sequence of verbs in one utterance

- are not linked by any overt conjunctive or subjunctive morpheme **AND**
- share one overt marking of finiteness, tense, aspect and/or mood on the last verb of the sequence.

¹¹Some verbs have a kind of epenthetic /a/ inserted between the stem and the object suffix, cf. fn. 7, p. 35.

In some cases certain verbs occurring in SVCs have lost some of their lexical content and have been grammaticalized, taking on aspectual or transitivity-changing functions. They can, however, also be used as independent verbs. The remainder of this chapter provides a short overview of SVCs with fully lexical verbs, followed by a description of SVCs with aspectual verbs, and finally a section presenting SVCs with transitivity-changing verbs.

6.5.1 SVCs with fully lexical verbs

This section will provide an overview of what kinds of SVCs are possible in Savosavo. An exhaustive description of SVCs cannot be provided at this stage of research.

In most cases the verbs of a SVC have the same referents as subject and object. The verbs can either describe a sequence of events (359), or the first verb gives information on the manner or directionality of the action described by the second verb (360, 361).

- (359) *Kati=ze ata lo japoni=gha=na l-olomi bo*
 CERT=3PL here 3SG.M Japanese=PL=NOM **3SG.M.O-know go**
bomu-li ta-i.
bomb-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘Later the Japanese here will know it, go and bomb it.’ (bk_WWIL021)
- (360) *Lo=la=ze te bome*
 3SG.M=LOC.M=3PL.NOM EMPH **shoot.2/3PL**
z-ave-mi-zu.
3PL.O-kill-3PL.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘With that they shot them dead (i.e. killed them by shooting them).’
 (tt_bd_war_133)
- (361) *...te=ze ghoi raghe liaza ba-ghu=e.*
 CONJ=3PL.NOM also run return come-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...so they came running back again.’ (pk_WWIL051)

The verbs of a SVC can be modified by preceding locative adjuncts (362–364).

- (362) *...ke=to ai lo bosu polo zu lo uvi*
 CONJ=3DU.NOM this DET.SG.M basket pig and DET.SG.M yam
sake-li kao l-ovu...
lift-3SG.M.O bushwards 3SG.M.O-put
 ‘...and they (two) lifted the basket with pork and the yam and put it ashore...’
 (st_cs_vangazua_140)

- (363) ...*tulola ko ka sogha neu lo jai=la au*
 then 3SG.F already **jump** down DET.SG.M river=LOC.M **move.down**
bo-ghu=e.
 go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...and then she jumped (off the bridge) and went down into the river.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_620)
- (364) *Te ze lo uelesi veghoa-li kao Suba*
 CONJ 3PL[GEN] DET.SG.M wireless **take.apart-3SG.M.O** bushwards Suba
Kokoilo kokoilo neu bo l-ovu-ghu=e.
 Kokoilo kokoilo.tree down **go 3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ=EMPH**
 ‘And they took the radio apart and went and put it bushwards at Suba Kokoilo
 under the Kokoilo tree.’ (bk_WWIL_022)

Occasionally the verbs of a SVC have different objects (365). Usually the first verb is then *l-au* ‘take’ and the object is the instrument used for the action described by the following verb.

- (365) *Elakati=nye kokoga l-au p-ali ta-i.*
 CERT=1SG.NOM stick **3SG.M.O-take 2DU.O-hit** FUT-FIN
 ‘I will take a stick and hit you two.’ (jk_mat_072)

If the first verb is intransitive and the second is transitive, the object of the second verb can either precede both verbs (366), or appear between them (367).

- (366) ...*te=to [ko-va tuvi mane=la alu*
 CONJ=3DU.NOM **3SG.F-GEN.M** house side=LOC.M stand
sua pa kola kekeu]o te ba pia-li-zu.
ATT.SG.M one tree mango EMPH come **move.up-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV**
 ‘...and then they came and climbed a mango tree that stood next to her house.’
 (ap_cs_kakula_002)
- (367) *Ze pa vudu lo-va bo raghe kola duku-li-a*
 3PL[GEN] one friend 3SG.M-GEN.M **go run** stick **cut-3SG.M.O-SS**
te=lo...
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘One of their friends went (and) ran (and) cut a stick and then he...’
 (ap_cs_polupolu_054)

In example (368) the second verb is the only ditransitive verb *l-ame-li* ‘give’; one object, the recipient, precedes both verbs, while the other object, the theme, is placed between the two verbs.

- (370) ...*ke=gho* *t-au* *epi-a ke=gho*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM 3DU.O-take sit-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM
t-uma *t-aju* *tulola to* *rongorongoghu=e*.
3DU.O-feed 3DU.O-finish then 3DU[GEN] tell.story-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...and she seated them and fed them and then they told (their story).’
 (st_cs_vangazua_103)

- If it follows an intransitive verb (with the exception of *zui* ‘to end’), the third person singular feminine prefix will be used:

- (371) *No no* *zili* *k-aju* *kia=no*
 2SG 2SG[GEN] **take.out.of.ground** **3SG.F.O-finish** when=2SG
mane *ela kalele* *savevinyi* *ba*.
 consecutively little.by.little follow.1PL.EX come
 ‘When you have finished harvesting, you follow us.’ (bi_cs_kakula_082)

- If it follows *zui* ‘to end’, the third person dual prefix will be used:

- (372) *Liaza te=lo* *ghora kilekile l-au* *tulola*
 ‘return CONJ=3SG.M.NOM shield axe 3SG.M.O-take then
lo *manyigha lo* *dulo adaki=gha z-ali* *te*
 DET.SG.M village 3SG.M[GEN] all woman=PL 3PL.O-hit CONJ
zui t-aju-i
end 3DU.O-finish-FIN
 ‘Came back and he took shield and axe and then killed all the women of the
 village off.’ (wr_cs_poghoroghuliagha_178)

These agreement rules seem to be obligatory and are very consistently applied.

It is not clear at present why these particular prefix forms are used in the respective contexts. As for the third person singular feminine (371), given the very restricted usage of the feminine noun class for higher female animates only, assignment of an inanimate noun to the feminine class fulfills a number of functions. As was described above (see Sec. 4.2.1.1), one such function is to form diminutives and, possibly, the marking of discourse relevance. It seems as if not only the assignment to the feminine class is utilized to emphasize that something extraordinary is going on, but also the associated morphology itself. A SVC consisting of an intransitive verb plus *k-aju* is not transitive in the sense that it governs a nominal object. If anything, the event described by the preceding verb(s) could be seen as determining the object agreement of *k-aju*. But if that was the case, it would make no difference if the preceding verb is transitive or not, the agreement on the grammaticalized verb should always be determined by the preceding verb(s), and thus

would be expected to be the same in all cases. That this is not the case is evidence that the third person singular feminine (instead of the default masculine form) is used because there is no way of detransitivizing transitive verbs with a prefix-slot, and therefore the slot has to be filled although there is no object to agree with. The default form would still indicate that there is an object, maybe just a semantically empty filler, but this is not the case, and so the ‘marked’ form of the paradigm (‘marked’ meaning less frequent and unusual) is used to signal this extraordinary situation.

6.5.2.2 Background imperfective: SVC with *pale/patu* ‘stay’

For most verbs, the background imperfective aspect has to be expressed by a SVC with *pale* or *patu*, since only very few verbs can take the suffixes *-ale* and *-atu* (cf. Sec. 6.3.2.5). Both *pale* and *patu* are forms of the verb ‘stay’ and can be used alone, outside the context of a SVC. *Pale* is taken to be the basic form of the verb, because it is non-finite and found with outer layer morphemes such as *-ale* ‘IRR’, *-tu* ‘PRS.IPFV’, *-i* ‘FIN’, *-a* ‘SIM’, *-a* ‘SS’ and *-a/-lu* ‘IMP.SG/PL’. In contrast, *patu* cannot take any outer layer morphemes and is thus regarded as finite. It seems reasonable to assume that the background imperfective suffixes *-ale* and *-atu* developed from these verb forms, even more so as the only verbs that occur with these suffixes are highly frequent. To use *patu* and *pale* in a SVC to express background imperfective may have been the first step in grammaticalization, and the suffixes *-atu* and *-ale* might represent the next step, the free forms *pale* and *patu* fusing into one word form with those verb stems they occur with most commonly.

Typologically it is not surprising that these verb forms are used to express imperfective aspect, as “[m]any languages of the world use the form ‘stay’ to express [progressive/habitual aspect].” (Crowley 1987: 57).

The functions of *pale* and *patu* in SVCs are equivalent to those of the respective suffixes: both *pale* and *patu* can be used to provide background information. Like *-ale*, *pale* is used to express that something is going on while something else happens (373, 374).

- (373) *Ba suba=la lo mala gele-a ka*
 come garden=LOC.M 3SG.M along.coast.side look-SIM already
k-eghe-a=gho aghava-za pale-i.
 3SG.F.O-see-SIM=3SG.F.NOM hang.down BG.IPFV-FIN

‘As (he) came to the garden and he looked along the coast, he already saw her hanging there.’ (es_cs_kakamora_176)

- (374) *Lo=na kulo sobo pale-i.*
 3SG.M=NOM seawards float BG.IPFV-FIN

‘[He was not paddling backwards towards the shore at that time.] He was floating seawards (i.e. out on the sea).’ (cr_cs_savokiki_267)

In contrast to that, and similar to *-atu*, *patu* means that something is **still** going on (375, 376).

- (375) *Ko susuru patu lo pa majali=na te*
 3SG.F[GEN] **be.pregnant** **BG.IPFV** DET.SG.M one ghost=NOM EMPH
k-aka savu-li...
 3SG.F-to tell-3SG.M.O
 ‘She was still pregnant when a ghost came and told her...’ (wr_cs_vulaole_047)
- (376) *Anyi=na dada patu.*
 1SG=NOM **be.afraid** **BG.IPFV**
 ‘I was still afraid.’ (jv_tarai_053)

6.5.2.3 Ingressive: SVC with *alu* ‘stand’

A serial verb construction consisting of the verb *alu* ‘to stand (be standing)’¹³ followed by another verb is used to express that the subject has started doing something:

- (377) *Bo sara tulola to-va kama alu gore-ghu=e.*
 go reach then 3DU-GEN.M already **stand dig-NMLZ=EMPH**
 ‘Arrived there and then they started digging.’ (ap_cs_kakula_053)
- (378) *Gola=la ko avu sara tulola ko ka alu*
 doorway=LOC.M 3SG.F[GEN] exit reach then 3SG.F[GEN] kama **stand**
raghe-ghu=e.
run-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When she went out of the doorway she started running.’ (ap_jeff_beki_593)

6.5.3 SVCs with verbs that increase the transitivity of the verb complex

A couple of verbs have been grammaticalized in the context of a SVC and now serve to increase the transitivity of the verb complex:

Serial verb construction	Function
V + <i>l-ame-li</i> ‘give’	Benefactive
<i>l-au</i> ‘take’ + V	Causative

Each will be presented in more detail below.

¹³For ‘stand up’ a separate verb *pialu* is used, maybe diachronically a SVC *pia alu* ‘move.up stand’.

6.5.3.1 Benefactive: SVC with *l-ame-li* ‘give’

One possibility of expressing that something is or was done for someone is to use the postposition *l-omiti* ‘for’ (cf. Sec.4.9.3). However, it is also possible to use a SVC with *l-ame-li* ‘give’. There are about 50 examples of this in the corpus at the time of writing. In this case, the suffix on ‘give’ denotes the beneficiary of an action or a state. There is no example yet where the beneficiary is also expressed by an overt object NP.

With respect to the prefix we again find a relationship between the transitivity of the preceding verb and the form the prefix takes (see Sec.6.5.2.1). If the preceding verb is intransitive the prefix will be third person singular feminine (379). If it is transitive the prefix will usually match the agreement on that verb (380).

- (379) *Lo=la te ai lo vata kapisi=na te tate*
 3SG.M=LOC.M EMPH this DET.SG.M kind story=NOM EMPH **show**
k-ame-ni-zu ai ko no madaki k-omata.
3SG.F.O-give-2SG.O-PST.IPFV this DET.SG.F 2SG[GEN] wife 3SG.F-at
 ‘[The addressee did not follow the instructions, so his wife turned out to be very ugly.] Because of that, this kind of thing happened to you (lit. showed for you) with respect to this wife of yours.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_275)

- (380) *Tulola ko-va kukua=gha ze-va bo keda kolo-li*
 then 3SG.F-GEN.PL gen.2=PL 3PL-GEN.M go fire **light.fire-3SG.M.O**
l-ame-ghi-ghu=e.
3SG.M.O-give-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And then her grandchildren came and lit fire for her.’ (bi_cs_kakula_011)

There is only one example in the corpus where this is not true; this is example (381).

- (381) *Dai=e ai-va boli-li ze=nye*
 good=EMPH 1SG.GEN-GEN.M **disembowl-3SG.M.O** CONJ.SS=1SG.NOM
sapi-li k-ame-pi-ghu=na.
cut.into.slices-3SG.M.O 3SG.F.O-give-2DU.O-NMLZ=NOM
 ‘It would be good for me to disembowel it and cut it into slices for you two.’
 (ap_cs_kakula_021)

The mismatch in example (381) could be a mistake or it could be connected to the fact that in this example the serial verb construction is quite complex. Since it is difficult to get any reliable answers in this area by elicitation more data will be needed to investigate this further.

The fact that there seems to be quite a strong correspondence between the prefix on ‘give’ and the object marker on the preceding verb might be evidence for a grammaticalization from a normal SVC where an action is performed on something and that object is

then given to the beneficiary (e.g. make+give, collect+give) to a more general benefactive construction where no transfer of an object has to take place (e.g. ‘make for’, ‘collect for’, but also ‘light fire for’, ‘be good for’). This could be the reason for the synchronic existence of two strategies to express the benefactive, the postposition *l-omiti* ‘for’ and the SVC. The semantic and pragmatic differences between the two constructions for the benefactive still have to be investigated in more detail. At the moment all that can be said is that the SVC is only used when the beneficiary is easily identifiable, not expressed by an overt NP, and when there are no other particular reasons to emphasize it.

6.5.3.2 Causative: SVC with *l-au* ‘take’

The verb *l-au* ‘take’ can be combined with an intransitive verb to express a causative. The subject of the intransitive verb becomes the object of *l-au* ‘take’ (382, 383).

- (382) *Bua, no napu l-au aka(-a)!*
 go.IMP.SG 2SG mouth **3SG.M.O-take** be.open(-IMP.SG)
 ‘Go ahead, open your mouth!’ (ap_cs_polupolu_054)

- (383) *L-au sasi ze=no.*
3SG.M.O-take be.wrong PA=2SG.NOM
 ‘You made it wrong.’ (jk_mat_093)

This structure can be used again as part of a SVC where it is treated like a transitive verb. Evidence for this is that if it is followed by *l-aju* ‘finish’ to express the completion of the action, the agreement on ‘finish’ is third person singular masculine (384), not third person singular feminine, which would go with intransitive verbs (cf. Sec. 6.5.2.1).

- (384) *Lo pazu=la ze ba jaka-li(-i),*
 DET.SG.M palm.leaf=LOC.M 3PL[GEN] come shut-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 [*l-au talighu l-aju*] *te ze=va*
3SG.M.O-take go.around **3SG.M.O-finish** CONJ 3PL-GEN.M
onea(-a) ko ko=va ngori-ghu=e lo=na.
 listen(-SIM) 3SG.F 3SG.F-GEN.M snore-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘They came and enclosed (the house) with palm leaves, finished putting them (lit. it) around (the house) and as they listened she was snoring.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_331)

The commonest use of this construction is to express ‘bring (here)’ and ‘take away / bring somewhere else’, combining *l-au* ‘take’ with *ba* ‘come’ and *bo* ‘go’ respectively:

- (385) *Lo kise-ghu l-au ba-tu zepo=e ze=na.*
 DET.SG.M fight-NMLZ **3SG.M.O-take** come-REL 3PL=EMPH 3PL=NOM
 ‘They were the ones who brought the fighting (i.e. World War II).’
 (png_WWII_3_393)

- (386) *Kia no ala ny-au bo-ghu=e?*
if 2SG[GEN] where **1O-take go-NMLZ=EMPH**
‘[Asking the taxi driver going around the same block several times] If (so, then)
where are you taking me?’ (js_marine_155)

Chapter 7

Independent basic clauses

Construire une phrase,
c'est mettre la vie dans une masse amorphe de mots
en établissant entre eux un ensemble de connexions.

Tesnière (1969:12)

Clauses can be **complex** or **basic**. A complex clause consists of at least two clauses, each with its own predicate, and each encoding a proposition or state of affairs, whereas a basic clause does not contain another clause, features one predicate only and encodes one proposition or state of affairs.

Another important distinction is between **dependent** and **independent** clauses. An independent clause is grammatical and complete in itself, and can therefore easily be used in isolation. Independent clauses are also sometimes called **main** clauses. A dependent clause, in contrast, is not complete; it typically lacks the specification of some features, for example of TAM and/or arguments, which is provided by another clause. The dependent–independent distinction cross-cuts the complex–basic distinction, i.e. both dependent and independent clauses can be either complex or basic.

This chapter provides a description of independent basic clauses. The description will start by presenting affirmative declarative clauses, both verbal and non-verbal (Sec. 7.1), as well as the emphatic morphemes *=e* and *te* (Sec. 7.2) that are very commonly encountered in basic clauses. This is followed by sections on negation (Sec. 7.3), the formation of questions (Sec. 7.4) and apprehensive clauses (Sec. 7.5).

7.1 Affirmative declarative clauses

Clauses can be classified on the basis of the transitivity of the predicate. The distinction made is between transitive and intransitive predication: predicates with more than one

argument are transitive, and predicates with only one argument (‘one-place predicates’) are intransitive (Stassen 1997: 9). Lexemes used for transitive predication in Savosavo are those that are used with object marking morphology as predicates in verbal clauses. This includes mostly transitive verb stems (cf. Sec. 4.1), but also kinship terms (see Sec. 4.2, p. 60). Intransitive predicates are intransitive verbs and all types of non-verbal predicates used in Savosavo. They will be discussed in detail below in Sec. 7.1.2.

Stassen distinguishes four semantic predicate categories: “EVENT (or ACTION/STATE) PREDICATES, CLASS-MEMBERSHIP PREDICATES, [...] LOCATIONAL PREDICATES [and] PROPERTY-CONCEPT PREDICATES” (Stassen 1997: 18). These four categories are reflected in the basic clause types of Savosavo, as they will be discussed below (see Tab. 7.1): event predicates are usually transitive or intransitive verbs used in verbal clauses (Sec. 7.1.1), while the other three categories are expressed by non-verbal clauses (Sec. 7.1.2). Among these, locational predicates are a clearly distinct category including locative-marked NPs, locationals and postpositional phrases with *l-omata* ‘at’ (described in Sec. 7.1.2.1), property-concept predicates are primarily *sua*- and *lava*-phrases, and class-membership predicates are typically NPs (the last two categories are discussed together in Sec. 7.1.2.2). Savosavo has one additional predicate type: nominalized verbal clauses (NVCs) are used as predicates in a non-verbal clause frame to place emphasis on the predicate. This is discussed in Section 7.1.2.3.

PREDICATE TYPE	SEMANTIC PREDICATE CATEGORY
verb	Event predicates
<i>l-omata</i> – PP	Locational predicates
Locational NP=LOC	
<i>sua</i> -Phrase	Property-concept predicates
<i>lava</i> -Phrase	
NP	Class-membership predicates
NVC	Emphasis on predicate

Table 7.1: Mapping between predicate types and the semantic predicate categories, based on Stassen (1997).

7.1.1 Verbal clauses

The predicate of a verbal clause is a verb or SVC (387).

- (387) [*Pa boke ghuraghura*]=*na ba-i*.
 one group whale=NOM come-FIN
 ‘A group of whales came.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_184)

Depending on the transitivity of the verb/SVC, a verbal clause can contain one, two or three arguments, and in addition different types of adjunct. The clause in example (387) consists only of one argument (the subject) and a finite verb. The first position in the clause is of particular importance; especially relevant constituents are often placed there (see below).

Savosavo is a language with nominative-accusative alignment (featuring a ‘marked nominative’ system, see discussion in Sec. 5.2), thus subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs are treated alike, and different from objects. They are set apart by their nominative case-marking (Sec. 5.2.1), the existence of a special set of enclitic subject pronouns (Sec. 4.5.1.2), and the fact that they, in contrast to objects, are not cross-referenced on the verb (Sec. 6.1). Objects are not case-marked, but cross-referenced on the verb. Thus, a verbal clause in Savosavo can be said to contain a subject and one, or at most two, objects, as well as adjuncts of different kinds (see below).

All of these elements tend to precede the verb, especially when they are represented by NPs. In particular, object NPs are always pre-verbal. The position of subjects is more flexible, depending on what linguistic expression (NP or enclitic pronoun) is used. However, in a transitive clause with both subject and object represented by NPs, the order will be SOV. Following the notation of Dixon (1979, 1994), the structures can be described as SV/AOV, with S representing the subject of an intransitive clause, and A and O representing the subject and the object of a transitive clause respectively. The following list shows a schematic structure for intransitive and transitive verbs/SVCs (represented by VC for verb complex) with NP arguments, as well as the verb *l-ame-li*¹ ‘to give something to someone’, the only verb that has two objects (see Sec. 6.2.1).

$S_{NP=NOM}$		VC_{intr} (387)
$A_{NP=NOM}$	O_{NP}	VC_{tr} (388)
$A_{NP=NOM}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} O_{NP}^{Recipient} & O_{NP}^{Theme} \\ O_{NP}^{Theme} & O_{NP}^{Recipient} \end{array} \right\}$	V_{give} (389, 390)

¹This verb has the allomorphs *l-amo-li* and *l-eme-li*.

- (388) [Ko]_A=na [ko mama mau=zalo]_O ghana=ti=tu.
 3SG.F=NOM 3SG.F[GEN] mother father=DU think-3DU.O-PRS.IPFV
 ‘She is thinking of her parents.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_105)
- (389) [Ko adaki]_A=kona [lo ighiva]_O^{Recipient} te [buka]_O^{Theme}
 DET.SG.F woman=NOM.F DET.PL three EMPH book
 l-eme-mi-zu.
 3SG.M.O-give-3PL.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘The woman was giving those three a book.’ (032_sl_rec)
- (390) [Lo mapa]_A=na [mi]_O^{Theme} [lo-ma toka]_O^{Recipient}
 DET.SG.M person=NOM fish 3SG.M-GEN.SG.F sibling
 l-amo-ghi(-i).
 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.F.O(-FIN)
 ‘That man gave fish to his sister.’ (009_elicitation)

Note that, irrespective of constituent order, the recipient is cross-referenced by the object suffix on the verb.

Examples (389) and (390) are both elicited, reflecting the fact that it is rather unusual in natural speech to find a transitive clause with all arguments realized as full NPs. Full NPs are either used to introduce or re-activate referents, or as a marked way to refer to already established referents, e.g. when switching back and forth between several topical referents. The more arguments there are in a clause, the less likely it is that they should all require reference by means of a full NP. Objects that are clearly identifiable from the context are usually dropped and thus only represented by the object agreement on the verb. This does not influence the order of the remaining constituents, i.e. a subject NP will still precede the verb (391).

- (391) [Ze]_A=na te bo ny-ovu-i.
 3PL=NOM EMPH go 1O-put-FIN
 ‘They brought me (there).’ (agh_png-053)

Subjects, on the other hand, are only very rarely dropped. Instead, a set of second-position enclitic personal pronouns is used to denote established referents (cf. Sec. 4.5.1.2). These pronouns are very common indeed. They attach to a wide variety of hosts, including most adverbs (except *kama* ‘already’), conjunctions, phrases and subordinate clauses, as long as they are the first element of the clause (392, 393, 394), but they cannot attach to finite verb complexes.

- (392) Te=**to**_s liaza-i.
 CONJ=3DU.NOM return-FIN
 ‘And they returned.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_282)

- (393) [*Ai duzi tone lo-va ghau*]_o=*nye_A*
 1SG.GEN elder brother 3SG.M-GEN.M fishing.bamboo=1SG.NOM
golo-li-zu.
 break-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘I broke my elder brother’s fishing bamboo.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_040)
- (394) [*Lo*]_{Adjunct}=*la=nye_A* *te* [*lo mapa*]_o *l-uma-i.*
 3SG.M=LOC.M=1SG.NOM EMPH DET.SG.M person 3SG.M.O-feed-FIN
 ‘With that I fed the man.’ (no_WWII_064)

As the position of these enclitic pronouns does not depend on the position of the other constituents of the clause, it is futile to provide schematic structures for all possible clause structures involving enclitic pronouns; however, the structures of some illustrative examples are given below.

CONJ	=S _{CL}			VC _{intr}	(392)
O _{NP}	=A _{CL}			VC _{tr}	(393)
Adjunct _{NP=LOC}	=A _{CL}	PA	O _{NP}	VC _{tr}	(394)
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} O_{NP}^{Recipient} \\ O_{NP}^{Theme} \end{array} \right.$	=A _{CL}	(Adjunct _{ADV})	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} O_{NP}^{Theme} \\ O_{NP}^{Recipient} \end{array} \right.$	V _{give}	(395, 396)

- (395) [*Mapamapa*]_o^{Recipient} =*ze_A* [*lo pepa*]_o^{Theme} *l-ame-li(-i).*
 RECIP=3PL.NOM DET.SG.M paper 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘To each other they give the paper.’ (032_bd_rec)
- (396) [*Pa ringi pono*]_o^{Theme} =*lo_A* *mane* [*Basilio*]_o^{Recipient}
 one ring only=3SG.M.NOM consecutively Basilio
l-eme-li(-i).
 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘Only a ring he gave Basilio.’ (png_WWII_3_319)

7.1.1.1 Verb-initial minimal clauses

Verbal clauses minimally consist of a verb complex and a subject. In such a minimal verbal clause, subject NPs precede the verb complex (see (387) above), whereas clitic subject pronouns are attached to the verb complex and thus appear in the second position (397).

- (397) *Tei-li ta=nye_A*
 do.thus-3SG.M.O FUT=1SG.NOM
 ‘I will do it like that.’ (jk_mat_019)

This predicate-first structure requires the verb complex to be of a certain form. These requirements can be formulated as follows:

The only TAM markers allowed in the verb complex are *ta* ‘FUT’, *-a* ‘SIM’ and *patu* ‘BG.IPFV’ (398–400). If any of these is used, the pronoun can attach directly to the verb complex, i.e., directly to these three morphemes. Note that two of these morphemes, *ta* ‘FUT’ and *-a* ‘SIM’, are unspecified as to finiteness (cf. Sec. 6.1).

- (398) *Ngai~ngai-sa* *ba-i-a=lo_s*
 REDUP~big-VBLZ come-i-SIM=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘It is getting bigger.’ (bd_cs_tonelo_089)
- (399) *Samu-a=gho_s*
 have.meal-SIM=3SG.F.NOM
 ‘[She will come later.] She is eating (at the moment).’ (133_003_srb)
- (400) *Jira-za* *patu=lo.*
 break.container-DETR BG.IPFV=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘It (a container) is still broken.’ (ap_dr_se_758)

In accordance with the semantics of the simultaneous marker and the imperfective marker, examples such as (398) to (400) would usually be interpreted as referring to the moment of the utterance.

If neither *ta* ‘FUT’, *-a* ‘SIM’, nor *patu* ‘BG.IPFV’ is present, the particle *ze* is introduced between the verb/SVC and the pronoun (401, 402).

- (401) *L-eghe* *ze=nye_A*
 3SG.M.O-see PA=1SG.NOM
 ‘I saw/see it.’ (jp_jpa_mt_281)
- (402) *Ba* *ze=ze_s*
 come PA=3PL.NOM
 ‘They came/are coming’ (bi_cs_kakula_018)

Evidence for the status of the particle *ze* used in this construction as a free morpheme comes from the stress patterns² observed in the examples: in examples (398) and (399), the (final) verb is stressed on the first syllable, and there is no stress on any of the following syllables. In examples (401) and (402), there is stress on the first syllable of the verb stem, but also on the particle *ze*. This is the same stress pattern as found in example (397).

²It has to be kept in mind that the stress pattern of a clause is largely independent from its intonation contour. The intonation contour is the same for all predicate-first verbal clauses. For an example and the corresponding intonation contour see example (6) and Fig. 2.1 in Sec. 2.5, p. 36.

A parallel predicate-first structure is used as one type of locational non-verbal clause (see below in Sec. 7.1.2.1, p. 208): the non-verbal predicate is followed by a particle *te*, which is host for an enclitic subject pronoun. It is interesting to note that both particles found in these predicate-first clause structures (*ze* and *te*) have a homophonous counterpart used in clause chaining constructions (cf. Sec. 8.3). In addition, there is also the homophonous emphatic particle *te* ‘EMPH’. For the moment all of these have been analyzed as different morphemes (see discussion of the emphatic particle *te* in Sec. 7.2.2).

The possible variation in the structure of predicate-first verbal clauses is summarized below.

SVC/V	FUT	=S/A _{CL}	(397)
SVC/V	-SIM	=S/A _{CL}	(398, 399)
SVC/V	BG.IPFV (<i>patu</i>)	=S/A _{CL}	(400)
SVC/V	ZE	=S/A _{CL}	(401, 402)

As the enclitic subject pronouns obligatorily have to be in the second position in the clause, the most relevant part of such a minimal verbal clause (the verb or SVC) appears in first position, while the pronoun, which can only be used because it is given and non-focal, follows. This is in accordance with the observation that the clause-initial position attracts the most relevant constituents of the clause.

7.1.1.2 Adjuncts

Examples (394) and (396) contain a locative marked adjunct (*lo=la* ‘with that’; cf. Sec. 5.2.4) and the adverb (*mane* ‘consecutively’; cf. Sec. 4.12.2), respectively. Other possible adjuncts are locationals (Sec. 4.7) and postpositional phrases (Sec. 4.9). As mentioned in the beginning of this section, they are also usually preverbal; however, they occasionally follow the clause, like an afterthought (403).

- (403) [Anyi]_A=na [edo-nipiti]_O z-ogo-i; [ata]_{Adjunct} [kulo]_{Adjunct}
 1SG=NOM two-teen 3PL.O-collect-FIN here seawards
 [kuikui]_{Adjunct}=la.
 point=LOC.M
 ‘I collected twelve; here seawards at the point.’ (png_WWII_1_021)

Locationals, locative NPs and postpositional phrases can be placed between the verbs of a SVC ((404), see Sec. 6.5.1).

- (404) ...[*lo*]_A=*na* [*lo* *ko* *dulo boli*]_o ***l-au***
 3SG.M=NOM DET.SG.M 3SG.F[GEN] all intestines **3SG.M.O-take**
 [*neu*]_{Adjunct} [*jai*]_{Adjunct}=*la solo tulola...*
 down river=LOC.M **throw.3SG.M.O** then
 ‘...he took all her intestines and threw them down into the river and then...’
 (bi_cs_kakula_145)

They are rather free with respect to their position in the clause. Whether they precede or follow other constituents of the clause depends on how relevant they are; thus, the adjunct in example (405) could also be used in clause-initial position if it was the most relevant constituent (405’).

- (405) [*Lo* *kola*]_o=*gho*_A [*ko* *kakau*]_{Adjunct}=*la l-ali*
 DET.SG.M stick=3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F[GEN] arm=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-hit
sodu-li(-i).
 cut-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘The stick she cut with her hand.’ (42a-ws_cb)
- (405’) [*Ko* *kakau*]_{Adjunct}=*la=gho*_A [*lo* *kola*]_o *l-ali*
 3SG.F[GEN] arm=LOC.M=3SG.F.NOM DET.SG.M stick 3SG.M.O-hit
sodu-li(-i).
 cut-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘With her hand she cut the stick.’

The schematic structures of (403), (405) and (405’) are provided below. Negation in basic verbal clauses is discussed in Section 7.3, and formation of questions from basic verbal clauses is described in Section 7.4.

$A_{NP=NOM}$	O_{NP}	V	Adjunct _{LOC}	Adjunct _{LOC}	Adjunct _{NP=LOC}	(403)
$A_{NP=NOM}$	O_{NP}	V_1	Adjunct _{LOC}	Adjunct _{NP=LOC}	V_2	(404)
O_{NP}	= A_{CL}	Adjunct _{NP=LOC}	VC			(405)
Adjunct _{NP=LOC}	= A_{CL}	O_{NP}	VC			(405’)

7.1.1.3 Summary and a note on basic word order

The constituent order in affirmative declarative verbal clauses is quite flexible, although there is a tendency to have the verb complex at the end, and a restriction that object NPs always have to precede the verb complex. This flexibility is caused to a large extent by the possibility to drop object NPs, and by the fixed position of enclitic subject pronouns.

Only when all arguments are represented by NPs is the constituent order more restricted; however, it was already mentioned that this is rather rare. The cognitive status of the referents influences the choice of linguistic expression used to denote the argument referents. The initial position is of particular importance; usually, the most relevant constituent of a clause will be placed there.

The term ‘basic word order’ or ‘basic constituent order’ is often used in typological and descriptive works. Applying Greenberg’s criterion for a ‘basic word order’, which is “the order of nominal subject, nominal object, and verb in declarative sentences” (Greenberg 1966: 80; cf. Dryer 2007), Savosavo has the basic word order Subject – Object – Verb. Indeed, other structures in the grammar are in accordance with the universals relating to basic word order directly or indirectly as formulated in Greenberg (1966): the genitive precedes the governing noun (Universal 2, p. 78), there are postpositions rather than prepositions (Universal 4, p. 79), there is no invariant rule placing the interrogative word first in questions (Universal 12, p. 83), and verb forms subordinate to the main verb precede it (Universal 13, p. 84). Savosavo could therefore be considered a rather well-behaved SOV-language, but as pointed out above, in affirmative declarative clauses having overt NPs for subject and object this constituent order is neither a ‘pragmatically neutral’ structure nor is it very frequent; it thus fails to meet many of the criteria set up by other authors in discussion and application of the concept of ‘basic word order’ (cf. e.g. Brody 1984; England 1991; Mithun 1992; Dryer 1995).

7.1.2 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses, i.e. clauses with a non-verbal constituent as the predicate, are very common: in most texts of the corpus, the portion of independent clauses (i.e. clauses that are not subordinate or cosubordinate clauses) with a nominal predicate is between 40 and 60 %, independent of the text genre.

Nominal predicates can be postpositional phrases (PPs) with *l-omata* ‘at’ (Sec. 4.9.2), locationals (Sec. 4.7), phrases headed by two of the three derivative markers, *sua* ‘ATT’ and *lava* ‘PROPR’ (Sec. 4.8), and locative-marked NPs or NPs without case marking (Ch. 5). Furthermore, the nominal predicate is often a nominalized verbal clause (NVC) derived by the nominalizing suffix *-ghu* (see Sec. 7.2.1.2 and Sec. 9.6). There is no copula, the subject and the predicate are simply juxtaposed. The primary order of constituents in non-verbal clauses is Subject – Predicate (abbreviated as S and P, respectively); for conditions on and extent of variation, see the discussion below.

Subject NPs of non-verbal clauses take nominative case marking. In two types of non-verbal clause this marking can be omitted (one type of predicate-first locational clause, cf. Sec. 7.1.2.1, p. 209 and subject-first property clauses, cf. Sec. 7.1.2.2, p. 212). The majority of non-verbal clauses contain the emphatic enclitic *=e* ‘EMPH’. It marks a

constituent as pragmatically prominent and can attach to the subject (which then loses its nominative case-marking), the predicate or an adjunct. An =*e*-marked constituent is usually fronted³ (for a more detailed description of =*e* see Sec. 7.2.1). Non-verbal clauses can contain adverbs such as *ghoi* ‘also’, *kama* ‘already’, *mane* ‘consecutively’ and *koata* ‘before’. No tense marking can be used in non-verbal clauses; the temporal setting is either specified by adverbs, or it has to be inferred from the context.

A classification of non-verbal clauses can be based either on the nature of their predicate or on their semantics. The schema in Table 7.2, an elaborated version of the non-verbal predicate part of Table 7.1 above, provides an overview of the mapping between predicate type and the semantics of the clause.

PREDICATE	MEANING	SECTION
<i>l-omata</i> – PP	Location	7.1.2.1
Locational		
NP=LOC		
<i>sua</i> -Phrase	Property	7.1.2.2
<i>lava</i> -Phrase	Possession	
NP	Lack	
	Class membership	
NVC	Emphasis on predicate	7.1.2.3

Table 7.2: Mapping between non-verbal predicate type and meaning of non-verbal clauses.

The dashed lines indicate that the predicative use of some NPs can have additional meaning components besides expressing class membership; this is due to the fact that phrases headed by one of the derivative markers (see Sec. 4.8) can either directly be used as the

³One may argue that an =*e*-marked constituent is not just fronted, but placed in an “extra-clausal pragmatically prominent position”, postulated by Donohue (2005:186) for the Papuan language Lani (spoken in the highlands of Papua New Guinea). One phenomenon which is also attested in Lani could be very well explained by that, namely why a subject marked with =*e* loses its normal sentential case marking: if the constituent is outside of the clause, it would be outside of the scope of case marking assigned on the clause level (cf. Donohue 2005:186). However, as will become clear in the following chapters (in particular in Sec. 7.1.2.2, Sec. 7.1.2.3 and Sec. 7.2.1), there are some situations where the subject of a clause can be dropped and the clause then consists only of an =*e*-marked constituent. As I am very reluctant to analyze this as a clause with only one constituent positioned in the extra-clausal pragmatically prominent position, I prefer to analyze the first position inside of the clause as pragmatically prominent.

predicate of a non-verbal clause, or indirectly, as part of a headless NP which is then used as a non-verbal predicate (for a more detailed discussion see Sec. 7.1.2.2 below).

Non-verbal clauses used to convey a location exhibit similar syntactic behavior, independent of which type of predicate is used. In particular, they allow the use of an predicate-first construction reminiscent of that described above for verbal basic clauses. They will be described together in Section 7.1.2.1.

Non-verbal clauses ascribing a property as well as non-verbal clauses expressing a class membership or possession are also structurally similar and will be described together in Section 7.1.2.2.

Finally, non-verbal clauses with NVCs as their predicate are used to express the same content as the non-nominalized verbal counterpart, except for a strong emphasis on the event in contrast to the participants. The non-verbal clause structure is just a frame for the NVC. A short introduction and some examples will be provided in Section 7.1.2.3, but the main discussion of this clause type will be postponed till Section 9.6.

Negation in non-verbal clauses as well as non-verbal questions is discussed in Sections 7.3 and 7.4 respectively.

7.1.2.1 Locational clauses

Non-verbal clauses that convey a location consist of a subject NP and a locational predicate, either a locative-marked NP (406, 407), a locational (408), or a postpositional phrase with *l-omata* ‘at’ (409). Often more than one locational is used, or a locational is combined with a *l-omata* ‘at’ postpositional phrase or a locative NP marked by *=la*, forming a complex non-verbal predicate (406–409).

- (406) [Ko tada]_{s=na} [kulo manyigha]_{p=la}.
3SG.F[GEN] man=NOM seawards village=LOC.M
‘Her husband (was) seawards in the village.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_024)
- (407) [Pa kola]_{s=e} [kao karu]_{p=la}.
one tree=EMPH bushwards edge=LOC.M
‘A tree is bushwards at the edge.’ (pk_mk_mt_298)
- (408) [Pa piva]_{s=na} [ota kuata ghoita]_p
one water=NOM there seawards near
‘A stream (is/was) there seawards close.’ (as_WWII_020)
- (409) [Ko ghulia]_{s=kona} [kao ko mau l-omata]_p
DET.SG.F Ghulia=NOM.F bushwards 3SG.F[GEN] father 3SG.M-at
‘Ghulia (was) bushwards at her father(’s place).’ (ws_cs_ghulia_116)

Structurally, there are two ways of forming locational non-verbal clauses, differing in the order of constituents. The subject NP can precede the predicate, or it can follow it.

7.1.2.1.1 Subject–predicate locational clauses

Examples (406)–(409) above are all examples of subject–predicate locational clauses. They show that a subject noun phrase and a locational expression specifying the place can simply be juxtaposed in that order, i.e. the basic order of constituents is SP. In this case the subject NP has to be marked as nominative, just like syntactic subjects in verbal clauses (cf. Sec. 7.1.1), or it is marked by the emphatic enclitic =*e* for special emphasis ((407); for a discussion of =*e* ‘EMPH’, see Sec. 7.2.1). The schematized structures of the examples given above are as follows:

S _{NP=NOM}	P _{NP=LOC}	(406)
S _{NP=EMPH}	P _{NP=LOC}	(407)
S _{NP=NOM}	P _{Locational}	(408)
S _{NP=NOM}	P _{(Locational) PP}	(409)

7.1.2.1.2 Predicate–subject locational clauses

The second possibility is to use a predicate-first construction similar to, but not identical with, the predicate-first structure found in verbal clauses (see above, Sec. 7.1.1.1). There are two types of predicate-first construction used in locational clauses:

- A. In the first type of predicate-first locational clauses, the locational predicate is given clause-initially, followed by the particle *te*⁴, which is host to an enclitic personal pronoun denoting the subject referent (410)–(411). Occasionally, this is followed by a full, case-marked subject NP (412).

(410) [*Padenge mavutu*]_P=*la te=ze*_S
 only.one place=LOC.M PA=3PL.NOM
 ‘In just one place (are) they.’ (jp_ji_mt.004)

(411) [*Ny-omata*]_P *te=lo*_S
 1-at PA=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘With me (is) it’, lit. ‘At me (is) it.’ (jp_ji_mt.158)

⁴For the time being, *te* in examples (410) to (412) is glossed as ‘PA’, and distinguished from the emphatic particle *te* ‘EMPH’ (appearing, for example, below in (414)) and the clause-chaining *te*. For a more detailed discussion see Section 7.2.2.

- (412) (Describing a picture with two balls, one yellow and one red, arranged on the sagittal axis; answering: Is the yellow one here (i.e. closer) or...?)

[*Atati*]_P *te=lo*_S [*lo* *posovata*]_S=*na*.
 here.PROX PA=3SG.M.NOM DET.SG.M yellow=NOM

‘Here (is) it, the yellow one.’ (pk_mk_mt_351)

Inverting the usual order of subject and predicate brings the focal part of the clause to the clause-initial position, similar to the verbal predicate-first construction (cf. Sec.7.1.1.1). Another similarity is that the particle *te* used as the host for the enclitic pronouns in (410) to (411) receives its own stress, as does *ze* in the verbal predicate-first construction, which is evidence for its status as a free morpheme. However, in the verbal predicate-first construction the particle *ze* is only introduced if the verb complex does not contain either *ta* ‘FUT’ or *-a* ‘SIM’.

As was mentioned in the description of the verbal predicate-first construction, both *ze* and *te* have homophonous counterparts used in clause-chaining constructions (cf. Sec.8.3). Furthermore, there is also an emphatic particle *te* ‘EMPH’, but this particle never receives stress or acts as host for an enclitic pronoun. All of these particles are at present analyzed as separate morphemes (see Sec.7.2.2 for a more detailed discussion on *te*).

- B. In the second type of predicate-first locational clause, the locational predicate is marked by the emphatic enclitic *=e* ‘EMPH’ and is followed by a subject NP (413–414). The subject NP can be case-marked (414). No enclitic pronoun can be used.

- (413) (Description of a picture)

[*Lo* *lo* *buringa*]_P=*la=e* [*edo kola=gha*]_S
 3SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] back=LOC.M=EMPH two tree=PL

‘At his back (are) two trees.’ (jp_ji_mt_208)

- (414) (We went inland here, here bushwards...)

Apoi [*ata*]_P=*e* *te* [*lo* *keva*]_S=*na*.
 because here=EMPH EMPH DET.SG.M path=NOM

‘Because here (is) the road.’ (mp_biti_046)

- (415) (There were several numbered guns put up along the coast)

Te [*kulo* *lo* *sukulu=gha ze* *kulo*]_P=*e*
 CONJ seawards DET.PL school=PL 3PL[GEN] seawards=EMPH

[*lo* *naba* *uan*]_s
 DET.SG.M number one

‘And, seawards, seawards from the school buildings was the number one.’
 (bk_WWIL_112)

The pragmatic difference between these two types of predicate-initial clauses is difficult to assess, because different factors play a role:

- the form of the subject (dependent on the activation and accessibility status of the referent);
- the function of *=e* ‘EMPH’ and *te* ‘EMPH’ as markers of pragmatic prominence that are not tied to any specific kind of prominence (e.g. contrastive focus vs. information focus vs. contrastive topic vs. topic shift);

Enclitic personal pronouns can only be used for activated, non-emphasized referents, therefore the first type of predicate-first locational clause, which involves enclitic pronouns, is usually used when the emphasis is on the location as the particularly relevant, new information. The subject referent tends to be already established, and the primary function of the clause is to specify the location of this referent. This can be described as a rather clear topic–comment relation: the subject referent is the topic, and the locational predicate is the comment about this topic. Still, examples such as (412) show that it is possible to have another subject NP following, in case of a contrastive topic.

The second type can be used with new referents as the subject (413, 414), or with a subject referent that is in contrast to other referents (415). In these cases, it is much less clear if there is something like a topic–comment structure, or if the clause is used in athetic, presentational way, making use of the location as an anchoring device. This can be reflected by a translation of (413) as ‘There are two trees behind him’.

The structures of the examples given for each type are provided below:

$P_{NP=LOC}$	TE	$=S_{CL}$	(410)
P_{PP}	TE	$=S_{CL}$	(411)
$P_{Locational}$	TE	$=S_{CL}$	$S_{NP=NOM}$ (412)
$P_{NP=LOC=EMPH}$			$S_{NP(=NOM)}$ (413)
$P_{Locational=EMPH}$	(EMPH)		$S_{NP(=NOM)}$ (414, 415)

The predicate-first constructions appear to be breaching the second-position restriction on the enclitic pronouns, especially the first type of the non-verbal one. In the verbal

predicate-first construction, the particle *ze* is used to replace *ta* ‘FUT’ and *-a* ‘SIM’, both morphemes that are located within the verb complex; it would therefore not pose a problem to analyze *ze* as being part of the verb complex. However, in the first type of the non-verbal construction, e.g. in example (410), the particle *ze* is clearly not inside the locative-marked NP; similarly, *te* follows the postposition *ny-omata* in example (411), and can therefore not be said to be located within the PP. In addition, there is no general restriction that would bar enclitic pronouns from attaching to locative-marked NPs, locationals or PPs. An alternative analysis compatible with this would be to analyze this structure as a cleft-construction, but the intonation of these non-verbal predicate-first clauses does not provide any evidence for such an analysis; the intonation contour is similar to that of other declarative affirmative clauses (see example (9) and Fig. 2.2 in Sec. 2.5, p. 37).

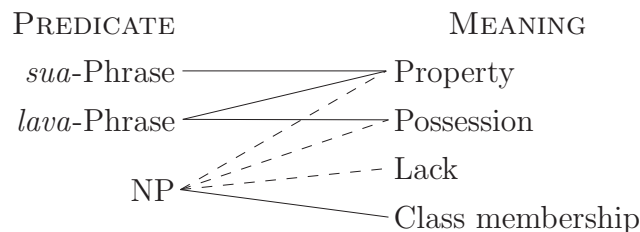
7.1.2.2 Property clauses and classificational clauses

Two phrase types can function as predicates of property clauses and classificational clauses:

- an NP that is not case-marked (7.1.2.2.1), or
- a derivative marker phrase headed by *sua* ‘ATT’ or *lava* ‘PROPR’ (7.1.2.2.2).

The internal structure of derivative marker phrases was described in Section 4.8. For the time being, it will be assumed that phrases headed by *zepo* ‘PRIV’, the third type of derivative marker phrase, and adjectives cannot be used as predicates of non-verbal clauses, because there is no example in the corpus at present that forces such an analysis. In all examples available, adjectives and *zepo*-phrases can always be analyzed as being the sole constituent of a headless NP (cf. Ch. 5), which then functions as the non-verbal predicate.

The mapping between those predicate types discussed in this section and the semantics of the non-verbal clause is repeated here for convenience (see Tab. 7.2 for the complete overview).



- (420) [*Pa*]_s=*e* [*Malaita soma*]_p
one=EMPH Malaita ATT.SG.F
 ‘One (was) from Malaita.’ (agh_png_032)

Fronted predicates are often marked with =*e* ‘EMPH’ (421). The subject of an =*e*-marked predicate can be dropped if the subject referent is inferable (422).

- (421) [*Brisbane sue*]_p [*lo sere sua*]_s=*na*.
 Brisbane ATT.**EMPH** DET.SG.M be.white ATT.SG.M=NOM
 ‘From Brisbane (was) the white man.’ (bk_WWII017)

- (422) [*Ka pazuzu soma*]_p=*e*.
 already give.birth ATT.SG.F=**EMPH**
 ‘She had already given birth.’, lit. ‘Already birth-giving (was she).’
 (da_cs_kosakosa_009)

Adverbs can precede both subject and predicate (423), or they can appear between them (see (416) above).

- (423) **Kama** [*to sua=lo to batu=lo*]_p [*ai ta*]_s=*na*.
already DET.DU giant=DU 3DU[GEN] head=DU this 3DU.PROX=NOM
 ‘The heads of the giants (are) these two already.’, lit. ‘Already the giants’ heads (are) these.’ (wr_cs_vulaole_205)

The subject NP in property clauses with a fronted predicate is one syntactic context where the special proximal third person pronouns can be used ((423); cf. Sec. 4.5.1.1).

The patterns described above can be represented as follows (double parentheses indicate that a constituent is optional, but preferably left out):

	S _{NP(=NOM)}	(Adjunct _{ADV})	P	(416)
	S _{NP=EMPH}		P	(420)
CONJ	=S _{CL}		P	(418)
(Adjunct _{ADV})	P		S _{NP=NOM}	(419, 423)
	P=EMPH		(S _{NP=NOM})	(421, 422)

7.1.2.2.1 NP predicates

NPs without case marking are primarily used as non-verbal predicates to express a class membership (424, 425).

- (424) [*Anyi ghajia*]_s [**Solomone sua mapa**]_p
 1SG self Solomon.Islands ATT.SG.M person
 ‘I was the only Solomon Islander.’, lit. ‘I myself (was) a Solomon Island person.’
 (js_marine_054)
- (425) [**Keda pono**]_p *ka* [lo *popole*]_{s=na}.
 fire only already DET.SG.M blanket=NOM
 ‘[They didn’t have blankets back then.] Only fire (was their) blanket.’
 (mp_mapagha_092)

It is common to find headless NPs in predicate position. Recall from Section 5.1.2 that in a headless NP with a non-singular referent the number-marking enclitics *=(za)lo* ‘DU’ and *=gha* ‘PL’ attach to the right-most autonomous NP constituent. This is often a *sua*-phrase ((426), with *sua* contracted to *so*) or a *lava*-phrase (427, 428, with the dual and plural forms *laghe* and *lame* respectively).

- (426) [*Ela*]_{s=e} [*l-olomi so=gha*]_p
 some=EMPH 3SG.M.O-know ATT=PL
 ‘Some knew it.’, lit. ‘Some (were) ones knowing it.’ (mp_mapagha_431)
- (427) [*Gola kiba-sa sua gelegele laghe=lo*]_{p=e} [*to kola=lo*]_{s=tona}.
 green-VBLZ ATT.SG.M appearance PROPR.DU=DU=EMPH DET.DU
 tree=DU=NOM.DU
 ‘The trees have a green appearance.’, lit. ‘Ones having a green being appearance (are) the two trees.’ (jp_ji_mt_136)
- (428) *Apoi* [*ave*]_s [*tei sua vata bo-ghu lame=gha*]_p
 because 1PL.EX say ATT.SG.M kind go-NMLZ PROPR.PL=PL
 ‘Because we have this way of living.’, lit. ‘Because we (are) ones having a kind of said going.’ (as_WWII_050)

Headless NPs with *sua*- or *lava*-phrases serve to express that a referent has a certain attribute or is in possession of an object or trait.

In examples (426) to (428), the number marking is clear evidence that the *sua*- and *lava*-phrases are part of a headless NP and are not used directly as predicates (see Sec. 7.1.2.2.2 below).

Adjectives are also found in headless NPs functioning as predicates (429).⁶

⁶The presence of plural marking and the determiner in this example is clear evidence that the predicate is an NP.

- (429) *Zu* [*zepo*]_{s=e} [*lo dai=gha*]_p *ghoi*.
 and 3PL=EMPH DET.PL good=PL also
 ‘And they (were) also good ones.’ (su_WWII158)

Only very few examples feature headless NPs with a *zepo*-phrase. Such an NP is used to express that the subject is lacking something, comparable to some uses of the English adjectival suffix *-less* ((430); see also Sec. 4.8.3).

- (430) [*Ave*]_s *mane* [*tuvi zepo=gha*]_p
 1PL.EX consecutively house PRIV=PL
 ‘We didn’t have a house then.’, lit. ‘We (were) then house-less ones.’
 (as_WWII034)

So far, *zepo*-phrases and adjectives have not been found to occur directly as predicates.

Occasionally, the subject of a property clause with an NP predicate is represented twice, in the beginning of the clause as a left-dislocated topical expression (not case-marked), and in the end (case-marked), as in examples (431) and (432).

- (431) [*Aghe*]_s [*Kaogele sua mapa=lo*]_p [*aghe*]_{s=na}, *kukua*.
 1DU.EX Kaogele ATT person=DU 1DU.EX=NOM gen.2
 ‘We, people from Kaogele (are) we, Granny.’ (st_cs_vangazua_106)
- (432) *Zu* [*Marovo sua mapa=gha*]_s *ghoi* [*ave ny-oghoni sua mapa=gha*]_p
 and M. ATT person=PL also 1PL.EX 1O-be.like ATT.M person=PL
 [*ze*]_{s=na}. (*Boragha so=gha=e*.)
 3PL=NOM (be.black ATT=PL=EMPH)
 ‘And Marovo people, they (are) also people like us. ((They are) black.)’, lit. ‘And Marovo people also people like us (are) they.’ (ts_marovo_007)

This structure can be represented as follows:

(CONJ)	S _{NP} (=EMPH)	(Adjunct _{ADV})	P	S _{NP=NOM}	(431, 432)
--------	-------------------------	---------------------------	---	---------------------	------------

The first topical subject NP is characterized by rising pitch. After a fall over the first part of the predicate, the pitch rises again (though not as high), and finally shows the clause-final fall over the second subject NP (see pitch contour of example (431) in Fig. 7.1). These cases are more common with the emphatic enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ attached to the predicate, and sometimes to the first subject NP as well, see Section 7.2.1 (p. 224).

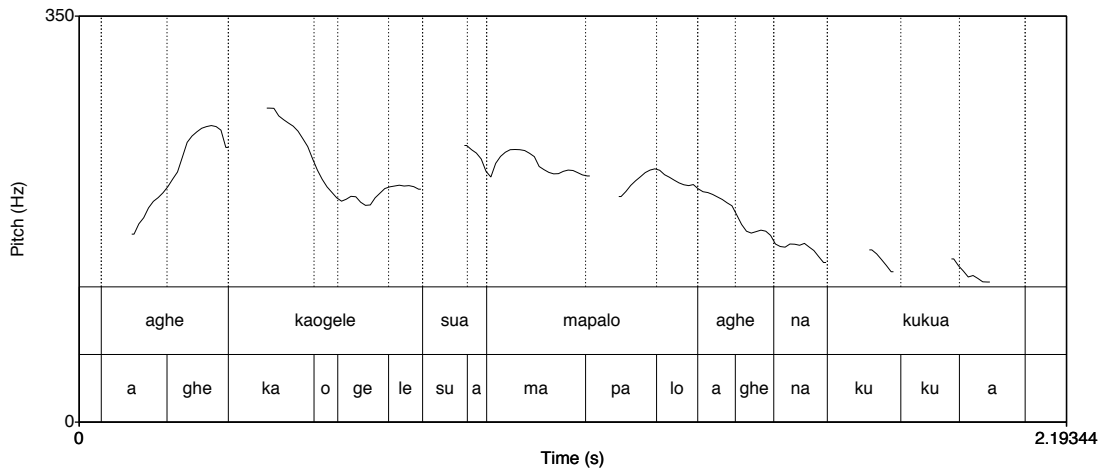


Figure 7.1: Pitch contour of example (431).

7.1.2.2.2 *Sua-* and *lava-*phrase predicates

Derivative marker phrases headed by *sua* and *lava* express attributive and possessive relations between their complement and another referent (see Sec. 4.8.1 and Sec. 4.8.2). When they are directly used as predicates of non-verbal clauses, they predicate an attribute (433) or the possession of an object (434) or property (435) to the subject.

(433) [*Ai-va tuvi*]_s [*seghe sua*]_p
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M house be.full ATT.M
 ‘My house (is/was) full.’ (png-WWII_3-029)

(434) [*Anyi*]_s [*pa tarake lava*]_p
 1SG one truck PROPR.SG.M
 ‘I have a truck.’, lit. ‘I (am) having a truck.’ (cp-api_mt_031)

(435) [*Ai lo ivaghu=la sua mapa=gha*]_{s=e} [*negha sua gelegele lame*]_p
 this DET.SG.M day=LOC.M ATT.M person=PL=EMPH different
 appearance PROPR.PL
 ‘People of today look different.’, lit. ‘People of today (are) having (a) different appearance.’ (mp_mapagha_118)

The attributive marker *sua* is also one way to form a relative clause ((418) above; cf. Sec. 4.8.1 and 8.2.1). If such a relative clause is used as a non-verbal predicate, it is possible to extract and raise the object NP for special emphasis (436).

- (436) [*Tei sua vata ai-va samu*
 be.like.this ATT.SG.M kind 1SG.GEN-GEN.M food
lovu-ghu]_o [*no*]_s=*na* *te* [*∅*]_o *pala*
 3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ 2SG=NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O
l-amo-nyi sua]_p
 3SG.M.O-give-1SG.O ATT

‘That is how you leave food for me.’, lit. ‘Such a kind of putting aside my food you are of the make-give-me kind.’ (dr_cs_taragau_043)

When *sua*- and *lava*-phrases function directly as predicates, no number-marking enclitics can be used for non-singular referents ((435) above, (437) below).

- (437) *Pade sekuriti=gha; [raskolo=gha]*_s=*e* [*z-ali sua*]_p
 no.matter security=PL criminal=PL=EMPH 3PL.O-hit ATT
 ‘No matter security men, (the) criminals will hit them.’ (agh_png_492)

But as there is no overt marking in an NP for the singular, examples with a singular referent like (433), (438) and (439) are ambiguous and can be analyzed in two ways: either the derivative marker phrase is directly used as the predicate, or it is the only constituent of an NP that is then used predicatively (cf. Sec. 7.1.2.2.1 above).

- (438) [*Lo lapi*]_s [*sisi sua*]_p
 3SG.M[GEN] tongue be.red ATT
 ‘Its tongue (is) red.’, lit. ‘Its tongue (is) red being.’ (cp_api_mt_013)
- (439) *Oma [nyuba bo-ghu lama]*_p [*ko boti*]_s
 not child go-NMLZ PROPR.SG.F DET.SG.F boat
 ‘(It was) pretty fast, that boat.’, lit. ‘Not having a childlike going (was) the boat.’ (pk_WWII_085)

One could argue that *sua*- and *lava*-phrases are not in fact directly used as predicates, but that the number marking enclitics are simply omitted. It has been mentioned in Section 5.1.2 that this occasionally happens, but less with animate referents, and there are quite a number of examples like (435), (438) and (439) in the corpus, contrasting with examples like (440), (441) and (442).

- (440) *Apoi [[zepo]]*_s=*e* [[*mapamapa l-olomi so=gha*]]_p
 because 3PL=EMPH RECIP 3SG.M.O-know ATT=PL
 ‘Because they knew each other.’, lit. ‘Because they (were) ones knowing each other.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_077)

- (441) $[[Tei \quad so=gha]]_p=e$ $[[ota \quad sua] \quad mapa=gha]_s=na.$
 be.like.this **ATT=PL=EMPH** there ATT person=PL=NOM
 ‘Ones like this (were) people from there.’ (ts_marovo_053)

- (442) $[[Marovo \quad sua \quad mapa=gha]]_s$ $[[dai \quad toa \quad boi \quad ba-ghu^7$
 Marovo ATT person=PL good really go.through come-NMLZ
 $lame=gha]]_p=e.$
PROPR.PL=PL=EMPH
 ‘People from Marovo have a very good lifestyle.’, lit. ‘People from Marovo (are)
 ones having (a) very good lifestyle.’ (ts_marovo_047)

Furthermore, if number marking in predicatively-used NPs was especially prone to being omitted, it should not matter if the NP is headless and consists only of a derivative marker phrase, or if it contains a head noun and/or some other NP constituent. One would thus expect frequent omission of number marking in all types of predicatively used NP (cf. Sec. 7.1.2.2.1 above), which is not the case.

The meaning difference between using a derivative marker phrase directly as a predicate and having it as sole constituent of a headless NP is subtle, equivalent to the difference between English *They are red* and *They are red ones*. Instead of predicating the property to the subject referent, the subject referent is classified as a referent having the property.

7.1.2.3 Non-verbal clauses with a NVC (nominalized verbal clause) predicate

NVCs are very common in Savosavo. The term ‘NVC’ is reserved for the type of *-ghu-*nominalization that is used in a non-verbal clause frame (see below) and is structurally closest to a verbal clause. NVCs contain many syntactic constituents that are found in normal verbal clauses, e.g. accusative objects, adjuncts, adverbs and even the emphatic particle *te*. Differences from a verbal clause are that the predicate is nominalized by *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’, the subject is in the genitive case, and nothing can occur post-verbally. Furthermore, no finite TAM marker can be used in a NVC, therefore any such information has to be inferred from the context. NVCs are preferentially used to talk about past and present events. A more detailed discussion of the structure of NVCs is provided in Section 9.6.

NVCs are embedded into a non-verbal clause structure. They function as the predicate and appear in clause-initial position, usually marked by *=e* ‘EMPH’, and are followed by an expletive subject NP, consisting of a third person singular masculine subject with nominative case marking (443).

⁷*Boi baghu* is a lexicalized expression meaning ‘the things to do with it’, ‘the ways of acting’, or ‘lifestyle’.

- (443) [*To kama ae-ghu*]_{NVC=e} [*lo*]_{s=na}.
 3DU[GEN] already be.married-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘They are/were already married.’, lit. ‘Their already marrying (is/was) it.’
 (ap_aeghu_057)

In example (443), the NVC consists of the abbreviated genitive pronoun *to* ‘3DU’ (the full form *to-va* ‘3DU-GEN.M’ could be used as well, cf. Sec. 5.2.3), an adverb, and the nominalized intransitive verb *ae-ghu* ‘be.married-NMLZ’. The NVC is then marked with =*e* ‘EMPH’, a marker signalling discourse prominence (see Sec. 7.2.1). Finally, this =*e*-marked NVC is used as the syntactic predicate followed by an expletive pronominal subject NP in a presentational structure, which is syntactically parallel to the structure of non-verbal property clauses (cf. Sec. 7.1.2.2). Parallel to property clauses with fronted =*e*-marked predicates, the subject can be dropped. This subject NP does not refer to any specific referent, but is a dummy subject comparable to *it* in impersonal English clauses like *It rains*. The constituent order is always PS, but the subject can easily be dropped:

P _{NVC} (S _{lo=NOM}) (443–446)

In these constructions, the event is presented as a whole, and not as a comment about a topic.

It is not possible to use negation in the non-verbal clause frame. Negation is only allowed inside the NVC (444).

- (444) *Tulola* [*ze kama ghoma ny-au-ghu*]_{NVC=e} [*lo*]_{s=na}.
 then 3PL[GEN] already **no** 1O-take-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘And then they didn’t take me.’, lit. ‘And then their already not taking me (was) it.’ (js_marine_028)

A non-verbal clause frame with a NVC predicate is either used on its own, as in example (443), or as the main clause in a complex clause structure. It is often found as the final clause in a clause chain (445), or as the apodosis of a conditional clause (446).

- (445) *Ze zaghero-a te* [[*[ze]_s [tagha]_{Adjunct} [lo mama*
 3PL[GEN] take.all-SS CONJ 3PL[GEN] up 3SG.M[GEN] mother
mau=zalo to tuvi]_{Adjunct}=la bo-ghu]_{NVC=e} (*[lo]_{s=na})*].
 father=DU 3DU[GEN] house=LOC.M go-NMLZ=EMPH (3SG.M=NOM)
 ‘They packed and they went up to his parent’s house.’, lit. ‘Their packing and their going up to his parent’s house (was it).’ (ap_cs_saraputu_183)

- (446) *Ze bia pizo-li kia, [[ze]_s kuili*
 3PL[GEN] beer drink-3SG.M.O if 3PL[GEN] shout
*keukeu-ghu*_{NVC=e} (*[lo]_s=na*).
 make.loud.high.noise-NMLZ=EMPH (3SG.M=NOM)
 ‘If they drink beer, they shout and make noise.’, lit. ‘Their beer drinking if, their shouting making noise (is it).’ (ap_custom_070)

For a more detailed discussion of the structure and functions of NVCs embedded in a non-verbal clause frame, see Section 9.6.

7.2 The emphatic morphemes =e and te

Savosavo has two commonly used morphemes, the enclitic =e and the particle te, that are used for emphasis of both topical and focal constituents.

7.2.1 The emphatic enclitic =e

The emphatic enclitic =e ‘EMPH’ is the second most common morpheme in the corpus.⁸ It is an enclitic that can attach to everything but verbs, verb complexes, conjunctions and a number of particles. Very often it is found in non-verbal clauses (447).

- (447) [*Aba=la sua vere l-olomi so=gha*]_p=e
 Guadalcanal=LOC.M ATT.SG.M language 3SG.M.O-know ATT=PL=EMPH
[ave]_s=na.
 1PL.EX=NOM
 ‘We know the language of Guadalcanal.’ (mp_mapagha_458)

It has not been found with most adverbs in adverbial function, with the exception of *pogala* ‘tomorrow’ and *koata* ‘before’. The enclitic does not occur inside of subordinate, cosubordinate or nominalized clauses. There is an allomorph of =e ‘EMPH’, =Ce, which is used with all personal pronouns except the third person plural pronoun. The last consonant of the pronoun is repeated as the syllable onset of the enclitic. The resulting forms (with the pronouns in parentheses) are listed in Table 7.3.

⁸The most common morpheme is *lo* with 11,222 occurrences, including both its uses, as a personal pronoun and as a determiner. The enclitic =e and its allomorphs are found 5,467 times, and is followed by the subject marking *na* (4,233 occurrences), the nominalizing suffix *-ghu* (4,060 occurrences), the genitive suffix *-va* (3,928 occurrences) and the multipurpose case marker *la* (3,667 occurrences).

		Sg	Du	Pl
1.	incl.		(mai)=me	
	excl.	(anyi)=nye	(aghe)=ghe	(ave)=ve
2.		(no)=ne	(pe)=pe	(me)=me
3.	m	(lo)=le	(to)=te	(zepo)=e
	f	(ko)=ke		

Table 7.3: Allomorphs of the enclitic =e ‘EMPH’ on personal pronouns.

The emphatic enclitic =e ‘EMPH’ operates on the level of information structure and pragmatics. It is used in all genres represented in the corpus and witnessed in the field. First, a description will be given of the ways in which =e ‘EMPH’ can be used with non-verbal clauses (Sec. 7.2.1.1), then we turn to verbal clauses (Sec. 7.2.1.2). In this part the focus is on the structural features of =e ‘EMPH’. Finally, Section 7.2.1.4 will provide a characterization of the functions of =e.

7.2.1.1 Non-verbal clauses and =e ‘EMPH’

In a non-verbal clause, =e can attach to the subject or the predicate. Where the subject NP would or could be case-marked, =e simply replaces the case-marking. In a non-verbal property, classificational or identificational clause, =e ‘EMPH’ can just be attached to the subject NP without further changes in the structure (448).

- (448) [Ko nini]_{Subj} [koi Polupolu]_{Pred}
 3SG.F[GEN] name=**EMPH** DET.SG.F Polupolu
 ‘Her name (was) Polupolu.’ (ap_cs_polupolu_006)

Locational non-verbal clauses have obligatorily case-marked subject NPs when the subject precedes the predicate. Again, if =e ‘EMPH’ is added to the subject NP in such clauses, it simply replaces the case-marking (449, 450).

- (449) [Pa poi]_{Subj}=e te [lo mane=la]_{Pred}
 one thing=**EMPH** EMPH 3SG.M[GEN]/DET.SG.M side=LOC.M
 ‘One thing (is) at its/the side.’ (cp_api_mt_031)
- (450) [Pa]_{Subj}=e [neuta]_{Pred}, [pa]_{Subj}=e [taghata]_{Pred}
 one=**EMPH** below one=**EMPH** on.top
 ‘One (is) down⁹, one (is) up.’ (cp_api_mt_461)

⁹The notions ‘up’ and ‘down’ are used to refer to directions and locations clockwise and anticlockwise along the coastline respectively (cf. Sec. 4.7.1).

If in non-verbal clauses the predicate precedes the subject, *=e* ‘EMPH’ can be attached to the predicate. (451) is an example of a locational clause; (452) and (453) are examples of non-locational clauses.

- (451) *Apoi [ata]_{pred}=e te [lo keva]_{subj}=na.*
 because here=**EMPH** EMPH DET.SG.M path=NOM
 ‘Because here (is) the road.’ (mp_biti_046)
- (452) *[Mapa batu]_{pred}=e te [lo-va seu]_{subj}=na.*
 person head=**EMPH** EMPH 3SG.M-GEN.M container=NOM
 ‘Human heads (were) his cup.’ (wr_cs_vulaole_093)
- (453) *[Ghoma lo mapa]_{pred}=e [ai lo biti]_{subj}=na.*
 not DET.SG.M person=**EMPH** this DET.SG.M volcano=NOM
 ‘(It was) not a conscious being, this volcano.’, lit. ‘Not a person (was) this volcano.’
 (ap_biti_046)

These examples also illustrate that the subject is usually case-marked (479, 452) and that the predicate can be negated (453).

When the predicate of a property clause is marked by *=e* ‘EMPH’, the following subject NP can be omitted if the subject is clear from the context (454), or expressed by a case-marked pronoun (455).

- (454) *Ai-va kulagha=e.*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M uncle=**EMPH**
 ‘(He is) my uncle.’ (wr_cs_vulaole_107)
- (455) *Ngai keda=e lo=na.*
 big fire=**EMPH** 3SG.M=**NOM**
 ‘It (was) a big fire.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_125)

If the subject is dropped the intonation contour of a normal declarative clause is simply compressed; the clause-final fall is then located on the last couple of syllables, see Figure 7.2. Note also that the intonation contour is not influenced by the changed order of subject and predicate. The pitch contour of example (455) given in Figure 7.2 is similar to that of non-verbal clause with subject-predicate constituent order (cf. Sec. 2.5).

There is a specific set of third person pronouns (Tab. 7.4) that indicate proximity and are only used in subject NPs following an *=e*-marked predicate ((456); cf. Sec. 4.5.1.1 and Sec. 7.2.1.2, p. 227).

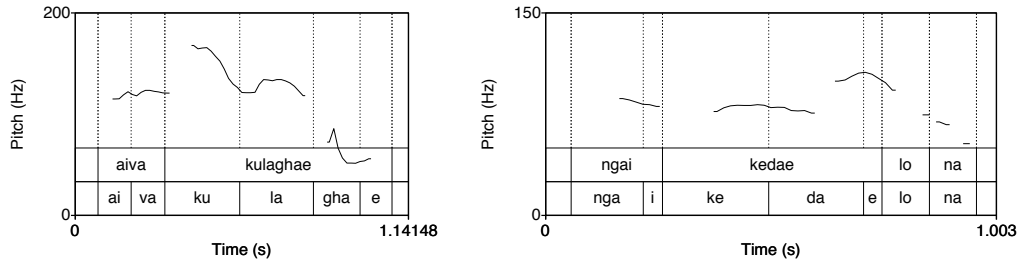


Figure 7.2: The pitch contours of examples (454) and (455).

- (456) [*Ze savu-mi-tu lo pogoro ghulia=gha*]_{pred=e}
 3PL[GEN] tell-3PL.O-REL DET.PL seven dolphin=PL=**EMPH**
 [*za*]_{subj=na}.
3PL.PROX=NOM
 ‘These (are) the seven dolphins they mentioned.’ (wr_cs_pogoro_ghuliagha_051)

		Sg	Du	Pl
3.	m	<i>la</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>za</i>
	f	<i>ka</i>		

Table 7.4: Proximal third person pronouns

Although these pronouns already have a connotation of proximity, it is possible to combine them with the proximal demonstrative *ai* (457).

- (457) *Apoi [azua-li sua mapa]*_{pred=e} [*ai la*]_{subj=na}.
 because smoke-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M person=**EMPH** **this**
3SG.M.PROX=NOM
 ‘Because this (was) a smoked person.’¹⁰ (ap_gilugilu_019)

The enclitic =e ‘EMPH’ is not found with the predicate-first locational clauses involving the particle *te* discussed in Section 7.1.2.1 (p. 208). If *te* occurs in a non-verbal locational clause between a fronted =e-marked predicate and the subject NP, it is always the emphatic particle *te* ‘EMPH’: unstressed, not obligatory, and never host of an enclitic personal pronoun ((458); cf. Sec. 7.2.2).

¹⁰This refers to a custom of drying a corpse wrapped in leaves over a fire so that it could be kept for a while.

- (458) *Ata=lia=e te to-va kuala.*
 here=about=**EMPH EMPH** 3DU-GEN.M quarters
 ‘Somewhere here (were) their quarters.’ (jn_lotu_059)

Non-verbal clauses can contain an =e-marked adjunct, usually specifying the temporal or spatial setting.

- (459) [*Ai lo manga*]_{Adjunct}=*la=e*, [*ai lo popo*]_{Subj}=*e*
 this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M=**EMPH** this DET.SG.M bowl=EMPH
 [*kuvi~kuvi zepo*]_{Pred}
 REDUP~cover PRIV
 ‘This time, this bowl doesn’t have a lid.’, lit. ‘...is lidless.’ (jp_ji_mt_040)
- (460) [*Sesepi*]_{Adjunct}=*la=e*, [*lo kilorua tau-li so=gha*]_{Subj}=*e*
 Sesepi=LOC.M=**EMPH** DET.PL kilorua wait-3SG.M.O ATT=PL=EMPH
 [*ota pale sua*]_{Pred}
 there stay ATT
 ‘At Sesepi, those looking after the Kilorua (were) staying there.’, lit. ‘...those waiting for the Kilorua...’ (ap_headhunt_017)

As was mentioned above (Sec. 7.1.1, p. 215), occasionally the subject of a non-verbal property clause is mentioned twice, once at the beginning and once at the end (461–463). The NP at the end will consist of a case-marked personal pronoun, the one at the beginning can be either a full NP (461) or a pronoun (462, 463), either case-marked (462) or marked with =e ‘EMPH’ (461, 463). The predicate is commonly marked with =e as well.

- (461) [*Ai to edo Fiji sua mapa=lo*]_{Subj}=*e* [*to boboragha*
 this DET.DU two F. ATT person=DU=**EMPH** DET.DU black
mapa=lo]_{Pred}=*e* [*to*]_{Subj}=*na*.
 person=DU=**EMPH** 3DU=**NOM**
 ‘These two Fijians, they (were) black people.’ (jn_lotu_104)
- (462) [*Ave*]_{Subj}=*na* [*kama lotu so=gha*]_{Pred}=*e* [*ave*]_{Subj}=*na*.
 1PL.EX=**NOM** already pray ATT=PL=**EMPH** 1PL.EX=**NOM**
 ‘We, we (are) already Christians.’, lit. ‘We, already praying ones (are) we.’
 (jn_lotu_136)

- (463) [Mai]_{Subj}=**me** [tagha lo kaunga lo
 1NSG.IN=**EMPH.1NSG.IN** up DET.SG.M elder 3SG.M[GEN]
 mai ny-eghe sameminyi sua pono=lo]_{Pred}=**e**
 1NSG.IN 1O-see follow.1NSG.IN.O ATT.SG.M only=DU=**EMPH**
 [mai]_{Subj}=**na**.
 1NSG.IN=**NOM**

‘We, we (are) just looked after by the Lord up (there).’, lit. ‘We, only ones whom the Lord up (there) looks after (are) we.’ (png_WWII.3.317)

7.2.1.2 Verbal clauses and =e ‘EMPH’

In a verbal clause, the emphatic enclitic =e can be attached to an adjunct (464, 465) or adverb (465). A verbal clause can contain more than one of these =e-marked elements (465).

- (464) Zu [ai lo ivaghu]_{Adjunct}=**la=e** [mai]_{Subj}=**na** [punye-i]_{vc}
 but this DET.SG.M day=LOC.M=**EMPH** 1NSG.IN=**NOM** bath-FIN
 ‘But today we wash.’, lit. ‘But on this day we wash.’ (mp_mapagha.128)
- (465) [Koata]_{Adv}=**e**, [mai-va toka=gha ze
 before=**EMPH** 1NSG.IN-GEN.PL sibling=PL 3PL[GEN]
 tuvi]_{Adjunct}=**la=e**, ghoma=no_{Subj} tomai bo ale ta-i.
 house=LOC.M=**EMPH** no=2SG.NOM just go enter FUT-FIN
 ‘Before, at the house of our (cross-sex) siblings, you won’t just go inside.’
 (ap_custom.004)

Only few instances of subjects and objects of verbal clauses marked by =e ‘EMPH’ have been found so far (466, 467).

- (466) [Ave]_{Subj}=**ve** [gazu]_{Obj} te livu-li [Australia]_{Adjunct}
 1PL.EX=**EMPH.1PL.EX** ripe.coconut **EMPH** carry-3SG.M.O Australia
 l-au bo-i.
 3SG.M.O-take go-FIN
 ‘We shipped ripe coconuts to Australia.’ (js_marine.043)
- (467) Zu [lo pa]_{Obj}=**e=ze**_{Subj} l-au [to edo=lo
 and DET.SG.M one=**EMPH**=3PL 3SG.M.O-take DET.DU two=DU
 to taghata]_{Adjunct} te l-ovu-i.
 3DU[GEN] on.top **EMPH** 3SG.M.O-put-FIN
 ‘And that one they took and put on top of those two.’ (cp_api_mt.417)

In non-verbal clauses, *=e* ‘EMPH’ can attach to both the subject and the predicate, or to an adjunct. The subject of non-verbal clauses with *=e* on the predicate can sometimes be dropped. In verbal clauses we have seen that *=e* can attach to adjuncts, and is (albeit rarely) found on arguments as well. The only structural difference between verbal clauses with or without *=e* ‘EMPH’ is that subject case-marking is not possible if *=e* ‘EMPH’ attaches to the subject NP, and that the *=e*-marked constituent is fronted. Verbs and verb complexes cannot host *=e*.

7.2.1.3 Nominalized verbal clauses marked by *=e* ‘EMPH’

The emphatic enclitic *=e* is very often found on a nominalized verbal clause (NVC). In NVCs in contrast to corresponding verbal clauses, the state of affairs itself is foregrounded, while the participants are downgraded (see Sec. 9.6). The whole verbal clause is turned into an NP, which functions as the predicate of a non-verbal clause. The *=e* ‘EMPH’ attached to the NVC emphasizes the state of affairs as a whole.

Example (468) is a simple verbal clause, and (469) shows how the equivalent content is expressed in a NVC marked with *=e* ‘EMPH’: the nominative case-marking of the subject personal pronoun is replaced by genitive marking, and the verb loses the finiteness suffix *-i* and acquires the nominalizing suffix *-ghu*. The adverb is kept without any change.

- (468) $[Ze]_{Subj=na}$ *ka* *bo-i*.
 3PL=NOM already go-FIN
 ‘They already went.’ (mp_biti_155)

- (469) Ze $[=na]$ *ka* *bo* $[-i]$
 \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow
 $[Ze$ *ka* *bo* $[-ghu]$ $]_{Pred=e}$ $[lo]_{Subj=na}$.
 3PL[GEN] already go-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘They already went.’, lit. ‘Their already going (was) it.’ (bd_cs_tonelo_159)

Alternative forms of the same clause are (470) and (471), featuring the full form of the genitive pronoun and the adverb¹¹.

- (470) $[Ze$ -*va* *kama* *bo-ghu] $]_{Pred=e}$.
 3PL-GEN.M already go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘They already went.’, lit. ‘Their already going.’ (wr_cs_poghoroghuliagha_064)*

¹¹Both forms of the adverb, *ka* and *kama*, are in free variation. In these specific examples, the monosyllabic form is probably preferred after the monosyllabic reduced genitive pronoun, and the disyllabic form after the disyllabic full genitive pronoun, because it leads to a more symmetric rhythm.

- (471) [*Ze-va kama bo-ghu*]_{Pred=e} [*la*]_{Subj=na}.
 3PL-GEN.M already go-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M.PROX=NOM
 ‘They already went.’, lit. ‘Their already going (was) this’ (ej_cs_turibibinu_005)

The subject NP is semantically empty; its only function is the completion of the nominal clause, comparable to *it* in the English impersonal clause *It is raining*. However, in contrast to the subject in the English example, *lo=na* ‘3SG.M=NOM’ in (469) can easily be dropped (470). As in other non-verbal clauses that have the subject NP following an =*e*-marked predicate, the proximal third person pronoun forms can be used (471).

The intonation of nominalized verbal clauses is slightly different from that of a normal declarative clause (for examples of verbal and non-verbal clauses see Sec. 2.5): The peak preceding the clause-final drop in pitch is placed on the stressed syllable of the nominalized verb. This is true whether there is a subject NP following or not, see the pitch contours of examples (469) above and (472) in Figure 7.3.

- (472) *Ko ba'bo-ghu=e*.
 3SG.F[GEN] go.past-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘She went past.’, lit. ‘Her going past.’ (da_nyero_043)

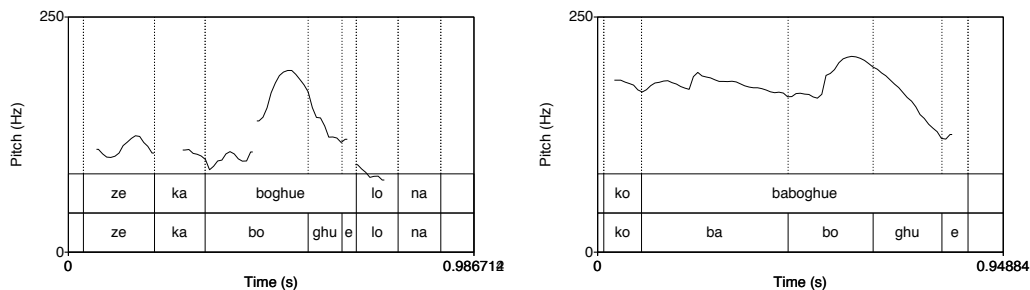


Figure 7.3: The pitch contours of the nominalized verbal clauses in examples (469) and (472).

This can be seen as further evidence of the NP character of the nominalized clause; examples like (472) consist of only one constituent, therefore the clausal intonation is spread out over this constituent. If the agent expressed by the genitive pronoun still had the status of a clausal constituent instead of an NP constituent, the peak would be located on the end of the clausal constituent before the verb, not on the verb itself (cf. Sec. 2.5).

Verbal clauses nominalized with *-ghu* are very common in Savosavo. In fact, in more than half of the 5,207 occurrences of =*e* in the corpus (not counting the allomorphs used

with personal pronouns) it is attached to such a nominalized verbal clause (NVC). It is a construction of great importance in Savosavo discourse, therefore it will be discussed in detail in Section 9.6, with respect to both structural details and functions. For the moment, a few more examples should suffice, showing that adjuncts (473), objects (474) and negation (475) can be used just as in normal verbal clauses:

- (473) [*Ai bo ota sade=la z-aka tarai-ghu*]_{pred=e}.
 1SG.GEN go there Sunday=LOC.M 3PL-with pray-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘I went and prayed with them there on Sunday.’, lit. ‘My going there on Sunday with them praying.’ (jv_tarai_038)
- (474) [*To-va bo pa kola zu mili l-au-ghu*]_{pred=e}.
 3DU-GEN.M go one stick and string 3SG.M.O-take-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘They went and took a stick and string.’, lit. ‘Their going (and) taking a stick and string.’ (ap_cs_kakula_015)
- (475) *Tulola* [*ze kama ghoma ny-au-ghu*]_{pred=e} [*lo*]_{subj=na}.
 then 3PL[GEN] already not 1O-take-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘And then they just didn’t take me.’, lit. ‘And then their just not taking me (was) it.’ (js_marine_028)

7.2.1.4 Functions of =e ‘EMPH’

In Sections 7.2.1.1 and 7.2.1.2 there was discussion of where in a clause the emphatic enclitic =e can appear. It was shown that the enclitic =e can be found on arguments, predicates and adjuncts. In this section the function of =e as an emphasizing element on the level of the information structure of a clause will be discussed and illustrated. First some terms used in this section need to be briefly defined, following Lambrecht (1994):

- **Topic:** “A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if IN A GIVEN DISCOURSE the proposition is construed as being ABOUT this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is RELEVANT TO and which increases the addressees KNOWLEDGE OF this referent.” (Lambrecht 1994: 127)
- **Topic expression:** “[A] LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION designating a topic referent in a sentence.” (Lambrecht 1994: 128)
- **Focus:** “The semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition.” (Lambrecht 1994: 213). Three types of focus can be distinguished:

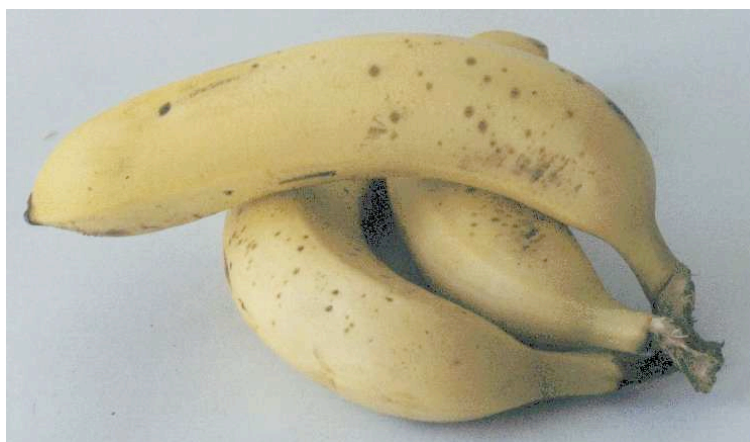


Figure 7.4: A picture of three bananas, from the Man & Tree matching game, described in Example (476).

- **Predicate-focus** (answers a question like *What did John do with the cookie?*)
- **Argument-focus** (answers a question like *Who ate the cookie?*)
- **Sentence-focus** (answers a question like *What happened?*)

The emphasizing enclitic *=e*, as well as the emphasizing particle *te* mentioned above in Section 7.1.2.1 and discussed in more detail in Section 7.2.2 below, cannot be uniquely assigned to one of these information structural categories. It is possible to make perfectly grammatical utterances without any of them, indicating topical and/or focal constituents by means of intonation and/or word order, as in many other languages. When they are used they are found on both topical as well as focal constituents. *Te* and *=e* can also co-occur. As it is impossible to discuss issues of information structure and pragmatics on the basis of isolated utterances, the examples in this section will be longer and consist of a number of contiguous utterances, marking rising intonation by a comma, falling intonation by a semicolon, and breaks by a solidus. A period marks clause-final falling intonation followed by a break.

When *=e* ‘EMPH’ is used on a topical constituent, it usually signals topic shift, e.g. from a group to one of the members, or from a whole to a part, or it marks the reactivation of a referent that had topical status some time ago. Example (476) is a description of a picture (reproduced in Fig. 7.4) used in a Man & Tree matching game (described in Pederson et al. 1998). The speaker had to describe it to the other participant who had to identify it among a set of pictures spread out in front of her. They could not see each other. This is one picture of a set of twelve, two of which show three bananas; the speaker started with the other banana picture, and described this picture next.

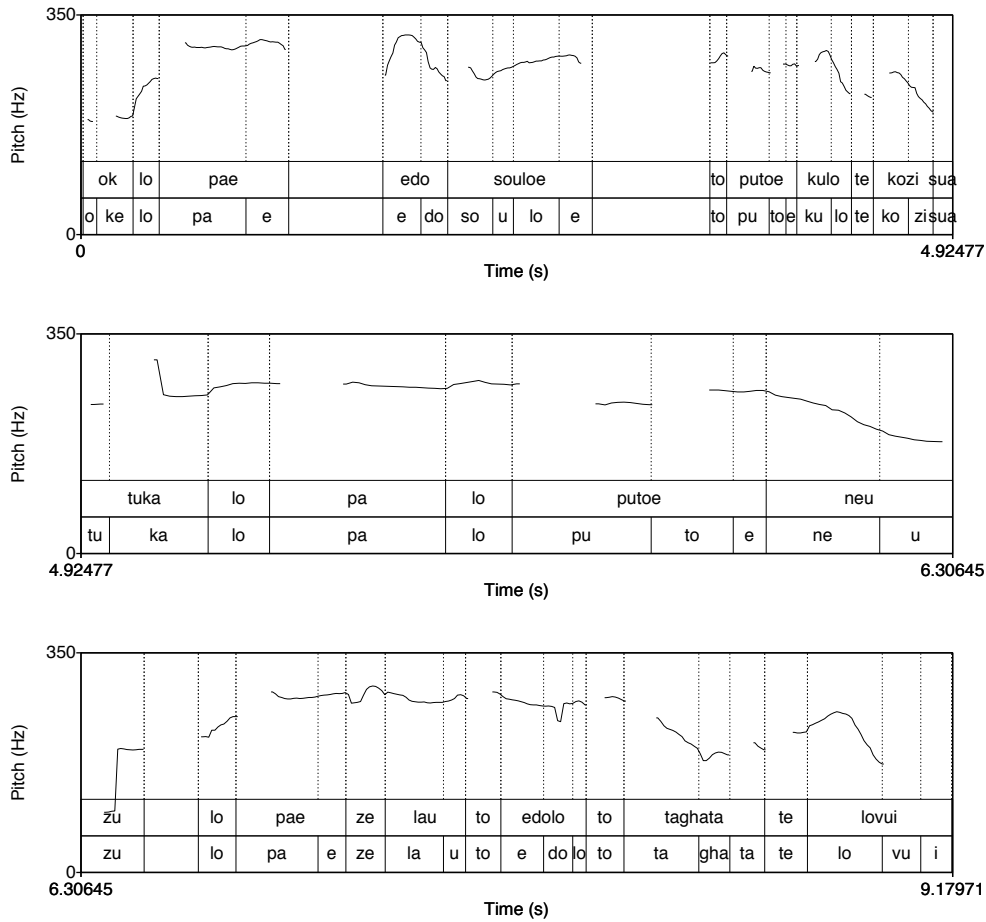


Figure 7.5: Pitch contour of the clauses in example (476).

- (476) a. *Ok*; [*lo pa*]=*e*, / [*edo sou=lo*]=*e*, / [*to puto*]_{Subj}=*e* [*kulo te kozi sua*]_{Pred};
 ok DET.SG.M one=**EMPH** / two banana=DU=**EMPH** / 3DU[GEN]
 bottom=**EMPH** seawards EMPH face ATT
- b. *tuka* [*lo pa lo puto*]_{Subj}=*e* [*neu*]_{Pred};
 whenever DET.SG.M one 3SG.M[GEN] bottom=**EMPH** down
- c. *zu* [*lo pa*]_{Obj}=*e=ze*_{Subj} *l-au* *to*
 and DET.SG.M one=**EMPH**=3PL.NOM 3SG.M.O-take DET.DU
edo=lo to taghata te l-ovu-i.
 two=DU 3DU[GEN] on.top EMPH 3SG.M.O-put-FIN
 ‘Ok; that one (picture), two bananas, the bottom of them faces seawards;

then the bottom of the one (faces) down;
and the one they took and put on top of the (other) two.’ (cp_api_mt_417)

The enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ is used several times in this example, and always on a topical constituent. With the first three instances, in (476a), the speaker ‘zooms in’ on the first referent about which a statement is made: from *lo pae* ‘that one’, referring to the second (and last) banana picture as a whole, to *edo souloe* ‘two bananas’, to *to putoe* ‘the bottom of them’. In the second clause (476b) the topic is shifted to *lo pa lo putoe* ‘the bottom of the one’. Finally, in (476c) the topic is *lo pae* ‘that/the one’, i.e. the whole banana lying on the other two, not longer just its bottom.

Judging from the transcription provided in (476), an alternative analysis could be suggested. As was said in Section 7.2.1.1, it is possible to get an =*e*-marked predicate as a complete non-verbal clause, because a subject can easily be dropped. Therefore one could hypothesize that the first two so-called ‘topical constituents’ are in fact complete non-verbal clauses, consisting only of an =*e*-marked predicate. The translation would then be something like ‘Ok; (it is) that one. (There are) two bananas.’. However, when the intonation (provided in Fig. 7.5) is taken into account, this analysis is ruled out. None of the constituents in question exhibits the falling intonation that would be expected at the end of a clause (see Sec. 2.5), instead the pitch is kept at roughly the same height.

On a focussed constituent (a predicate of a non-verbal clause, which may be a NVC) =*e* serves to mark that constituent as especially relevant in the current situation, either in the course of the story being told, or in the speech situation. Example (477) is an excerpt from a traditional folk story, interrupted by an aside to make sure that the addressee was familiar with the term *gori* ‘frog’. The story starts with a mother taking her baby daughter to the garden. She leaves her at the resting place and works in the garden, but then the child starts crying. The mother wants to finish her work first and lets her cry.

- (477) a. *Tulola=gho ngia; ngia; ngia; ngia; ngia; / [ko*
then=3SG.F.NOM cry.SIM cry.SIM cry.SIM cry.SIM cry.SIM / DET.SG.F
neu piva=la soma pa; / pa tugana ngai; / gori
down water=LOC.M ATT.SG.F one / one mighty big / frog
ko-va te pia ba-ghu]=e.
3SG.F-GEN.M EMPH move.up come-NMLZ=**EMPH**

‘And then as she cried and cried and cried... a gigantic frog staying down at the water came up.’, lit. ‘...her moving up coming.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_026)

- b. [*Gori l-olomi sue*]_{Pred} [*no*]_{Subj}=*na?* (CW: Mm,) mm
frog 3SG.M.O-know ATT.**EMPH** 2SG=NOM mm

‘Do you know “gori”? (CW: Mm.)’, lit. ‘One knowing “gori” (are) you?’ (da_cs_kosakosa_027-028)

- c. [*Neu piva=la pale sue*]_{Pred.} (CW: Eo.)
 down water=LOC.M stay ATT.EMPH yes
 ‘(It is) one staying down at the water. (CW: Yes.)’ (da_cs_kosakosa_029-030)
- d. *Ko pia ba tulola* / (CW: Mm?) [*ko ko*
 3SG.F[GEN] move.up come then / mm 3SG.F[GEN] DET.SG.F
zuba gutu-ghi-ghu]=e.
 child swallow-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When she had come up... (CW: Mm?) she swallowed the child.’, lit. ‘...her the child swallowing.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_031)
- e. *Gutu-ghi tulola* [*ko kama k-omaga neu*
 swallow-3SG.F.O then 3SG.F[GEN] already 3SG.F.O-carry down
piva=la au-ghu]=e.
 water=LOC.M move.down-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Swallowed her and then she already carried her down to the water.’, lit. ‘...her already carrying down to the water going down.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_032)
- f. *Au tulola* / *ko mama=kona*
 move.down then / 3SG.F[GEN] mother=NOM.F
ene-ghi-a=gho todo te=gho “O; /
 hear-3SG.F.O-SIM=3SG.F.NOM be.immobile CONJ=3SG.F.NOM o /
ai nyuba=kona izi-tu.” tei(-i).
 1SG.GEN child=NOM.F sleep-PRS.IPFV say
 ‘Had gone down and then, as her (i.e. the child’s) mother heard that she was quiet she said: “O; my child is sleeping.”’ (da_cs_kosakosa_033)

In (477a), the whole nominalized clause (marked by square brackets) consists of new material. The agent is a new referent, mentioned for the first time. This clause leads up to the first climax in the story. Examples (477b) and (477c) are a short aside on the term *gori* ‘frog’, consisting of property clauses with =e-marked predicates; the addressee’s knowledge of the term as well as its meaning are obviously very relevant for the speech situation. The story is resumed in (477d)¹². In the =e-marked NVC in (477d) the participants are given, only the way they are related in the event, namely that the frog swallows the child, is ‘new’ information and asserted; this is the first climactic event in the story plot. (477e) is structured the same way: the predicate of the NVC is the new information. Just as the clause before the climax (the new referent, the frog, coming up)

¹²As in many Papuan languages (cf. de Vries 2005), there is tail-head-linkage in Savosavo, i.e. the predicate of the preceding clause is repeated at the beginning of the following clause: *pia baghue* at the end of (477a) is repeated as *pia ba* in (477d), as well as *gutughighue* at the end of (477d) and *gutughi* in (477e) (see Sec. 8.3.4).

was assigned special emphasis by the use of =e, so is the clause right after the climax (the frog carrying the child away to the water). The following clause, turning back to the mother, does not contain =e ‘EMPH’ (477f).

NVCs marked by =e ‘EMPH’ appear to be preferably used for new developments and climactic events in a story line. Taking just those 20 out of 66 utterances from the traditional story about Polupolu (Appendix A.1) that contain an NVC marked with =e ‘EMPH’, it is possible to recover virtually the whole story plot.

The examples above showed a string of =e-marked topical and focal constituents respectively (476, 477); example (478) shows that these uses of =e ‘EMPH’ are mixed easily. The speaker talks about the Savo marriage customs. After the parents make an arrangement, the compensation payment has to be made.

- (478) a. *Kia*, [*to-va* / *sala-ghu=la*, / *lo*
 if 3DU-GEN.M / follow.3SG.M.O-NMLZ=LOC.M / DET.SG.M
jojokuli / *ghoi l-ovu-ghu*]_{pred}=e.
 compensation / also 3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ=**EMPH**
 ‘If (so,) they (two), subsequently, also give the compensation.’, lit. ‘...their, at following, the compensation also putting.’ (ap_aeghu_017)
- b. [*Lo* *jojokuli*]=e, / [*ghoma lo* / *mama* /
 DET.SG.M compensation=**EMPH** / not DET.PL / mother /
mau / *kulagha* *kukua* / =*gha epi-mi*
 father/pat.uncle / uncle/nephew/niece gen.2 / =PL hit.target-3PL.O
sue]_{pred} / *zu*; / [*ko* *adaki ko-va* / *tada*
 ATT.**EMPH** / and/but / DET.SG.F woman 3SG.F-GEN.M / man
toka=gha; / *z-emiti sue*]_{pred} / [*ai lo* *jojokuli*]_{subj}=na.
 sibling=PL / 3PL-for ATT.**EMPH** / this DET.SG.M compensation=NOM
 ‘The compensation, (it is) not for the parents, uncles, grandparents, but the male siblings of the woman, for them (is) this compensation.’ (ap_aeghu_018)

In (478a) =e ‘EMPH’ the object and predicate are new information,¹³ the parents are the current topic. The first occurrence of =e ‘EMPH’ in (478b) serves to shift the topic to the newly introduced compensation (note the rising intonation marked by the comma, as in example (476a) above). The second and third then mark the predicates of what are syntactically two complete non-verbal clauses, only the second of which contains an overt subject NP.

Summing up, =e ‘EMPH’ is used to mark that something requires a bit more attention than the addressee might assume, either because it is of specific importance for

¹³Note that Lambrecht (1994) subsumes clauses in which only the object is ‘new’ information, i.e. focussed, and clauses in which both predicate and object are in focus under ‘predicate focus’.

the current situation, either within a story, or within the external speech situation, or because there is a change in topic. It is an important device that is frequently employed, but for a comprehensive description of its use more research on its interaction with other information-structural devices is needed. To conclude, the following utterances (479–481) are a sample of occurrences of =*e* ‘EMPH’ very common in everyday interaction.

- (479) [*Lo*]_{pred}=*e* [*lo*]_{subj}=*na*.
 3SG.M=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘That’s it.’ (ss_cl_pudding_200)
- (480) *Mai* *ka* *sara-ghu=e!*
 1NSG.IN[GEN] already reach-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘There we are!’, lit. ‘Our already reaching’ (133_001_srb)
- (481) *Poima, ave* *ka* *bo-ghu=e!*
 friends 1PL.EX[GEN] already bo-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Folks, we’re going!’, lit. ‘...our already going’(097_001_srb)
- (482) *Zui-ghu=e!*
 end-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Finished!’ or ‘Done!’ (cp_api_mt_373)

7.2.2 The emphasizing particle *te* ‘EMPH’

The emphasizing particle *te* is one of the fifteen most common morphemes in the corpus and occurs in a great number of examples throughout this thesis. Synchronically, there are three homophonous morphemes *te*: one is used to link clauses in a clause chaining construction and could be translated as ‘(and) then’ (see Sec. 8.3); the second appears in predicate-first locational clauses (described in Sec. 7.1.2.1, p. 208); and the function of the third, the emphatic particle, is to put emphasis on the referent of the preceding constituent (483). This constituent has to be a phrase or independent word, it cannot be a clitic.

- (483) a. Speaker 1, after talking about a traditional knife made from stone:
Kila=la ***te*** *ngoi-li* *so=gha=e*.
 stone.knife=LOC.M EMPH call-3SG.M.O ATT=PL=EMPH
 ‘They called it ‘kila.’ (mp_mapagha_071)
- b. Speaker 2:
Eo; lo-va ***nini=e*** ***te*** *lo=na;* *kila*.
 yes 3SG.M-GEN.M name=EMPH EMPH 3SG.M=NOM stone.knife
 ‘Yes; that (was) its name, kila.’ (mp_mapagha_072)

While the enclitic =*e* ‘EMPH’ is restricted to independent clauses, the particle *te* ‘EMPH’ is has so far also been attested in conditional clauses with *kia* ‘if’ (Sec. 8.2.2.2), temporal clauses (8.2.2.3), relative clauses with *-tu* (Sec. 8.2.1.1), initial or medial clauses of a clause chain (Sec. 8.3), and *-ghu*-nominalizations in some contexts (Ch. 9).

The emphasized constituent can be an NP in any syntactic position, including a subject (484), object (484, 485), locative-marked adjunct (483a) and non-verbal predicate (483b), but also a postpositional (486) or a locational adjunct (487).

- (484) *Ze=na te ai lo lo Peraviko te*
3PL=NOM EMPH this 3SG.M **DET.SG.M Peraviko EMPH**
l-eghe sala-i.
 3SG.M.O-see follow.3SG.M-FIN
 ‘It was them who looked after this Peraviko.’ (tt_bd_war_091)
- (485) *Apoi=me te pala ta-i?*
what=1NSG.IN.NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O **FUT-FIN**
 ‘What will we do?’ (ap_cs_kakula_046)
- (486) *Merika=gha ghoi ny-omata te izi so-gha*
 American=PL also **1-at EMPH** sleep **ATT=PL**
 ‘Americans also used to sleep at my place.’ (png_WWII_3_110)
- (487) *Ai lo mapa=na ai lo taemu=la kao*
 this **DET.SG.M** person=**NOM** this **DET.SG.M** time=**LOC.M** **bushwards**
te alu kozi(-i).
EMPH stand face(-FIN)
 ‘This man is facing bushwards this time.’ (jp_ji_mt_303)

It is also possible to emphasize a genitive-marked NP expressing a possessor in an NP (488) or the subject of a (nominalized or subordinate) clause (489).

- (488) *Sipiriano Uri lo-va te nyuba=e.*
Sipiriano Uri 3SG.M-GEN.M EMPH child=**EMPH**
 ‘The son of Sipiriano Uri.’ (jn_lotu_138)
- (489) *Tulola ze-va te raghe liaza-ghu=e lo=na.*
 then **3PL-GEN.M EMPH** run return-NMLZ=**EMPH** 3SG.M=**NOM**
 ‘Then they ran back.’ (jn_lotu_043)

Furthermore, *te* ‘EMPH’ can be used to emphasize a *sua-* or *lava-*phrase (cf. Sec. 4.8) used attributively in an NP (490, 491). But *te* ‘EMPH’ cannot be used to emphasize a verb or SVC.

- (490) *Ghoma ata mai manyigha=la kao*
 no here 1NSG.IN[GEN] homestead=LOC.M bushwards
l-au sua te veji=e.
 3SG.M.O-take ATT.SG.M EMPH bamboo=EMPH

‘(It was) not a bamboo taken here bushwards at our homestead.’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_043)

- (491) *Lo dai toa sere kakala=gha mali*
 DET.SG.M good really.M be.white white.parrot=PL be.like
sua ngolangola lava te tada mapa.
 ATT.SG.M beard PROPR.SG.M EMPH old.M person

‘An old man having a very nice white beard being like the white parrots.’ (xs.198)

Te ‘EMPH’ is a free morpheme, not an enclitic. Evidence for this is that enclitic subject personal pronouns, which have to follow the first constituent of a clause, will intervene between the constituent and *te* ‘EMPH’ (485). Although in (485) *te* ‘EMPH’ does not any longer follow the emphasized constituent directly, such a clause cannot be interpreted as having emphasis on the clitic pronoun. The emphasis will always be on the host of the clitic pronoun.

Te ‘EMPH’ can co-occur with the emphatic enclitic *=e* (cf. Sec. 7.2.1), as in (483b). The emphasized constituent is often, but not necessarily, in focus. In (483a) above, for example, the term ‘kila’ is new information and in focus, and in (485) the interrogative proform is emphasized. In (484), the first instance of *te* ‘EMPH’ follows a constituent in focus, but the second instance emphasizes a constituent denoting a topical referent, *Peraviko*. *Te* ‘EMPH’ is never obligatory in the sense that a clause would be ungrammatical without it, but according to speakers it ‘sounds much better’ when it is used. It is not the case that a focussed constituent would always require a following *te* ‘EMPH’, e.g. questions can easily be formed without it (492).

- (492) *Zu apoi=nye ghoi savu-li ta-i.*
 but what=1SG.NOM also tell-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘But what else will I say?’ (ap_jeff_beki_267)

It is likely that the emphatic particle *te* shares a common diachronic origin with the clause-chaining *te* and the particle *te* found in predicate-first locational clauses. Whether it might also be related to the emphatic enclitic *=e* (discussed above in Sec. 7.2.1) is unclear.

The three morphemes *te* in Savosavo differ not only in function, but can be distinguished by structural criteria as well. The clause-chaining *te* is always the first element of a clause, either connecting two clauses or, occasionally, starting a new clause (493).

- (493) **Te=lo** *ze-va* *tovolo pono l-au-a*
CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3PL-GEN.M bone only 3SG.M.O-take-SS
te=lo *data lo* *baba napu=la* *vata-li*
CONJ=3SG.M.NOM outside DET.SG.M hole mouth=LOC.M line.up-3G.M.O
l-ovu-i.
 3SG.M.O-put-FIN
 ‘And he took only their bones and he lined them up outside the cave entrance.’
 (ws_cs_ghulia_099)

In either case, if the subject of the following clause is expressed by an enclitic pronoun (as it commonly is), this pronoun attaches directly to *te*, corroborating the analysis of clause-chaining *te* as the first element of the clause. The clause-chaining *te* can bear stress, and in most cases the clause would be ungrammatical if it was omitted.

The particle *te* found in predicate-first locational clauses is quite similar to the clause-chaining *te*, except that it does not connect two clauses, but is placed between a locational predicate and the syntactic subject (494).

- (494) *Ata_p te=lo_s*
 here **PA=3SG.M.NOM**
 ‘Here it (is).’ (cp_api_mt_021)

Te ‘PA’ is usually stressed, and it often functions as the host for enclitic personal pronouns. It is obligatory in this context.

In contrast, the emphasizing *te* does not bear stress. As mentioned above, it occurs within a clause, following an emphasized constituent (495).¹⁴

- (495) *Pa sere sua laka=nye* **te** *agutu-i.*
 one be.white ATT.SG.M 3SG.M-with=1SG.NOM **EMPH** work-FIN
 ‘I worked with a white man.’ (js_marine_104)

The emphasizing *te* can usually be omitted without rendering the clause ungrammatical, although it may not be as well-formed and elegant.

In Solomon Islands Pijin, the morpheme *nao* is used in similar ways for emphasis: According to the respective entry in a SIP dictionary (Jourdan and Maebiru 2002:145), *nao* is used, among other functions, as a ‘sequencer’ with the meaning ‘then’, as well as a “[f]ocus or emphasis marker” that “[f]ollows the word it modifies”. The examples given for the latter function are *Wanem nao nem blong iu?* ‘What is your name?’ and *Muina nao bae go long maket* ‘It’s Muina who will go to the market’ (cf. examples (485) and

¹⁴As was mentioned above, enclitics cannot be emphasized. Instead, the emphasis is on the constituent that hosts the enclitic, in (495) the postpositional phrase.

(484) above). In Savosavo, while the first example would contain the enclitic *=e* rather than the particle *te* (496), an example parallel to the second Pijin example would be encoded with *te* (497).

- (496) *Ai=e ko nini=na?*
 who=**EMPH** 3SG.F[GEN] name=NOM
 ‘What (is) her name?’, lit. ‘Who (is) her name?’ (ap_jeff_beki_075)

- (497) Answering the question: “But who told you it was my birthday today?”

Airini=kona te ny-aka savu-li-zu.
 Irine=NOM.F **EMPH** 1-with tell-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV

‘It was Irine who told me.’ (ap_jeff_beki_192)

7.3 Negation

Negation is found on different syntactic levels and is expressed by different means. The most commonly used option is the particle *oma* ‘not’, used as the negative answer to questions, and employed to negate verbal and non-verbal clauses, NPs and adverbs (Sec. 7.3.1). Other possibilities are to use the negative existential *baigho(za)* (Sec. 7.3.2), the irrealis suffix *-ale* (Sec. 7.3.3), the prohibitive particle *sika* (which is used in combination with *-ale* ‘IRR’; Sec. 7.3.4) and the apprehensive suffix *-le* (Sec. 7.3.5).

Each of the lexemes will be shortly presented below. There are furthermore some verbs that have negative semantics: *zove* ‘to be unwilling’, *zovea-li* ‘to refuse something’, and *peje* ‘to be averse to something’.

7.3.1 *Oma* ‘not’

Both verbal and non-verbal clauses can be negated by insertion of *oma* ‘not’, which is also used to answer a question with ‘no’ (498). It is also used in dependent clauses. The form *oma* is in most contexts in free variation with the allomorph *ghoma* (see below). This particle is a full-fledged constituent of the clause and can be host to an enclitic personal pronoun (499).

- (498) ***Oma***; *ata=ze oma pa vaka bola-i.*
no here=3PL.NOM **not** one ship shoot.3SG.M-FIN
 ‘No; here they didn’t shoot any ship.’, lit. ‘No; here they shot not one ship.’
 (bk_WWII163)

- (499) **Ghoma**=nye ghoi p-ou ta-i!
 not=1SG.NOM also 2DU.O-eat FUT-FIN
 ‘I won’t eat you!’ (ap_cs_kakula_075)

Oma ‘not’ precedes the (non-clitic) constituent which it negates. Enclitics like enclitic personal pronouns cannot be negated. *Oma* ‘not’ is used for both negating a whole clause (in this case it can follow some constituents, as long as it precedes the predicate) or just a part of a clause. Its scope can only extend over elements on the same syntactic level; however, in examples such as (498) it could be analyzed as being located on the clause level, or as being part of one of the constituents of the clause. As a consequence, it would have scope either over the NP *pa vaka* ‘a ship’ only (*ata=ze [oma pa vaka] bolai*), or over the whole clause (*ata=ze oma [pa vaka] bolai*). Accordingly, the example could be translated in different ways, either as ‘No, here they shot not any / a single ship’ in the first case, or as ‘No, here they didn’t shoot a ship’ in the second case. When *oma* immediately precedes an NP with *pa* ‘one’ (498), or even a determiner plus *pa* ‘one’ (500), the restricted-scope analysis seems more appropriate because this appears to be a collocation, but often the examples are simply ambiguous.

- (500) **Oma** lo pa=na ave=i; Savo=la.
 not DET.SG.M one=NOM die-FIN Savo=LOC.M
 ‘No-one died; on Savo.’ (png_WWII1_1_177)

Oma can also appear in nominalized verbal clauses (see example (444) above) and subordinate clauses, e.g. relative clauses (501) or temporal clauses (502), but it is not found in medial clauses, i.e. the non-final clauses in a clause-chaining construction.

- (501) [*Lo*]_s=le [no **ghoma** lusi-li sua]_p
 3SG.M=EMPH.M 2SG[GEN] no squeeze-3SG.M.O ATT
 ‘That (is) one you don’t squeeze.’, lit. ‘That (is) your not squeezing being one.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_066)
- (502) [*Elu lo **oma** supu*]_c tuka lo te ghoi
 ngali.nut 3SG.M[GEN] not be.many whenever 3SG.M[GEN] EMPH also
kaka-ghu=e.
 be.tight-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When there are not many Ngali nuts (in the pudding), then it is also too dense.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_160)

Oma can be used in combination with *natu* to express ‘not yet’. The second part of the collocation, *natu*, is not found on its own. *Oma natu* in itself constitutes a complete utterance. To express that something has not happened yet, *oma* is used in combination

with the background imperfective suffix *-atu* ‘BG.IPFV’ attached to the verb ((503); cf. Sec. 6.3.2.5).

- (503) *Oma=to ae-atu?*
not=3DU.NOM be.married-BG.IPFV
 ‘They are not married yet?’ (ap_jeff_beki_565)

In both contexts, only the form *oma*, not *ghoma*, has been found.

7.3.2 The negative existentials *baigho* and *baighoza*

To express that something is non-existent, the particle *baigho* and the intransitive verb *baighoza* are used. *Baigho* appears as the =*e*-marked predicate of a non-verbal clause (504), and *baighoza* as a verbal predicate (505).

- (504) *Zu koata=e, baigho=e keda=na.*
 but before=EMPH **not.exist**=EMPH fire=NOM
 ‘But before, there was no fire.’ (mp_mapagha_058)
- (505) *Zu lo boti ze bo leghe-a=lo*
 but DET.SG.M boat 3PL[GEN] go 3SG.M.O-see-SIM=3SG.M.NOM
baighoza-i.
not.exist-FIN
 ‘But as they looked for the boat, it wasn’t there.’ (pk_WWII061)

Baighoe can be used on its own as an answer to a question such as ‘Is John there?’. The verb *baighoza* is furthermore used in combination with *oma* ‘not’ to express that something is perfectly possible and not completely out of the question (506).

- (506) *O, oma=lo baighoza ta-i, ko Kakamora z-eghe-a*
 o no=3SG.M.NOM **not.exist** FUT-FIN DET.SG.F Kakamora 3PL.O-see-SS
ke=gho te ba l-au-i.
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM EMPH come 3SG.M.O-take-FIN
 ‘O, it is not impossible (that) the Kakamora¹⁵ saw them and she came (and) took it.’ (es_cs_kakamora_149)

¹⁵According to the speaker, *Kakamora* is the name of a group of ‘small people’, probably mythical, living hidden on the island of Makira.

7.3.3 The irrealis suffix *-ale*

The irrealis suffix *-ale* (discussed in Sec. 6.3.3.3) is restricted to non-embedded, independent clauses denoting hypothetical or counterfactual propositions. It appears in the apodosis of hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses (507). In combination with *sika* ‘don’t’ it is used in negative commands (see Sec. 7.3.4 below).

- (507) *Zu zua sua monei ai mane ghoi erongo*
 but ask ATT if.only 1SG.GEN consecutively also something
ghana-li-ale.
 think-3SG.M.O-IRR
 ‘But if (there were) some questions, I would then also remember something.’
 (png_WWII1_303)

7.3.4 The prohibitive particle *sika*

The prohibitive *sika* ‘don’t’ is used in main clauses to express negative commands. The verb in such a command has to be marked with the irrealis suffix *-ale* (508).

- (508) *Sika=me ata ave-ale*
 don’t=2PL.NOM here die-IRR
 ‘Don’t you die here!’ (png_WWII3_152)

Sika is also used on its own, often to admonish children.

7.3.5 The apprehensive suffix *-le*

The apprehensive suffix *-le* (introduced in Sec. 6.3.3.2) marks the event denoted as undesirable (509).

- (509) *Ai-va ave-le.*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M die-APPR
 ‘Lest I die.’ (ap_cs_polupolu_031)

For a discussion of apprehensive clauses see Section 7.5 below.

7.4 Questions

Two functional types of question can be distinguished: content questions and polar questions. The formation of questions does not require any syntactic changes. The only

changes observed are the placement of an interrogative lexeme in the position of the requested information (i.e. the interrogative proforms are used in situ), and/or a change of the intonation pattern.

7.4.1 Content questions

Content questions use one of the interrogative proforms. Interrogative proforms in Savosavo are used in situ. They belong to different word classes and replace the unknown and requested information in the corresponding declarative sentence. Table 7.5 provides a list of question words used in Savosavo.

Interrogative proform	Gloss	Word class
<i>ai</i>	‘who’	noun
<i>apoi</i>	‘what’	noun
<i>alea</i>	‘how many’	numeral
<i>ala</i>	‘where’	locational
<i>avasa</i>	‘when’	adverb
<i>ake(-li)</i>	‘be what’, ‘do what’	ambitransitive verb
<i>maitei(-li)</i>	‘be how’	ambitransitive verb

Table 7.5: Interrogative proforms

A constituent containing or consisting of an interrogative proform is commonly marked with the enclitic *=e* ‘EMPH’, or followed by the particle *te* ‘EMPH’. Occasionally, both markers co-occur. However, neither seems obligatory, as there are examples that do not contain either (510).

- (510) ***Ai=na*** *ekati n-eghe sane ta-i.*
who=NOM CERT 2SG.O-see follow.2SG FUT-FIN
 ‘Who will look after you?’ (rra_cs_likuliku_027)

The interrogative lexemes *ai* ‘who’ and *apoi* ‘what’ are both nouns. *Ai* ‘who’ is used to ask for a person (510, 511) or a person’s name (512).

- (511) ***Ai=e*** *lo=na*
who=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘Who (is) that/he?’ (ap_jeff_beki_556)

- (512) *Ai=e ko nini=na?*
who=EMPH 3SG.F[GEN] name=NOM
 ‘What (is) her name?’, lit. ‘Who (is) her name?’ (ap_jeff_beki_075)

Ai ‘who’ is head of an NP, which can then be used in any syntactic position available to NPs. This includes the first position in an appositional construction (513, 514) and in the inclusory construction (see ex. (293) in Sec. 5.3.3, p. 158).

- (513) *Ai lo-va taghala=e ai la=na.*
who 3SG.M-GEN.M betelnut.tree=EMPH this 3SG.M.PROX=NOM
 ‘Who’s betel nut tree (is) this?’ (wr_cs_vulaole_113)

- (514) *Ai to adaki=zalo=e ta=na*
who DET.DU woman=DU=EMPH 3DU.PROX=NOM
 ‘Who are these two women?’, lit. ‘Who two women (are) these?’ (jv_tarai_081)

Both can be modified by *toa* ‘very’ ((515) and (168), repeated from Sec. 4.10), and *ai* also by *koi* ‘DET.SG.F’ when inquiring about a woman ((89), repeated here from Sec. 4.6).

- (515) *Apoi toa=ze te pala-i.*
what really.M=3PL.NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘What the heck did they do?’ (ap_cs_sua_056)

- (168) *Ei, ai toa tada=e no=na.*
 ei **who really man=EMPH 2SG=NOM**
 ‘Ei, who the heck are you?’ (dr_cs_taragau_084)

- (89) “*Koi ai=e no=na?*”
DET.SG.F who=EMPH 2SG=NOM
 ‘“Who (are) you?” (asking a woman)’ (rra_cs_likuliku_015)

The interrogatives *ake* and *maitei* are ambitransitive verbs. Both can be used to express ‘to be what’, ‘to do what’ or ‘to do/be how’, i.e. to inquire about an event, an action or a state that would be expressed by a verb. The exact characterization of their individual meaning and the difference between them is challenging and requires further investigation. One typical example for each is given in (516) and (517).

- (516) *Ake ta=nye.*
do.what FUT=1SG.NOM
 ‘What will I do?’ (es_cs_kakamora_041)

- (517) *Tuka no=na maitei-li-tu.*
 whenever 2SG=NOM **do.what-3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV**
 ‘Whenever (it is like that, then) you do what with it?’ or ‘Whenever how do you treat it?’ (ss_cl_pudding_126)

Both can be used with a general meaning of ‘to do whatever’ or ‘to do anything’, commonly in combination with *oma* ‘not’ (518, 519).

- (518) *Oma=ghe* ***ake-li*** *ta-i.*
 no=1DU.EX.NOM **do.what-3SG.M.O** FUT-FIN
 ‘We won’t do anything to him.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_139)
- (519) *Oma=ve* *ghoi maitei-mi* *ta-i.*
 no=1PL.EX.NOM also **do.what-3PL.O** FUT-FIN
 ‘We also wouldn’t do anything to them.’ (as_WWII_064)

Usually, content questions will be answered by providing the requested information. A peculiarity of Savosavo is that answers to content questions are often started with *(gh)oma* ‘no’¹⁶. This has been observed for content questions with *ala* ‘where’ (520), *apoi* ‘what’, *ake* ‘to be what’, ‘to do what’ and *maitei* ‘to be/do how’ (521).

- (520) a. *Te lo ny-aka tei-ghu=e;* “*Pio. No=na ala*
 CONJ 3SG.M[GEN] 1-to say-NMLZ=EMPH man 2SG=NOM **where**
te bo-tu.” *tei(-i).*
 EMPH go-PRS.IPFV say(-FIN)
 ‘And he said to me: “Buddy. You are going where?” (he) said.’ (jv_tarai_132-133)
- b. “***Oma***; *conference=la=nye* *te bo tei-tu.*”
no conference=LOC.M=1SG.NOM EMPH go want.to.do-PRS.IPFV
ai tei-ghu=e l-aka.
 1SG.GEN say-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M-to
 ‘“No, I want to go to (the) conference.” I said to him.’ (jv_tarai_134)
- (521) a. “*Zu maitei-ghu=la=no* *te ba-i.*”
 but **be.how**-NMLZ=LOC.M=2SG.NOM EMPH come-FIN
 ‘“But why have you come?”’ (bd_cs_tonelo_216)
- b. “***Oma***; *zu ka no=nye* *te zala-ni-tu.*”
no but already 2SG=1SG.NOM EMPH look.for-2SG.O-PRS.IPFV
 ‘“No; but (it is) you I am looking for.”’ (bd_cs_tonelo_217)

7.4.2 Polar questions

Polar questions, sometimes referred to in the literature as ‘yes-no questions’, can be formed from basic verbal and non-verbal clauses by changing the intonation. The distinguishing

¹⁶*Ghoma* and *oma* are in free variation in almost all contexts, see Section 7.3.1. Both forms would be possible in examples (520) and (521).

criterion is a higher final pitch peak, located on the beginning of the last constituent instead of the end of the penultimate constituent, followed by a steep drop, or a rise in pitch on the last syllable (cf. Sec. 2.5).

- (522) *Ave-ghu bo majali tamalu-li sue no=na?*
 die-NMLZ or ghost fear-3SG.M.O ATT.EMPH 2SG=NOM
 ‘Do you fear death or ghosts?’, lit. ‘Death or ghost fearing being (are) you?’
 (AC1-106-A.124)

Negated questions are often answered with ‘no’ if the negative statement is correct (523).

- (523) a. *Oma=ze pleitenisi-tu?*
 no=3PL.NOM play.tennis-PRS.IPFV
 ‘Are they not playing tennis?’ (ap_dr_se.514)
 b. *Ghoma.*
 no
 ‘No (they are not)’ (ap_dr_se.515)

If the negative statement is not correct, the answer can be ‘no’, but more often is a statement providing a correction (524).

- (524) a. *Oma=lo lo ngoa bela-li(-i)?*
 no=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M[GEN] chin lay.on.surface-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘Doesn’t he rest his chin (on the table)?’ (ap_dr_se.405)
 b. *Bela-li ze=lo.*
 lay.on.surface-3SG.M.O PA=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘He rests it (on the table).’ (ap_dr_se.406)

7.5 Apprehensive clauses

Apprehensive clauses are used to express that an unpleasant or feared event might happen. A verb of an apprehensive clause is marked with the apprehensive suffix *-le*, which requires a genitive subject (see example (509), repeated here from Sec. 7.3.5 for convenience):

- (509) *Ai-va ave-le.*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M die-APPR
 ‘Lest I die.’ (ap_cs_polupolu_031)

This form of the subject is found in most dependent clauses (see Sec. 8.2) and does not occur in other independent finite verbal clauses. Furthermore, no TAM or finiteness marking can be used in addition to or instead of *-le* ‘APPR’. Thus, regarding only the internal syntax of this clause, it appears to be a dependent clause. However, with respect to their external syntax, apprehensive clauses are similar to independent clauses, as they can easily be used on their own and are not embedded in or dependent on another clause.

There has been discussion of the status of apprehensive clauses as subordinate or not subordinate in other languages as well. For example, Austin (1981) classifies ‘lest’ clauses in Diyari as subordinate, although they differ from all other subordinate clauses in the language in that they “do not participate in the system of switch-reference which is an integral part of the syntax of other Diyari subordinate clauses” (Austin 1981: 226) and can occur by themselves, i.e. without being preceded by “a main clause to which [they are] subordinated” (Austin 1981: 229). The intonation break between the ‘lest’ clause and a preceding main clause “is slight” (Austin 1981: 188), but this could also be due to the fact that they are pragmatically closely linked. The argument given for the analysis of ‘lest’ clauses as subordinate even when they occur by themselves is that “they may be regarded as structurally subordinate because it is always POSSIBLE to add a main clause before them, although context may make it unnecessary” (Austin 1981: 229, original emphasis). Referring to the same quote, Lichtenberk (1995) argues against this analysis by saying that “there is no reason to appeal to an ‘understood’ main clause; this is precisely what the apprehensional-epistemic function of LEST elements is all about: there is a possibility of a situation coming about, and there is apprehension about that possibility” (Lichtenberk 1995: 307, original emphasis).

Thus, in Diyari, the internal syntax of clauses with the morpheme meaning ‘lest’ does not seem to provide evidence for classifying them as subordinate, as the only argument for regarding them as subordinate is the possibility to add a ‘main clause’ before them; for Austin, this possibility alone is sufficient to suggest that they may be subordinate clauses, while for Lichtenberk it is not. In Savosavo, although speakers do not need to use a clause expressing an imperative, warning or suggestion with apprehensive clauses like (509), they can and often do (525).

- (525) *Oma=nye liaza bo ta-i; dada ze=nye; ai*
 no=1SG.NOM return go FUT-FIN be.afraid PA=1SG.NOM 1SG[GEN]
ave-le.
 die-APPR

‘I won’t go back; I’m scared; lest I die.’ (agh_png_505)

These clauses are then also main clauses. The external syntax of apprehensive clauses in Savosavo is thus similar to that in Diyari. However, Savosavo dependent or subordinate clauses usually precede the finite, independent matrix clause (with the exception of

one type of purpose clause, see Sec. 8.2.2.5), whereas apprehensive clauses follow an imperative/warning/suggestion clause (526). Furthermore, they are found in typical main clause positions, e.g. as apodosis in a conditional clause following *kia* ‘if’ ((526c); cf. Sec. 8.2.2.2):

- (526) a. *Sika=no* *doi pala-ale*;
 don’t=2SG.NOM earth make.3SG.M-IRR
 ‘Don’t you make dirt;’
- b. *korikori lo* ***doi~doi-sa-le***.
 pudding 3SG.M REDUP~earth-VBLZ-APPR
 ‘lest the pudding is dirty.’ (bd_korikori_051)
- c. *Kia me doi* ***garu-li-le***.
 if 2PL earth eat.crunchingly-3SG.M.O-APPR
 ‘If (so), lest you then crunchingly eat ground.’ (bd_korikori_052)

Another example for an apprehensive clause used as the apodosis of a conditional clause, this time with a preceding subordinate clause, is (527):

- (527) *Lo* *ba* *bomu* *solo* *kia me* *lapi*
 3SG.M[GEN] come bomb throw.3SG.M.O if 2PL[GEN] tongue
l-ova-li *sodu-li-le*.
 3SG.M.O-bite-3SG.M.O cut.in.two-3SG.M.O-APPR
 ‘[He told them to take a stick and bite on it and continued:] Lest you bite off your tongue if it [i.e. an attacking plane] comes and throws a bomb.’ (bk_WWII_016)

Thus, internally, apprehensive clauses have the structure of a dependent clause, but regarding the external syntax of apprehensive clauses, i.e. which environments they are found in, they behave like an independent clause. This is in fact not unheard of cross-linguistically, see Evans (2007) on the phenomenon of ‘insubordination’, i.e. “*the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses*” (Evans 2007: 367, original emphasis).

Chapter 8

Complex clauses

This chapter provides a description of complex clauses. There are different ways to form a complex clause by combining two or more clauses. One distinction pertains to how the connection between the clauses is marked: if there is a specific morpheme or particle used to link the clauses the term ‘**syndetic**’ is used, if that is not the case it is called ‘**asyndetic**’.

Another difference is how the two clauses that are joined relate to each other. It is possible to combine, for example, two independent clauses (i.e. grammatical, complete clauses that can be used in isolation) on the same syntactic level; this is called ‘**coordination**’. A particle joining two clauses in a coordinating construction will be called a **coordinator**. Coordination will be described in Section 8.1.

If one of the two clauses is a dependent clause (i.e. a clause that is incomplete in some way and cannot be used in isolation), and the other is the clause it depends on, the dependent clause can be **embedded** into the other clause, i.e. it can be part of it, replacing one of its constituents or acting as a modifier. The main and the dependent clause are then on different syntactic levels. This is called ‘**subordination**’.¹ The **embedded dependent** clauses are accordingly commonly called **subordinate** clauses, and the clause they are part of is a **main** or **matrix clause**. A particle marking a clause as subordinate will be called a **subordinator**. A description of subordinate clauses in Savosavo is provided in Section 8.2.

¹Note that the term ‘embedded’ is used here synonymously with ‘subordinate’; envisioning a phrase structure tree, every dependent clause that is located hierarchically below the S-node of its main clause is considered to be ‘embedded’. In the literature, however, ‘embedded’ is sometimes used to refer to a subcategory of ‘subordinate’ clauses, namely those that either replace an argument (like a complement clause) or are located on an even lower level in a syntactic tree (like an adnominal relative clause), e.g. in Lehmann (1988), Dixon (1995), and in Functional Grammar (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:374, fn; Sinnemäki 2006). The result is that adverbial clauses would be considered as subordinate, but not embedded.

But subordination is not the only possibility to combine a dependent clause with an independent clause. Apart from **subordinate dependent** clauses, there are also **coordinate dependent** clauses, commonly found in Papuan languages (see e.g. Foley 1986). Constructions featuring coordinate dependent clauses are often called **clause-chaining** constructions. One or more coordinate dependent clauses, also called **medial** clauses, are lined up “much like beads on a necklace” (Foley 1986:177), and the independent clause that contains the fully inflected verb is either the first or the last clause of such a chain. The term ‘**cosubordination**’ has been coined by Foley and Van Valin (1984) to refer to constructions like these clause-chaining constructions. Particles used to link the clauses in a clause-chaining construction will be referred to as **cosubordinators**. Section 8.3 provides a description of cosubordination in Savosavo.

8.1 Coordination of clauses

Following (Haspelmath 2004:4), the units conjoined in a coordinating construction will be called ‘**coordinands**’, and the morphemes or particles used to mark the coordination in a syndetic coordinating construction ‘**coordinators**’. In an asyndetic coordinating construction the coordinands are simply **juxtaposed**.

Coordination of clauses in Savosavo is achieved by the coordinators *zu* ‘and, but’, *bo* ‘or’, and *apoi* ‘because’. This chapter will focus on coordination of clauses, but when a coordinating strategy is also used to coordinate other elements this will be mentioned as well. Coordination within NPs was discussed earlier in Section 5.3.1.

While in many languages a coordinator clearly belongs syntactically to the preceding or following coordinand, there is no clear evidence in Savosavo that the coordinators *zu* ‘and, but’ and *bo* ‘or’ are part of one of the coordinands.² They can start a new clause, thus connecting an utterance to the preceding text (especially *zu*), but they are not found at the end of a clause. While this seems to suggest that they belong syntactically to the second coordinand, counter-evidence is that an enclitic second-position subject pronoun cannot attach to these coordinators, but has to follow the next constituent (528, 529).

(528) [C *zu* C]_C

[[*Patere* Bouillon=*e* *buringa ba sua*] *zu*
 father Bouillon=EMPH back come ATT **but**
 [*pepa=la=lo* *zaba-zu*]].
 paper=LOC.M=**3SG.M.NOM** become.visible-PST.IPFV

‘Father Bouillon came later, but he (is the one who) appears in the records’
 (jn.lotu.106)

²A similar situation is found in neighboring Lavukaleve, cf. Terrill (2004).

(529) [C *bo* C]_C

No=na kati ake ta-i; [[*manyigha=la=no bo ta-i*]
 2SG=NOM CERT be.what FUT-FIN village=LOC.M=2SG.NOM go FUT-FIN
bo [*ata=no uikeni ta-i*]]?
 or here=2SG weekend FUT-FIN

‘What will you do; will you go to the village or will you spend the weekend here?’
 (jv_tarai_062)

In contrast, the coordinator *apoi* ‘because’, which is clearly part of the following coordinand, can be host for enclitic personal pronouns (Sec. 8.1.3), as can subordinators and cosubordinators (see Sec. 8.2 and Sec. 8.3).

8.1.1 Coordination with *zu* ‘and, but’

Zu ‘and, but’ is used to connect NPs and both verbal and non-verbal clauses. Coordination of NPs by means of *zu* ‘and, but’ is common and was discussed in more detail in Section 5.3.1.2. This coordinator primarily expresses conjunctive³ coordination (530)⁴. Given the right context, *zu* can also express adversative coordination (531).

(530) [C, C *zu* C]_C

[[*Ighia totoa=gha=na papale=la*], [*ighia=gha=na papale=la*], **zu**
 three sibling=PL=NOM side=LOC.M three=PL=NOM side=LOC.M **and**
 [*ko ze-ma adaki totoa=kona te ghobu=la*]].
 DET.SG.F 3PL-GEN.SG.F woman sibling=NOM.F EMPH middle=LOC.M

‘Three siblings (were) on (one) side, three (were) on (the other) side, and their sister (was) in the middle.’ (wr_cs_poghoroghuliagha_055)

(531) [C *zu* C]_C

Anyi mau=na tei: “Ake-a=no?” tei, tulola anyi tei:
 1SG[GEN] father=NOM say what-SIM=2SG.NOM say then 1SG say
 “[*Dai-sa patu*]; **zu** [*oma=lo dai-sa-i ata*]].”
 good-VBLZ BG.IPFV **but** no=3SG.M.NOM good-VBLZ-FIN here

³Semantically, three types of coordination are usually distinguished: “**conjunction** (= conjunctive coordination, ‘and’ coordination [...]), **disjunction** (= disjunctive coordination, ‘or’ coordination [...]), and **adversative coordination** (‘but’ coordination [...])” (Haspelmath 2004:5).

⁴The coordinands as well as the whole coordination construction are marked by square brackets in all examples of this section. Furthermore, the first line of the examples specifies what kind of coordinands are connected.

‘My father said: “How are you?” (he) said, and then I said: “Ok (lit. still good); but it is not good here.”’ (agh_png_270)

In both (531) and (528), there is a contrast between the expectation evoked by the first coordinand clause, and the state of affairs encoded in the second clause. In (531), answering the question ‘How are you?’ with ‘OK’ suggests that the speaker is comfortable where she is, but actually she is not, because ‘it is not good here’. In (528), the first clause stresses that it was Pater Bouillon who came later, i.e. after Christianity already arrived on Savo Island. Accordingly, he should not be in the records as bringing Christianity to Savo Island. But, as the second clause states, he is nonetheless the one mentioned in the records.

Zu ‘and, but’ can link clauses that are both non-verbal (530) or verbal (531), or clauses that are of different kinds (see example (528) above, where the first coordinand is a non-verbal clause with a *sua*-phrase as its predicate).

8.1.2 Coordination with *bo* ‘or’

This disjunctive conjunction is mostly used to connect verbal and/or non-verbal clauses (examples (529) above and (532)).

(532) [C *bo* C]_C

Kia=nye *elakati zua-ni* *ta-i*; [[*moka*⁵ *no=ne* *ela*
if=1SG.NOM CERT ask-2SG.O FUT-FIN maybe 2SG=EMPH2SG maybe
l-olomi *sua*] **bo** [*elamoka no=ne* *kama koata ela*
3SG.M.O-know ATT or maybe 2SG=EMPH2SG already before maybe
kama pala *l-au* *ba sua*]]; *ni?*
already make.3SG.M 3SG.M.O-take come ATT Aff

‘If (so) I will ask you (how to make this kind of pudding); maybe you (are) one maybe knowing it (i.e., how to make it) or maybe you (are) one who already before maybe already made it; ok?’ (ss_cl_pudding_005)

Sometimes it is also found with other elements, e.g. NPs (see Sec. 5.3.1.3) or locationals (533).

⁵The full form of this word is *elamoka*. It can be shortened to *ela* or *moka*.

(533) [Loc *bo* Loc]_{Loc}

Ala=lo *te* *kozi(-i)*, *lo* *polo=na*, [[*kulo*] **bo**
 where=3SG.M.NOM EMPH face(-FIN), DET.SG.M pig=NOM seawards **or**
 [*kao*]]?
 bushwards

‘Where does it face, the pig, seawards or bushwards?’ (pk_mk_mt_342)

Alternative questions can be expressed by *bo ghoma* ‘or not’(534, 535).

(534) C *bo* Neg

[[*L-eghe* *ze=no*] **bo** [*ghoma*]]?
 3SG.M.O-see PA=2SG.NOM **or** no

‘Do you see it or not?’ (pk_mk_mt_287)

(535) C *bo* Neg

[[*Ze* *kuvi-li* *sue*] **bo** [*ghoma*]].
 3PL[GEN] cover-3SG.M.O ATT.EMPH **or** no

‘(Is it) one they covered or not?’ (pk_mk_mt_114)

8.1.3 Coordination with *apoi* ‘because’

When two independent clauses are connected by means of *apoi* ‘because’,⁶ the second one expresses the reason for whatever is said in the first clause. For example, in (536), the reason that Jeff was not saying anything is that he in general is not a very talkative person.

(536) *Te* *Jeffi=na* *oma vere-zu*; **apoi** *Jeffi=e* *oma kanyika*
 CONJ Jeff=NOM not speak-PST.IPFV **because** Jeff=EMPH not too.much
vere sua *mapa*.
 speak ATT.SG.M person

‘And Jeff was not saying anything; because Jeff (was) not a very talkative person.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_356)

Apoi ‘because’ can only be used to link independent, non-embedded clauses; syntactically, therefore, this is a case of coordination.

⁶*Apoi* is a multi-functional lexeme; it can be used as an interrogative noun meaning ‘what’, a noun meaning ‘anything, everything’, and as a coordinator meaning ‘because’.

8.2 Subordination

Three types of subordinate clause can be distinguished in Savosavo, depending on their syntactic function in the main clause (cf., e.g., Thompson et al. 2007:238): **relative clauses** modify the head of an NP constituent of the matrix clause (Sec. 8.2.1), **adverbial clauses** modify the predicate or the main clause as a whole (8.2.2), and **complement clauses** function as an argument (8.2.3).

Subordinate clauses in Savosavo can be regarded as more or less desententialized and/or nominalized, for a number of reasons. One is that only very few types of subordinate clause in Savosavo can contain any TAM morphemes at all, and those that can be used have to be unspecified in terms of finiteness. Finite TAM morphemes cannot be used at all. Furthermore, in several subordinate clauses the subject is optionally or obligatorily encoded as genitive instead of nominative. And finally, subordinate clauses can have syntactic functions that are usually fulfilled by NPs (e.g. complement clauses).

For some authors, a clausal structure that is lacking some of the features associated with an independent verbal clause, e.g. finite marking, already counts as nominalized (Lehmann 1982; Dik 1997). Genitive case is usually associated with NPs, not verbal clauses, and so subordinate clauses that require genitive encoding of the subject are nominalized to a higher degree than subordinate clauses that merely allow it, or subordinate clauses that require nominative encoding of the subject. And finally, a subordinate clause that occurs in the same position as an NP, e.g. an object complement clause (see Sec. 8.2.3), is functionally similar to that of an NP, and is nominalized to a higher degree than a subordinate clause that does not fill a slot in the matrix clause usually reserved for NPs, e.g. a purpose clause (see Sec. 8.2.2.5).

8.2.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Savosavo are subordinate clauses that are used as modifiers within NPs or predicates of non-verbal clauses. NPs containing a relative clause can be used in all syntactic positions available to NPs. Relative clauses are externally headed by the head of the NP, which they precede (see example (537); the relative clause in this and the following examples is marked by square brackets).

- (537) [kabu-tu] lo *mapa*_{Head=gha}
 move.away-REL DET.PL person=PL
 ‘the people who ran away’ (mp_biti_267)

Relative clauses always have a verbal predicate. One of two morphemes has to be used to form relative clauses in Savosavo: either the suffix *-tu* ‘REL’⁷ (537), or the attributive marker *sua* (see example (538), with the feminine form *soma* ‘ATT.SG.F’).

- (538) [*Aghe* *k-ate* *soma*] *pa nyari sisi*_{Head}
 1DU.EX[GEN] 3SG.F.O-hold **ATT.SG.F** one small **piglet**
 ‘[Q: What did you bring? A:] One small piglet that we caught.’ (ap_cs_kakula_020)

The suffix *-tu* ‘REL’ is attached to the (last) verb of the relative clause, while *sua* ‘ATT’ follows it as an independent phonological word. The formation of relative clauses is only one function of *sua* ‘ATT’ in NPs, which can take a variety of complements other than a non-finite subordinate clause (see Sec. 4.8.1).

8.2.1.1 Relative clauses with *-tu* ‘REL’

Relative clauses with *-tu* ‘REL’ function as modifiers of nouns (539) or personal pronouns ((540); cf. Sec. 5.1).

- (539) [*Ze-va* *bo k-au-tu*] *ko* *adaki=e* *ko=na.*
 3PL-GEN.M go 3SG.F.O-take-REL DET.SG.F woman=EMPH 3SG.F=NOM
 ‘She (was) the woman whom they had gone (to and) taken.’ (cr_cs_savokiki_115)
- (540) [*lo* *bomu luja-li* *l-au* *keva-tu*] *zepo*
 DET.PL bomb load-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take do.all.about-REL 3PL
 ‘those who loaded bombs (and) took them all around’ (bk_WWII_189)

Relative clauses with *-tu* occupy the very first position in an NP. They require the NP to be definite. In non-pronominal NPs, *-tu*-relative clauses are obligatorily followed by a determiner (539) to indicate definiteness. In pronominal NPs, this is impossible (540). This is consistent with the fact that personal pronouns in general cannot be modified by a determiner (cf. Sec. 5.1.1.2). In both pronominal and non-pronominal NPs, the relative clause can be preceded by a determiner (540, 541).

- (541) [*ai lo* *ai-va* *tabua-li-tu*] *lo*
 this **DET.SG.M** 1SG.GEN-GEN.M put.taboo.on-3SG.M.O-REL DET.SG.M
apoi
 something
 ‘this thing that I put a taboo on’ (ap_custom_044)

⁷The suffix *-tu* ‘REL’ is formally identical to the present imperfective suffix; diachronically there may have been a connection. However, synchronically there is no trace of any temporal or aspectual meaning connected to the *-tu* found in relative clauses.

The form of both determiners depends on the person, number and, in the third person singular, gender of the external head of the relative clause: *ko* for the third person singular feminine, *to* for the third person dual and *lo* for everything else (cf. Tab. 4.12 in Sec. 4.6). The determiner following the relative clause in a non-pronominal NP is analyzed as belonging to the head noun because its presence or absence depends on the nature of the NP head. The determiner preceding the relative clause can be present regardless of what type of NP head is used, and is thus analyzed as belonging to the relative clause.

Whenever a determiner is used it can be preceded by the demonstrative *ai* ‘this’. If two determiners are present, sometimes only the first is accompanied by the demonstrative (541), sometimes only the second (542), and sometimes both (543).

- (542) [*lo ai-va savu-mi-tu*] *ai lo ghanaghana=gha*
DET.PL 1SG.GEN-GEN.M tell-3PL.O-REL **this DET.PL** thought=PL
 ‘these thoughts that I talked about’ (ap_manga_036)
- (543) [*ai lo ai-va l-eghe sala-tu*] *ai*
this DET.SG.M 1SG.GEN.M 3SG.M.O-see follow.3SG.M-REL **this**
lo tabu sua mavutu
DET.SG.M be.whole ATT.SG.M place
 ‘this whole place that I look after’ (bd_cs_tonelo_390)

As definiteness is obligatory for an NP containing a relative clause with *-tu*, the numeral *pa* ‘one’, which can also function as an indefiniteness marker (cf. Sec. 4.4.1.1), can only be interpreted as a numeral when used in an NP with a *-tu*-relative clause (544).

- (544) [*no savu-li-tu*] *lo pa pera*
 2SG[GEN] tell-3SG.M.O-REL DET.SG.M one basket
 ‘the basket you talked about’ (pk_mk_mt_126)

The constituent order in relative clauses is SOV, as in main clauses. The subject in relative clauses is obligatorily encoded as genitive, while all other constituents appear as they would in an independent verbal clause.

Every syntactic position in a verbal clause filled by NPs can be relativized: subject, object, locative-marked or locational adjunct, postpositional complement and possessor.

When the subject is relativized, no cross-referencing material remains in the relative clause (540, 542, 545).

- (545) [*lo Ø kabu ba-tu*] *lo mapa=gha*
 DET.PL move.away come-REL DET.PL person=PL
 ‘the people who came running away’ (cv_biti_014)

When the object is relativized, no overt object NP can be used in the relative clause, but the object agreement on the transitive verb remains ((546), and examples (539), (541), (543) above).

- (546) [*aiva* \emptyset *ghana-li-tu*] *lo* *ghanaghana*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M think-**3SG.M.O**-REL DET.SG.M thought
 ‘the thought that I thought’ (ap_cs_sivugha_122)

In all verbal clauses, if a prefixing verb is the first or only verb used in a clause, and if the object is first person dual or plural, a corresponding personal pronoun has to precede the verb (e.g. *ave/aghe/mai ny-au* ‘take us (DU.INCL/DU.EXCL/PL)’, cf. Sec. 4.1.1.1, p. 54). The same is true in *sua*-relative clauses, which are structurally almost identical to *-tu*-relative clauses (see below, Sec. 8.2.1.2). Although there is no example of a prefixing verb with a non-singular first person object in a *-tu*-relative clause, it is very likely that this rule also applies in this context.

A temporal or locational adjunct that would be expressed by a locative-marked NP can also be relativized. In case of a temporal adjunct being relativized, no pronoun or other cross-referencing material remains in the relative clause (547).

- (547) [*ze-va* *sara kavua-za-tu*] *lo* *taemu*
 3PL-GEN.M reach spread-DETR-REL DET.SG.M time
 ‘the time they arrived (and) spread out’ (png_WWII_3_014)

This is also the most common situation with a relativized locational adjunct (548), but here it is possible to use a locative-marked third person singular masculine pronoun as a placeholder (549).

- (548) [*lo* *fomu=gha ze* *pale-tu*] *lo* *mavutu*.
 DET.PL form=PL 3PL[GEN] stay-REL DET.SG place
 ‘the place where the forms are’ (jv_tarai_200)
- (549) [*to* **lo=la** *alu-tu*] *lo* *ulunga*
 3DU[GEN] **3SG.M=LOC.M** stand-REL DET.SG.M pillow
 ‘the pillow that they (two) are standing on’ (jp_ji_mt_121)

For any other locative-marked adjunct⁸, a co-referential locative-marked pronoun usually has to take its place in the relative clause (550), although rarely it is left out as well (551).

⁸Recall that NPs with locative case-marking not only function to express a location, but also an instrument or reason, cf. Sec. 5.2.4.

- (550) [*lo no tone lo lo=la*
 DET.SG.M 2PL[GEN] brother 3SG.M[GEN] **3SG.M=LOC.M**
vasikaka-tu lo ghau
 be.ungenerous-REL DET.SG.M fishing.bamboo
 ‘that fishing bamboo your brother is so ungenerous about’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_094)
- (551) [*lo ko-va Ø bo tei-tu lo peleni*
 DET.SG.M 3SG.F-GEN.M go want.to.do-REL DET.SG.M plane
 ‘the plane she will go with’ (js_marine_122)

NPs that function as complements of postpositions can, but do not have to be represented by a pronoun when they are the relativized constituent (552–554). The prefixes on the postposition have to be present in either case.

- (552) [*lo to l-aka savu-li-tu lo mapa*
 DET.SG.M 3DU[GEN] **3SG.M-to** tell-3SG.M.O-REL DET.SG.M person
 ‘the man the two of them talked to’ (ap_kukui_042)
- (553) [*ko nyaghoa=la l-omata alu kozi-tu lo popo*
 3SG.F[GEN] front=LOC.M **3SG.M.O-at** stand face-REL DET.SG.M bowl
 ‘the bowl she is facing in front (of her)’ (jp_ji_mt_097)
- (554) [*Ai-va pe p-emitu ko polo voli-ghi-tu*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M **2DU 2DU-for** DET.SG.F pig buy-3SG.F.O-REL
pe=na kati kalugha l-ame-nyi ta-i.
 2DU=NOM CERT money 3SG.M.O-give-1SG.O FUT-FIN
 ‘You two I bought the pig for will give me money.’ (052.012_bgb)

It is also possible to relativize a possessor associated with an argument or adjunct. The genitive-marked pronoun denoting the possessor is obligatorily present, but no additional NP can be used. Examples of this have not been found in spontaneous speech yet, probably due to their complexity, but have been checked extensively in elicitation with several speakers (555, 557).

- (555) [*lo lo-ma nyuba ko-va Honiara bo-tu*
 DET.SG.M **3SG.M-GEN.SG.F** child 3SG.F-GEN.M Honiara go-REL
lo mapa.
 DET.SG.M person
 ‘the man whose daughter went to Honiara’ (049_002_bgb)

- (556) [*lo* *no-va* ***lo-va*** *ghau=la*
 DET.SG.M 2SG-GEN.M **3SG.M-GEN.M** fishing.bamboo=LOC.M
vasikaka-tu] *lo* *mapa*
 be.ungenerous-REL DET.SG.M person
 ‘the man whose fishing bamboo you are so ungenerous about’ (061_016_bgb)
- (557) [*to* *no-va* ***to-ma*** *mama k-aka* *savu-li-tu*]
 DET.DU 2SG-GEN.M **3DU-GEN.SG.F** mother 3SG.F-to tell-3SG.M.O-REL
to *nyuba=lo*
 DET.DU child=DU
 ‘those (two) boys whose mother you told it’ (061_013_bgb)

Table 8.1 is a summary of the patterns outlined above. For each syntactic position that can be relativized, it is indicated whether or not the corresponding referent is still represented in the relative clause, either by an overt NP or by agreement morphology. If there is no target showing agreement with the relativized syntactic position, this is marked by grey shading of the corresponding cell.

Syntactic function in RelCl	Represented in RelCl by	
	NP	Agreement (Target)
Subject	∅	
Object	∅	affixes (verb)
Locative Adjunct:		
Temporal	∅	
Locational	(pronoun)	
Other	pronoun	
Postpositional Complement	(pronoun)	affixes (postposition)
Possessor	pronoun (GEN)	

Table 8.1: Summary of the syntactic position of a verbal clause that can be relativized, indicating for each position whether the referent is represented in the relative clause by an NP or is obligatorily zero (∅), and whether it is cross-referenced by agreement morphology. Brackets indicate optionality, shaded cells show that there is no agreement target for the respective syntactic function.

Relative clauses with *-tu* can contain the emphatic particle *te* (558).

- (558) *Zu ko=na [lo samu **te** manamana-li-tu] ko*
 and 3SG.F=NOM DET.SG.M food **EMPH** prepare-3SG.M.O-REL DET.SG.F
adaki ko=na.
 woman 3SG.F=NOM.F
 ‘And she, she (is) the woman who prepared the food.’, lit. ‘And she, the food preparing woman (is) she.’ (ap_dr_se_817)

The clausal structure that is relativized can be a clause chaining construction if the relativized referent has the same syntactic role in all clauses in the chain. So far only examples with relativized object referents have been found (559).

- (559) [*ai ko no k-au-a te=no ba k-oma*
 this 3SG.F 2SG[GEN] 3SG.F.O-take-SS CONJ=2SG.NOM come 3SG.F.O-carry
ba-tu] ko
 come-REL 3SG.F
 ‘she whom you took and brought here’ (cr_cs_savokiki_300)

The only TAM morphemes so far attested in *-tu*-relative clauses are the background imperfective suffix *-ale* and the anticipatory suffix *-ata*. These two suffixes are also the only TAM suffixes that can appear on verbs nominalized by means of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ (cf. Tab. 6.3, p. 163, and Ch. 9). There are no examples of these suffixes being used in relative clauses in the collected texts, but during elicitation sessions informants offered the relative clauses in (560) and (561).

- (560) [*John lo koti epi-**ale**-tu] lo taemu=la*
 John 3SG.M seawards.PROX sit-**BG.IPFV**-REL DET.SG.M time=LOC.M
 ‘at the time at which John was sitting (there) a bit seawards’ (bgb_096_08)
- (561) [*lo samu-**ata**-tu] lo mapa*
 DET.SG.M have.meal-**ANT**-REL DET.SG.M person
 ‘the/that man who eats first (before doing something else)’ (bgb_149_11)

The background imperfective suffix *-ale* can only be used with very few verbs, for all other verbs a SVC with *pale* ‘BG.IPFV’ has to be used (cf. Sec. 6.3.2.5 and Sec. 6.5.2.2). One example in the corpus shows that such a SVC can also be used in a *-tu*-relative clause. The speaker is describing video clips to another speaker, and in this example refers to someone whom he has already seen in several of these video clips (562).

- (562) *lo [mai-va l-eghe **pale**-tu] lo tada*
 DET.SG.M 1NSG.IN-GEN.M 3SG.M.O-see **BG.IPFV**-REL DET.SG.M man
koko
 boy
 ‘this boy whom we keep seeing’ (ap_dr_se_895)

As the future marker *ta* is not available for use in relative clauses, reference to future events is encoded by a serial verb construction with *tei* ‘want to do’ ((551), repeated here for convenience).

- (551) [*lo ko-va bo tei-tu*] *lo peleni*
 DET.SG.M 3SG.F-GEN.M **go want.to.do-REL** DET.SG.M plane
 ‘the plane she will go with’ (js_marine_122)

Relative clauses with *-tu* can be negated by means of *oma* ‘not’, but this is so far only attested in elicited examples (563, 564).

- (563) [*Lo moibia oma bo-tu*] *ze=na ba-i.*
 DET.PL yesterday not go-REL 3PL=NOM come -FIN
 ‘Those who didn’t go yesterday came.’ (099_008_bgb)
- (564) [*ze-va oma bo k-au-tu*] *ko adaki*
 3PL-GEN.M not go 3SG.F.O-take-REL DET.SG.F woman
 ‘the woman whom they did not go to take’ (099_009_bgb)

8.2.1.2 Relative clauses with *sua* ‘ATT’

The attributive marker *sua*, which can take a wide variety of complements (cf. Sec. 4.8.1), is another way to form a relative clause (565).

- (565) [*lo japani=gha ze bola sua*] *vaka*
 DET.SG.M Japanese=PL 3PL[GEN] shoot.3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M ship
 ‘a ship that the Japanese shot (down)’ (bk_WWII_180)

Relative clauses formed by *sua* ‘ATT’ do not differ much from *-tu*-relative clauses. The range of syntactic positions that can be relativized is identical to that of *-tu*-relative clauses, and the relativized constituent is represented in the same way as in *-tu*-relative clauses. Table 8.1 provided above on page 259 is thus equally valid for *sua*-relative clauses.

The subject, if not relativized, is in the genitive (565). Various adjuncts, e.g. locational adjuncts (566), as well as object NPs (567) and negation (568) are possible.

- (566) [*mati Aba=la zu ata Savo=la sara*
 along.coast.PROX Guadalcanal=LOC.M and here Savo=LOC.M reach
sua] *muzi*
 ATT.SG.M cloud
 ‘a cloud reaching from Guadalcanal to here on Savo’ (bk_WWII_172)

- (567) *No mama=kona pa [ko ko ghanaghana*
 2SG[GEN] mother=NOM.F one 3SG.F 3SG.F[GEN] thought
sala soma] adaki mata-ghi.
 follow.3SG.M ATT.SG.F woman want-3SG.F.O
 ‘Your mother wants a woman who is like she imagines’ (ap_jeff_beki_337)
- (568) *Zu / [oma pa / perongo l-oghoa-li soma] pa adaki*
 but / not one / something 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.F one woman
no k-au kia / elakati ko ko ghajia / elakati /
 2SG[GEN] 3SG.F.O-take if / CERT 3SG.F 3SG.F[GEN] self / CERT /
raghi-ni n-au au ta-i.
 pull-2SG.O 2SG.O-take move.down FUT-FIN
 ‘But if you take a woman who doesn’t own anything, she herself will pull you down.’ (ap_jeff_beki_140)

When the object is first person non-singular and the first or only verb is prefixing, the corresponding personal pronoun has to precede the verb, even if the object is the relativized position (569).

- (569) *Mai=me [tagha lo kaunga lo mai*
 1NSG.IN=EMPH.1NSG.IN up DET.SG.M elder 3SG.M[GEN] 1NSG.IN
ny-eghe sameminyi so]=gha pono=e mai=na.
 1O-see follow.1NSG.IN ATT=PL only=EMPH 1NSG.IN=NOM
 ‘We, we (are) just ones the Lord above looks after.’ (png-WWII.3_317)

In contrast to relative clauses with *-tu*, no TAM morphology is attested in any *sua*-relative clause so far. Another difference is that *sua*-relative clauses tend to be less complex. For example, *sua*-relative clauses containing a clause chain are not attested so far, and, although elicitation shows that it is possible, examples with a relativized possessor or postpositional complement are rare.

While they are very similar with respect to their internal structure, *-tu*- and *sua*-relative clauses differ in the restrictions they impose on the NPs they occur in. In contrast to *-tu*-relative clauses, *sua*-relative clauses have not been attested in NPs headed by a personal pronoun. Furthermore, while relative clauses with *-tu* ‘REL’ have to be followed by a determiner, there cannot be any determiner following a relative clause with *sua* ‘ATT’. But while *-tu*-relative clauses cannot be used in an NP marked as indefinite by means of *pa* ‘one, a’, this is possible with *sua*-relative clauses. *Pa* ‘one, a’ can either precede (567) or follow (568) the relative clause.

Another difference is that *sua*-phrases in general, and accordingly also relative clauses with *sua*, can be the only constituent of a headless NP (570).

- (570) [No oma ave ny-olomi so]=gha=e ave=na.
 2SG[GEN] not 1PL.EX 1O-know ATT=PL=EMPH 1PL.EX=NOM
 ‘You don’t know us.’, lit. ‘Ones you don’t know (are) we.’ (ej_cs.botoli_035)

There are important functional differences between the two types of relative clause. Relative clauses with *-tu* contain presupposed material, and are used to talk about referents that are already established. This is in accordance with the required definiteness of the superordinate NP. In contrast, while *sua*-relative clauses can also be used to talk about established referents, they are typically employed when the referent is new, and often provide additional information on the referent that was not yet shared knowledge. One example of this is (571), where the object referent is mentioned for the first time.

- (571) Te=ze [ota sukulu=la pale sua] pa
 CONJ=3PL.NOM there school=LOC.M stay ATT.SG.M one
barata te l-au-i.
 monasterial.brother EMPH 3SG.M.O-take-FIN
 ‘And they took a Brother who stayed there at the school.’ (agh_png_406)

But relative clauses with *sua* ‘ATT’ can also contain presupposed material. In (572), taken from a traditional folk story, a character unknowingly follows the same way that her mother had taken. Earlier in the story it was described how the mother left, so the event is known.

- (572) Kulisogha te=gho bo kulo pazale=la sara(-a)
 go.to.beach CONJ=3SG.F.NOM go seawards beach=LOC.M reach(-SS)
 te=gho [ko mama ko-va sala bo
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F[GEN] mother 3SG.F-GEN.M follow.3SG.M.O go
 sua] keva kama sala(-a) te=gho...
 ATT.SG.M path already follow.3SG.M.O(-SS) CONJ=3SG.F.NOM
 ‘Went seawards and she went (and) arrived at the beach seawards and she already followed a path, which was the one that her mother had taken, and she...’
 (ws_cs.ghulia_170)

The relative clause in (572) could also be a *-tu*-relative clause, which would then have to be followed by a determiner (572’).

- (572’) ...te=gho [ko mama ko-va sala
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F[GEN] mother 3SG.F-GEN.M follow.3SG.M.O
 bo-tu] lo keva kama sala(-a) te=gho...
 go-REL DET.SG.M path already follow.3SG.M.O(-SS) CONJ=3SG.F.NOM
 ‘...and she already followed that path her mother had taken and she...’

The *-tu*-relative clause is used restrictively, specifying the path she takes as the very path her mother had taken, while the *sua*-relative clause is non-restrictive. It just adds the information that the road she took happened to be the same her mother had taken. But *sua*-relative clauses can also be used restrictively, providing information used to identify a referent, as, e.g., in (565) and (567) above.

Relative clauses with *sua* are frequently used as predicates of non-verbal clauses (cf. Sec. 7.1.2.2; (573, 574)).

- (573) [No]_{s=ne} oma [anyi dolo-a-nyi]⁹ sua]_P; zu
 2SG=EMPH.2SG not 1SG be.friend.with-EP-1SG.O ATT but
 [no]_{s=ne} [ko dolo-a-ghi sua]_P
 2SG=EMPH.2SG 3SG.F be.friend.with-EP-3SG.F.O ATT
 ‘You (are) not friends with me; but you are friends with her.’, lit. ‘You (are) not one who is friends with me; but you (are) one who is friends with her.’ (ap_jeff_beki_225)

- (574) [[Ze l-ame-ghi sua] samu]_S [ko ko oma
 3PL[GEN] 3SG.M.O-give-3SG.F.O ATT.SG.M food 3SG.F 3SG.F[GEN] not
 l-ou sue]_P [lo]_S=na.
 3SG.M.O-eat ATT.EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘The food that they gave her, she didn’t eat it.’, lit. ‘...one that she did not eat (was) it.’ (bd_cs_tonelo_312)

8.2.2 Adverbial clauses

Savosavo has several types of adverbial clause. Table 8.2 provides an overview, including information on how they are marked, which position in the main clause they occur in, and where in this chapter they are described.

Type	Marking	Position of subord. clause	Section
Conditional clauses	<i>monei</i> ‘if only’	preceding the main clause	8.2.2.1
	<i>kia</i> ‘if’	preceding the main clause	8.2.2.2
Temporal clauses (future)	<i>kia</i> ‘when’	preceding the main clause	8.2.2.2
Temporal clauses (past/present)	<i>tuka</i> ‘whenever’	preceding the main clause	8.2.2.3.1
	<i>tulola</i> ‘then’	preceding the main clause	8.2.2.3.2

⁹Some verbs have a kind of epenthetic /a/ inserted between the stem and the object suffix, cf. fn. 7, p. 35.

Simultaneous clauses	asyndetic	preceding the main clause	8.2.2.4
Purpose clauses	<i>te/ke</i> ‘CONJ’	following the main clause	8.2.2.5.1
	asyndetic	embedded in the main clause	8.2.2.5.2

Table 8.2: Overview of the types of adverbial clause used in Savosavo, how they are marked, where they are positioned in the main clause and what section they are described in.

The differences in meaning between conditional clauses formed by means of *monei* ‘if only’ and *kia* ‘if, when’ can be summarized as follows, employing the terminology used in Thompson et al. (2007):

Morpheme	Type	Paraphrase
<i>monei</i> ‘if only’	counterfactual	if X had happened (but it did not)
		if X would be the case (but is not and will not)
	hypothetical	if X would be the case in the future (but is highly unlikely to be)
<i>kia</i> ‘if’	hypothetical	if X could be the case in the future
	predictive	if X is the case in the future
	generic	whenever X is the case

Table 8.3: Functions of the conditional subordinating morphemes *monei* ‘if only’ and *kia* ‘if’.

The differences in meaning between temporal clauses formed by means of *kia* ‘if, when’, *tuka* ‘whenever’ and *tulola* ‘then’ can be summarized in a similar fashion:

Morpheme	Type	Paraphrase
<i>kia</i> ‘when’	sequential	when x is the case in the future
<i>tuka</i> ‘whenever’	habitual	usually, whenever x is/was the case
	generic	whenever X is/was the case
<i>tulola</i> ‘then’	sequential	at x, after x happened in the past

Table 8.4: Functions of the temporal subordinating morphemes *kia* ‘when’, *tuka* ‘whenever’ and *tulola* ‘then’.

As in other languages, including languages of Papua New Guinea (Thompson et al. 2007: 257), future temporal clauses and predictive conditional clauses are treated alike. Both types of subordinate clause are formed with one subordinator, *kia* ‘if, when’. A distinction based on the degree of expectability, as in English between ‘if’ and ‘when’, is only made within the category of hypothetical conditional clauses, distinguishing those that are highly unlikely to happen (expressed by means of *monei* ‘if only’) from those that are unlikely, but could happen (expressed by means of *kia* ‘if’). Other than that, the most important aspect in the choice of the subordinating morpheme is whether the events expressed in the complex clause have been realized or not at the time of speaking.

8.2.2.1 Conditional clauses with *monei* ‘if only’

The protasis of a conditional clause with *monei* ‘if only’¹⁰ is nominal, either a nominal clause (575), a nominalized verbal clause (576) or a noun phrase (577), and the apodosis is a verbal clause with irrealis marking on the predicate.

- (575) *Zu ave tagha pale sua monei=ve ave-ale.*
 but 1PL.EX up stay ATT **if.only**=1PL.EX.NOM die-IRR

‘But if we had stayed up (i.e. above ground), we would have died.’, lit. ‘But if we (were) staying up we would have died.’ (png_WWIL1_151)

- (576) *Ai ko adaki nyuba ai k-au k-agma-ghu*
 this DET.SG.F woman child 1SG.GEN 3SG.F.O-take 3SG.F.O-marry-NMLZ
monei, ai-va ae-ghu lo pale k-aka
if.only 1SG.GEN-GEN.M be.married-NMLZ 3SG.M[GEN] inside 3SG.F-with
taunga-ghu monei, dai toa taunga-ghu=la=ghe
 remain-NMLZ **if.only** good really remain-NMLZ=LOC.M=1DU.EX.NOM
taunga-(a)le.
 remain-IRR

‘If only I married this girl, if only I was in my marriage with her, we would have a very good life.’ (ap_jeff_beki_007)

- (577) *Pio, lo=la ave sua erongo monei ave=na*
 man 3SG.M=LOC.M die ATT.SG.M something **if.only** 1PL.EX=NOM
ka ave-ale.
 already die-IRR

‘Man, if (it was) something one would die from, we would have died already.’ (jv_tarai_140)

¹⁰There is a homophonous adverb *monei* meaning ‘nearly’, probably diachronically related.

Conditional clauses with *monei* ‘if only’ express counterfactual (575) and hypothetical conditionals (576). Hypothetical conditional clauses with *monei* ‘if only’ usually express that it seems very unlikely that the situation could actually come true; when talking about some more likely hypothetical situation, *kia* ‘if’ will be used.

8.2.2.2 Conditional and future temporal clauses with *kia* ‘if’

The subordinator *kia* ‘if, when’ can be used to form conditional (578) and future temporal clauses (579).

- (578) *Anyi-va ghana-ghi soma pa adaki ai k-au*
 1SG-GEN.M think-3SG.F.O ATT.SG.F one woman 1SG.GEN 3SG.F.O-take
ba kia=lo ekati maitei ta-i?
 come if=3SG.M.NOM CERT be.how FUT-FIN

‘If I brought/bring a woman I think of (i.e. one that I like, not you), then how will it be (i.e. what will happen)?’, lit. ‘If my bringing of a woman I’m thinking of, it will be how?’ (ap_jeff_beki_135)

- (579) *Sade=la kia, no ala tarai-ghu=e?*
 Sunday=LOC.M when 2SG[GEN] where pray-NMLZ=EMPH

‘Where will you pray on Sunday, lit. When on Sunday, then where do you pray?’ (jv_tarai_054)

In some cases, both readings are possible (580).

- (580) *Elakati anyi-va bekeni salu me-va ena-li*
 CERT 1SG-GEN.M betel.nut betel.leaf 2PL-GEN.M chew.betelnut-3SG.M.O
kia=me oma me mama mau=gha me
 if/when=2PL.NOM not 2PL[GEN] mother father/pat.uncle=PL 2PL[GEN]
toka kulagha=gha z-olomi ta-i.
 sibling mat.uncle/nephew/niece=PL 3PL.O-know FUT-FIN

‘If/when you chew my betel nut (and) leaf, you won’t know your mothers and fathers and paternal uncles, your siblings and maternal uncles (any more).’ (ws_cs_ghulia_025)

Conditional clauses with *kia* ‘if’ are used when a situation is hypothetical, but quite likely to happen (578), or for predictive conditionals (581).

- (581) *Lo pa lo-va k-agma kia, ai mane*
 3SG.M one 3SG.M-GEN.M 3SG.F.O-marry if 1SG.GEN consecutively
k-eghe saka-ghu=e lo=na.
 3SG.F.O-see follow.3SG.F-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM

‘If someone marries her I will look after her.’ (da_cs_kosakosa_119)

Kia ‘if, when’ is also commonly used to refer to generic situations, e.g. in procedural texts (582).

- (582) *Lo-va unu kia, no-va lo kiba=la*
 3SG.M-GEN.M swell **when** 2SG-GEN.M DET.SG.M leaf=LOC.M
piti-li-ghu=e lo=na.
 tie-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘When it swells, you tie it to the leaf.’ (se_kite_012)

Another way to describe generic situations is by using temporal clauses with *tuka* ‘whenever’, see Section 8.2.2.3.1 below.

In a future temporal clause, it marks sequentiality of two as yet unrealized events (583).

- (583) *Ko-va ba kia=gho lo lakavi=la*
 3SG.F-GEN.M come **when**=3SG.F.NOM DET.SG.M wild.taro=LOC.M
sua korikori zu lo mai z-omu
 ATT.SG.M pudding and DET.SG.M 1NSG.IN[GEN] 3PL.O-fill.a.container
z-ovu-tu lo kakado lakavi lo piva
 3PL.O-put-REL DET.SG.M bamboo.bottle wild.taro 3SG.M[GEN] water
pizo-li-ghu=e.
 drink-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When she comes she will (eat) the wild taro pudding and drink the bamboo bottle of wild taro juice we filled (and) placed (there).’ (ap_cs_sekuna_015)

The protasis of a *kia*-clause can be a verbal clause with a possessive (578–582) or, rarely, a nominative subject (584), or an NP, often a locative NP as in example (579) above.

- (584) *No=na pia-ghu mata-li kia, ko=na raghi-ni*
 2SG=NOM move.up-NMLZ want-3SG.M.O **if** 3SG.F=NOM pull-2SG.O
neu sone ta-i;
 down throw.2SG FUT-FIN
 ‘If you want to move up, she will pull you down.’ (ap_jeff_beki_141)

The apodosis can be a nominal clause (579) or a verbal clause (584). Commonly a nominal clause has a nominalized verbal clause (NVC) predicate, as in examples (579) and (582) above. The apodosis of subordinate clauses with *kia* can also be an order or a prohibition, as in (585).

- (585) *Pe bo kia, sika=pe ai lo lo mola*
 2DU[GEN] go **if** don't=2DU.NOM this DET.SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] canoe
l-au zaba-(a)le...
 3SG.M.O-take become.visible-IRR
 'When you (two) go, don't you let this canoe of his (the dead giant) be seen...'
 (st_cs_vangazua_134)

An enclitic subject can either be attached to the first constituent of the apodosis (585) or directly to *kia* (see ex. (578) above); this can be seen as evidence that the subordinate clause can be regarded as part of the main clause, but does not have to be.

The main clause subject is nominative when the main clause predicate is a finite verb complex (578), but genitive if it is nominalized (582). The form of the subject in the subordinate clause sometimes correlates with the form of the main clause subject, and thus the main clause predicate: if the predicate of the apodosis is a finite verb, the subject of the protasis is nominative (584), if the predicate of the protasis is a nominalized verb, the subject of the apodosis is genitive (582). However, examples where this correlation does not hold are also often found (e.g. examples (578) and (580) above, and (586) below).

- (586) *Lo dulo tada=gha / =ze te mata-mi-zu te*
 DET.PL all man=PL / =3PL EMPH want-3PL.O-PST.IPFV CONJ
ze=na te ba dele kia / lo kaunga lo-ma
 3PL=NOM EMPH come dance **if** / DET.SG.M chief 3SG.M-GEN.SG.F
nyuba ko ba / data alu ze=gho ba
 child 3SG.F[GEN] come / outside stand CONJ.SS=3SG.F.NOM come
varuru-ghu.
 stare-NMLZ

'They wanted all the men, so that if they come and dance, the chief's daughter would come stand outside and then come and watch.' (ap_cs_sivugha_014)

Example (586) also shows that a verbal clause protasis can contain the emphatic particle *te*. The negative particle *oma* 'not' can also be used in a verbal clause protasis (587).

- (587) *Zu no oma ringi kia oma=ze kati n-olomi ta-i.*
 but 2SG[GEN] **not** call **if** no=3PL.NOM CERT 2SG-know FUT-FIN
 'But if you don't call, they will not know you (i.e. know where you are).'
 (agh_png_240)

Kia can also be used at the beginning of a clause, without a preceding subordinate clause. In this case the condition is whatever was said before (588). There are occasionally also examples in which the protasis follows the matrix clause (589).

- (588) “**Kia**=nye ake ta-i?” tei(-i).
 if=1SG.NOM be.what FUT-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘“If (so), what will I do?” (he) said.’ (ap_cs_polupolu_037)
- (589) Memere zaba patu=lo. No-va lo-va
 little.bit become.visible BG.IPFV=3SG.M.NOM 2SG-GEN.M 3SG.M-GEN.M
 batu=la=tu gele bo **kia**.
 head=LOC.M=ABL look go if
 ‘It is a little bit visible (the tree). If you look from his (the man’s) head.’
 (jp_ji_mt_234)

8.2.2.3 Past and present temporal clauses

Temporal clauses can be expressed by means of *tuka* ‘whenever’ and *tulola* ‘then’. The subordinate clause and the matrix clause encode two events that are in a temporal sequence relationship. *Tuka* ‘whenever’ is used when the complex clause expresses a habitual or generic relationship between two events, while *tulola* ‘then’ is used for two past or present events that took place one after the other, usually without a generic or habitual reading.

8.2.2.3.1 Temporal clauses with *tuka* ‘whenever’

Tuka ‘whenever’ is used to describe a generic (590) or habitual (591) relationship between two events.

- (590) No l-obu l-aju **tuka** no ghoi
 2SG[GEN] 3SG.M.O-crack.nut 3SG.M.O-finish **whenever** 2SG[GEN] also
 burongo-li **tuka** no-va kola uvi kuro-li
 squeeze.out.of.skin-3SG.M.O **whenever** 2SG-GEN.M cassava cook-3SG.M.O
 kama tutupara-li-ghu=e.
 already bread-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When you finish cracking nuts, when you have also squeezed them out of the skin, you cook cassava and make it into bread.’ (ss_cl_pudding_114)
- (591) Father Stephen lo bo **tuka**, mane anyi l-aka lela
 father S. 3SG.M go **whenever** consecutively 1SG 3SG.M-with stroll
 keva-i.
 do.all.about-FIN
 ‘Whenever Father Stephen went (out) I went for a walk with him.’ (agh_png_441)

Structurally, temporal clauses with *tuka* ‘whenever’ are quite similar to conditional or temporal clauses with *kia* ‘if, when’ (cf. Sec. 8.2.2.2 above). The protasis is either a

verbal clause with a possessive (590, 591) or a nominative subject (592), or it is an NP (593).

- (592) *Te=gho pala sala tei tuka*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM make.3SG.M.O follow.3SG.M.O want.to.do **whenever**
ko ghoi dada-ghu=e.
 3SG.F[GEN] also be.afraid-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And whenever she was about to act accordingly she was also afraid.’
 (ap_cs_sivugha_113)
- (593) *Aghava kughe=gha lo-va buringa=la tuka, lo*
 four month=PL 3SG.M-GEN.M back=LOC.M **whenever** 3SG.M[GEN]
dada-ghu=e.
 be.ripe-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘After eight months it is ripe.’, lit. ‘When at the back of four months...’
 (mp_mapagha_231)

As with subordinate clauses with *kia* ‘if, when’, the subject of the main clause is nominative when the main clause predicate is a finite verb complex, but genitive if it is nominalized. The subject of the subordinate clause is often in the same case as the main clause subject (590, 593), but this is not obligatory (591, 592).

Conditional clauses with *tuka* ‘whenever’ occasionally contain the emphatic particle *te* ‘EMPH’ (594).

- (594) *Tuka ze ota=lia te pai tuka...*
 Whenever 3PL[GEN] there=about **EMPH** do.something whenever
 ‘Whenever (it is like that, then) whenever they do something thereabouts...’
 (ap_manga_104)

Sometimes *tuka* ‘whenever’ is used at the beginning of a clause, without a preceding subordinate clause. In this case the event encoded in the main clause is understood to follow the events referred to in the preceding clauses (595). Very rarely the protasis is found to follow the matrix clause (596).

- (595) **Tuka** *Botoli lo gharu au-ghu=e.*
whenever Botoli 3SG.M[GEN] move move.down-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then every time (the giants said this to him) Botoli moved down (a bit more, moved further into their cave).’ (ej_cs_botoli_034)
- (596) *Ai tada aghe bo z-uma tuka.*
 1SG.GEN man 1DU.EX[GEN] go 3PL.O-feed **whenever**
 ‘Whenever my husband and I went to feed them.’ (as_WWII_075)

8.2.2.3.2 Temporal clauses with *tulola* ‘then’

Another way of forming temporal clauses is to use *tulola* ‘then’. There is usually no generic or habitual reading connected to this morpheme. It often connects a subordinate clause with a following matrix clause encoding the successive event (597, 598).

- (597) *Lo eghu lo-va ghobu=la to bo pia*
 DET.SG.M fireplace 3SG.M-GEN.M middle=LOC.M 3DU[GEN] go move.up
sara tulola to kama alu samu-ghu=e.
 reach **then** 3DU already INGR have.meal-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When they had come up in the middle of the fireplace they started to eat.’
 (ap_cs_kakula_054)
- (598) *Te=lo ai mau=na zua tulola=ze tei(-i)...*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 1SG.GEN father=NOM ask **then**=3PL.NOM say(-FIN)
 ‘Then my father asked and then they said...’ (pk_WWIL_098)

Often the two events can be seen as causally related, as in example (599). Occasionally the two events are simultaneous (600).

- (599) *Lo kosi lo zui tulola ai te liaza*
 DET.SG.M course 3SG.M[GEN] end **then** 1SG.GEN EMPH return
ba-ghu=e.
 come-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When the course was over I came back.’ (agh_png_020)
- (600) *Ave bo tulola=lo sota-i.*
 1PL.EX[GEN] go **then**=3SG.M.NOM be.calm-FIN
 ‘When we went, it was calm.’ (agh_png_161)

Temporal clauses with *tulola* ‘then’ are structurally almost identical to conditional and temporal clauses with *kia* ‘if, when’ or temporal clauses with *tuka* ‘whenever’. The first event, which is encoded in the subordinate clause, can be expressed by an NP (601) or a verbal clause with either a possessive (597) or (not as commonly) a nominative subject. The second event can be expressed by a verbal (600) or a non-verbal clause, often a nominalized verbal clause, as in (597).

- (601) *Edo sua manga=la tulola ze-va lo laghaso*
 two ATT.SG.M day=LOC.M **then** 3PL-GEN.M 3SG.M[GEN] portion
pala-ghu=e.
 make.3SG.M-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘On the second day they made his provisions.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_149)

Again, as with *kia* subordinate clauses and *tuka* temporal clauses, the encoding of the main clause subject as nominative or genitive is always determined by the main clause predicate: if it is a finite verb the subject is nominative (600), if it is a nominalized verb the subject is genitive (597, 599, 601). The subject of the subordinate clause is almost always genitive, with few exceptions (602).

- (602) *Kobi=na sua lo bogho l-ou ghari-li tulola*
 Kobi=NOM giant 3SG.M[GEN] scrotum 3SG.M.O-eat tear-3SG.M.O **then**
sua lo kama tiatiakoga-ghu=e.
 giant 3SG.M[GEN] already swallow.water.involuntarily-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Kobi bit and tore the giant’s scrotum and then the giant already swallowed water.’
 (ap_cs_kakula_080)

The form of the subject in the subordinate clause often (597–599), but not always (600, 602), corresponds to that of the main clause.

The particle *te* ‘EMPH’ is also occasionally found in conditional clauses with *tulola* ‘then’ (603).

- (603) *Lo lo te zovea-ghi tulola ko kama ota*
 3SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] **EMPH** forbid-3SG.F.O then 3SG.F[GEN] already there
te ka pale-ghu=e.
 EMPH already stay-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When he stopped her (from going), then she just stayed there.’ (da_nyero_059)

Similar to clauses with *kia* ‘if, when’ and temporal clauses with *tuka* ‘whenever’, *tulola* ‘then’ is also found at the beginning of a clause, without a preceding subordinate clause (604). Whatever event was talked about before then constitutes the first event of the sequence. Occasionally, a subordinate clause with *tulola* can also follow the matrix clause (605).

- (604) **Tulola** *ze kama ghoma ny-au-ghu=e lo=na.*
then 3PL[GEN] already not 1SG.S-take-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘At that/Then they didn’t take me.’ (js_marine_028)
- (605) a. *Tia=lo, lo olomane lo-va*
 say.SIM=3SG.M.NOM DET.SG.M old.man 3SG.M-GEN.M
ghanaghana=na.
 thought=NOM
 ‘It said, the thought of the old man.’ (ap_cs_sua_069)
- b. *Lo-va lo sua l-eghe tulola.*
 3SG.M-GEN.M DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M.O-see **then**
 ‘When he saw the giant’ (ap_cs_sua_070)

Adverbial temporal clauses are also used for tail-head linkage, which is otherwise found with clause chaining constructions (see Sec. 8.3.4). Similar to clause chaining tail-head linkage, only the predicate of the preceding clause is repeated, not the subject or any other constituent, and linked by means of *tulola* ‘then’ to the following event encoded in the main clause (606).

- (606) a. *Tulola lo kori-sa sua docta lo-va*
 then DET.SG.M lie-VBLZ ATT.SG.M doctor 3SG.M-GEN.M
suki-ghi-ghu=e.
 pierce.sharp.pointed.obj-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And then the fake doctor gave her an injection.’ (ap_jeff_beki_471)
- b. *Suki-ghi tulola ko nyuba ko*
 pierce.sharp.pointed.obj-3SG.F.O then DET.SG.F child 3SG.F[GEN]
kama ave-ghu=e kama.
 already die-NMLZ=EMPH already
 ‘(He) gave her an injection and then the girl died.’ (ap_jeff_beki_472)

Diachronically, *tulola* probably grammaticalized from relative clauses with *-tu*, headed by the third person masculine singular pronoun *lo* and marked with the locative case enclitic *=la*. This could be an explanation for the fact that the subject of the subordinate clause is so often encoded as genitive compared to the other adverbial clause types, because relative clauses obligatorily have genitive subjects. The source of the grammaticalization process would have been a relative clause with a relativized temporal adjunct, like the one shown in example (607), which itself functions as a temporal adjunct in a superordinate clause.

- (607) $\left[\left[\textit{Lo kise-ghu lo ba-tu} \right] \textit{lo taemu} \right] = \textit{la};$
 DET.SG.M fight-NMLZ 3SG.M[GEN] come-REL DET.SG.M time=LOC.M
apoi vata togho-ghu=me te pala-i lo
 what kind live-NMLZ=2PL.NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O-FIN DET.SG.M
ivaghu=la.
 day=LOC.M
 ‘At the time when the fighting came, what kind of life where you leading that day?’ (png_WWII1_116)

The relativized temporal adjunct does not leave any trace inside of the relative clause (cf. Sec. 8.2.1.1, p. 8.2.1.1). Such relative clauses headed by a personal pronoun instead of a noun, with a meaning changed from ‘at the time when X happened’ to ‘at that (time of the) happening of X’, could have undergone reanalysis as a subordinate clause structure with a non-finite, unmarked verb followed by a subordinator *tulola* ‘then’. Thus, an

example like (608) can be analyzed either way, as a temporal subordinate clause (608a) or a temporal adjunct NP with a relative clause (608b).

- (608) a. *Ze ata kise tulola, [...] ave te Marovo*
 3PL[GEN] here fight **then** 1PL.EX[GEN] EMPH Marovo
bo-ghu=e.
 go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When they fought here, we went to Marovo.’ (ts_marovo_025)
- b. *Ze ata kise-tu lo=la, [...] ave te*
 3PL[GEN] here fight-**REL** 3SG.M=LOC.M 1PL.EX[GEN] EMPH
Marovo bo-ghu=e.
 Marovo go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘At that (time) when they fought here, we went to Marovo.’

In present-day speech, while there are several examples that would allow for either analysis, it is clear that *tulola* ‘then’ is established as a separate word in the lexicon. The evidence for this comes from the examples presented above, demonstrating the possibility to use *tulola* ‘then’ at the beginning of a clause (604) and following NPs (601) as well as clausal structures that would be incomplete or inappropriate in a relative clause, such as a single verb (606) or a clause with a nominative subject (602).

8.2.2.4 Simultaneous clauses

In the simultaneous construction, a subordinate clause is used to express an event taking place or a state holding at the same time as the event or state encoded in the main clause. The verb of the subordinate clause is either marked by the simultaneous suffix *-a* (609) or as imperfective, by means of the background imperfective morphemes *-atu* or *patu* ((610, 611); see Sec. 6.3.2.5 and Sec. 6.5.2.2), and is directly followed by the main clause.

- (609) [*Kokoroko=na ngia*] *ze ka gholigholi tete-ghu=e*
 chicken=NOM cry.**SIM** 3PL[GEN] already scrape balance-NMLZ=EMPH
lo tada=gha=na.
 DET.PL man=PL=NOM
 ‘As the rooster crowed they already scraped (coconuts), the men.’
 (ej_cs_botoli_014)
- (610) *Pa muzi=la [ko-va elu epi-atu] lo*
 one night=LOC.M 3SG.F-GEN.M wake sit-**BG.IPFV** DET.PL
sua=gha=na ngori~ngori(-i).
 giant=PL=NOM REDUP~snore(-FIN)

‘One night as she was still awake sitting there, the giants snored.’

(ap_cs_sivugha_117)

- (611) [Aghe apoi toa samu=no ata ai lo
 1DU.EX[GEN] what really food=2SG.NOM here this DET.SG.M
 tuvi=la l-au l-ovu **patu**]=ghe te
 house=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-take 3SG.M.O-put **BG.IPFV**=1DU.EX.NOM EMPH
 ba-i.
 come-FIN

‘What food for us where you putting in this house as we came?’

(ap_cs_saraputu_111)

When the background imperfective morphemes *-atu* or *patu* are used, the state of affairs referred to by the subordinate clause has started before that of the main clause and still continues. The simultaneous suffix *-a* is used when the main clause event has started earlier.

If an enclitic personal pronoun is used to refer to the subject of the main clause, it is attached directly to the subordinate verb (611, 612).

- (612) *Tulola* [ai-va pili-za mata gele-**a**]=nye
 then 1SG.GEN-GEN.M turn-DETR along.the.coast look-**SIM**=1SG.NOM
 lo nini l-eghe-i.
 3SG.M name 3SG.M.O-see-FIN

‘And then as I turned around and looked on the other side I saw the name.’

(agh_png_069)

The subjects of the subordinate and the main clause can be the same (612) or different (609–611). The subject of the subordinate clause can either be represented by a normal nominative NP or enclitic pronoun (609, 611), or by a genitive pronoun (610, 612). This does not seem to be strongly correlated with the form of the main clause predicate, i.e. genitive subject encoding can be used when the main clause predicate is a finite verb complex, as in (610–612), and nominative subject encoding can be used when the main clause predicate is nominalized, as in (609). However, the subject of the main clause is genitive with a nominalized verb and nominative with a finite verb.

Simultaneous clauses with an *-a*-marked verb are also used as one of two complementation strategies with verbs of perception. The other strategy is to use a nominalized clause as the object of the perception verb (cf. Sec. 9.4). When a simultaneous clause is used as a complementation strategy, the predicate of the subordinate simultaneous clause is the perception verb, while the main clause encodes the perceived event, see examples (613) and (614).

- (613) [*Dukiputu=na lo-va ghau*
 Dukiputu=NOM 3SG.M-GEN.M fishing.bamboo
l-eghe-a]=*lo te bona-zu.*
 3SG.M.O-see-SIM=3SG.M.NOM EMPH be.wet-PST.IPFV
 ‘Dukiputu saw his fishing bamboo being wet.’, lit. ‘Dukiputu seeing his fishing bamboo, it was wet.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_025)
- (614) [*Tuka=gho ene-a*]=*lo te tomai neu lo*
 whenever=3SG.F.NOM hear-SIM=3SG.M.NOM EMPH just down 3SG.M
doi=la te tau dikidoko-tu, lo samu.
 earth=LOC.M EMPH fall rattle-PRS.IPFV 3SG.M food
 ‘Every time she heard that it just fell rattling down on the ground, the food.’, lit. ‘Whenever she heard, it is just falling rattling down to the ground, the food.’ (ej_cs_turibibinu_021)

This division of labor between the subordinate clause and the main clause is cross-linguistically not very common; usually, when a subordinate clause is employed in this context, the subordinate clause (typically a complement clause) encodes the percept, and the main clause predicate is the perception verb. This is also the case in English; compare the free and literal translations of examples (613) and (614) above.

There are, however, other languages that encode the perception predicate in a dependent clause, and the perceived event in a main clause. In Kayardild (Pama-Nyungan, Australia), the event of perception can be encoded in a clearly subordinated parenthetical clause, thereby supplying “the perceptual evidence for an assertion” Evans (1995: 515). An example is (12-69)¹¹:

- (12-69) *nyingka* [*ngijuwa kurri-jarra-ntha*]_{COBL} *diya-jarra ngijin-jina*
 2sgNOM 1sgSUBJ:COBL see-PST-COBL eat-PST my-MABL
yakuri-na
 fish-MABL

‘You, I saw, were eating my fish.’ (Evans 1995: 514)¹²

While parenthetical constructions in general are quite common, and “while it is common for the perceived event clause to have main clause status, it is rarer for the parenthetical clause to be overtly subordinated, as it is in Kayardild.” (Evans 1995: 515)

¹¹Evans’ abbreviations are: ABL Ablative, C Complementizing, M Modal, NOM Nominative, PST Past, sg Singular, SUBJ Subject, : separates elements of portmonteau, or where segmentation is irrelevant (Evans 1995: xx ff.).

¹²As all examples provided by Evans (1995) in the respective section have a first person singular subject in the parenthetical clause, it is unclear whether this construction can be used with other person-number combinations.

It may be unusual that the main clause encodes the percept, and not the act of perception, but it is quite fitting that a subordinate clause expressing simultaneity should be employed as a complementation strategy specifically with perception verbs. In his paper on complementation, Noonan (2007) argues that in the case of ‘immediate perception predicates’, “the event coded by the CTP [i.e. complement-taking predicate] and that coded by the complement must necessarily be simultaneous, and, furthermore, participants involved in the matrix and complement events can be said to be shared.” (Noonan 2007:119) These features are also shared by the simultaneous adverbial clause in Savosavo. Not only does it encode simultaneous events, it can also quite easily share arguments with the main clause by taking the subject of the main clause as the object of the simultaneous clause (see example (613) above and examples (616) and (617) below).

- (616) [*Ko mama=kona ene-ghi-a*]=*gho* *todo*
 3SG.F mother=NOM.F **hear-3SG.F.O-SIM**=3SG.F.NOM be.immobile
te=gho “*O, ai nyuba=kona izi=tu*” *tei(-i)*.
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM o 1SG.GEN child=NOM.F sleep-PRS.IPFV say(-FIN)
 ‘Her mother heard that she was quiet and she said: “O, my child is sleeping”.’,
 lit. ‘Her mother hearing her, she was quiet and she said...’ (da_cs_kosakosa_033)
- (617) [*Lo=na bua lo kaunga lo-ma adaki nyuba*
 3SG.M=NOM go.SIM 3SG.M elder 3SG.M-GEN.SG.F woman child
k-eghe-a]=*gho* *te epi-ale-i*.
3SG.F.O-see-SIM=3SG.F.NOM EMPH sit-BG.IPFV-FIN
 ‘As he went, he saw the chief’s daughter sitting there.’, lit. ‘He going, he seeing
 the chief’s daughter she was sitting.’ (bd_cs_tonelo_213)

Still, the question remains why Savosavo employs two complementation strategies for perception verbs (simultaneous clauses and nominalized clause complements, cf. Sec. 8.2.3), and what determines which of the two strategies is used. Using nominalized clauses in object position is a common, and in many languages the only strategy. Furthermore, theoretically the simultaneous construction could also be used with the perception event in the main clause and the perceived event in the subordinate clause, giving e.g. ‘As the food just fell rattling down to the ground, she heard it’ in example (614).

When the simultaneous clauses are not used as a complementation strategy for perception verbs, it depends on the context which event will be coded in the subordinate clause and which in the main clause: “it appears to be universally the case that languages allow one of the simultaneous events to be signaled as providing the context or background for the other, or foregrounded, event. The choice of which clause serves as the background is, of course, determined essentially by the nature of the discourse” (Thompson and Longacre 1985: 254). However, when a simultaneous clause is used as a complementation strategy

the perception event must be encoded in the subordinate clause. This is the key to understanding both why this strategy is used to express a perception verb and the perceived event, and when it will be used: it serves to **foreground the perceived event**.

In examples (613) and (614) above, the situation perceived is new in the discourse. In (613), although it could be inferred that the bamboo is wet, because Dukiputu's brother went fishing with it, it was not mentioned before; in any case it is the clue that makes Dukiputu realize what happened. In (614), the woman listening did not expect the food to just fall down to the earth. In contrast, in example (618), the event of the speaker (a character from a story) throwing up ground is announced in the preceding clause (618a). Although it is very likely that a nominalized clause could have been used to express the perceived event in (618b), the speaker chose to use the simultaneous construction to emphasize that she did indeed throw up the ground, thereby betraying her location.

- (618) a. *Te=nye mane l-aka savu-li(-i): "Ai*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM consecutively 3SG.M-to tell-3SG.M.O(-FIN) 1SG.GEN
lo doi vusi-li kia, anyi anyi=na" tei(-i).
 3SG.M[GEN] earth throw.up-3SG.M.O when 1SG 1SG=NOM say(-FIN)
 'And I then said to him: "When I throw up ground, that's me" (I) said.'
 (ap_cs_polupolu_060)
- b. [*Tulola=lo ny-eghe-a]=nye lo doi*
 then=3SG.M.NOM **1O-see-SIM**=1SG.NOM DET.SG.M earth
vusi-li¹⁴ tulola, lo ba saku-a-nyi¹⁵
 throw.up-3SG.M.O then 3SG.M[GEN] come grab.quickly-EP-1SG.O
kama ny-au pale napu=la sonye ny-omaga
 already 1O-take inside mouth=LOC.M throw.1SG.O 1O-carry
bo-ghu=e.
 go-NMLZ=EMPH
 'And then he saw me throwing up the ground, and at that he came, grabbed me quickly, already took me, threw me into his mouth and went away carrying me (in his belly).'

Thus, the situation in Savosavo is similar, but not identical, to that in Yukaghir: whereas in Yukaghir the status of a perceived event (i.e. whether it is new or has been mentioned before) determines which construction is used, the decisive criterion in Savosavo is whether the perceived event is relevant enough. Newly introduced events would usually fall into this category, but the strategy is not restricted to them.

¹⁴The clause is non-finite here because the main clause is itself a subordinate conditional clause, see Section 8.2.2.1.

¹⁵Some verbs have a kind of epenthetic /a/ inserted between the stem and the object suffix, cf. fn. 7, p. 35.

- (620) a. “*Ai lo ringi=nye elakati Beki present*
 this DET.SG.M ring=1SG.NOM CERT Becky give.as.present
k-ame-ghi ta-i” tei(-i).
 3SG.F.O-give-3SG.F.O FUT-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘“This ring I will give as a present for Becky” (he) said.’ (ap_jeff_beki_157)
- b. “[*Te=gho lo=la=le ghana-nyi alea*
CONJ=3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M=LOC.M=ABL think-1SG.O all
manga=gha=la]” tei(-i).
 time=PL=LOC.M say(-FIN)
 ‘“So that she thinks of me because of that every day” (he) said.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_158)
- (621) *Vata(-a), [ke=nye ai ko piupiu*
 wait(-IMP.SG) **CONJ**=1SG.NOM this DET.SG.F betel.nut.first.stage
pia-ghi ze=nye ena].
 move.up-3SG.F.O CONJ.SS=1SG.NOM chew.betel.nut
 ‘Wait, so that I climb this betel nut tree (that has) young fruits and then chew
 betel nut.’ (wr_cs_vulaole_115)

The purpose clause has to be a verbal clause with a non-finite predicate. This verbal clause can be complex, e.g. in (621) it consists of two clauses in a clause-chaining construction (see Sec. 8.3). Usually the predicate is unmarked, i.e. it contains no TAM or finiteness marking at all; however, occasionally the anticipatory suffix *-ata* is used (622).

- (622) *Bua [ke=nye zua-ni-ata].*
 go.IMP.SG **CONJ**=1SG.NOM ask-2SG.O-ANT
 ‘Go (on), so that I (then) ask you first.’ (ss_cl_pudding_128)

With verbs of coercion, commanding, permission, desire and requesting, purpose clauses serve to express that which is requested, permitted (623), commanded, desired (624) or enforced (625).

- (623) *Mama; dai=e no ny-au malanga-ghu [te=nye bo*
 mother good=EMPH 2SG[GEN] 1O-take agree-NMLZ **CONJ**=1SG.NOM go
Beki k-eghe].
 Becky 3SG.F.O-see
 ‘Mama; (it would be) good (for) you to let me go and see Becky.’, lit. ‘Mama;
 good (is) your permitting me so that I go (and) see Becky.’ (ap_jeff_beki_485)

- (624) *Apo~apoi=no* *mata-li(-i)* *te=ghe*
 REDUP~what=2SG.NOM want-3SG.M.O(-FIN) **CONJ**=1DU.EX.NOM
l-ame-ni.
 3SG.M.O-give-2SG.O
 ‘What do you want us to give you?’, lit. ‘What do you want so that we give it to you?’ (ap_cs_saraputu_232)
- (625) *Te=no* *anyi fosi-mu-ny(i)* [*te anyi=na ae*].
 CONJ=2SG.NOM 1SG force-TR-1SG.O(-FIN) **CONJ** 1SG=NOM be.married
 ‘And you forced me that I should get married.’, lit. ‘And you forced me so that I am married.’ (ap_jeff_beki_631)

Adverbial purpose clauses are thus a ‘complementation strategy’ (Dixon 1995) with a ‘potential’ meaning, “referring to something that has not happened, but which people intend or want should happen” (Dixon 1995: 213). In contrast to the use of simultaneous clauses as a complementation strategy with perception verbs discussed above (Sec. 8.2.2), the cross-linguistically typical pattern is preserved, the state of affairs that is semantically dependent is expressed by the subordinate clause. In contrast to the use of this type of purpose clause with other verbs, the subordinate clause is here usually prosodically integrated into the matrix clause, see Figure 8.1.

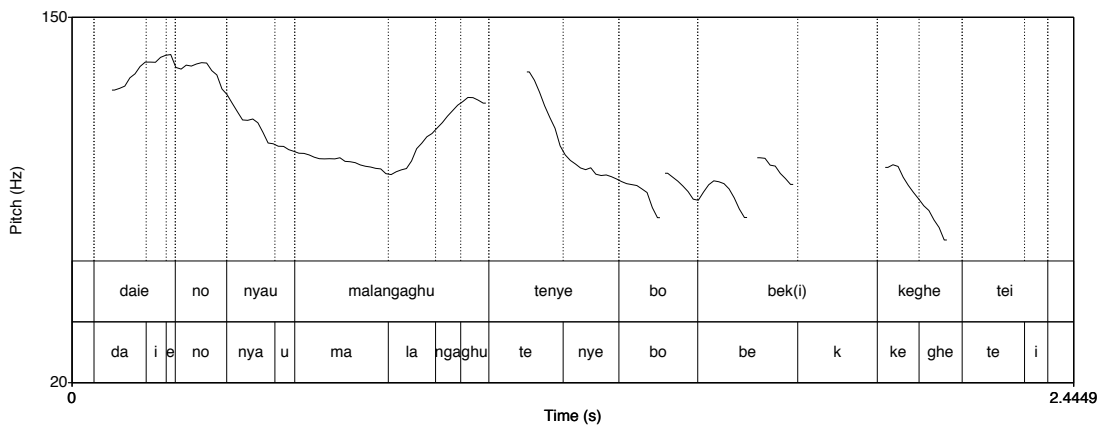


Figure 8.1: Pitch contour of example (623).

The subject of the adverbial clause is commonly the syntactic object of the main clause (623, 625).

8.2.2.5.2 Asyndetic, embedded purpose clauses

When the subject of the purpose clause is identical to the subject of the main clause, and the predicate of the matrix clause is either *ba* ‘come’ or *bo* ‘go’, the purpose clause is a subordinate clause consisting of a verb or SVC plus the future marking particle *ta* and does not have an overt subject (626, 627).

- (626) *Anyi=na [ulula ta] bo-tu.*
 1SG=NOM pull.fish.with.bamboo FUT go-PRS.IPFV
 ‘I am going fishing / to fish.’ (003-other_sentences)
- (627) *Aaa,¹⁶ [lela keva ta]=nye te bo-zu;*
 aaa stroll do.all.about FUT=1SG.NOM EMPH go-PST.IPFV
ai-va agutu lo buringa=la.
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M work 3SG.M[GEN] back=LOC.M
 ‘Uhuh, I went to go for a walk, after my work.’ (ap_jeff_beki_112)

Other TAM or finiteness morphology within this type of purpose clause is not possible. If the verbal predicate of the purpose clause is transitive, the purpose clause can contain an overt object NP (628).

- (628) *Ekati=nye [[ida]_{obj} zili-li ta] bo ta-i.*
 CERT=1SG.NOM pana take.out.of.ground-3SG.M.O FUT go FUT-FIN
 ‘I will go harvest pana / to harvest pana.’ (133_002_srb)

The NP referring to the object of the purpose clause can be raised and fronted if it is in focus (629).

- (629) *[Pa adaki nyuba]_{obj}=nye te [k-eghe ta] ba-i.*
 one woman child=1SG.NOM EMPH 3SG.F.O-see FUT come-FIN
 ‘I came to see **a girl**.’ (ap_jeff_beki_070)

The temporal setting is determined in the matrix clause; the future marker only indicates that the purpose clause talks about something that was (627, 629), is (626), or will be intended (628). In other words, the future tense marker has to be interpreted relative to the main clause predicate, the going or coming (cf. Comrie (1998) on ‘relative tense’). For example, in (629), the speaker intended to see the girl at the time he came and thus, at that time, the seeing of the girl lay in the future; it is not encoded whether he has already seen her at the time the sentence is uttered, is seeing her at that very moment (he may even be talking to her and continue “...and that was you”), or still intends to see her.

¹⁶This is a ‘vocal gesture’ used for denial or disapproval; for details see Section 2.5, p. 41.

8.2.3 Complement clauses

The term ‘complement clause’ is understood here as referring to a finite clause structure that functions as the syntactic object in a verbal clause. Savosavo does not make much use of complement clauses, instead nominalizations with *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ (Sec. 9.4) or adverbial clauses (Sec. 8.2.2.4, p. 276, and Sec. 8.2.2.5, p. 282) are employed. So far, no verb has been identified that takes only complement clause objects, especially *-ghu*-nominalizations can usually also be used. Functional differences between these encodings remain to be investigated in more detail.

One context where complement clauses are found is with the verb *savu-li* ‘to tell something’, where the direct speech is the object of the verb ((630); the complement clause in this and the following examples is marked by square brackets).

- (630) *Ngangarasa tulola=nye ai vudu k-aka savu-li(-i):*
 scream then=1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN friend 3SG.F-to tell-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 [“*Gele-a ai lo mapa=na ai-va poketi te*
 look-IMP.SG this DET.SG.M person=NOM 1SG.GEN-GEN.M pocket EMPH
raragho-li(-i)”].
 reach.into-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 ‘Screamed and then I said to my friend: “Look, this man has reached into my pocket.”’ (agh_png_126)

But direct speech can also be introduced by the intransitive verb *tei* ‘say’, in which case it cannot be analyzed as a syntactic object (631).

- (631) *Te=lo konga-kongali-za sua mapa=na kanga(-a)*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM REDUP~worship-DETR ATT person=NOM shout(-SS)
te=lo l-aka tei(-i): “Kukua;
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M-to say(-FIN) gen.2
konyola-vinyi-a.”
 be.sympathetic-1PL.EX.O-IMP.SG
 ‘And the worshipping man shouts and he says to him (i.e. the volcano): “Grandfather, have mercy on us.”’ (ap_biti_034)

In the case of direct speech, complement clauses can be any finite clause, verbal or non-verbal, and of considerable complexity. With other complement-taking verbs complement clauses tend not to be very complex, but still both verbal (632) and non-verbal (633) complement clauses are found.

- (632) *Oma=lo l-olomi(-i) ai=na l-au-i.*
 no=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.O-know(-FIN) who=NOM 3SG.M.O-take-FIN
 ‘He didn’t know who took it.’ (cl_biti_066)

(633) [A young giant, son of another giant, went to a village to win the chief's daughter]

Lo lo ghajia mane ghoma ba-i apoi ze
 3SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] self consecutively not come-FIN because 3PL[GEN]
l-olomi-le lo=le lo sua=e
 3SG.M.O-know-APPR 3SG.M=EMPH.SG.M DET.SG.M giant=EMPH
lo=na.
 3SG.M=NOM

‘He himself (i.e. the father) then didn’t come, because lest they knew (that) he (i.e. the young giant), he was the giant.’ (ap_cs_sivugha_063)

8.3 Cosubordination

Like many Papuan languages (cf. e.g. Foley 1986; Farr 1999; Terrill 2003; Donohue 2005) Savosavo makes use of ‘clause-chaining’ constructions, constructions that are formed by one or more coordinate dependent clauses and one main clause. The main function of clause chains in Savosavo is to narrate sequences of events.

The basic structure of these clause chains is described in Section 8.3.1. The coordinate dependent clauses are often marked when the following clause has the same subject, be it another dependent clause or the main clause; this is discussed in Section 8.3.2. Finally, another phenomenon found with clause chains is described in Section 8.3.4, namely tail-head linkage, which means that the last verb of the preceding main clause is repeated as the initial clause of the following chain.

8.3.1 Structure of clause chains

Savosavo has three cosubordinators that can be used to link the coordinate dependent clauses to each other and to the main clause: *te*, *ke* and *ze*. The clauses they connect usually refer to consecutive events. Their differences can be summarized as follows:

Cosubordinator	Semantic difference	Syntactic difference
<i>te</i>	‘then’, neutral, consecutive events, usually past events	Coordinate dependent clauses are marked by means of <i>-a</i> when the following clause has the same subject
<i>ke</i>	‘so then’, causal relationship between linked clauses, usually past events	
<i>ze</i>	‘and’, very close connection between the events	Subjects of linked clauses have to be fully or partially identical, no same-subject marking possible

The cosubordinating particles syntactically belong to the following clause, be it another medial clause or the final main clause. This is very clear from the fact that the subject of the following clause is usually expressed by means of the enclitic subject pronouns, which are attached to the cosubordinator. As these pronouns are second-position enclitics, the cosubordinator must be part of the same clause.

The main clause in a clause chain is the **final** clause in the chain; one or more coordinate dependent clauses precede it. In initial position of a clause chain, either an **initial** or a **medial** clause can be used. The sole difference between the two is that the medial clause contains one of the cosubordinators (634), while the initial clause does not (635).

- (634) [*Te=to* / *mola l-au* *kuli-a*]_{MedCl}
CONJ=3DU.NOM / canoe 3SG.M.O-take move.seawards-SS
 [*te=to* / *zala-ghi* *bo-i*]_{FinCl} *tagha lo* *kuli*
CONJ=3DU.NOM / look.for-3SG.F.O go-FIN up DET.SG.M sun
lo-va / *voda sua=la*.
 3SG.M-GEN.M / explode ATT.SG.M=LOC.M
 ‘And they brought the canoe seawards and they went to look for her, up in the east.’ (jr_cs_soghe_011)
- (635) “*M*; / [*kulo ko=na* *apoi torongo te* / *l-evo*]_{InCl}
 m / seawards 3SG.F=NOM what very EMPH / 3SG.M.O-burn
 [*te=lo* *ururu-a*]_{MedCl} [*ke=lo* /
CONJ=3SG.M.NOM smell.sweet-SS **CONJ**=3SG.M.NOM /
kunu~kunua-za *pia* *ba-zu*]_{FinCl}”
 REDUP~influence.with.weak.smell-DETR move.up come-PST.IPFV
 ‘“M; what the heck was she burning seawards (i.e. cook by putting in the fire) and it was smelling pleasantly so it was then coming up influencing with a weak smell.”’ (ej_cs_nyero_025)

The medial clause starting the chain in (634) is not the continuation of a preceding clause chain, because the immediately preceding clause was direct speech, and the clause before that a finite clause, with normal clause-final intonation. However, as was mentioned above in the sections on coordination and subordination (8.1, 8.2), morphemes used to link clauses can be used without a preceding clause to signal the close connection of the following to what was said before, much like starting a clause in English with *and then...*

Both initial and medial clauses are dependent. Any TAM specification is understood from the final, independent clause. Initial and medial clauses can contain object NPs (634, 635) and adjuncts of different kinds (e.g. locative NPs and postpositional phrases, as in (636)).

- (636) *Airini=kona pa manga=la ny-aka kuli*
 Irine=NOM.F one day=LOC.M 1-with move.seawards
ze=ghe ka ta-i.
CONJ.SS=1DU.EX.NOM move.bushwards FUT-FIN
 ‘One day Irine will go for a walk with me.’, lit. ‘...go seawards and we go bushwards. (ap_jeff_beki_229)

Furthermore, *oma* ‘not’ (637, 638) and the emphatic particle *te* (639, 640) are found in initial or medial clauses.

- (637) *Ko ai mama=kona oma gale liaza*
 DET.SG.F 1SG.GEN mother=NOM.F **not** be.quick return
te=lo tei(-i)...
CONJ=3SG.M.NOM say(-FIN)
 ‘My mother did not return quickly and then he said...’ (pk_WWII_024)
- (638) *Te=lo oma / lau-a te=lo /*
CONJ=3SgmS **not** / 3SG.M.O-take-SS **CONJ**=3SG.M.NOM /
l-aghahu-ghu pono pala-i.
 3SG.M.O-erect-NMLZ only make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘And he didn’t take it and he just put it upright (into the ground).’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_066)
- (639) *Pale ai pika=la=gho te levolevo-a*
 inside 1SG.GEN belly=LOC.M=3SG.F.NOM **EMPH** talk-SS
te=gho; / doke~dokere te=nye dada-i.
CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / REDUP~be.joyful **CONJ**=1SG.NOM be.afraid-FIN
 ‘In my belly she talked and she was happy and I was scared.’
 (ap_cs_polupolu_049)
- (640) *Te=to ropo=la te to-va vorau ka*
CONJ=3DU.NOM morning=LOC.M **EMPH** 3DU-GEN.M raft already
koi-a ke=to...
 board-SS **CONJ**=3DU.NOM
 ‘And then in the morning they boarded their raft and they...’ (wr_cs_vulaole_212)

Depending on the cosubordinator used, initial and medial clauses can also contain the suffix *-a*, to signal that the following clause has the same subject as the preceding clause. There is no marker for signalling a change of subject. Clauses connected by the cosubordinator *ze* obligatorily have to have the same subjects (636), or the subject of the first clause has to be a proper subset of the second (641).

- (641) *No mama=no bo k-eghe ze=pe*
 2SG[GEN] mother=2SG.NOM go 3SG.F.O-see **CONJ**=2DU.NOM
l-au loloto-ata(-a).
 3SG.M.O-take be.at.right.angles-ANT(-IMP.SG)
 ‘You go see your mother and you (two) put things straight first.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_342)

Treating clauses with a referential overlap in the subjects in the same way as clauses with identical subjects is a cross-linguistically common phenomenon (cf. Reesink 1983), and the same-subject marker *-a* is also occasionally used in similar situations (see below, Sec. 8.3.2), so it is not surprising that *ze* can be used in both cases.

Clause chains with *ze* present propositions as having a closer semantic connection than clause chains with *te* and *ke*. Sometimes a clause chain with *ze* is used to introduce an event and add information about sub-events of this event in the following clauses, as in (642).

- (642) [[*Elakati lo oloa-za*] [*ze=lo kuli*]
 CERT 3SG.M[GEN] shake-DETR **CONJ.SS**=3SG.M.NOM move.seawards
 [*ze=lo ka*] *kia, ka lo biti*
CONJ.SS=3SG.M.NOM move.bushwards when already DET.SG.M volcano
lo-va ghoi azeaze liaza-ghu.
 3SG.M-GEN.M also breathe return-NMLZ
 ‘When he shakes seawards and inland, the volcano will breathe again.’
 (ap_biti_022)

Ke has a connotation of causation (‘X, so then Y’), while *te* has a more general, consecutive meaning like ‘X, and then Y’. For example, in (635) above, the usage of *ke* emphasizes that the smell only had such an influence because it was a **pleasant** smell, i.e. it was smelling pleasantly, and so it came up exerting an influence on the speaker. The two propositions linked by *te* in the same example are also causally related in a way, as the food would not have been smelling so good if it had not been cooked, yet they are presented simply as consecutive events: ‘What is it that she cooks and then it smells so pleasantly’. The nice smell is here rather a feature of the food that is prepared, not a result of the cooking. If one would use *ke* here, the meaning would change to ‘what is it that she cooks so that it smells so pleasantly’, emphasizing the fact that it was the cooking which caused the pleasant smell. Both *te* and *ke* are also found in purpose clauses (see Sect. 8.2.2.5).

For some speakers, *te* and *ke* are interchangeable in many contexts. In these contexts, the connotation of causation of *ke* seems to be diminished (643).

- (643) *Lo=na mala negha / lo-va ka*
 3SG.M=NOM along.coast.side somewhere.else / 3SG.M-GEN.M car
l-ovu-a te/ke=lo; / lo-va / vanovano-a
 3SG.M.O-put-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / 3SG.M-GEN.M / walk-SS
te/ke=lo; bo / lo ko tuvi gola=la
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM go / 3SG.M[GEN] 3SG.F[GEN] house doorway=LOC.M
bo alu-a te/ke=lo; gele~gele keva
 go stand-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM REDUP~look do.all.about
te/ke=lo; / lo mane dikidiki-ghu=e.
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / 3SG.M[GEN] consecutively knock-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘He put his car somewhere up one side **and** he walked **and** he went and stood at her front door **and** he looked around **and** then he knocked.’ (ap_jeff_beki_013)

In the intonation contour of a clause chaining construction, especially with longer chains, there is commonly a fall on the cosubordinator and the enclitic personal pronoun referring to the subject of the following clause, when there is one attached to the cosubordinator. This is then often followed by a pause. Example (643) shows this pattern (the pitch drop is marked by a semicolon); another example is (644).

- (644) *Muzi=la / tulola, / ko daki mapa ko-va kama*
 night=LOC.M / then / DET.SG.F old.F person 3SG.F-GEN.M already
elu-a te=gho; / aghava kake=gha k-evo-a
 wake-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / four taro=PL 3SG.F.O-burn-SS
te=gho; / pa tosu l-omu l-au
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / one container 3SG.M.O-fill.a.container 3SG.M.O-take
seghe-a te=gho; subu-li-a te=gho; /
 be.full-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM bung-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM /
l-ovu-ghu kama.
 3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ already

‘At night then, the old woman already woke up and she burned four taro and she filled a container (with water) and she bunged it and she put it (aside).’ (ap_cs_sua_031)

This pattern is reminiscent of the intonation contour found with NPs coordinated by juxtaposition, that also often have pitch drops not between the NPs, but within the non-initial NPs (cf. example (275) and Fig. 5.2, page 152 in Sec. 5.3.1.1).

8.3.2 Same-subject marking

The same-subject marking in Savosavo is a switch-reference system. A general definition of ‘switch-reference’ is that it is “verbal inflection which indicates by a simple binary

lo keda lo pudopudo l-ovu-ghu l-eghe-a
 DET.SG.M fire 3SG.M[GEN] spark 3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ 3SG.M.O-see-SS
te=lo ngai toa oma nyuba ghase-ghu.
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM big really no child be.happy-NMLZ

‘He came and one evening he sat there at Kalaka and looked seawards towards Leosa on Guadalcanal, and he saw the sparks of a fire and he was very happy.’
 (jn_lotu_114)

Very rarely, the same-subject marker *-a* is used although there is a switch in subject reference (648). The reasons for these inconsistencies remain unclear to date.

(648) *Te=nye lo edo-nipiti sua mapa=gha pale*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM DET.PL two-teen ATT person=PL inside
some-a te=ze z-au bo-i.
 throw.3.PL.O-SS CONJ=3PL.NOM 3PL.O-take go-FIN

‘Then I put the twelve people inside [the ship that came to pick them up] and they took them away.’ (png_WWII_1_026)

If there is some overlap between the subject referent(s) of the preceding and the following clause, the same-subject marker can also be used, e.g. when the subject referent of the preceding clause is singular, and included in the plural subject of the following clause (649, 650). The reverse case, with a plural subject in the preceding clause that includes the singular subject of the following clause, is probably also possible, but it is currently not attested in the data.

(649) *Apoi anyi ighe ae-a te=ve ghoma pa*
 because 1SG recently be.married-SS CONJ=1PL.EX.NOM not one
tuvi pala pale-i.
 house make.3SG.M stay-FIN

‘Because I had just married and we had not yet built a house to stay in.’
 (as_WWII_036)

(650) *Lo=na pa sekeseni l-au-a te=ze Luga*
 3SG.M=NOM one section 3SG.M.O-take-SS CONJ=3PL.NOM Luga
l-ali tei(-i).
 3SG.M.O-hit want.to.do(-FIN)

‘He (a Japanese military leader) took one area (on Guadalcanal) and then they wanted to attack Luga (from there).’ (png_WWII_3_175)

As mentioned earlier, such a systematic extension of same-subject marking is not unusual cross-linguistically, and neither are asymmetric switch-reference systems (cf. Lon-

gacre 1972; Reesink 1983). The typologically unusual aspect of the Savosavo switch-reference system is that it has overt marking for the same-subject condition, but no marking for the different subject condition (cf. Roberts 1997). A possible explanation for the development of this marking pattern could be that the morpheme *-a* used for same-subject marking is either the same as the morpheme *-a* used to mark simultaneity, or that they at least have a common origin. The semantic core they share is a notion of continuity. In simultaneous clauses, where no linking device is used, the continuity is interpreted as pertaining to the temporal setting, i.e. the preceding event is simultaneous with the following event. Whether the subject participant is the same as well is of no concern. It can also be used in independent verbal clauses that consist of a verb complex and an enclitic personal pronoun only (see Sec. 7.1.1, p. 201), where it forces a present tense interpretation, i.e. simultaneity with the speech situation. In clause chaining constructions, on the other hand, where the cosubordinators *te* and *ke* already mark the fact that the events are consecutive, this continuity refers to the main syntactic argument, the subject.

8.3.3 Scope of verbal morphology in the final clause

The future marker *ta* has so far only been found at the end of a clause chain with *ze* (see example (636) above), which is not surprising because the main function of clause chains with *te* or *ke* is to report and talk about past events. Not attested at the end of clause chains yet are the background imperfective suffixes *-ale* and *-atu* and the corresponding serial verb constructions with *pale* or *patu*.

All other TAM and finiteness morphemes have scope over the whole clause chain. For example, (634) above shows the finiteness suffix *-i* on the last verb of the clause chain. In example (635), the past imperfective suffix *-zu* also has scope over the whole chain. The irrealis suffix *-ale*, which is only used in prohibitions and in the apodosis of counterfactual (651) or hypothetical conditional clauses (652), also clearly has scope over the whole clause chain.

- (651) *Sika=no ghoi buringa=ka gele ze=no*
 don't=2SG.NOM also back=LOC.F look CONJ.SS=2SG.NOM
zaugha-li-ale!
 show-3SG.M.O-IRR

‘Don’t you look back and give it (to her)!’, lit. ‘Don’t you also look back and show it!’ (ap_cs_saraputu_160)

- (652) *No ghoma ny-evo-ghu monei=nye n-ou*
 2SG[GEN] not 1O-burn-NMLZ if.only=1SG.NOM 2SG.O-eat
te=lo no-va tovolo=na sere-ale.
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 2SG-GEN.M bone=NOM be.white-IRR

‘If only you hadn’t burned me, I would have eaten you and your bones would be white.’ (jr_cs_soghe_072)

In (652), the whole chain functions as the main clause, the apodosis, and the irrealis marking marks both events of the chain as counterfactual. Similarly, in (651), both events of the chain are forbidden, marked by the prohibitive particle *sika* in the first and the irrealis marking in the final clause.

Another morpheme that often has scope over the whole clause chain is the nominalizing suffix *-ghu*. It can be used to turn whole clause chains into NP-equivalent structures. To achieve this, *-ghu* is added to the last verb, which then cannot take any TAM or finiteness marking, and the first subject mentioned has to be genitive. In (653), the nominalized clause chain is used as the predicate of a non-verbal clause. As the subject in both clauses of the chain is first person singular, the genitive encoding in the first clause as well as the nominative encoding in the second clause is clearly recognizable.

- (653) *Dai=e [ai-va lo toghi-li*
 good=EMPH 1SG.GEN-GEN.M 3SG.M cut.rope-3SG.M.O
ze=nye supurongo due mane
 CONJ.SS=1SG.NOM many bamboo.segment consecutively
agutu-li]-ghu_{NP...}
 work-3SG.M.O-NMLZ

‘It would be good if I cut it off and then made (i.e. prepared and cooked) many bamboo segments (full of it).’ (ap_cs_sua_094)

A whole nominalized clause chain can also be used like any other nominalized verbal clause (NVC) in a non-verbal clause frame (see Sec. 7.1.2.3 and Sec. 9.6), and is then optionally followed by a dummy subject (654). But it is more common to drop this subject NP, see for example (642) above.

- (654) *To-va k-ate-a te=to*
 3DU-GEN.M 3SG.F.O-hold-SS CONJ=3DU.NOM
piti-ghi-ghu=e lo=na.
 tie-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM

‘They held her and they tied her up.’, lit. ‘Their holding her and tying her up (was) it.’ (bi_cs_kakula_114)

The nominalization of the whole chain again requires the first subject to be encoded in the genitive. In short chains with two or three clauses this is quite consistent, with only a few deviant cases. The probability of a mismatch, i.e. a genitive subject without nominalization at the end, or a nominative subject together with nominalization at the end, gets bigger the longer the chain becomes. Of course this is true in general: the longer a clause chain becomes, the more likely is it that the sentence is abandoned midstream or that errors, false starts and repairs occur. Still, there are also examples with quite long nominalized clause chains (see example (644), repeated here for convenience).

- (644) *Muzi=la* / *tulola,* / **ko** **daki mapa ko-va** *kama*
 night=LOC.M / then / **DET.SG.F old.F person 3SG.F-GEN.M** already
elu-a te=gho; / *aghava kake=gha k-evo-a*
 wake-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / four taro=PL 3SG.F.O-burn-SS
te=gho; / *pa tosu l-omu l-au*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / one container 3SG.M.O-fill.a.container 3SG.M.O-take
seghe-a te=gho; *subu-li-a te=gho;* /
 be.full-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM bung-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM /
l-ovu-ghu *kama.*
3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ already

‘At night then, the old woman already woke up and she burned four taro tubers and she filled a container (with water) and she bunged it and she put it (aside).’
 (ap_cs_sua_031)

In such nominalizations, the subjects of any intermediate medial clauses and often that of the final clause are nominative, and usually expressed by means of enclitic personal pronouns. Occasionally, a genitive pronoun is used in the final clause, either exclusively or in combination with an enclitic pronoun (655).

- (655) *Lo dulo twi=la=gho* *ale-a te[=gho_A*
 DET.PL all house=LOC.M=3SG.F.NOM enter-SS CONJ=**3SG.F.NOM**
 [*lo lakavi=la sua korikori=gha*]_o ***ko-va_A***
 DET.PL wild.taro=LOC.M ATT pudding=PL **3SG.F-GEN.M**
z-ou-ghu]_{NVC=e}.
 3PL.O-eat-NMLZ=EMPH

‘She entered all the houses and she ate the puddings made of wild taro.’
 (ap_cs_sekuna_019)

The best analysis of this sentence is that the nominalization has only scope over the final clause, i.e. that a NVC in a non-verbal clause frame is used as the final clause. Evidence for this is that the first subject in this example is not genitive.

To summarize: when a clause chain is nominalized, the first subject will be expressed as genitive, while every other subject, remains nominative, usually including the final clause subject. This is the main difference between nominalization of a clause chain and nominalization of a complex clause containing a subordinate adverbial clause. Recall that for conditional, temporal and simultaneous clauses, it is the form of the main clause which is controlled by the form of the main predicate. The form of the subordinate clause subject is also often influenced by it, so that usually both subjects in such a complex clause correspond in case, but the main influence is clearly exerted on the closest subject, that of the main clause. In clause chains, however, especially in short chains of two or three clauses, the main influence is exerted on the **initial** clause subject, not on the **final** clause subject, which would be closest to the predicate.

Nominalization in Savosavo thus does not necessarily have an influence on all subjects in its scope, but seems to focus on the one furthest to the left that is on the same syntactic level. It thereby signals and brackets the extent of the construction. Based on this hypothesis, the differences described above reflect the difference between subordination and cosubordination: in subordination, the two clauses are not on the same level syntactically, so the subject of the main clause is the one that is influenced most by nominalization. In contrast, cosubordinate clauses are dependent, but coordinated, i.e. syntactically they are on the same level. The leftmost subject will thus be the one in the initial clause, not that in the final clause.

8.3.4 Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage, following the definition by de Vries, “is a way to connect clause chains in which the last clause of a chain is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next chain” (de Vries 2005:363). In Savosavo, usually only the last verb or SVC is repeated at the beginning of the next chain (656).

- (656) a. *Te=lo* / *lo sua lo l-eghe*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M[GEN] 3SG.M.O-see
l-au ba-ghu=e.
 3SG.M.O-take come-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And he, the giant looked towards (them).’ (st_cs_vangazua_066)
- b. *L-eghe l-au ba te=lo / lo-va*
 3SG.M.O-see 3SG.M.O-take come CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / 3SG.M-GEN.M
tei-ghu=e...
 say-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘(He) looked towards (them) and he said...’ (st_cs_vangazua_067)

A variant of this is that *l-aju* ‘finish’ is added, to mark that the action denoted by the verbal predicate of the preceding clause is completed before something else happened.

In this particular type of initial clause the subject is usually absent. In addition, same-subject marking is often omitted, as in example (656). However, occasionally same-subject marking is used in tail-head linkage (657).

- (657) a. *Kulo bo sara te=gho / lo-va sopa*
 seawards go reach CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / 3SG.M-GEN.M top.end
genegene=la bo epi(-i).
 tip=LOC.M go sit(-FIN)
 ‘(She) arrived seawards and she went (and) sat at its (i.e., a tree branch) very end.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_176)
- b. *Epi-a te=gho neu gele~gele / kozi-a*
 sit-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM down REDUP~look / face-SS
te=gho...
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM
 ‘(She) sat (down) and she looked down and she...’ (ws_cs_ghulia_177)

Tail-head linkage is not only found with clause chains, but also with adverbial conditional clauses (658) or temporal clauses with *tulola*, see Section 8.2.2.3.

- (658) a. *Kia no gazu l-ovi l-aju kia no-va*
 when 2SG ripe.coconut 3SG.M.O-scrape 3SG.M.O-finish when 2SG-GEN.M
lusi-li-ghu=e.
 squeeze-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then when you finished scraping the coconut, you squeeze it.’
 (bd_korikori_058)
- b. *Lusi-li l-aju kia no-va*
 squeeze-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-finish if 2SG-GEN.M
l-evo-ghu=e lo=na.
 3SG.M.O-burn-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘When finished squeezing it, then you burn it.’ (bd_korikori_059)

Chapter 9

Nominalization with *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’

Nominalization with *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ is a prevalent feature of Savosavo.¹ The nominalization suffix *-ghu* only attaches to verbs. There are various types of *-ghu*-nominalizations which form a continuum from sentential to nominal constructions and are used in different contexts. The context determines the degree of nominalization. The semantics of *-ghu*-nominalizations ranges from denoting a non-propositional abstract notion to expressing a proposition. Of special interest is the use of nominalized verbal clauses (NVCs), as the most sentential *-ghu*-nominalization possible: they function as predicates of non-verbal presentational clauses, which are then used instead of a finite verbal clause.

The first section of this chapter (9.1) provides some theoretical background. After that, the functions and syntactic contexts of *-ghu*-nominalizations in Savosavo are presented:

- Derivation of nouns (9.2)
- Nominalizations in a support verb construction (9.3)
- Nominalizations as state-of-affairs complements (9.4)
- Nominalizations in subject or predicate position (9.5)
- NVCs in a presentational construction (9.6)

The chapter will be concluded by a summary (9.7).

9.1 Theoretical background on ‘nominalization’

Nominalization is a scalar phenomenon; this has been recognized and commented upon by a number of authors (cf. Ross 2004[1973]; Comrie 1976; Lehmann 1982, 1988; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993; Malchukov 2004; Comrie and Thompson 2007). Although the term

¹Nominalization by means of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ is the most common, and for most verbs the only, possibility. Some verbs can be nominalized by reduplication (cf. Sec. 4.1, p. 51).

'nominalization' can be used for the derivation of nouns from all kinds of different word classes, the following review focuses on the nominalization of verbs.

The term 'nominalization' has been used in different ways; the common denominator of all usages is this: 'nominalization' refers to a derivation, the result of which is more similar to a noun than the base is. In this characterization of nominalization, the expression 'more similar to a noun' is to be understood in a rather generous way. For some authors, a word form that lacks typical verbal properties such as TAM marking already counts as nominalized, regardless of whether or not it exhibits any nominal properties (Lehmann 1982; Dik 1997). Thus, a verb form in a subordinate clause that cannot mark the full range of TAM categories available in the language is considered nominalized, albeit to a minor degree.

Nominalization of a verb involves two components (cf. Malchukov 2004:6): **decategorization** and **recategorization**. The nominalized form is decategorized in that it has fewer or no verbal features compared to the original verb, and it is recategorized in that it has more or all features associated with nouns in the language under discussion. The term 'features' will be used to refer to morphological and syntactic characteristics of a word form, namely the kind of:

- bound morphology it can occur with,
- dependents it can take (internal syntax), and
- syntactic functions a phrase with the word form as head can have (external syntax²).

Features relevant for nominalization are those that distinguish a verb from a noun. The highest degree of nominalization will derive a word form with all nominal features and no verbal features. Word forms nominalized to a lesser degree will have a set of features consisting of both nominal and verbal features. A language can have a variety of means of nominalization, which derive different types of nominalization. It is also possible to have just one nominalization device for constructions with different feature sets. This is the case, e.g., in Tokelauan (Hooper 1996), and also in Savosavo. Nominalizations with *-ghu* 'NMLZ' have different sets of verbal and nominal features depending on which context they are used in. The features that distinguish nouns from verbs in Savosavo are listed in Table 9.1.

This way of characterizing a word form is primarily based on a distinction in form, by distinguishing bound morphology from free morphemes being used as dependents, and only secondarily takes into account what grammatical categories are thus expressed. Another approach is to take grammatical categories (e.g. number, tense, case) or lexical properties (e.g. valency, gender) as the point of departure, and then identify the respective means of expression. With respect to valency in Savosavo, for example, one would

²The terms 'internal' and 'external syntax' are used following Haspelmath (1996:52).

Morphology: Bound morphemes attaching to the word form	
Verb	Noun
object affixes transitivity-changing suffixes TAM affixes finiteness suffix <i>-i</i> nominalizing suffix <i>-ghu</i>	DU/PL-marking enclitics verbalizing suffix <i>-sa</i>
Internal syntax: Potential dependents/modifiers of the word form	
Verb	Noun
nominative subject NP accusative object NP locational adjunct NP postpositional phrase adjunct negation by means of <i>oma</i> <i>te</i> ‘EMPH’	genitive NP nouns, adjectives, quantifiers <i>sua/lava</i> -phrase <i>pono</i> ‘only’ determiners, demonstrative <i>-tu</i> -relative clause
External syntax: Syntactic contexts of a phrase headed by the word form	
Verb	Noun
independent clause main clause in a complex clause (i.e., a clause containing a subordinate clause or being the final clause of a clause chain)	argument (verbal clause) subject or predicate (non-verbal clause) locative adjunct complement of a postposition complement of <i>lava</i> complement of <i>zepo</i> part of an appositional construction can be host for case enclitics and <i>=e</i> ‘EMPH’ ³ subset NP in an inclusory construction

Table 9.1: Verbal and nominal features relevant for nominalization in Savosavo.

investigate whether or not nominalizations of transitive verbs inherit the indexing of objects on the verb form and the overt expression of accusative object.

9.1.1 Lexical vs. clausal nominalization

Seiler (1986:29) points out that the term 'nominalization' can be "understood in a narrower or in a wider sense. In the narrower sense it means deverbative derivation of substantive nouns, in the wider sense it may include whole clauses that act as NPs in superordinated clauses." This has given rise to the distinction between 'lexical' and 'clausal' nominalization found in many publications, e.g. in Comrie and Thompson (2007), or Comrie and Koptjevskaja-Tamm's work on action nominalizations (Comrie 1976; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993), which deal only with those instances of nominalization that are classified as 'lexical' by the authors.

'Lexical' is used for nominalization that "involves the head, causing a change of its categorial status as compared to independent clauses" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993:49). Using the distinction between levels of morphology, internal and external syntax introduced above, the canonical lexical nominalization can be described as follows:

- Morphology: a bound nominalization morpheme is attached to the verb root, forming a stem that can take all available nominal morphology, but no verbal morphology.
- Internal syntax: all nominal dependents are available, but no verbal ones.
- External syntax: the phrase headed by the derived word form can occur in all syntactic functions available to noun phrases in the language.

In contrast, in 'clausal' nominalization, "there is no evidence in favour of viewing [the] head as a lexical noun[, it] typically has no nominal characteristics" (Comrie and Thompson 2007:376). Looking again at what this means in terms of features on all three levels, a canonical clausal nominalization can be described as follows:

- Morphology: the head of the structure can take all or most morphology available to verbs, and none available for nouns.
- Internal syntax: all verbal dependents are available, but no nominal dependents; derivation is achieved by a free morpheme added to the clausal structure as a whole.
- External syntax: the nominalized construction can occur in all syntactic functions available for noun phrases in the language.

³One might ask whether this feature should not better be listed under 'morphology', as it concerns bound morphemes. However, the case enclitics as well as the enclitic *=e* 'EMPH' do not attach to the word form, but to the phrase headed by it, and are thus listed under 'external syntax'.

These are characterizations of the canonical instances of lexical and clausal nominalization. What is called lexical or clausal nominalization in a given language may correspond more or less to these characterizations.

Although these canonical cases seem to be very distinct, there are many intermediate structures in the world's languages, and it is often quite difficult to decide whether a given structure should be classified as clausal or lexical nominalization. A very interesting case in this respect is Tokelauan. In her paper on nominalization in Tokelauan, Hooper briefly discusses the difficulties that arise when one attempts to define and apply clear cut-off points between lexical and clausal ('syntactic' in her terminology) nominalization, and comes to the conclusion that "the category boundary between syntactic and lexical nominalisation seems to be a fluid one, and although there are clear cases of both kinds, any substantial body of text in Tokelauan contains some distinctly fuzzy cases which defy categorisation" (Hooper 1996: 224).

The discussion in Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993: 49ff.) shows that the author encountered similar difficulties. She provides examples for what she counts as lexical or clausal nominalization, as well as some borderline cases, and ends by saying that "there is probably no sharp boundary between clausal nominalizations and ANCs [action nominal constructions]. Some languages have clausal nominalizations, some have lexical nominalizations, some have both types, and, finally, some do not distinguish between the two types" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993: 52). For Malchukov, there is definitely no sharp boundary between lexical and clausal nominalizations: "lexical nominalizations and clausal nominalizations are viewed as two points on the noun-verb (resp. NP-clause) continuum, on which particular nominalizations will be located depending on the degree of their decategorization/recategorization" (Malchukov 2004: 26). I would prefer to say that 'lexical nominalization' and 'clausal nominalization' are labels which can be applied to certain parts of the continuum, not just to two specific points, otherwise this is the view that is taken in this thesis as well. Accordingly, the focus of Sections 9.2 to 9.6 is not on classifying different instances of *-ghu*-nominalizations as 'lexical' or 'clausal', but on characterizing them in terms of their features.

9.2 Derivation of nouns

Nouns derived by means of *-ghu* 'NMLZ' from a verb stem function as the head of an NP. All dependents available to nouns can be used with these derived nouns, e.g. numerals (659), genitive NPs (660, 661) and nouns (661).⁴

⁴In the examples of this and the following section, the nominalization is marked by bold print, and the NP that is headed by it is delimited by square brackets. After this, from Section 9.4 onwards, square brackets are used to mark the scope of the nominalization. This is because, for more clausal *-ghu*-

- (659) [*Pa iva-ghu*]_{NP=la} *edo tada zuba=lo=tona* *ba-i-a*
 one **become.day-NMLZ=LOC.M** two man child=DU=NOM.DU come-EP-SS
te=to...
 CONJ=3DU.NOM
 ‘One day two boys came and they...’ (ap_cs_kakula_002)
- (660) *neu* [*lo nato lo zui-ghu*]_{NP=la}
 down DET.SG.M leg 3SG.M[GEN] **end-NMLZ=LOC.M**
 ‘down at the end of the leg’ (ap_gilugilu_111)
- (661) [[*Pa vata vui-li-ghu*]_{NP} *lo* *ngei-za-ghu*]_{NP=na}
 one kind **blow-3SG.M.O-NMLZ** 3SG.M[GEN] **cry-DETR-NMLZ=NOM**
ekati lo zaghata lo mapa=gha z-au madoke
 CERT DET.SG.M war 3SG.M[GEN] person=PL 3PL.O-take know
ta-i...
 FUT-FIN
 ‘The sounding of one kind of signal (lit. blowing it) will let the warriors (lit. the people of war) know...’ (ap_headhunt_021)

This is the only type of nominalization that can occur with determiners and the demonstrative *ai* (662).

- (662) *Zu* [*ai lo iva-ghu*]_{NP=la} *pali~pali=gha=na*
 but **this DET.SG.M become.day-NMLZ=LOC.M** REDUP~law=PL=NOM
baighoza-i.
not.exist-FIN
 ‘But today (i.e. on this day) different customary laws don’t exist any more.’
 (ap_custom_062)

The nominalization can take a genitive NP that corresponds to the subject argument of the nominalized verb. It is not possible to encode an object referent as genitive modifier of a nominalized verb, as in English *the city’s destruction*.

When a transitive verb is nominalized, the object agreement morphology is retained, but takes the default third person singular masculine form. Furthermore, transitivity-changing morphology can be found on a nominalized verb (661). Nouns derived with *-ghu* are occasionally also found with the plural enclitic *=gha* (663, 664).

nominalizations, it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish between an NP with a nominalized head and a clausal nominalization that can replace NPs as a whole. In some examples, there is evidence for one of these analyses, but in other examples both analyses are possible. Therefore it is more appropriate for the description to mark the scope of the nominalization, which can be identified much more easily, and not to anticipate the analysis of it as either part of an NP or as replacing an NP.

- (663) *Mapa=gha ze-va* [alea **iva-ghu=gha**]_{NP}=la *rughu*
 person=PL 3PL-GEN.M all **become.day-NMLZ=PL=LOC.M** go.to.bush
ta bo tuka...
 FUT go whenever

‘Whenever the people went to go into the bush every day...’ (ap_cs_sekuna_002)

- (664) *Tei-ghu=la=tu* *ngai toa madoke-li-ghu*
 be.like.this-NMLZ=LOC.M=ABL big really know-3SG.M.O-NMLZ
lava=e anyi=na, [lo tuvi lo-va alea
 PROPR.SG.M=EMPH 1SG=NOM DET.SG.M house 3SG.M-GEN.M all
boi ba-ghu=gha]_{NP}, *boragha so=gha mai-va tuvi*
go.through come-NMLZ=PL be.black ATT=PL 1NSG.IN-GEN.M house
pala-ghu.
 make.3SG.M.O-NMLZ

‘From that I have a really big knowledge of it, all the (things having to) do with the house, the house making of us black people.’ (jd_house_025)

The use of the plural enclitic shows the high degree of nominalization, as the derived forms refer to entities that can be counted. These are the only examples in the corpus where the plural enclitic is found with *-ghu*-nominalization.

The external syntax of NPs headed by these nominalizations is also that of normal nouns: they can for example be used as a subject (661), possessor (661), adjunct (659, 660) or object (see (664) below).

There are no clear-cut boundaries between the strongest nominalizations presented e.g. in examples (659), (663) and (664), and nominalizations that have more verbal characteristics. The retention of object agreement and transitivity-changing morphology can be seen as evidence that the greatest likeness to canonical lexical nominalization can only be reached by a nominalization of intransitive verbs. It is then just a small step from having only object agreement morphology without an overt object NP to a situation like (665).

- (665) *Tei sue* [no-va ene-li *tei-tu lo*
 be.like.this ATT.EMPH 2SG-GEN.M hear-3SG.M.O want-REL DET.SG.M
maitei sua vata mapa gilu-li-ghu]_{NMLZ}_{NP}
 be.how ATT.SG.M kind **person bury-3SG.M.O-NMLZ**

‘Like that (were) the different kinds of burial of humans that you wanted to hear.’, lit. ‘Like that (was) your hearing wanting any kind person burying.’ (ap_gilugilu_131)

This can be analyzed in two ways: either *mapa* ‘person’ is seen as an unmarked object NP ([*mapa giluli*]-*ghu*), or as a noun modifying the nominalized verb in a compound ([*mapa*]

[[*giluli*]-*ghu*]). As there is object agreement morphology present on the nominalized verb, it would not be surprising if it was possible to have an object NP as well. But it could also be the case that the object agreement morphology on a nominalized verb is present solely because the object marker position is part of the lexeme that has to be filled even if there is no object present or implied.

While *mapa* ‘person’ in (665) could still be explained as being a nominal modifier instead of a sentential object, this is impossible in (666).

- (666) *Mai koka mapa=gha [ze-va ngai toa*
 1NSG.IN[GEN] ancestors person=PL 3PL-GEN.M big really
lo=la pali-ghu]_{NP} lava=e.
3SG.M=LOC.M respect-NMLZ PROPR.SG.M=EMPH
 ‘Our ancestors had very big respect for it.’, lit. ‘Our ancestors (were) their very big respect for it having.’ (ap_custom_012)

Here the locative-marked NP has to be recognized as a sentential constituent because locative-marked NPs cannot be used directly as modifiers in NPs. Thus, this instance of *-ghu*-nominalization is more dissimilar to canonical lexical nominalization than the ones we have seen before. Still, its semantics is quite abstract. One may ask whether this example should not better be translated as ‘respected it very much’, in particular as it was mentioned above that nominal modifiers are used instead of adverbs of degree. However, to convey this meaning a specific support verb construction would have to be used (which is discussed in the next section), and the Savosavo equivalent of ‘respected it very much’ would be (667).

- (667) *Ngai toa lo=la pali-ghu=ze te*
 big really 3SG.M=LOC.M respect-NMLZ=3PL.NOM EMPH
pala-i.
 make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘They respected it very much.’, lit. ‘They made a very big respecting it.’
 (020_003_sgb)

To summarize, the *-ghu*-nominalizations presented in this section, especially that of intransitive verbs, are very close to canonical lexical nominalization. With respect to morphology, internal and external syntax, the nominalized forms behave in almost all aspects like underived nouns: they can (at least occasionally) take the plural suffix *-gha*, occur with all possible nominal dependents, and the phrase they are heading can occur in all possible syntactic positions of an NP. A difference in relation to canonical lexical nominalization is that the nominalized forms can contain object agreement morphology when the verb stem is transitive. Furthermore, some forms seem to allow unspecific object NPs, and possibly even adjuncts, but this is exceptional.

Corresponding to the nominal character of these nominalizations, they do not express propositions but concepts, referring to generalized types of events rather than a specific state of affairs located in time and space. If any arguments or adjuncts are encoded, they serve to individuate the nominalized verb much like the nominal modifiers. They are not obligatory and do not anchor the event as much in a specific situation as arguments of a main clause would. But this is gradual; the nominalization becomes less generic and more specific the more arguments and adjuncts are encoded, and in particular the more specifically the subject of the verb is identified in the genitive NP.

9.3 Nominalizations in a support verb construction

Speakers of Savosavo make use of a support verb construction with *pala* ‘make (3SG.M)’ when they want to modify a verbal predicate in specific ways. Some meanings can only be expressed by means of nominal modifiers, because Savosavo does not have equivalent adverbs. Thus, the verb or SVC that is to be modified is nominalized and forms an NP together with the respective nominal modifiers. The whole NP is then taken as the object of *pala* ‘make (3SG.M)’. Table 9.2 lists the most common adverbial meanings expressed by nominal modifiers in this way; some examples are (668–671).

Meaning	Nominal modifier used	Example
‘just’	<i>pono</i> ‘only’	(668)
‘how’	<i>maitei sua</i> ‘being how’	
	<i>apoi vata</i> ‘what kind’	
‘plenty’	<i>daivata</i> ‘plenty’	(669)
‘(very) well’	<i>dai (toa)</i> ‘(very) good’	(673)
‘(very) badly’	<i>isarongo (toa)</i> ‘(very) bad’	(670)
‘very much’	<i>ngai (toa/torongo)</i> ‘(very) big’	(671)
‘like that’	<i>tei sua</i> ‘being thus’	

Table 9.2: Nominal modifiers commonly used to modify nominalized propositions.

- (668) *Jeff=na betu~betu-i. Oma=lo “Ghoma” tei(-i). Zu*
 Jeff=NOM REDUP~move.head-FIN no=3SG.M.NOM no say(-FIN) but
 [*betu~betu-ghu pono*]_{NP}=lo te
 REDUP~move.head-NMLZ only=3SG.M.NOM EMPH
pala-i.
 make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘[She asked him: ‘Are you invited?'] Jeff nodded. He didn’t say “No”. But he just nodded.’, lit. ‘...but he made only nodding.’ (ap_jeff_beki_086)

- (669) *Kama* [*daivata sughu ba-ghu*]_{NP=me}
 already plenty be.far come-NMLZ=1NSG.IN.NOM
pala-zu; *lo* *mai-va* *tei-tei*
 make.3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV DET.SG.M 1NSG.IN-GEN.M REDUP~do
keva-ghu=la
 do.all.about-NMLZ=LOC.M
 ‘We have come very far already; on our walk⁵.’ (bd_cs_tonelo_107)
- (670) *Ei kukua=gha;* [*isarongo toa zaghezaghe-ghu*]_{NP=nye}
 ei gen.2=PL bad really tremble-NMLZ=1SG.NOM
pala-i.
 make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘Ei grannies, I was trembling really badly.’, lit. ‘I was making a really bad trembling.’ (bi_cs_kakula_041)
- (671) *Zu* [*ngai toa korigha-nyi-ghu*]_{NP=ze} *pala-i.*
 But big really cheat-1SG.O-NMLZ=3PL.NOM make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘But they tricked me really badly.’ (ap_jeff_beki_613)

The nominalized verb can be agentive, as in the examples above, or stative (672).

- (672) [*Ngai toa keke-ghu*]_{NP=lo} *pala-i.*
 big really.M be.sad-NMLZ=3SG.M.NOM make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘He was very sad.’, lit. ‘He made a really big being sad.’ (es_cs_kakamora_181)

It is possible to use the negation *oma* in such a support verb construction (673).

- (673) ...*moka lo-va* *kineghe=na oma* [*dai ghana-li-ghu*]
 maybe 3SG.M-GEN.M brain=NOM not good think-3SG.M.O-NMLZ
pala(-a) *te...*
 make.3SG.M.O(-SS) CONJ
 ‘...maybe his brain didn’t think it through well and...’ (rra_cs_likuliku_056)

Notice that *oma* ‘not’ in (673) could be analyzed as being outside or inside of the NP, i.e. roughly meaning ‘his brain did not make good thinking’ vs. ‘his brain made no good thinking’.

In addition to the most commonly used modifiers listed above, the nominalizations can also be modified by *sua*-phrases (cf. Sec. 4.8.1; (674)).

- (674) ...[*mai-va* *kastom=la* *sua* *vata*]
 1NSG.IN-GEN.M custom=LOC.M ATT.SG.M kind

⁵ *Teitei keva* is a fixed expression used for ‘to go for a walk’.

ae-ghu]_{NP} *no* *pala* *ze=no...*
be.married-NMLZ 2SG[GEN] make.3SG.M.O CONJ.SS=2SG.NOM

‘...(when) you marry according to our custom and you...’, lit. ‘you make a marriage being of the kind of our custom...’ (ap_aeghu_053)

It is not possible to use determiners. The nominalization is always indefinite.

In this type of *-ghu*-nominalizations, serial verb constructions can be used (669). Additional adverbs are not possible, but locationals can apparently be used (675).

(675) *Te=gho* *ko* *vola=la* *koi* *ale-a*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F[GEN] shape=LOC.M board enter-SS
ke=gho [*ela sua* ***bo kulo*** ***sogha-ghu***]_{NP}
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM one ATT.SG.M **go seawards jump-NMLZ**
pala(-a) *nyuba=na* *ngei(-i)*.
 make.3SG.M.O(-SIM) child=NOM cry(-FIN)

‘And as she went into her (dolphin) shape and she went (and) jumped seawards (in the sea) for the first time, (the) child cried.’ (wr_cs_poghoroghuliagha_152)

When the nominalized verb is transitive, its object agreement cross-references its object (671), but so far no example with an overt object NP has been found.

This support verb construction employs *pala* ‘make’ as a matrix verb and the nominalization of another verb as its object. The subject of the matrix verb is coreferential with the implied subject of the nominalization and cannot again be expressed by a genitive pronoun modifying the nominalized verb.

In contrast to the lexical nominalizations discussed above, nominalizations in support verb constructions denote specific states of affairs, located in time and space.

Sometimes, usually with modification by *pono* ‘only’ as in (676) and (677b), the support verb is omitted.

(676) *Zu ko* *adaki=kona* [***ngei-ghu*** *pono*]_{NP}
 but DET.SG.F woman=NOM.F **cry-NMLZ** only
 ‘But the woman just cried.’ (bd_cs_tonelo_311)

(677) a. *Lo* *lapeli* *sua* *mapa=gha*.
 DET.PL cover.with.apron ATT person=PL
 ‘(They were) people wearing aprons.’ (mp_mapagha_042)
 b. *Muzi ivaghu=la* *ka* [***lapeli-ghu*** *pono*]_{NP}
 night day=LOC.M already **cover.with.apron-NMLZ** only
 ‘Night (and) day just wearing aprons.’ (mp_mapagha_043)

To summarize, the nominalizations in this support-verb construction have some nominal, but only very few verbal characteristics. They can be modified by nouns, adjectives, quantifiers and *sua*-phrases, but not by determiners or genitive NPs.⁶ Number marking enclitics cannot be used. The use of adverbs is not possible and there is no example yet with an overt object NP or an adjunct except for locationals, but object agreement affixes can be present. Still, semantically the nominalized verb is the main predicate of the clause, which is a feature of support verb constructions in general. It still refers to one specific state of affairs, located in time and space, and is not generalized or abstracted in any way.

9.4 Nominalizations as state-of-affairs complements

Nominalizations with *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ can function as clausal complements of complement-taking verbs like, for example, *mata-li* ‘want’ (678), *tau-li* ‘wait’ (679), *l-eghe* ‘see’ and *l-olomi* ‘know’ (for other ways of complementation see Sec. 8.2.3). Of these, *mata-li* ‘want’ is the most common one.⁷

(678) *Anyi oma [boto sua erongo vunuli-ghu] mata-li.*
 1SG not stink ATT.SG.M something smell-3SG.M.O-NMLZ want-3SG.M.O
 ‘I don’t want to smell something that stinks.’ (ap_gilugilu_087)

(679) [*No malanga-ghu*]=nye te *tau-li-tu.*
 2SG[GEN] agree-NMLZ=1SG.NOM EMPH wait-3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV
 ‘I am waiting for your agreeing (i.e. for your consent).’ (ap_jeff_beki_269)

Example (679) is ambiguous between a more lexical interpretation, with *malangaghu* a derived form denoting an abstract referent, or a more clausal interpretation, with *malangaghu* denoting the action of agreeing. Both interpretations are possible, only the presence of verbal or nominal modifiers would disambiguate the construction.

The nominalization appears in pre-verbal object position (678–680), but occasionally it follows the verb (681).

(680) *Tada=e; lo pia ghoghola-li*
 gigantic=EMPH 3SG.M[GEN] move.up carry.on.one.shoulder-3SG.M.O
kia=no [lo tovolo lo gheteghete-ghu]
 when=2SG.NOM 3SG.M[GEN] bone 3SG.M[GEN] stick.out-NMLZ

⁶The inability of the nominalization to occur with a determiner is not restricted to this context of *-ghu*-nominalizations, but is also found in all of the three contexts discussed in Sections 9.4 to 9.6.

⁷In the examples of this and the following sections, square brackets are used to mark the extent of the nominalization, see fn. 4, p. 303. Sometimes, constituents within the nominalization are also marked by square brackets; then the syntactic function of the constituent is indicated on the closing bracket.

l-eghe ta-i.
3SG.M.O-see FUT-FIN

‘(He was) gigantic; when he carried it up you would see his bones [meaning his muscles] stick out.’ (bk_WWII_195)

- (681) *Te=nye l-au ite suaza-i [ai ghana-ni*
CONJ=1SG.NOM 3SG.M.O-take be.true come.out-FIN 1SG.GEN think-2SG.O
pale-ghu].
stay-NMLZ

‘Then I will make⁸ it true that I keep thinking of you.’, lit. ‘...my keeping thinking of you.’ (ap_jeff_beki_509)

In the pre-verbal object position, the nominalization cannot be modified by a genitive NP if the subject of the nominalized verb is identical to that of the main clause (678). If the subjects are different, the subject of the verb that is nominalized is expressed by a genitive pronoun (682).

- (682) *Zu anyi oma [no fosi-mu-nyi-ghu] mata-li.*
but 1SG not 2SG[GEN] force-TR-1SG.O-NMLZ want-3SG.M.O

‘But I don’t want you to force me.’, lit. ‘I don’t want your forcing me.’
(ap_jeff_beki_632)

When the nominalization follows the clause, the nominalization usually contains a genitive pronoun denoting the subject of the nominalized verb, even if it is identical to the main clause subject (681).

In examples (682) and (679), the object suffixes on the matrix verb agree with the nominalization in object position. But when the subject of the nominalized proposition is raised and functions syntactically as the object of the matrix verb, the matrix verb agrees with the raised subject. The nominalization then follows the clause, and it is no longer an argument in the narrow sense, as it is syntactically neither the subject nor the object of the clause (683). Yet, it is an obligatory constituent.

- (683) *Anyi oma no mata-ni-zu [no-va ai-va zuba*
1SG not 2SG want-2SG.O-PST.IPFV 2SG-GEN.M 1SG.GEN-GEN.M child
l-au-ghu].
3SG.M.O-take-NMLZ

‘I don’t want you to take (i.e. marry) my child.’, lit. ‘I don’t want you your taking of my child.’ (ap_jeff_beki_300)

⁸This is a causative verb construction, cf. Sec. 6.5.3.2.

The verb *l-olomi* ‘know’ can take a finite clause or a nominalization as its complement ((684, 685); for examples with a finite complement clause see Sec. 8.2.3).

- (684) ...*te=nye* *oma l-olomi(-i)* [*ai-va* *ala*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM not **3SG.M.O-know(-FIN)** 1SG.GEN-GEN.M where
bo-ghu].
 go-NMLZ

‘... and then I didn’t know where I should go.’ (agh_png_062)

- (685) *Ave* *kati* *bo kia=nye* *oma l-olomi(-i)* [*kati*
 1PK.EX[GEN] CERT go if=1SG.NOM not **3SG.M.O-know(-FIN)** CERT
ai *ala* *bo izi-ghu*].
 1SG.GEN where go sleep-NMLZ

‘If we go I don’t know where I will go (and) sleep.’ (jv_tarai_110)

The subject can be identical or different. If it is different, the nominalization can also occur pre-verbally (686).

- (686) [*Lo* *japani=gha* *ze-va* *ala=tu* *bo-ghu*]=*nye* *te*
 DET.PL Japanese=PL 3PL-GEN.M where=ABL go-NMLZ=1SG.NOM EMPH
ghoma l-olomi...
 not 3SG.M.O-know

‘Where the Japanese went I don’t know...’ (pk_WWII_059)

When a nominalized complement of *l-olomi* ‘know’ is used in pre-verbal position, and the subject of the nominalized clause and the main clause are identical, the clause expresses a general competence or ability to do something (687, 688). The subject is then not encoded in the nominalization.

- (687) ...*oma raskolo=na* [*∅ ota* *ale-ghu*] *l-olomi*.
 not criminal=NOM ∅ there enter-NMLZ 3SG.M.O-know

‘...the criminals couldn’t enter there.’, lit. ‘...the criminals didn’t know entering there.’ (agh_png_217)

- (688) *Ka* [*lo* *polo pono te* *l-ou-ghu*] *l-olomi*
 already DET.SG.M pig only EMPH 3SG.M.O-eat-NMLZ 3SG.M.O-know
sue *anyi*.
 ATT=EMPH 1SG

‘I am only used to eating pork.’, lit. ‘One who knows eating of the pig only (am) I.’ (ej_cs_botoli_055)

When a *-ghu*-nominalization functions as complement of a verbal clause, it can contain object NPs (678, 683), locationals (687), other adjuncts (686), and even the emphatic particle *te* (688). Clause chaining constructions can also be nominalized. If a clause chaining construction is nominalized, only the very first subject in the chain is omitted (689).

(689) *Kati=ze* [*∅ l-ali* *ze=ze* *ghuro-li-ghu*]
 CERT=3PL *∅* 3SG.M.O-hit CONJ.SS=**3PL.NOM** chase-3SG.M.O-NMLZ
mata-li *ta-i*.
 want-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN

‘They will want to beat and chase him.’ (jn_lotu_132)

Even though the subject of the matrix clause in (689) is identical to that of both clauses in the nominalized clause chain, only the subject expression of the first clause in the chain is omitted. The second clause contains a normal sentential nominative enclitic subject pronoun. In other contexts, when there is no subject identity between the matrix and the nominalized clause (see sections below), it is only the subject of the first clause in a clause chain that has to be encoded as genitive, while all other clauses have nominative subjects. This shows that the scope of the nominalization indeed covers the whole clause chain (cf. Sec. 8.3.3).

The only nominal feature of *-ghu*-nominalizations in this function is that the subject of the nominalized verb can be encoded as a genitive NP. Similar to nominalizations used in a support verb construction (see Sec. 9.3 above), determiners have not been found to modify nominalizations in this context, and also not in any of the following contexts (see Sec. 9.5 and Sec. 9.6 below).

The time reference of a nominalized complement depends on the matrix verb or the context. The encoding of the arguments of the verb in the nominalization is obligatory as it is in independent verbal clauses (with the exception that the subject in a pre-verbal nominalized complement is not encoded when it is identical to the main clause subject).

9.5 Nominalizations in subject or predicate position

Nominalizations with *-ghu* are used to make statements about states of affairs, to express that something is desirable or impossible, or should have been done etc. It is always the evaluated state of affairs that is expressed by a nominalization. Depending on the lexemes used for evaluation, the *-ghu*-nominalizations appear as the subject of a verbal clause or the subject or the predicate of a non-verbal clause. The internal features of *-ghu*-nominalizations are the same for both contexts and will be summarized at the end of Section 9.5.2.

9.5.1 Subject of a verbal clause

When the evaluation is done by means of a state verb, the nominalization functions syntactically as the subject of the clause. Only occasionally does it occur in the normal subject position at the beginning of the clause (690); it is far more common that an enclitic pronoun functions as a substitute, and the nominalization then follows the clause like an afterthought (691). In the latter case the subject marking is occasionally omitted (692).

- (690) [*Lo lo tei golo-ghu*]=*na dai-sa patu?*
 3SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] be.like.this be.broken-NMLZ=NOM good-VBLZ BG.IPFV
 ‘[About a part of a palm frond for a mat that cracked:] Is it ok that it broke like this?’, lit. ‘His breaking like that is still ok?’ (jk_mat_030)

- (691) *Dada ze=ve; zu sasi ze=lo [ave-va apoi*
 be.afraid PA=1PL.EXS but be.hard PA=3SG.M.NOM 1PL.EX-GEN.M what
pala-ghu]=*na.*
 make.3SG.M-NMLZ=NOM
 ‘We were frightened; but it was impossible for us to do something’ or ‘...but there was nothing we could do.’, lit. ‘...but it was impossible, our doing something.’ (su_WWII_079)

- (692) *Kamati=lo sughu-i [Kaogele bo-ghu].*
 very.much=3SG.M.NOM be.far-FIN Kaogele go-NMLZ
 ‘It is very far, going to Kaogele.’ (jn_lotu_098)

The use of an anticipatory pronominal subject as in (691, 692) as a substitute for the clausal complement is not unusual, it is for example also found in possible English translations of these examples: *Is it OK that it broke?*, *It was impossible for us to do anything*, and *It is very far to go to Kaogele*.

The nominalization can contain an object NP (691) and a locative adjunct (692). Semantically, the nominalized state of affairs can be rather general (691, 692) or quite specific and already realized (690).

9.5.2 Constituent of a non-verbal clause

In an alternative construction of evaluation, the evaluated state of affairs, again encoded by a *-ghu*-nominalization, functions as either subject or predicate of a non-verbal clause. The evaluation is then expressed by a nominal lexeme or constituent. In this case, the proposition in question will always refer to a state of affairs that did not come about (yet). The evaluation is done by a constituent, functioning as either subject or object, which is

usually marked with the emphatic enclitic =*e*. The evaluating nominal constituent can actually be derived from a verb, as in (693) to (695).

- (693) *Sasi sue [no lo boi ba-ghu*
 be.hard ATT.EMPH 2SG[GEN] 3SG.M[GEN] go.through come-NMLZ
rongorongoli l-aju-ghu.
 tell.story-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-finish-NMLZ
 ‘It is impossible to tell everything about its ways’, lit. ‘An impossible thing (is) your finishing the telling of its ways.’ (bk_WWII_155)
- (694) *Ata kulo=e sasi sue [alu-ghu]=na.*
 here seawards=EMPH be.hard ATT.EMPH stand-NMLZ=NOM
 ‘Here seawards (it was) difficult/impossible to stand [because of oil on the water and beach].’ (png_WWII_3_078)
- (695) *Tei sue [lo tada mapa lo-va ai*
 be.like.this ATT.EMPH DET.SG.M old.M person 3SG.M-GEN.M this
lo sua pegoa-li-a te=lo l-ali
 DET.SG.M giant deceive-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.O-hit
l-ave-li-ghu]=na.
 3SG.M.O-kill-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=NOM
 ‘Like that (was) the old man’s tricking the giant and killing him.’ (ap_cs_sua_102)

The verb *sasi* ‘be.hard’ is found in verbal ((691) above) as well as non-verbal clauses (693, 694), in both contexts used for evaluation of a state of affairs. The semantic differences are subtle: the verbal encoding is tied closer to one specific situation (‘in that specific situation, we could not do anything’), while the nominal encoding with the attributive marker *sua*, leads to a more general claim, making a statement valid for an extended period of time (‘in general, during this time, standing there was impossible’). This is due to the fact that *sua*-phrases are used to express rather time-stable properties.

There are four lexemes that are often used in speech formulas for the evaluation of a state of events, see Table 9.3.

Lexeme	Evaluation	Example
<i>dai</i> ‘good’	‘X would be desirable’	(696, 697)
<i>manana</i> ‘appropriate’	‘X would be appropriate, should happen’	(698)
<i>baigho</i> ‘non-existent’	‘X never happened’	(699, 700)
<i>pade</i> ‘one’	‘it’s one, it’s the same, no matter if X’	(701)

Table 9.3: Lexemes often used in speech formulas to evaluate states of affairs.

Dai ‘good’ is commonly used to express that it would be good or desirable for something to happen (696), often meant as a suggestion (697).

- (696) *Poragha, dai=e* [*mai-va ai lo tada mapa*
 friends.PL good=EMPH 1NSG.IN-GEN.M this DET.SG.M old.M person
lo-va kabu solo-ghu] = *na*
 3SG.M-GEN.M heap throw.3SG.M-NMLZ=NOM
 ‘Friends, it would be good for us to put together this old man’s heap (of gifts).’⁹
 (ap_cs_sua_117)
- (697) *Dai=e* [*no buata-ghu*].
 good=EMPH 2SG[GEN] go.ANT-NMLZ
 ‘It would be good if you went (away) for now.’ (ap_jeff_beki_035)

Manana ‘appropriate’ expresses that something should have happened. Example (698) is from a story about the arrival of two catechists on Savo, and the speaker just said that the men sent the old women down to look who they were and what they wanted. It would have been much more appropriate if the men had gone down, and this is expressed by means of *manana*.

- (698) *Manana=e* [*lo tada=gha ze te*
 appropriate=EMPH DET.PL man=PL 3PL[GEN] EMPH
raghe-vi-ti-ghu].
 run-TR-3DU.O-NMLZ
 ‘The men should have run to them (two).’, lit. ‘Appropriate (would have been) the men’s running to them.’ (jn_lotu_019)

The nominal lexeme *baigho* ‘non-existent’ can be used to assert that something never happened. To use this way of negating a state of affairs instead of *oma* ‘not’ is more emphatic. The nominal is again usually followed by *=e* ‘EMPH’, and forms a non-verbal clause with a nominalized predicate (699, 700).

- (699) *Baigho=e* [*lo lo-va ko-gha=la ngou-ghu*].
 not.exist=EMPH 3SG.M 3SG.M-GEN.M 3SG.F-?=LOC.M worry-NMLZ
 ‘He did not worry about her.’, lit. ‘Not existent (was) his worrying about her.’
 (ap_jeff_beki_281)
- (700) *Baigho=e* [*pa lo ba sigho-ghi-ghu*].
 not.exist=EMPH one 3SG.M[GEN] come visit-3SG.F.O-NMLZ

⁹This refers to a ceremony where a heap of food and gifts is presented to someone, usually as a compensation. The speaker and the people he talks to are indebted to the old man because he killed a giant they fled from.

‘No one visits her.’, lit. ‘Non existent (is) a visit of someone for her.’
(ap_jeff_beki_440)

Finally, *pade* ‘one, same’ expresses that it would not matter, or would not have mattered, if something had happened or had been the case (701)

- (701) *Pade(=e)* [no tada-sa-ghu].
one(=EMPH) 2SG[GEN] man-VBLZ-NMLZ
‘It doesn’t matter (i.e. it is the same) that you are a man.’, lit. ‘One (is) your being a man.’ (agh_png_258)

The nominalizations in these examples contain a number of verbal characteristics, with the only nominal characteristic being the genitive subject. Modification by means of nominal modifiers or determiners is not possible. In contrast, they can contain object NPs (693), which can be quite complex (696), as well as adjuncts (699), and even the emphatic particle *te* can be used (698). Furthermore, the suffix *-ata* ‘ANT’ is found to occur in nominalizations used in these contexts (697). Examples (695) above as well as (702) and (703) below show that the nominalized constituent can also be a clause chaining construction of considerable complexity. When a clause chaining construction is nominalized, usually only the subject of the first clause in the chain is encoded as genitive, all other clauses have nominative subjects (cf. Sec. 8.3.3).

- (702) *Dai=e* [ai-va lo toghi-li
good=EMPH 1SG.GEN-GEN.M 3SG.M cut.rope-3SG.M.O
ze=nye *supurongo due mane*
CONJ.SS=1SG.NOM many bamboo.segment consecutively
agutu-li-ghu]...
work-3SG.M.O-NMLZ

‘It would be good if I cut it off and then made (i.e. prepared and cooked) many bamboo segments (full of it).’ (ap_cs_sua_094)

- (703) *Dai=e* [pa mola mai l-ovu l-au bo
good=EMPH one canoe 1NSG.IN[GEN] 3SG.M.O-put 3SG.M.O-take go
te=lo *bo lo keda azu l-eghe-ghu*]=na.
CONJ=3SG.M.NOM go DET.SG.M fire smoke 3SG.M.O-see-NMLZ=NOM

‘[The people see smoke of a fire on the island:] It would be good if we send out a canoe and it goes and checks on the smoke.’, lit. ‘Good (would be) our sending a canoe and its going seeing the fire smoke.’ (ap_cs_sua_127)

Another verbal characteristic of *-ghu*-nominalizations in this context is that negation by means of (*gh*)*oma* ‘not’ is possible (704, 705).

- (704) *Manana=e* *Beki* [*no* *oma ave-ghu*].
 appropriate=EMPH Becky 2SG[GEN] **not** die-NMLZ
 ‘You should not have died, Becky.’, lit. ‘Appropriate (would have been) your not dying.’ (ap_jeff_beki_502)
- (705) *Pade(=e)* [*no* *ghoma no* *apoi*
 one(=EMPH) 2SG[GEN] not 2SG[GEN] everything
l-au-ghu]=na...
 3SG.M.O-take-NMLZ=NOM
 ‘No matter if you didn’t take all your things...’ (bd_cs_tonelo_268)

To summarize, *-ghu*-nominalizations in this context are very similar to verbal clauses. The availability of the emphatic particle *te*, negation by means of *oma* ‘not’, as well as the possibility to nominalize clause chains are evidence for the clausal character of these nominalizations. The only verbal characteristics they lack are the nominative subject (having a genitive subject instead), TAM markers other than *-ata* ‘ANT’, and the finiteness suffix *-i*. Semantically, the states of affairs encoded in the nominalization are often not (yet) realized. Still, the nominalization expresses a proposition with specific participants rather than an abstracted generic concept.

9.6 Nominalized verbal clauses (NVCs) in a presentational construction

The most important function of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ in Savosavo is to derive nominalized verbal clauses (NVCs) which function as predicates of a non-verbal clause frame, usually marked by the emphatic enclitic *=e* ‘EMPH’ (see Sec. 7.2.1). The non-verbal clause with the NVC predicate is used in many contexts where finite verbal clauses are found: they can be used as independent clauses, as main clause in a complex subordinate construction, or as final clause of a clause chain. The abbreviation ‘NVC’ will be exclusively used for *-ghu*-nominalizations employed in this context.

This section will first provide a discussion of the structural features of NVCs (9.6.1), followed by a short section on thethetic character of NVCs (9.6.2). NVCs are also mentioned in passing in the chapters on non-verbal clauses (7.1.2.3) and the emphatic enclitic *=e* (7.2.1.2), including some examples.

9.6.1 Internal structure of NVCs

On the level of the matrix clause, a NVC is equivalent to an NP. NVCs are used embedded in a non-verbal clause frame, with a semantically empty third person singular masculine

- (709) *Te* [*ai l-au ba-ghu*]=*e* *lo=na*.
 CONJ 1SG.GEN 3SG.M.O-take come-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘Then I brought him (here).’, lit. ‘Then my taking him coming (was) it.’
 (png_WWII_3_327)

Occasionally the object is fronted and precedes the subject; thereby some extra emphasis is placed on the object referent (710).

- (710) [[*Vuza*]_o *ze piti-li-ghu*]=*e*.
Vuza 3PL[GEN] tie-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘**Vuza** they tied up.’, lit. ‘Their tying *Vuza* (was it).’ (png_WWII_3_200)

All kinds of adjuncts can be used in NVCs, for example locative-marked NPs (711), adverbs and locationals (712), and it is also possible to use the emphatic particle *te* (712).

- (711) *Te* [*lo* [*mane=la sua keghi*]_{Adjunct}=*la*
 CONJ 3SG.M[GEN] side=LOC.M ATT.SG.M coconut.tree=LOC.M
piti-li-ghu]=*e* *lo=na*.
 tie-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘Then he tied it to an adjacent coconut.’, lit. ‘Then his tying it to an at-the-side-being coconut (was) it.’ (png_WWII_3_074)
- (712) [*Ze te mane*_{Adverb} [*lo~lo* *gana=gha*]_o *kulo*_{Adjunct} *bo*
 3PL[GEN] EMPH consecutively REDUP~DET.SG.M gun=PL seawards go
vata-mi-ghu]=*e*.
 line.up-3PL.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then they went and installed those guns seawards.’, lit. ‘(It was) their then going (and) lining up those guns seawards.’ (bk_WWII_109)

A NVC can also be formed by nominalizing a clause chain consisting of two or more clauses (713, 714).

- (713) [*Ai-va*_A [*ai lo ivaghu*]_{Adjunct}=*la* [*ai-va tone*]_o
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M this DET.SG.M day=LOC.M 1SG.GEN-GEN.M brother
l-oghoni ae ze=nye [*gheza manyigha*]_o
 3SG.M.O-be.like be.married CONJ=1SG.NOM own homestead
l-oghoa-li-ghu]=*e*.
 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Today I will be married and having a home of myself like my brother.’, lit. ‘My at this day like my brother marrying and my own home owning (is it).’
 (ap_cs_saraputu_262)

- (714) *Te* [*lo-va* [*gaomane* *l-omata*]_{Adjunct} [*vere*]_o *solo*
 CONJ 3SG.M-GEN.M government 3SG.M-at word throw.3SG.M.O
te=ze *l-au* *malanga te=lo*
 CONJ=3PL.NOM 3SG.M.O-take agree CONJ=3SG.M.NOM
ba-ghu]=*e*.
 come-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And then he sent word to the government and they allowed it and he came.’
 (mp_biti_030)

As described above in Section 9.5, the first subject expression will be the genitive pronoun, while the subjects of all subsequent clauses in the chain are encoded as enclitic nominative subject pronouns. The nominalization has scope over the clause chain as a whole, but only requires the first subject to be genitive (see discussion on the scope of morphology in clause chaining constructions, Sec. 8.3.3). In (715), the subordinate clause also has a genitive subject, but this is not necessarily the case and may be independent of the nominalization of the main clause predicate, see Section 8.2.2.1.

- (715) *Tutu taotao=e*, *no-va* *eluo* *l-ogo* *kia*
 kind.of.pudding=EMPH 2SG-GEN.M ngali.nut 3SG.M.O-collect when
 [*no-va* *l-obu* *ze=no*
 2SG-GEN.M 3SG.M.O-crack.nut CONJ=2SG.NOM
kora-li-ghu]=*e*.
 skin-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘(As for) tutu taotao, when you collect Ngali nuts, you crack and skin them.’, lit.
 ‘...your cracking it and your skinning it (is it).’ (ss_cl_pudding_090)

Both the anticipatory suffix *-ata* and the background imperfective suffix *-ale* are attested in NVCs (716, 717).

- (716) ...*te* [*aghe-va* *samu-ata-ghu*]=*e*.
 CONJ 1DU.EX-GEN.M have.meal-**ANT**-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘...and we had a meal first (before doing something else).’ (mp_biti_208)
- (717) *Tulola*, [*ze-va* *lo* *ivaghu=la* *ota*
 then 3PL-GEN.M DET.SG.M day=LOC.M there
taunga-(a)le-ghu]=*e*.
 remain-**BG.IPFV**-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And then they were staying there that day.’ (ap_cs_saraputu_148)

It is also possible to nominalize a negated clause and thus have the negation particle *oma* in a NVC (718).

- (718) *Tuka* [*lo-va* **oma** *voda-ghu*] = *e*.
 whenever 3SG.M-GEN.M **not** explode-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘[Whenever they did that ritual] then it (i.e. the volcano) didn’t erupt.’
 (ap_biti_025)

The emphatic enclitic =*e* is never used inside of any subordinate, cosubordinate or nominalized clause, and this is true for NVCs as well. The emphatic particle *te*, however, does appear in some types of subordinate clause (e.g. relative clauses, see Sec. 8.2.1) and in cosubordinate clauses, and is quite often found in NVCs (712, 719, 720).

- (719) [*Ko* *ghulia* *ko* *mama* *ko* **te** *lo=la*
 DET.SG.F dolphin 3SG.F[GEN] mother 3SG.F[GEN] **EMPH** 3SG.M=LOC.M
kasanga-ghu] = *e*.
 be.angry-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Ghulia’s mother was angry about that.’ (ws_cs_ghulia_100)

- (720) *Viri-li* *kia* [*no-va* *lo* *penu* **te**
 coil-3SG.M.O when 2SG-GEN.M DET.SG.M coconut.husk **EMPH**
l-au-ghu] = *e* *lo=na*.
 3SG.M.O-take-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘When (you have) coiled it up, you take the coconut husk.’ (se_kite_006)

Finally, it is possible to nominalize content questions (721, 722).

- (721) *Zu* *kia* [*anyi-va* *vili~vili* *lo* *ake-ghu*] = *e*.
 but if 1SG-GEN.M REDUP~choose 3G.M[GEN] be.what-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘But if (that is so, then) what about **my** choice?’, lit. ‘...my choice its being what (is it)?’ (ap_jeff_beki_133)
- (722) *E*; [*apoi* *toa* *lo* *ba-ghu*] = *e* *lo=na*.
 e what really 3SG.M[GEN] come-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘E, what the heck is coming (here)?’ (wr_cs_vulaole_100)

NVCs are those *-ghu*-nominalizations that are closest to canonical clausal nominalization. The subject is genitive, and it is still not possible to use most TAM morphology or the finiteness suffix *-i*, but the anticipatory suffix *-ata* and the background imperfective suffix *-ale* are available. Furthermore, negation, the emphatic particle *te* and clause chaining constructions can be found in NVCs.

In the case of NVCs, the nominalization with *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ does not serve to increase referentiality, it does not derive a term referring to an abstracted, less concrete type of event by deducting the active, acute and current character of an event. On the contrary, this very concrete instance of the event is actually emphasized and put in the center of attention.

9.6.2 NVCs as a **thetic** structure

The NVCs function as a non-verbal predicate in a non-verbal clause frame which serves to assert the existence of the state of affairs encoded in the nominalized clause. The Savosavo NVCs used in this kind of clause frame can be described as **event-central thetic** structures.

The terms **thetic** and **categorical** have a long tradition in philosophy, where they are used to distinguish between two types of logical statements. ‘Thetic’ was used for the **simple judgment**, which “merely expressed an event or a state or situation” (Sasse 1987: 512), and ‘categorical’ was used for the **double judgement**, which “was assumed to be constituted of two successive acts: naming an entity and making a statement about it” (Sasse 1987: 512). Later, the distinction became a topic of discussion in linguistics.¹¹ The terms and the relation between the thetic–categorical distinction and information structural categories such as topic, comment and focus are not uncontroversial, see for example the discussion in Sasse (1987), Lambrecht (1987), Lambrecht (1994) and Sasse (2006).

Sasse (1987) discusses clause structure equivalents of the thetic-categorical distinction. Categorical clause structures are typical topic-comment clauses, i.e. clauses that express a predication, that aim at making a statement about a certain topic. In contrast, thetic clauses are those that present a state of affairs in its entirety, not split up in a topic and a statement about this topic: “[t]hetic utterances may be said to assert the existence of a state of affairs, but they do not predicate it” (Sasse 1987: 556). Sasse uses English to make the difference very clear:

(723) *God exists.* (Sasse 1987: 556, ex. (117))

(724) *There is a God.* (Sasse 1987: 556, ex. (116))

(723) is a categorical utterance, making a predication (‘X exists’) about an entity (X), while (724) “is not a statement about an entity, but asserts the existence of some entity” (Sasse 1987: 556). Utterances like this, which assert the existence of an entity, have also been called ‘presentational construction’, e.g. by Lambrecht (1994: 177).

While some languages mark the difference between thetic and categorical utterances only by intonation, other languages have strategies to form syntactic structures specifically for thetic utterances, e.g. subject incorporation, cleft structures or verb nominalization (cf. Sasse 1987, 2006). All of these strategies serve to encode the whole state of affairs, participants as well as the predicate, in one constituent, signalling the thetic perspective on the state of affairs in its entirety. Sasse (1987) makes the important distinction between **entity-central** and **event-central** clause structures: “an entity-central thetic statement

¹¹For an overview of earlier work on these terms, see Sasse (1987).

is a type of utterance stating the existence of an entity, while an event-central thetic statement is one which states the existence of an event” (Sasse 1987:526). Structurally, entity-central thetic utterances retain the main participant on the highest structural level, but downgrade the predicate, for example by placing it into a relative clause that modifies the main participant, as for example in French (725).

(725) *Que se passe-t-il? – Le chat qui est tombé par la fenêtre.*

‘What’s happening? The cat has fallen out of the window.’ (Sasse 1987:539, ex. (69))

In contrast, event-central structures downgrade the participants, for example by incorporating the participants into the predicate, or by nominalizing the clause, and this is exactly what happens in the formation of NVCs in Savosavo. Interestingly, Sasse emphasizes that particularly the Austronesian languages make use of verb nominalization to form thetic clauses, “these constructions subordinate the element denoting the entity to the element denoting the event” (Sasse 1987:552). (726) is one example of this from Tongan.

(726) *ko e ui 'ae tangata*

EXIST DEF call AP-DEF man

‘there is the man’s calling’, i.e. ‘the MAN is calling’ (Sasse 1987:552, ex. (111a); DEF = definitizer, AP = alienable possession marker)

This example is quite parallel to the NVCs embedded in a presentational non-verbal clause in Savosavo.

In a recent paper with a focus on theticity in European languages, Sasse emphasizes that there is no “simple thetic-categorial distinction”, that “[t]hetic constructions always stand in opposition to a variety of other constructions which are not easily subsumed under a label of ‘categoriality’” (Sasse 2006:300). But what distinguishes thetic constructions from other construction types is still that the state of affairs is presented as a unity. As for the function of thetic constructions, while it is difficult to generalize across languages, it can be said that they “are connected with an additional act of assertion which explicitly signals the low presuppositionality of the state of affairs expressed” (Sasse 2006:300).

9.6.3 Discourse function of NVCs

NVCs are found in almost all text genres represented in the corpus. They are particularly common in narratives or longer stretches of discourse, and often found to be used for climactic events in a storyline. The notable exceptions are responses elicited with certain stimulus materials. Those stimulus materials that did elicit responses with NVCs

consisted, for example, of video clips showing different reciprocal actions (Reciprocals stimulus material (Evans et al. 2004)), or included longer clips with one or more people performing a number of activities (Staged Events stimulus material (Staden et al. 2001)). As soon as the video clips of a set showed a range of different activities, or there was more than one action performed in one clip, or more than one person acting, the speakers started to use NVCs (727).

(727) [*To mapamapa l-aka lupi-ghu*]=*e*.
 3DU RECIP 3SG.M-with embrace-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘The two of them embrace each other.’ (058_sl_rec)

(728) a. *Lo pa tada koko=nye te l-eghe-tu*.
 DET.SG.M one man boy=1SG.NOM EMPH 3SG.M.O-see-PRS.IPFV
 ‘I am seeing that one boy.’ (ap_dr_se_205)

b. *Lo sou=lo te kora-li(-i);*
 DET.SG.M banana=3SG.M.NOM EMPH skin-3SG.M.O(-FIN)
 [*lo-va l-ou-ghu*]=*e lo=na*.
 3SG.M-GEN.M 3SG.M.O-eat-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘He peels the banana; he eats it.’ (ap_dr_se_206)

However, even for these stimulus materials, there were speakers that did not use a single NVC in their responses.

Some materials did not result in any NVC responses. In some cases this is due to the fact that the material elicited non-verbal clauses, e.g. the Topological Relations Picture Series, where speakers had to describe locations of objects in relation to a ground object (Bowerman and Pederson 1993). The prerequisite for using NVCs is that the event that is described is encoded by a verbal clause, which can then be nominalized, therefore one would not expect the use of NVCs in a task aimed at eliciting non-verbal clauses. But also some of the other stimulus materials, which had mostly finite verbal clause responses, elicited little or no NVCs. This is true in particular for those materials that focussed on certain types of events, and were used to elicit rather short answers of often only one sentence. Examples for stimulus sets of this kind are the Put & Take video clips (Bowerman et al. 2004), showing placement and removal of different objects, and the Cut & Break video clips (Bohnenmeyer et al. 2001), short clips showing a person cutting or breaking different objects, using different instruments (729).

(729) *Lo age=lo te duku-li*
 DET.SG.M branch=3SG.M.NOM EMPH cut-3SG.M.O
sodu-li-tu.
 cut.in.two-3SG.M.O-PRS.IPFV
 ‘He is cutting the branch in two.’ (03a-ws_cb)

No speaker describing the clips of these particular sets used any NVC. This can be explained by the fact that all events were events of cutting and breaking, or of placement and removal, so the major focus in describing these scenes was on the objects that were handled, the instruments that were used, and the locations that were involved, while the activities of cutting, breaking, placing or removing as such did not attract much attention.

In the non-elicited texts of the corpus, NVCs are a lot more frequent than in the elicited data, but the proportion of NVCs in relation to finite verbal clauses varies greatly between texts, both within and across different genres, from 3% to approximately 79%. I have selected eight texts from the non-elicited part of the corpus, from different genres, to illustrate these differences. Also included are responses to the Reciprocals stimulus set from two participants (*agh_rec* and *sl_rec*), as well as one *Man & Tree* game played by two participants. Table 9.4 provides detailed information on these eleven texts, and Figure 9.1 shows the results of counting finite verbal clauses and NVCs in these eleven texts. The median value for verbal clauses across these texts is 43.87%, and that for NVCs is 56.13%.

Text	# Speakers	Genre	# Clauses	VC	%	NVC	%
jp_ji_mt	2	photo stimuli	335	324	96.7%	11	3.3%
<i>sl_rec</i>	1	video stimuli	75	57	76.0%	18	24.0%
<i>tt_bd_war</i>	2	history	66	50	75.8%	16	24.2%
ap_cs_polupolu	1	traditional story	80	60	75.0%	20	25.0%
<i>sapeka</i>	5	current events	79	36	45.6%	43	54.4%
<i>js_marine</i>	1	life story	310	136	43.9%	174	56.1%
<i>da_cs_kosakosa</i>	1	traditional story	114	49	43.0%	65	57.0%
<i>agh_rec</i>	1	video stimuli	107	38	35.5%	69	64.5%
<i>cgh_bon</i>	1	tuna fishing	52	18	34.6%	34	65.4%
ss_cl_pudding	2	pudding making	166	44	26.5%	122	73.5%
<i>rr_house</i>	1	house building	34	7	20.6%	27	79.4%
TOTAL:			1418	819	57.8%	599	42.2%

Table 9.4: The eleven texts that were selected from the corpus. For each text, the name, the number of speakers involved, the topic and the number of clauses considered are provided. The bolded texts are either fully (*ap_cs_polupolu*) or partly (*jp_ji_mt*, description of 8 pictures; *ss_cl_pudding*, making of one type of pudding) provided in the Appendix (A.1–A.3). The last columns list the number of finite (VC) and nominalized (NVC) verbal clauses, and the corresponding percentages (cf. Fig. 9.1).

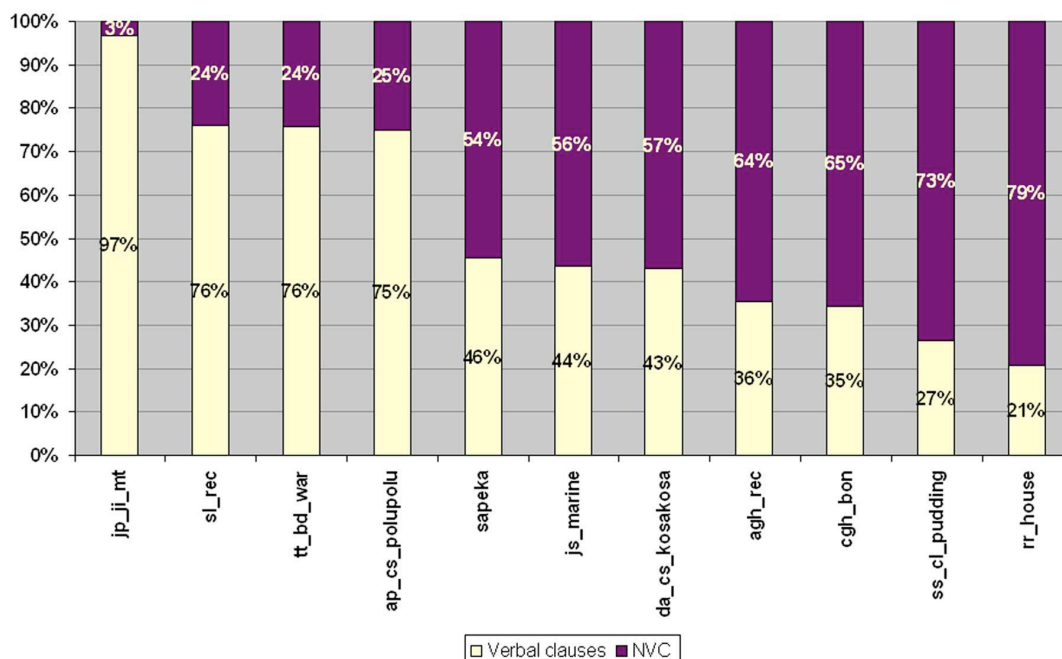


Figure 9.1: Count of finite verbal clauses vs. NVCs in the eleven selected texts.

As far as can be said on such a small sample, especially procedural texts seem to have a high proportion of NVCs, which could be explained by the strong focus on contrasting the different activities that are involved in, e.g., building a house or making different types of pudding. Another possible explanation lies in the generic nature of procedural texts: they describe different activities not performed by a specific person at a specific time, but by anybody at anytime who builds a house or makes a pudding. But further research is needed for a better understanding of what influences the choice of employing a NVC instead of a finite verbal clause and vice versa.

9.7 Summary: The continuum between lexical and clausal nominalization

The preceding sections have shown that *-ghu*-nominalizations, depending on their context, have different sets of features, and that lexical and clausal nominalization are not dichotomous categories in Savosavo, but rather constitute the extremes of a continuum, as was suggested in Section 9.1.1. The nominalizing suffix *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ can be used to achieve a more lexical or a more clausal nominalization.

Not surprisingly, the nominalizations with the most abstracted, generic meaning are those that are most similar to nouns and have the fewest verbal characteristics left (the derivation of nouns, Sec.9.2). Over the range of functions fulfilled by *-ghu*-nominalizations, the more verbal characteristics are retained, the closer is the semantics to that of an independent verbal clause.

The continuum between lexical and clausal derivation is best described in terms of internal and external syntax of the nominalized verbal predicate: On the lexical end, there is virtually no internal syntax, the derived structure consists only of the verb and the nominalizing morpheme or derivative marker. The structure can be used as head or modifier in an NP respectively, and it can be modified by determiners and other adnominal modifiers (730).

- (730) [*ai-va* [*tabu sua*] [*togho-ghu*]_{NMLZ}]_{NP}
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M **be.whole ATT.SG.M live-NMLZ**
 ‘my whole life’ (ap_jeff_beki_263)

In this context, the derivative morpheme has scope only over one lexical item, the verb.

On the clausal end, the derived structure can contain several sentential constituents such as a subject encoded by a genitive NP, an object, and possibly adjuncts, adverbs, the emphatic particle *te* or negation. In the case of *-ghu* the resulting structure is a nominalized verbal clause that, instead of fulfilling a function within an NP, takes the place of an NP (731).

- (731) [[*no-va ghoi elu gazu ghobu=la*
 2SG-GEN.M **also ngali.nut ripe.coconut middle=LOC.M**
l-ovu]-*ghu*]_{NVC}
 3SG.M.O-**put-NMLZ**
 ‘you also put Ngali nut (and) ripe coconut in the middle’, lit. ‘your also Ngali nut (and) ripe coconut in the middle putting’ (ss_cl_pudding_211)

As was described above, nominalizations marked by *-ghu* can be even more complex and can contain clause chaining constructions. In these contexts the derivative morpheme has scope over a whole phrasal or clausal structure.

But nominalization by *-ghu* not only yields these almost fully lexical and clausal nominalization structures. There are also intermediate structures that exhibit both nominal and verbal features. In (732), for example, a verbal feature is the presence of an overt object NP, while nominal features are the genitive subject and the modifier *pono* ‘only’.

- (732) ...[[*ze-va* [*apoi vata ghanaghana*]_{obj} *solo*
 3PL-GEN.M **what kind thought** **throw.3SG.M.O**
l-au *ba*]-*ghu*_{NVC} *pono*]_{NP}
 3SG.M.O-**take come-NMLZ** only

‘...they just contributed any thought (they had)’, lit. ‘...their just bringing and throwing any thoughts’ (ap_headhunt_029)

Especially with these intermediate structures, it is sometimes difficult or even impossible to determine where the scope of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ ends. For example, there are two alternative analyses of example (733), represented by the different bracketing in (733) and (733’).

(733) *Ze=no* *manamana-li* [*lo* *no-va* [*kao*
 CONJ=2SG.NOM prepare-3SG.M.O DET.SG.M 2SG-GEN.M **bushwards**
bo]-ghu_{NMLZ}]_{NP}
go-NMLZ

‘So that you prepare your going bushwards.’ (ap_cs_sua_034)

(733’) *Ze=no* *manamana-li* [*lo* [*no-va* *kao*
 CONJ=2SG.NOM prepare-3SG.M.O DET.SG.M **2SG-GEN.M bushwards**
bo]-ghu_{NMLZ}]_{NP}
go-NMLZ

‘So that you prepare your going bushwards.’ (ap_cs_sua_034)

The difference is that in (733), the subject is counted as an adnominal modifier outside of the scope of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’, while it is analyzed as inside of the scope of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’ and part of a nominalized clausal structure in (733’). Many examples can be analyzed either way, but in some cases there are additional formal features that disambiguate the construction. For example, in (730), the nominal modifier between the genitive pronoun and the head supports its analysis as a nominal modifier, outside of the scope of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’. In contrast, an example like (734), with a sentential adjunct and the emphatic particle *te* preceding the genitive pronoun, supports the analysis of the genitive pronoun as part of a clausal structure that is inside of the scope of *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’.

(734) [[*Pa manga*]_{Adjunct}=*la te* *lo-va* *k-aka*
 one day=LOC.M EMPH 3SG.M-GEN.M 3SG.F-to
savu-li]-*ghu_{NP=e}*.
 tell-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH

‘One day he told her.’, lit. ‘One day his her telling it (was it).’
 (es_cs_kakamora_093)

But when there is no disambiguating constituent present, both analyses are possible. Probably, for analysis as well as speakers, the place on the continuum can be uncertain - like many aspects of grammar, distinctions here are ultimately graded.

Appendix A

Example texts

A.1 Koi Polupolu (told by Anthony Pisupisu)

The following text is a traditional folk story recorded July 29, 2003.

- (1) *Kapitsu toneo.*
- (2) [CW:] *Kerekeredongau.*
- (3) *Pa manyigha=la.*
one village=LOC.M
'In a village.'
- (4) *Lo mapa=gha=na rughu zui-zu.*
DET.PL person=PL=NOM go.to.bush end-PST.IPFV
'The people had gone to work in the garden.'
- (5) *Zu pa / daki mapa ko ghajia manyigha=la pale-i.*
but one / old.F person 3SG.F[GEN] self village=LOC.M stay-FIN
'But one old woman stayed on her own in the village.'
- (6) *Ko nini=e, / koi polupolu.*
3SG.F[GEN] name=EMPH / DET.SG.F Polupolu¹
'Her name (was) Polupolu.'
- (7) *Te=gho, / ko tuvi=la patu, / pa sua=na*
CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / 3SG.F[GEN] house=LOC.M stay.BG.IPFV / one giant=NOM
ba-zu.
come-PST.IPFV
'While she was staying at her house a giant came.'

¹*Polupolu* is the name of an insect species which lives in the ground, and is also found in houses. When digging a hole, it throws up the ground.

- (8) *Ba-i-a te=lo ba tuvi lo-va / ko tuvi*
 come-EP-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM come house 3SG.M-GEN.M / 3SG.F[GEN] house
lo-va data / ba alu-a te=lo “Hoi” tei-zu.
 3SG.M-POSS.M outside / come stand-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM hoi say-PST.IPFV
 ‘Came and came to stand outside her house and “Hoi!” (he) said.’
- (9) *Te ko=na pale=tu / “Hou; / ai=na;” / tei(-i).*
 CONJ 3SG.F=NOM inside=ABL / hou / who=NOM / say(-FIN)
 ‘Then she said from the inside: “Hou, who is it?” ’
- (10) *Te lo sua=na / tei-zu: / “Anyi=nye.*
 CONJ DET.SG.M giant=NOM / say-PST.IPFV / 1SG=EMPH.1SG
 ‘Then the giant said: “It’s me.’
- (11) *Gagela(-a).”*
 open(-IMP.SG)
 ‘Open.’ ’
- (12) *Te=gho / l-aka tei(-i): / “Ba-i-a.”*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / 3SG.M-to say(-FIN) / come-EP-IMP.SG
 ‘And she said to him: “Come.” ’
- (13) *Te lo sua=na / lo gola gagela-li-a*
 CONJ DET.SG.M giant=NOM / DET.SG.M door open-3SG.M.O-SS
te=lo; / ale ba, / gele keva, / ghoma pa mapa
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / enter come / look do.all.about / no one person
l-eghe-i.
 3SG.M.O-see-FIN
 ‘Then the giant opened the door and he went in, looked around, and didn’t see anyone.’
- (14) *Te=lo zua-zu: / “Zu ala te=no.”*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM ask-PST.IPFV / but where PA=3SG.NOM
 ‘Then he asked: “But where are you?” ’
- (15) *Te ko Polupolu=kona didi=la=tu: “Ata didi=la*
 CONJ DET.SG.F Polupolu=NOM.F wall=LOC.M=ABL here wall=LOC.M
te=nye” tei(-i); / tei(-i).
 PA=1SG.NOM say(-FIN) / say(-FIN)
 ‘And Polupolu said from the wall: “I’m here at the wall.” ’
- (16) *Te=lo didi=la gele keva, / o- ghoma / pa mapa*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM wall=LOC.M look do.all.about / o- not / one person
lo gelegele l-eghe-i.
 3SG.M[GEN] look 3SG.M.O-see-FIN
 ‘And he looked around at the wall, he didn’t see anyone.’

- (17) *Te=lo lo zine / lo lo /*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM DET.SG.M mat / DET.SG.M DET.SG.M /
pelea-li-a te=lo; / tatavi
 lift.woven.material-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / basket
pelea-li-a te=lo; / kola sake-li-a
 lift.woven.material-3SG.M.O-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / stick lift-3SG.M.O-SS
te=lo; / “Zu ai no=n(a) te ata; ve- ai ai no=na
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / but who you=NOM EMPH here ve- who who 2SG=NOM
te ata vere-tu” tei(-i); / tei(-i).
 EMPH here speak-PRS.IPFV say(-FIN) / say(-FIN)
 ‘Then he lifted the mat, and he lifted the basket, and he lifted the firewood and he said:
 “But who are you, talking here?” ’
- (18) *Te=gho “Z- / zu anyi=na ata; anyi n-eghe-tu” tei(-i)*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM z- / but 1SG=NOM here 1SG 2SG.O-see-PRS.IPFV say(-FIN)
ko=na.
 3SG.F=NOM
 ‘And she “But I am here; I am watching you.” she said.’
- (19) *Te “E bo ni ghoi; / vere ni” tei(-i).*
 CONJ e go AFF also / speak AFF say(-FIN)
 ‘And (he) said: “Come again, talk.” ’
- (20) *Te=gho ko Polupolu=kona tei(-i): “Ny-eghe-a na,”*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM DET.SG.F Polupolu=NOM.F say(-FIN) 1O-see-IMP.SG AFF
tei(-i).
 say(-FIN)
 ‘And Polupolu said: “See me!” (she) said.’
- (21) *“Ai-va lo doi vusi-li l-au pia*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M DET.SG.M ground throw.up-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take move.up
kia, / anyi anyi=na” tei(-i).
 when / 1SG 1SG=NOM say(-FIN)
 ‘ “When I throw up the ground, that’s me.” (she) said.’
- (22) *Tulola, ko-va lo doi vusi-li tulola, /*
 then 3SG.F-GEN.M DET.SG.M ground throw.up-3SG.M.O then /
lo-va / kama / k-au, / saku-a-ghi, / pale
 3SG.M-GEN.M / already / 3SG.F.O-take / grab.quickly-EP-3SG.F.O / inside
napu=la, / lo soko-ghu ka
 mouth=LOC.M / 3SG.M[GEN] throw.SG.F.O-NMLZ already
gutu-ghi-ghu=e.
 swallow-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And then she threw up the ground and he grabbed her, threw her into his mouth and
 swallowed her.’

- (23) *Tulola ko Polupolu ko kama pale / lo sua*
 then DET.SG.F Polupolu 3SG.F[GEN] already inside / DET.SG.M giant
lo pika=la kama / ale-ghu kama.
 3SG.M[GEN] belly=LOC.M already / enter-NMLZ already
 ‘And then Polupolu went into the giant’s belly.’
- (24) *Lo ka kao lo-va / baba=la, / ka kozi*
 3SG.M[GEN] already bushwards 3SG.M-GEN.M / hole=LOC.M / already face
bo-ghu=e.
 go-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘He went bushwards towards his cave.’
- (25) *Keva=la to bo-ghu=la ko Polupolu=kona pale*
 path=LOC.M 3DU[GEN] go-NMLZ=LOC.M DET.SG.F Polupolu=NOM.F inside
lo pika=la=tu / leka(-a) te=gho; / ghase-a
 3SG.M[GEN] belly=LOC.M=ABL / laugh(-SS) CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / be.happy-SS
te=gho; / leka manikilo-a te=gho; / tei(-i).
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / laugh cheer-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / do.thus(-FIN)
 ‘On the way, while they went, Polupolu laughed inside his belly, and she was happy and she cheered and so on.’
- (26) *Te lo sua lo-va / ghana-li l-au*
 CONJ DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M-GEN.M / think-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take
sasi-ghu=e.
 be.wrong-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘And the giant felt that something was wrong.’
- (27) *“Ai / zu ai ko mapa=nye k-ou-zu; zu ake*
 ai / but this DET.SG.F person=1SG.NOM 3SG.F.O-eat-PST.IPFV but be.what
ze=gho te ai-v(a) pika=la=tu vere-tu”
 PA=3SG.F.NOM EMPH 1SG-GEN.M belly=LOC.M=ABL speak-PRS.IPFV
tei(-i).
 say(-FIN)
 ‘ “Ai, but I ate this woman. But why is she talking from my belly?” (he) said.’
- (28) *Te ko Polupolu=kona tei(-i): “Eo; / ai lo*
 CONJ DET.SG.F Polupolu=NOM.F say(-FIN) yes / this DET.SG.M
ivaghu=la=nye elakati / no pika lo / pale ai
 day=LOC.M=1SG.NOM CERT / 2SG[GEN] belly 3SG.M[GEN] / inside this
lo no pika=la=nye pale ze=nye no
 DET.SG.M 2SG[GEN] belly=LOC.M=1SG.NOM stay CONJ=1SG.NOM 2SG[GEN]
boli l-ou / tara~taraghati-li ta-i” tei(-i).
 intestines 3SG.M.O-eat / REDUP~rip.to.pieces-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘And Polupolu said: “Yes. Today I will tear apart you intestines in this your belly.” (she) said.’

- (29) *Te lo sua lo-va dada-ghu=e.*
 CONJ DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M-GEN.M be.afraid-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then the giant was afraid.’
- (30) *“Ei / kukua; sika=no ai boli l-ou*
ei / gen.2 don’t=2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN intestines 3SG.M.O-eat
pata~pata-li-ale.
 REDUP~separate.rope-3SG.M.O-IRR
 ‘ “Ei grandmother! Don’t tear apart my intestines!”
- (31) *Ai-va ave-le” tei(-i).*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M die-APPR say(-FIN)
 ‘Lest I die!” (he) said.’
- (32) *Te ko Polupolu=kona tei(-i): “Ghoma kama.*
 CONJ DET.SG.F Polupolu=NOM.F say(-FIN) no already
 ‘And Polupolu said: “No way.’
- (33) *Ai lo ivaghu=la=e ai-va no te n-ou*
 this DET.SG.M day=LOC.M=EMPH 1SG.GEN-GEN.M 2SG EMPH 2SG.O-eat
sua” tei(-i).
 ATT.SG.M say(-FIN)
 ‘Today I will eat you.” (she) said.’
- (34) *“Apoi ai lo / molumolu lo mapa=gha=e n- /*
 because this DET.SG.M / island 3SG.M[GEN] person=PL=EMPH n- /
ai-va ene-a no=na te z-ou
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M hear-SIM 2SG=NOM EMPH 3PL.O-eat
z-ave-mi-zu” tei(-i).
 3PL.O-kill-3PL.O-PST.IPFV say(-FIN)
 ‘ “Because the people of this island, I heard that you ate and killed them.” (she) said.’
- (35) *“Z-ou z-aju-i” tei(-i).*
 3PL.O-eat 3PL.O-finish-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘ “Ate them all” (she) said.’
- (36) *Te lo sua lo-va ngai toa dada-ghu*
 CONJ DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M-GEN.M big very.M be.afraid-NMLZ
pala-ghu=e.
 make.3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then the giant was very afraid.’
- (37) *“Kia=nye ake ta-i” tei(-i).*
 if=1SG.NOM be.what FUT-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘ “If (so), what will I do?” (he) said.’
- (38) *“Kia=nye mane / kia=nye n-au togho ta-i” tei(-i).*
 if=1SG.NOM consecutively / if=1SG.NOM 2SG.O-take live FUT-FIN say(-FIN)
 ‘ “If (so) I / if (so) I will save your life” (she) said.’

- (39) “*No-va bo- te=nye n-aka tei kia n- mai-va no*
 2SG-GEN.M bo- CONJ=1SG.NOM 2SG-to say if n- 1NSG.IN-GEN.M 2SG[GEN]
baba=la sara no mapa=gha z-emata sara / kao no
 hole=LOC.M reach 2SG[GEN] person=PL 3PL-at reach / bushwards 2SG[GEN]
baba=la sara kia, / no mapa=gha no z-aka
 hole=LOC.M reach when / 2SG[GEN] person=PL 2SG[GEN] 3PL-to
savu-li-ghu=e.
 tell-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘If bo- you want me to help you, when we arrive at your cave at your people’s place
 you tell them.’
- (40) *Ke lo pa=na / pa savanga sua kola duku-li*
 CONJ DET.SG.M one=NOM / one be.long ATT.SG.M stick cut-3SG.M.O
ze=lo bali-li.
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM sharpen-3SG.M.O
 ‘So that one cuts a long stick and sharpens it.’
- (41) *Kia no napu l-au aka kia, / lo-va no*
 when 2SG[GEN] mouth 3SG.M.O-take be.open when / 3SG.M-GEN.M 2SG[GEN]
napu gharo~gharo-li-ghu=e.
 mouth REDUP~poke-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘Then, when you open the mouth, he pokes your mouth.’
- (42) *Kia elakati k- ai-va kama avu-ghu=e.”*
 if CERT k- 1SG.GEN-GEN.M already exit-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘If (so, then) I will come out.’’
- (43) *Tei ze=gho, / ko Polupolu=kona lo sua l-aka.*
 say PA=3SG.F.NOM / DET.SG.F Polupolu=NOM.F DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M-to
 ‘She said, Polupolu, to the giant.’
- (44) *Tulola, to bo kao sua lo-va baba=la sara te*
 then 3DU[GEN] go bushwards giant 3SG.M-GEN.M hole=LOC.M reach CONJ
lo-va / vudu=gha z-aka tei-ghu=e: / “Ei / ai
 3SG.M-GEN.M / friend=PL 3PL-to say-NMLZ=EMPH / ei / 1SG.GEN
mapa=gha me.
 person=PL 2PL
 ‘And then they went and arrived bushwards at the giant’s cave and he said to his friends:
 “Ei, you my people!’
- (45) *Anyi lo ave sue anyi=na” tei(-i).*
 1SG DET.SG.M die ATT.SG.M.EMPH 1SG=NOM say(-FIN)
 ‘Me, I am a dead one!’ (he) said.’
- (46) *“Ake ze=no” tei(-i).*
 be.what PA=2SG.NOM say(-FIN)
 ‘“What is with you?” (they) said.’

- (47) *Ghoma; zu pa perongo=kona ai pika=la.*
 no but one thing=NOM.F 1SG.GEN belly=LOC.M
 ‘No; but something is in my belly.’
- (48) *K-ou k-au sasi ze=nye” tei(-i); / tei(-i).*
 3SG.F.O-eat 3SG.F.O-take be.wrong PA=1SG.NOM say(-FIN) / say(-FIN)
 ‘I mistakenly ate her.” (he) said; (he) said.’
- (49) *“Pale ai pika=la=gho te levolevo-a te=gho;*
 inside 1SG.GEN belly=LOC.M=3SG.F.NOM EMPH talk-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM
/ doke~dokere te=nye dada-i.
 / REDUP~be.joyful CONJ=1SG.NOM be.afraid-FIN
 ‘In my belly she talked and was happy and I was afraid.’
- (50) *Te=gho ny-aka savu-li(-i) elakati=gho / pale*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM 1-to tell-3SG.M.O(-FIN) CERT=3SG.F.NOM / inside
ai boli l-ou / tara~taraghati-li ta-i.
 1SG.GEN intestines 3SG.M.O-eat / REDUP~rip.to.pieces-3SG.M.O FUT-FIN
 ‘And she told me she would tear apart my intestines inside.’
- (51) *Kia ai-va ave-ghu=e lo=na” tei(-i).*
 if 1SG.GEN-GEN.M die-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM say(-FIN)
 ‘If so I die!” (he) said.’
- (52) *“Te=gho te ny-aka savu-li(-i), / te=nye ba*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM EMPH 1-to tell-3SG.M.O(-FIN) / CONJ=1SG.NOM come
m-aka savu-li te=me / teke~teke pa=na bo kola
 2PL-to tell-3SG.M.O CONJ=2PL.NOM / REDUP~hurry one=NOM go stick
duku-li ze=lo bali-li l-au nenemali
 cut-3SG.M.O CONJ=3SG.M.NOM sharpen-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take be.sharp
ze=lo / ai-va aka kia lo
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / 1SG.GEN-GEN.M open when 3SG.M[GEN]
ai-va napu gharo~gharo-li kia=gho elakati avu
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M mouth REDUP~poke-3SG.M.O when=3SG.F.NOM CERT exit
ta-i tei ze=gho.”
 FUT-FIN say PA=3SG.F.NOM
 ‘“And she told me to come and tell you that one quickly goes, cuts a stick and sharpens it and, when I open (my mouth), when he pokes my mouth then she will come out, she said.” ’
- (53) *Tulola, / ze kama ene-a te=ze “Dai-sa*
 then / 3PL[GEN] already hear-SS CONJ=3PL.NOM good-VBLZ
patu=lo;” / tei-ghu=e lo=na.
 BG.IPFV=3SG.M.NOM / say-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘And then they heard that and they said “It’s all right.” ’

- (54) *Ze pa vudu lo-va bo raghe kola duku-li-a*
 3PL[GEN] one friend 3SG.M-GEN.M go run stick cut-3SG.M.O-SS
te=lo; / teke=la=tu bali-li l-au
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / hurry=LOC.M=ABL sharpen-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take
nenemali-a te=lo / ba lo / lo vudu sua
 be.sharp-SS CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / come 3SG.M[GEN] / 3SG.M[GEN] friend giant
l-aka tei-ghu; / "Bua no napu l-au aka(-a)"
 3SG.M-to say-NMLZ / go.IMP.SG 2SG[GEN] mouth 3SG.M.O-take open(-IMP.SG)
tei(-i).
 say(-FIN)

‘One of their friends ran and cut a stick and he quickly sharpened it and he came and said to his giant friend “Go ahead, open your mouth!” (he) said.’

- (55) *Tulola, lo sua lo-va napu l-au aka tulola, /*
 then DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M-GEN.M mouth 3SG.M.O-take open then /
lo lo vudu sua lo-va / lo s- savanga
 DET.SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] friend giant 3SG.M-GEN.M / DET.SG.M s- be.long
sua kola / bali-li-tu lo kola l-au /
 ATT.SG.M stick / sharpen-3SG.M.O-REL DET.SG.M stick 3SG.M.O-take /
lo-va / vudu lo napu gharo~gharo-li tulola, /
 3SG.M-GEN.M / friend 3SG.M[GEN] mouth REDUP~poke-3SG.M.O then /
ko Polupolu ko-va / lo sua lo
 DET.SG.F Polupolu 3SG.F-GEN.N / DET.SG.M giant 3SG.M[GEN]
vezi=la=tu ka suaza avu-ghu=e.
 anus=LOC.M=ABL already come.out exit-NMLZ=EMPH

‘And then when the giant opened his mouth, and his giant friend took the long stick, the sharpened stick and poked his friend’s mouth, Polupolu came out from the giant’s anus.’

- (56) *Ko=na suaza avu tulola ko ka kulo manyigha=la ghoi*
 3SG.F=NOM come.out exit then 3SG.F[GEN] already seawards village=LOC.M also
ko-va tuvi=la ka liaza te=gho; / ghase-a /
 3SG.F-GEN.M house=LOC.M already return CONJ=3SG.F.NOM / be.happy-SS /
leka poiali-a te=gho tei(-i): "Tei sue
 laugh.out.loud-SS CONJ=3SG.F.NOM say(-FIN) be.like.this ATT.SG.M.EMPH
anyi=na," tei ze=gho.
 1SG=NOM say PA=3SG.F.NOM

‘When she came out she went back seawards to the village and to her house and she was happy and laughed out loud and she said: “That’s me!” she said.’

- (57) *"Ai-va / pego~pego-a-li te, / ze vudu /*
 1SG.GEN-GEN.M / REDUP~deceive-EP-3SG.M.O CONJ / 3PL[GEN] friend /

ze ghajia ze-va / tou-tougha-li, kaba~kaba-li,
 3PL[GEN] self 3PL-GEN.M / REDUP~stab-3SG.M.O REDUP~pierce-3SG.M.O
l-ave-li-ghu=e lo=na” tei(-i).
 3SG.M.O-kill-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM say(-FIN)

‘“I tricked him and his friends themselves stabbed and pierced and killed him!” (she) said.’

- (58) *Tulola, ko mapa=gha ze-va / musanga=la zaba tulola*
 then 3SG.F[GEN] person=PL 3PL-GEN.M / evening=LOC.M become.visible then
 / *ko z-au rongorongu-ghu=e.*
 / 3SG.F[GEN] 3PL.O-take tell.story-NMLZ=EMPH

‘And then when her people came home in the evening she told them the story.’

- (59) *Te=gho tei(-i): / “Poima; / azigha kuvala=la /*
 CONJ=3SG.F.NOM say(-FIN) / men / earlier.today afternoon=LOC.M /
 =*nye ata patu, / lo taunga golagola-tu lo*
 =1SG.NOM here stay.PRS.IPFV / DET.SG.M do.always eat.alive-REL DET.SG.M
sua=na ba ata vere, / tulola=nye l-aka savu-li
 giant=NOM come here speak / then=1SG.NOM 3SG.M.O-to tell-3SG.M.O
te=lo ale ba / tuka ny- / =lo oma
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM enter come / whenever ny- / =3SG.M.NOM not
ny-olomi-tu ai- ai-va ala=lia pale-ghu.
 1O-know-PRS.IPFV ai- 1SG.GEN-GEN.M where=about stay-NMLZ

‘And she said: “People! Earlier today in the afternoon while I was staying here and the giant who used to haunt (this island) came and talked here and I told him to come in, then he didn’t know where I was.’

- (60) *Te=nye mane l-aka savu-li(-i): “Ai*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM consecutively 3SG.M-to tell-3SG.M.O(-FIN) 1SG.GEN
lo doi vusi-li kia, anyi anyi=na” tei(-i).
 3SG.M[GEN] earth throw.up-3SG.M.O when 1SG 1SG=NOM say(-FIN)

‘And I then said to him: “When I throw up ground, that’s me” (I) said.’

- (61) *Tulola=lo / ny-eghe-a=nye lo doi vusi-li*
 then=3SG.M.NOM / 1O-see-a=1SG.NOM DET.SG.M earth throw.up-3SG.M.O
tulola, / lo ba saku-a-nyi / kama ny-au pale
 then / 3SG.M[GEN] come grab.quickly-EP-1SG.O / already 1O-take inside
napu=la sonye ny-omaga bo-ghu=e.
 mouth=LOC.M throw.1SG.O 1O-carry go-NMLZ=EMPH

‘And then he saw me throwing up the ground, and at that he came, grabbed me quickly, already took me, threw me into his mouth and went away carrying me (in his belly).’

- (62) *Tulola=nye, / l-aka savu-li ‘te=no togho-i tei kia, /*
 then=1SG.NOM / 3SG.M-to tell-3SG.M.O CONJ=2SG.NOM live-FIN say if /

no vudu=gha bo z-aka savu-li-a te pa=na kola
 2SG[GEN] friend=PL go 3PL-to tell-3SG.M.O-IMP.SG CONJ one=NOM stick
l-au ze=lo, / no aka kia / no napu
 3SG.M.O-take CONJ=3SG.M.NOM / 2SG[GEN] open when / 2SG[GEN] mouth
gharo-li; / kia, ai-va avu kia, no ka
 poke-3SG.M.O / if 1SG.GEN-GEN.M exit when 2SG[GEN] already
togho-ghu=e lo=na' tei(-i).
 live-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM say(-FIN)

‘And then I told him ‘If you want to live you go and tell your friends that if one takes a stick and when you open (your mouth) he pokes your mouth, then when I come out you will survive.’ (I) said.’

- (63) *Zu ala=e; / ze=na ai lo ghanaghana pala*
 But where=EMPH / 3PL=NOM this DET.SG.M thought make.3SG.M.O
sala tulola ze, / ze vudu lo napu /
 follow.3SG.M.O then 3PL[GEN] / 3PL[GEN] friend 3SG.M[GEN] mouth /
gharo~gharo-li, kaba~kaba-li, pata~pata-li,
 REDUP~poke-3SG.M.O REDUP~pierce-3SG.M.O REDUP~separate.rope-3SG.M.O
tulola lo-va ave-ghu=e lo=na.
 then 3SG.M-GEN.M die-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM

‘But where, when they followed this idea and poked and pierced their friend’s mouth, he died.’

- (64) *Anyi kama suaza avu kama ata kulo ba-i pau pale-ghu=e.”*
 1SG already come.out exit already here seawards come-FIN lie stay-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘I had come out and came here seawards, lying down.’
- (65) *Tei soma=e ko Polupolu ko kapisi=kona.*
 be.like.this ATT.SG.F=EMPH DET.SG.F Polupolu 3SG.F[GEN] story=NOM.F
 ‘This is the story of Polupolu.’
- (66) *Nyero ko puto; talo ko javu.*

A.2 Man & Tree game (James Pulusala, John Itoro Patteson)

The following text is taken from the transcript of a recording of two men playing the Man & Tree game (recorded February 25, 2003), an elicitation game developed for elicitation of spatial language by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (Pederson et al. 1998), using the picture sets no. 1 and 4. Each set consists of twelve pictures, some of which only differ in small details such as the orientation of the depicted objects, or their position in relation to each other. In this session, the two participants were sitting side by side, separated by a blackboard, so that they could not see each other. Their left side

was towards the sea. Each had a set of twelve pictures spread out in front of him. One of the participants, James Pulusala (JP), described one picture at a time, in whatever order he preferred, to the other participant, John Itoro Patteson (JI), who then had to identify the picture in his own set. The following excerpt consists of descriptions of eight pictures, four from each set, in the order they were described: pictures 4, 3, 11 and 12 for set 1, and pictures 4, 9, 10 and 7 for set 4. If utterances in between were left out this is marked by [...].

(1) #1.4, JP:

a. *Ai ela sua / pisa*
1SG.GEN one ATT.SG.M / picture

l-ate-ghu=e.
3SG.M.O-hold-NMLZ=EMPH

‘I’m holding a first picture.’

b. *Pa ulunga, / pa popo k-oghoni soma,*
one pillow / one bowl 3SG.F.O-be.like ATT.SG.F

/ edo kakau=gha lama / pera lo gelegele lava,
/ two arm=PL PROPR.SG.F / basket 3SG.M[GEN] appearance PROPR.SG.M
/ nyari kontena=e.
/ small container=EMPH

‘A pillow, a small container like a bowl, having two handles, having the appearance of a basket.’

c. *Zu pa kabu ita; / te lo mane=la.*
and one heap rubbish / TE 3SG.M[GEN] side=LOC.M

‘And a heap of rubbish (is) at its side.’

d. *No-va / sodoa-li kia, / no-va l-au kia=no*
2SG-GEN.M / find-3SG.M.O if / 2SG-GEN.M 3SG.M.O-take if=2SG.NOM
savu-li l-au ba. / Teke-teke-a.
tell-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take come / REDUP~hurry-IMP.SG

‘If you find it, if you take it, say it. Hurry.’ (jp_ji_mt_002)

(2) #1.4, JI:

Data lo popo ita lo-va / data te lo
outside DET.SG.M bowl rubbish 3SG.M-GEN.M / outside TE DET.SG.M

ita=na.
rubbish=NOM

‘At the outside, at the outside of the bowl of rubbish (is) the rubbish?’ (jp_ji_mt_003)



Picture 1.4

- (3) #1.4, JP:

Padenge mavutu=la te=ze.
only.one place=LOC.M TE=3PL.NOM

‘They (are) in one place.’ (jp_ji_mt_004)

- (4) #1.4, JI:

Ata te=lo kama. Pa popo zu pa ulunga zu lo kabu ita.
here TE=3SG.M.NOM already one bowl and one pillow and DET.SG.M heap rubbish

‘Here it (is) already. A bowl and a pillow and a heap of rubbish.’ (jp_ji_mt_005)

- (5) #1.4, JP:

L-au negha l-ovu-a.
3SG.M.O-take somewhere.else 3SG.M.O-put-IMP.SG

‘Take it (and) put it aside.’ (jp_ji_mt_006)

- (6) #1.3, JP:

Pameve ghoi la=na.
another.one also 3SG.M.PROX=NOM

‘This (is) another one.’ (jp_ji_mt_007)

- (7) #1.3, JI:

Bua; savu-li l-au ba-i-a.
go.IMP.SG tell-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take come-EP-IMP.SG

‘Go ahead; say it.’ (jp_ji_mt_008)

- (8) #1.3, JP:

a. *Lo i- / kabu ita=e / ze ghobu=la*
DET.SG.M i- / heap rubbish=EMPH / 3PL[GEN] middle=LOC.M
levua-li sua.
separate-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M

‘The r- heap of rubbish, they split in the middle.’

b. *Kata lo / papale ko nyari kabu.*
bushwards.side DET.SG.M / side DET.SG.F small heap

‘The half bushwards (is) a small heap.’

c. *Ko popo k-oghoni-tu ko pera k-oghoni-tu ko*
DET.SG.F bowl 3SG.F.O-be.like-REL 3SG.F basket 3SG.F.O-be.like-REL 3SG.F
/ ko=na kuata.
/ 3SG.F=NOM seaward.side

‘The one like a bowl, the one like a basket, she (is) seawards.’ (jp_ji_mt_009)



Picture 1.3

(9) #1.3, JP:

- a. *Te lo ulunga lo taghata te=gho pa gola kiba*
 CONJ DET.SG.M pillow 3SG.M[GEN] on.top TE=3SG.F.NOM one green
l-oghoni soma, / maghani=kona.
 3SG.M.O-be.like ATT.SG.F / decoration=NOM.F

‘And on top of the pillow (is) a decoration that is like green.’

- b. *No l-au ze=no tei kia=no, / savu-li*
 2SG[GEN] 3SG.M.O-take CONJ=2SG.NOM do if=2SG.NOM / tell-3SG.M.O
l-au ba.
 3SG.M.O-take come

‘If you take it and do thus you say it.’ (jp_ji_mt_010)

(10) #1.3, JI:

Ko nyari kabu ita, / pa ngai-ngai kabu ita; zu pa ulunga, zu
 DET.SG.F small heap rubbish / one REDUP~big heap rubbish and one pillow and
pa / maghani, / zu pa popo. A eo; ata te=lo; l-au
 one / decoration / and one bowl a yes here TE=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.O-take
ze=nye.
 CONJ=1SG.NOM

‘The small heap of rubbish, a little bit bigger heap of rubbish, and a pillow, and a decoration, and a bowl. A yes, here it (is), I took it.’ (jp_ji_mt_011)

(11) #1.3, JP:

L-au negha l-ovu-a.
 3SG.M.O-take somewhere.else 3SG.M.O-put-IMP.SG

‘Take it (and) put it aside.’ (jp_ji_mt_012)

(12) #1.11, JP:

Pa=e la=na ghoi.
 one=EMPH 3SG.M.PROX=NOM also

‘This is also one.’ (jp_ji_mt_013)

(13) #1.11, JI:

Savu-li l-au ba-i-a.
 tell-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take come-EP-IMP.SG

‘Say it.’ (jp_ji_mt_014)



Picture 1.11

(14) #1.11, JP:

- a. *Pa tarake. Ko-va terela=e sisi.*
 one truck 3SG.F-GEN.M trailer=EMPH be.red
 ‘A truck. Her trailer is red.’
- b. *Ko tarake ko tuvi lo taghata te=lo, /*
 DET.SG.F truck 3SG.F[GEN] house 3SG.M[GEN] on.top TE=3SG.M.NOM /
pa buluka=na.
 one cow=NOM
 ‘On top of the house of the truck (is) a cow.’
- c. *Lo tarake lo kuata neuta te=lo / pa*
 DET.SG.M truck 3SG.M[GEN] seaward.side under TE=3SG.M.NOM / one
ulunga=kona.
 pillow=NOM.F
 ‘Under the truck’s seawards side (is) a pillow.’ (jp-ji_mt_015)

(15) #1.11, JP:

- a. *Ko ulunga ko taghata te=lo pa maghani=na.*
 DET.SG.F pillow 3SG.F[GEN] on.top TE=3SG.M.NOM one decoration=NOM
 ‘On top of the pillow (is) a decoration.’
- b. *Lo-va / gola kiba=e lo-va / gelegele=na.*
 3SG.M-GEN.M / green=EMPH 3SG.M-GEN.M / appearance=NOM
 ‘Its / green (is) its appearance.’ (jp-ji_mt_016)

(16) #1.11, JI:

- a. *Ata te=lo. Pa ulunga, zu m- / lo-va maghani, zu*
 here TE=3SG.M.NOM one pillow and m- / 3SG.M-GEN.M decoration and
posovata taea lava.
 yellow tire PROPR.SG.M
 ‘Here it (is). A pillow, and d- / its decoration, and one with yellow tires.’
- b. *Zu gola kiba mijila, zu sisi terela.*
 and green body and be.red trailer
 ‘And a green body, and a red trailer.’
- c. *Te ko buluka=kona taghata.*
 CONJ DET.SG.F cow=NOM.F on.top
 ‘And the cow (is) on top.’
- d. *Te=nye ka l-au kabu-i. Ata te=lo.*
 CONJ=1SG.NOM already 3SG.M.O-take move.away-FIN here TE=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘And I already took it away. Here it (is).’ (jp-ji_mt_017)

(17) #1.12, JP:

- a. *Pa=e ghoi la=na. Padenge*
 one=EMPH also 3SG.M.PROX=NOM only.one
aje gelegele laghe=lo=e.
 be.straight appearance PROPR.DU=DU=EMPH
 ‘This is also one. (They) look the same (lit. they (are) having only one parallel appearance).’



Picture 1.12

- b. *Lo-va negha suaza-ghu=e,*
 3SG.M-GEN.M somewhere.else come.out-NMLZ=EMPH

/ lo buluka=na ai lo manga=la / pale lo m- /
/ DET.SG.M cow=NOM this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M / inside DET.SG.M m- /
tarake lo-va / lu~luja sua, / popo=la; / te
 truck 3SG.M-GEN.M / REDUP~load ATT.SG.M / bowl=LOC.M / EMPH
alu data gele-i.
 stand outside look-FIN

‘Its difference (is that) the cow this time stands in the m- / truck’s trailer (lit. bowl which is loaded) (and) looks outside.’ (jp-ji_mt_018)

(18) #1.12, JI:

- a. *O; zu anyi ghoi tei sua lava.*
 o but 1SG also be.like.this ATT.SG.M PROPR.SG.M
 ‘O; but I also have one like that.’

- b. *Ko buluka=kona pale lo lo popo=la alu data*
 DET.SG.F cow=NOM.F inside 3SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] bowl=LOC.M stand outside
gele-i.
 look-FIN

‘The cow stands in its bowl (and) looks outside.’

- c. *Lo lo-va / popo=e sisi. Te=lo mijila=e*
 3SG.M 3SG.M-GEN.M / bowl=EMPH be.red CONJ=3SG.M.NOM body=EMPH
/ gola kiba.
 / green

‘Its bowl (is) red. And its body green.’

- d. *Lo-va / neu lo lo-va talighu sua nato=e*
 3SG.M-GEN.M / down 3SG.M 3SG.M-GEN.M go.around ATT.SG.M leg=EMPH
posovata.
 yellow

‘Its / its round leg (i.e. tire) below (is) yellow.’

- e. *Te lo lo-va data neu abara=la=e, lo*
 CONJ 3SG.M 3SG.M-GEN.M outside down side=LOC.M=EMPH DET.SG.M
ulunga, zu ko maghani.
 pillow and DET.SG.F decoration

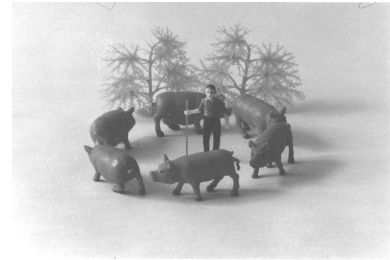
‘And on its outside down at (the) side, the pillow, and the decoration.’

- f. *Ata te=lo; l-au kabu ze=nye kama.*
 here TE=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.O-take move.away CONJ=1SG.NOM already
 ‘Here it (is); I have taken it away already.’ (jp_ji_mt_019)

[...]

(19) #4.4, JP:

- a. *Ai lo=le, / pa / kabu polo=gha.*
 this 3SG.M=EMPH.M / one / heap pig=PL
Bani l-oghoni=ze te alu
 fence 3SG.M.O-be.like=3PL.NOM EMPH stand
talighu-i.
 go.around-FIN



Picture 4.4

‘This (is) a heap of pigs. They are standing around like a fence.’

- b. *Pa mapa=na pale lo / bani l-oghoni-tu lo*
 one person=NOM inside DET.PL / fence 3SG.M.O-be.like-REL DET.PL
polo=gha ze-va ghobu=la.
 pig=PL 3PL-GEN.M middle=LOC.M
 ‘A man (is) in the middle of the pigs that are like a fence.’
- c. *Lo-va tovi kakau=la=lo te lo /*
 3SG.M-GEN.M right hand=LOC.M=3SG.M.NOM EMPH DET.SG.M /
lo-va itoro / l-ate-i.
 3SG.M-GEN.M walking.stick / 3SG.M.O-hold-FIN
 ‘In his right hand he is holding his walking stick.’
- d. *Ze-va potopoto=la=e, / edo kola=zalo=tona te ota.*
 3PL-GEN.M back=LOC.M=EMPH / two tree=DU=NOM.DU EMPH there
 ‘Behind them, two trees (are) there.’ (jp_ji_mt_135)

(20) #4.4, JP:

- a. *Gola kiba-sa sua gelegele laghe=lo=e, to*
 green-VBLZ ATT.SG.M appearance PROPR.DU=DU=EMPH DET.DU
kola=lo=tona. Lo polo=gha, ze-va / gelegele(=e),
 tree=DU=NOM.DU DET.PL pig=PL 3PL-GEN.M / appearance(=EMPH)
sisì.
 be.red

‘The two trees have a green appearance. The appearance of the pigs (is) red.’

- b. *Zu / kulo / papale=la=tu=ze te talighu bo*
 and / seawards / side=LOC.M=ABL=3PL.NOM EMPH go.around go
sua vata z-eghe-ghu pala-i.
 ATT.SG.M kind 3PL.O-see-NMLZ make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘And they look like they are going around from seawards at the side.’ (jp_ji_mt_136)

(21) #4.4, JP:

- a. *Pozogho no no-va / z-eghe z-au bo kia, / no-va male*
 basically 2SG 2SG-GEN.M / 3PL.O-see 3PL.O-take go if / 2SG-GEN.M left
papale=la=ze te ze-va / nyokinyoki l-ovu-i.
 side=LOC.M=3PL.NOM EMPH 3PL-GEN.M / nose.tip 3SG.M.O-put-FIN

‘Basically if you look towards them, they put their snout to your left side.’

- b. *Lo / itoro-tu lo mapa lo-va / tovi*
 DET.SG.M / walking.stick-REL DET.SG.M person 3SG.M-GEN.M / right
papale=la=tu=ze te lo bani pozogho /
 side=LOC.M=ABL=3PL.NOM EMPH DET.SG.M fence basically /
pala l-au talighu-i.
 make.3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-take go.around-FIN

‘From the right side of the man holding a walking stick they basically form a fence going around in a circle.’ (jp-ji_mt_137)

(22) #4.4, JI:

- a. *Eo; anyi ghoi l-ogha-li sua; ata te=lo.*
 yes 1SG also 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M here TE=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘Yes; I also own it; here it (is).’

- b. *Pa mapa=na lo / bani polo lo ghobu=la te*
 one person=NOM DET.SG.M / fence pig 3SG.M'[GEN] middle=LOC.M EMPH
alu-i.
 stand-FIN

‘A man stands in the middle of the fence (formed by the) pigs.’

- c. *Ma lo polo=gha lo bani l-oghoni / alu*
 PA DET.PL pig=PL DET.SG.M fence 3SG.M.O-be.like / stand
talighu-li-zu; lo mapa.
 go.around-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV DET.SG.M person

‘Ma, the pigs stand like a fence around him; the man.’

- d. *Boboragha pogha=lo te l-au zaghe-i. Bulou petapeta*
 black cloth=3SG.M.NOM EMPH 3SG.M.O-take wear-FIN blue shirt
lava=e.
 PROPR.SG.M=EMPH

‘He is wearing a black cloth. (He) has a blue shirt.’ (jp-ji_mt_138)

(23) #4.4, JI:

- a. *Te=lo pa itoro te lo tovi kakau=la*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM one walking.stick EMPH DET.SG.M right hand=LOC.M
l-ate-i. Lo / polo=gha=e, sisi zui so=gha.
 3SG.M.O-hold-FIN DET.PL / pig=PL=EMPH be.red end ATT.SG.M=PL

‘And he holds a walking stick in the right hand. The pigs (are) completely red ones.’

- b. *Zu ze mala~malabo sue boragha sua.*
 And 3PL[GEN] REDUP~footprint ATT.SG.M.EMPH be.black ATT.SG.M
 ‘And the bottom of their feet (is) black.’
- c. *Zu edo / gola kiba kola=gha=na te / lo mapa lo*
 And two / green tree=PL=NOM EMPH / DET.SG.M person 3SG.M[GEN]
buringa=la data alu-i.
 back=LOC.M outside stand-FIN
 ‘And two green trees stand outside at the back of the man.’
- d. *Te / ai ka l-au kabu-ghu=e; ata*
 CONJ / 1SG.GEN already 3SG.M.O-take move.away-NMLZ=EMPH here
te=lo.
 TE=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘And I already took it away; here it (is).’ (jp_ji_mt_139)

(24) #4.4, JP:

Lo polo=gha=na male papale=la=tu te talighu sua vata
 DET.PL pig=PL=NOM left side=LOC.M=ABL EMPH go.around ATT.SG.M kind
bo-ghu pala-i.
 go-NMLZ make.3SG.M.O-FIN

‘The pigs are standing in a way like going around from the left side.’ (jp_ji_mt_140)

(25) #4.4, JI:

Eo.
 yes

‘Yes.’ (jp_ji_mt_141)

[...]

(26) #4.9, JP:

- a. *Pa=e la=na ghoi. Edo tada*
 one=EMPH 3SG.M.PROX=NOM also two male
koko=zalo=e.
 boy=DU=EMPH

‘This is also one. Two boys.’

- b. *Te=to / pa=na kulo te*
 CONJ=3DU.NOM / one=NOM seawards EMPH
alu kozi(-i); / pa=na kao alu kozi(-i).
 stand face(-FIN) / one=NOM bushwards stand face(-FIN)

‘And they / one stands facing seawards; one stands facing bushwards.’



Picture 4.9

- c. *Ny-omata / kozi-tu ai lo=na te kulo kozi(-i).*
 1-at / face-REL this 3SG.M=NOM EMPH seawards face(-FIN)
Lo-va taghata lo=na te kao alu kozi(-i).
 3SG.M-GEN.M on.top 3SG.M=NOM EMPH bushwards stand face(-FIN)
 ‘This one facing towards me faces seawards. The one above him stands facing bushwards.’
- d. *Zu / zazagha sua alu-ghu=to te pala-i.*
 And / be.in.line ATT.SG.M stand-NMLZ=3DU.NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O-FIN
 ‘And they are standing in a line.’ (jp-ji_mt_165)

(27) #4.9, JI:

- a. *L-oghoa-li sue anyi=na; ghoi ata*
 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M.EMPH 1SG=NOM also here
te=lo.
 TE=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘I have it; it (is) here as well.’
- b. *Zua-ni sera-ni ny-au bo-ghu=nye te ghoi*
 ask-2SG.O do.properly-2SG.O 1O-take go-NMLZ=1SG.NOM EMPH also
mata-li-zu.
 want-3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV
 ‘I wanted to ask you properly as well.’
- c. *A; / memere / alu / lighi sua vata*
 a / little.bit / stand / be.little.bit.tilted ATT.SG.M kind
alu-ghu=to te pala-zu, / bo ghoma.
 stand-NMLZ=3DU.NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O-PST.IPFV / or not
 ‘A; / a little bit / standing / tilted kind of standing are they making, or not?’
 (jp-ji_mt_166)

(28) #4.9, JP:

Ghoma; kama zazagha, dai toa zazagha
 no already be.in.line good really.M be.in.line
sesere-ghu=e.
 REDUP-do.properly-NMLZ=EMPH

‘No; being in line, really properly being in line.’ (jp-ji_mt_167)

(29) #4.9, JI:

Eo; ata te=lo. L-ogha=li sue anyi=na.
 yes here TE=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M.EMPH 1SG=NOM

‘Yes; here it (is). I have it.’ (jp-ji_mt_168)

(30) #4.10, JP:

- a. *Ai lo=le ghoi edo / tada koko=zalo.*
 this 3SG.M=EMPH.M also two / male boy=DU
 ‘This (are) also two boys.’

- b. *Kama / ghoi lo vata*
 already / also DET.SG.M kind

zazagha-ghu=to te pala
 be.in.line-NMLZ=3DU.NOM EMPH make.3SG.M.O

patu.
 BG.IPFV

‘They are also still doing that kind of in-line-standing.’

- c. *Zu ai lo manga=la=to / memere righa-za-zu.*
 but this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M=3DU.NOM / little.bit offset-DETR-PST.IPFV
 ‘But this time they are a bit offset.’

- d. *Nyaghoa=la lo=na, / memere / gharu kuli(-i).*
 front=LOC.M 3SG.M=NOM / little.bit / move move.seawards(-FIN)
 ‘At the front that one has moved a bit seawards.’ (jp_ji_mt_169)



Picture 4.10

(31) #4.10, JP:

- a. *Te=lo ata ny-omata=ti ai lo=na memere gharu*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM here 1-at=PROX this 3SG.M=NOM little.bit move
ka-i.
 move.bushwards-FIN

‘And this one here close to me has moved a little bit bushwards.’

- b. *Te=lo lo to-va zazagha-ghu=na pozogho*
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM DET.SG.M 3DU-GEN.M be.in.line-NMLZ=NOM basically
bo ngeo-za kulo kozi(-i).
 go bend-DETR seawards face(-FIN)

‘And their standing-in-line is basically a bit bent (and) faces seawards.’

- c. *To-va itoro=na kama to kakau=la.*
 3DU-GEN.M walking.stick=NOM already DET.DU hand=LOC.M
 ‘Their walking stick (is) in their hand.’ (jp_ji_mt_170)

(32) #4.10, JI:

- a. *Eo; l-ogha-li patu=nye ata.*
 yes 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O BG.IPFV=1SG.NOM here
 ‘Yes; I am having it here.’

- b. *Edo / gola kiba ulunga=gha=la=to te ghoi alu-i.*
 two / green pillow=PL=LOC.M=3DU.NOM EMPH also stand-FIN
 ‘They are also standing on two green pillows’

- c. *Te=to du to=na to tovi kakau=gha=la, /*
 CONJ=3DU.NOM all 3DU=NOM 3DU[GEN] right hand=PL=LOC.M /
to=va itoro l-ate-i.
 3DU-GEN.M walking.stick 3SG.M.O-hold-FIN
 ‘And they both hold their walking stick in their right hands.’
- d. *Zu lo lo negha-sa sua gelegele*
 but 3SG.M 3SG.M[GEN] somewhere.else-VBLZ ATT.SG.M appearance
pala-ghu=e, / lo pa=na te kao alu
 make.3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH / DET.SG.M one=NOM EMPH bushwards stand
kozi(-i).
 face(-FIN)
 ‘But its different appearance, the one stands facing bushwards.’
- e. *Te lo pa=na te kulo nyanyui=la alu kozi(-i).*
 CONJ DET.SG.M one=NOM EMPH seawards sea=LOC.M stand face(-FIN)
 ‘And the other stands facing seawards to the sea.’
- f. *Te / ai ka l-au-ghu=e lo=na; ata*
 CONJ / 1SG.GEN already 3SG.M.O-take-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM here
te=lo.
 TE=3SG.M.NOM
 ‘And I already took it; here it (is).’ (jp-ji_mt_171)

(33) #4.7, JP:

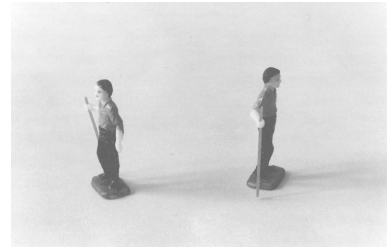
- a. *Ai lo=le ghoi pa=e*
 this 3SG.M=EMPH.M also one=EMPH
la=na. Edo koko=zalo=e.
 3SG.M.PROX=NOM two boy=DU=EMPH

‘This, this (is) also one. Two boys.’

- b. *Pa=na / kulo alu kozi(-i). Pa=na*
 one=NOM / seawards stand face(-FIN) one=NOM
kao alu kozi(-i).
 bushwards stand face(-FIN)

‘One stands facing seawards. One stands facing bushwards.’

- c. *Ai lo manga=la to=va itoro=e, / tei*
 this DET.SG.M time=LOC.M 3DU-GEN.M walking.stick=EMPH / be.like.this
sua te l-eghe-ghu lava.
 ATT.SG.M EMPH 3SG.M.O-see-NMLZ PROPR.SG.M
 ‘This time their walking stick looks like this.’



Picture 4.7

- d. *Kao alu kozi-tu lo loloe,* / *lo mijila*
 bushwards stand face-REL 3SG.M 3SG.M.POSS.M.EMPH / 3SG.M[GEN] body
l-aka aje / pia sua.
 3SG.M.O-with be.straight / move.up ATT.SG.M
 ‘The one of him who is standing facing bushwards (is) going up parallel to his body.’
- e. *Zu kulo alu kozi-tu lo loloe,* / *memere*
 and seawards stand face-REL 3SG.M 3SG.M.POSS.M.EMPH / little.bit
l-au kulo=lo te ghoi poro kozi-zu.
 3SG.M.O-take seawards=3SG.M.NOM EMPH also bend.down face-PST.IPFV
 ‘And the one of him who is standing facing seawards, took it a little bit, he also bent it down facing seawards.’ (jp-ji_mt_172)

(34) #4.7, JI:

Ke=nye ghoi zua-li. Lo-va mijila=na memere lo
 CONJ=1SG.NOM also ask-3SG.M.O 3SG.M-GEN.M body=NOM little.bit 3SG.M
lo-va itoro / l-ozu-zu, bo ghoma.
 3SG.M-GEN.M walking.stick / 3SG.M.O-occlude-PST.IPFV or no

‘Let me ask this. His body occludes his walking stick a little bit, or not?’ (jp-ji_mt_173)

(35) #4.7, JP:

- a. *Lo-va mijila=na lo-va itoro /*
 3SG.M-GEN.M body=NOM 3SG.M-GEN.M walking.stick /
ghobu=la=tu neu au-ghu pono=la=lo
 middle=LOC.M=ABL down move.down-NMLZ only=LOC.M=3SG.M.NOM
te lo-va nato=na l-ozu.
 EMPH 3SG.M-GEN.M leg=NOM 3SG.M.O-occlude
 ‘His body, his walking stick, from the middle going down only does his leg occlude it.’
- b. *Ghobu=la=tu pia ba-ghu=la=lo lo*
 middle=LOC.M=ABL move.up come-NMLZ=LOC.M=3SG.M.NOM DET.SG.M
lo-va itoro=na manga patu. Lo-va
 3SG.M-GEN.M walking.stick=NOM be.clear BG.IPFV 3SG.M-GEN.M
l-ate-tu ota sara-ghu.
 3SG.M.O-hold-REL there reach-NMLZ
 ‘From the middle going up his walking stick is clear. Reaching where he holds it.’
 (jp-ji_mt_174)

(36) #4.7, JI:

L-ogha-li sue anyi=na; ata te=lo.
 3SG.M.O-own-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M.EMPH 1SG=NOM here TE=3SG.M.NOM
L-au ze=nye kama.
 3SG.M.O-take CONJ=1SG.NOM already

‘I have it; here it (is). I took it already.’ (jp-ji_mt_175)

A.3 Making poporaghi pudding (Sabina Sauramo, Claudette Vangere)

In the following text, two women are talking about the preparation of a certain kind of pudding, recorded June 24, 2005. This is an excerpt; they discussed several types of pudding in the recording session. Claudette Vangere (CV) asks about the procedure, and Sabina Sauramo (SS) explains how it is done.

- (1) CL:

Zu lo poporaghi=e te maitei sua.
and DET.SG.M kind.of.pudding=EMPH EMPH how ATT.SG.M

‘And how (is) the poporaghi pudding done?’ (ss_cl_pudding_062)

- (2) SS:

Poporaghi=e, / no-va kola uvi l-au-a ke=no
kind.of.pudding=EMPH / 2SG-GEN.M cassava 3SG.M.O-take-SS CONJ=2SG.NOM
kira-li ze=no kuro-li(-i); tomai kuro-li(-i).
peel-3SG.M.O CONJ=2SG.NOM cook-3SG.M.O(-FIN) just cook-3SG.M.O(-FIN)

‘Poporaghi pudding, you take cassava and you peel and you cook it; just cook it.’
(ss_cl_pudding_063)

- (3) *Kia no-va gazu l-ovi-ghu=e lo=na.*
when 2SG-GEN.M ripe.coconut 3SG.M.O-scrape-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM
‘When (you did that then) you grate coconuts.’ (ss_cl_pudding_064)

- (4) *L-ovi ze=no, / pa besini=la l-ovu*
3SG.M.O-scrape CONJ=2SG.NOM / one basin=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-put
ze=no, / sosa; besini lo; / kato l-evo
CONJ=2SG.NOM / saucer basin DET.SG.M / stone 3SG.M.O-burn
ze=no no-va / lo / no l-ovi-tu
CONJ=2SG.NOM 2SG-GEN.M / DET.SG.M / 2SG 3SG.M.O-scrape-REL
lo gazu=la no-va pale l-ovu-ghu=e;
DET.SG.M ripe.coconut=LOC.M 2SG-GEN.M inside 3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ=EMPH
lo rasaniu=la.
DET.SG.M grated.coconut=LOC.M

‘Scrape it and you put it in a basin and you / saucer, basin, something like that / heat a stone and you put it in the coconut that you have grated; in the grated coconut.’
(ss_cl_pudding_065)

- (5) *Lo=le no ghoma lusi-li sua.*
3SG.M=EMPH.M 2SG[GEN] no squeeze-3SG.M.O ATT.SG.M
‘That (i.e. the grated coconut) you don’t squeeze.’ (ss_cl_pudding_066)

- (6) *Lo bona rasa- ei lo rasaniu; no ka*
 DET.SG.M plain rasa- ei DET.SG.M grated.coconut 2SG[GEN] already
l-ovi-tu lo rasaniu.
 3SG.M.O-scrape-REL DET.SG.M grated.coconut
 ‘The plain gr- ei, the grated coconut; the grated coconut that you have already grated.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_067)
- (7) *Kia no pale l-ovu; ze=no lo / poi; / kato*
 when 2SG[GEN] inside 3SG.M.O-put CONJ=2SG.NOM DET.SG.M / thing / stone
no te pale l-ovu-ghu=e.
 2SG[GEN] EMPH inside 3SG.M.O-put-NMLZ=EMPH
 ‘When (you did that then) you put it inside, and you put the thing, the stone inside.’
 (ss_cl_pudding_068)
- (8) CV:
Lo rasaniu=la l-ovu.
 DET.SG.M grated.coconut=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-put
 ‘Put it in the grated coconut?’ (ss_cl_pudding_069)
- (9) SS:
M. Nyangoa=la=ti solo / oma solo lou- kanyika l-u-a pale-tu
 m front=LOC.M=PROX salt / no salt lou- too.much 3SG.M.O-eat-SIM stay-REL
lo taemu=la nyanyui; tuka=no memere nyanyui
 DET.SG.M time=LOC.M sea whenever=2SG.NOM little.bit sea
zao-li kia / ma; lo kato zui-li-ghu=e
 scoop-3SG.M.O if / PA 3SG.M[GEN] stone cool.down-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH
lo=na.
 3SG.M=NOM
 ‘M. A bit earlier salt / the time one didn’t eat too much salt yet sea water; whenever
 (you did this then) when you scooped a little bit sea water / ma; it cooled down the
 stone.’ (ss_cl_pudding_070-071)
- (10) CV:
Ke=lo lo=la=le nyanyui-sa-i lo...
 CONJ=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M=LOC.M=ABL sea-VBLZ-FIN DET.SG.M
 ‘So that it is salty because of that, the...’ (ss_cl_pudding_072)
- (11) SS:
M; / poi=na; rasaniu=na.
 m / thing=NOM grated.coconut=NOM
 ‘M; the thing; grated coconut.’ (ss_cl_pudding_073)

(12) CV:

...rasaniu=na.
grated.coconut=NOM

‘...grated coconut.’ (ss_cl_pudding_074)

(13) SS:

Kia=no lo kato l-au kabu kia=no
when=2SG.NOM DET.SG.M stone 3SG.M.O-take move.away when=2SG.NOM
lo kola wvi l-au tagha solo-i / no kama
DET.SG.M cassava 3SG.M.O-take up throw.3SG.M.O-FIN / 2SG[GEN] already
tutupara-li-ghu=e; lo / l- poi; rasaniu
squash-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH DET.SG.M / l- thing grated.coconut
tutupara-li l-aju ze=no / no-va kama memere
squash-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-finish CONJ=2SG.NOM / 2SG-GEN.M already little.bit
rasaniu pale / tutu=la l-ovu ze=no kola wvi
grated.coconut inside / mortar=LOC.M 3SG.M.O-put CONJ=2SG.NOM cassava
sodu~sodu-li pale solo / no kama
REDUP~cut.in.two-3SG.M.O inside throw.3SG.M.O / 2SG[GEN] already
tutupara-li-ghu=e.
squash-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH

‘When (you did this then) when you take away the stone, you take cassava (and) throw it on top / you already squash it; the / l- thing; finished squashing the grated coconut and you / you already put a little bit grated coconut in / the mortar and you cut cassava in pieces (and) throw it in / you already squash it.’ (ss_cl_pudding_075)

(14) *Kia=no mane ghoi elave rasaniu l-au pale /*
when=2SG.NOM consecutively also some.more grated.coconut 3SG.M.O-take inside /
poi=la solo-ghu=e; / ma; lo tutu=la.
thing=LOC.M throw.3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH / PA DET.SG.M mortar=LOC.M

‘When (you did this then) you again take some more grated coconut (and) throw it in the thing; / ma; the mortar.’ (ss_cl_pudding_076)

(15) CV:

Lo=le lo / poporaghi=na; ni.
3SG.M=EMPH.M DET.SG.M / kind.of.pudding=NOM AFF

‘That (is) the / poporaghi pudding; isn’t it.’ (ss_cl_pudding_077)

(16) SS:

M.
m

‘M.’ (ss_cl_pudding_079)

(17) CV:

Zu / ela manga=la...
 but / some time=LOC.M

‘But / sometimes...’ (ss_cl_pudding_079)

(18) SS:

Gola gazu=la no-va ghoi poporaghi sua.
 raw ripe.coconut=LOC.M 2SG-GEN.M also make.poporaghi.pudding ATT.SG.M

‘You use raw coconut to make poporaghi pudding.’ (ss_cl_pudding_080)

(19) CV:

Eo.
 yes

‘Yes.’ (ss_cl_pudding_081)

(20) SS:

No-va l-evo ka ave-ave kia, no kama /
 2SG-GEN.M 3SG.M.O-burn already REDUP-die if 2SG[GEN] already /
l-ovi l-aju kia, no kama tutu l-au
 3SG.M.O-scrape 3SG.M.O-finish when 2SG[GEN] already mortar 3SG.M.O-take
kama / tutupara-li-ghu=e; kola uvi / no ka
 already / squash-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH cassava / 2SG already
tutupara-li-ghu=e.
 squash-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH

‘If you are unmotivated to burn it, when you have finished scraping it, you already take (the) mortar (and) / squash it; cassava / you already squash.’ (ss_cl_pudding_082)

(21) CV:

Lo gola gazu=la.
 DET.SG.M raw ripe.coconut=LOC.M

‘With the raw coconut.’ (ss_cl_pudding_083)

(22) SS:

Gola gazu=la.
 raw ripe.coconut=LOC.M

‘With raw coconut.’ (ss_cl_pudding_084)

(23) *Tutupara-li l-aju kia no ka samu-ghu=e.*
 squash-3SG.M.O 3SG.M.O-finish when 2SG[GEN] already have.meal-NMLZ=EMPH

‘When finished squashing it, you already eat.’ (ss_cl_pudding_085)

- (24) *Oma ghoi lo tatagho-li-ghu=e lo lo.*
no also 3SG.M bake.in.oven-3SG.M.O-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M 3SG.M
'Won't bake it in the oven, that one.' (ss_cl_pudding_086)

Bibliography

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2000. *Classifiers: A typology of noun categorization devices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Austin, Peter. 1981. *A grammar of Diyari, South Australia*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bauer, Laurie. 2004. The function of word-formation and the inflection-derivation distinction. In *Words in their places. A festschrift for J. Lachlan Mackenzie*, ed. Henk Aertsen, Mike Hannay, and Rod Lyall, 283–292. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit.
- Benjamin, Geoffrey. 1985. On pronouncing and writing Orang Asli languages: A guide for the perplexed. *Orang Asli Studies Newsletter* 4–26.
- Blake, Barry J. 1997. *Case*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, repr. edition.
- Bohnenmeyer, Jürgen, Melissa Bowerman, and Penelope Brown. 2001. Cut and break clips. In *'manual' for the field season 2001*, ed. Stephen C. Levinson and Nick J. Enfield, 90–96. Nijmegen: Max Planck Institut für Psycholinguistik, Language and Cognition Group.
- Bowerman, Melissa, Marianne Gullberg, Asifa Majid, and Bhuvana Narasimhan. 2004. Put project: The cross-linguistic encoding of placement events. In *Field manual: Volume 9*, ed. Asifa Majid, 10–24. Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics.
- Bowerman, Melissa, and Eric Pederson. 1993. Topological relations pictures. In *Manual for the space stimuli kit 1.2*, ed. Eve Danziger and Deborah Hill, 40–50. Nijmegen: Max Planck Institut für Psycholinguistik, Cognitive Anthropology Research Group.
- Bril, Isabelle. 2004. Coordination strategies and inclusory constructions in New Caledonian and other Oceanic languages. In *Coordinating constructions*, ed. Martin Haspelmath, 499–534. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Brody, Jill. 1984. Some problems with the concept of basic word order. *Linguistics* 22:711–736.
- Clark, John, and Colin Yallop. 1995. *An introduction to phonetics and phonology*. Oxford, Cambridge (MA): Blackwell, 2nd edition.
- Clark, Ross. 1981. Inside and outside Polynesian nominalizations. In *Studies in Pacific languages and cultures in honour of Bruce Biggs*, ed. Jim Hollyman and Andrew Pawley, 65–81. Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- Codrington, Robert. 1974. *The Melanesian languages*. Amsterdam: Philo Press. Reprint, first published 1885, Oxford.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. The syntax of action nominals: A cross-language study. *Lingua* 40:177–201.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1998. *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, repr. edition.
- Comrie, Bernard, Martin Haspelmath, and Balthasar Bickel. 2004. Leipzig Glossing Rules. Published online, accessible under <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html>. [accessed 26-July-2007].
- Comrie, Bernard, and Sandra A. Thompson. 2007. Lexical nominalization. In *Language typology and syntactic description, vol. III, Grammatical categories and the lexicon*, ed. Timothy Shopen, 334–381. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition.
- Corbett, Greville G. 1991. *Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corbett, Greville G. 2006. *Agreement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cronin, Shane J., Mike G. Petterson, Paul W. Taylor, and Randall Biliki. 2004. Maximising multi-stakeholder participation in government and community volcanic hazard management programs; a case study from Savo, Solomon Islands. *Natural Hazards* 33:105–136.
- Crowley, Terry. 1987. Serial verbs in Paamese. *Studies in Language* 11:35–84.
- Crowley, Terry. 2002a. Gela. In *The Oceanic languages*, ed. John Lynch, Malcolm Ross, and Terry Crowley, 525–537. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.
- Crowley, Terry. 2002b. *Serial verbs in Oceanic: A descriptive typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dahl, Östen. 1985. *Tense and aspect systems*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

- Dik, Simon C. 1997. *The theory of functional grammar, part 2: Complex and derived constructions*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 2nd rev. edition, ed. Kees Hengeveld.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. 1979. Ergativity. *Language* 55:59–138.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. 1995. Complement clauses and complementation strategies. In *Grammar and meaning. Essays in honour of Sir John Lyons*, ed. Frank R. Palmer, 175–220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Donohue, Mark. 2005. Configurationality in the languages of New Guinea. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 25:181–218.
- Dressler, Wolfgang U. 1989. Prototypical differences between inflection and derivation. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 42:3–10.
- Dressler, Wolfgang U., and Lavinia Merlini Barbaresi. 1994. *Morphopragmatics: Diminutives and intensifiers in Italian, German, and other languages*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 1995. Frequency and pragmatically unmarked word order. In *Word order in discourse*, ed. Pamela Downing and Michael Noonan, Typological Studies in language 30, 105–135. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 2007. Word order. In *Language typology and syntactic description, Vol I: Clause structure*, ed. Timothy Shopen, 61–131. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition.
- Dunn, Michael, Ger Reesink, and Angela Terrill. 2002. The East Papuan languages: A preliminary typological appraisal. *Oceanic Linguistics* 41:28–62.
- Dunn, Michael, Angela Terrill, Ger Reesink, Robert A. Foley, and Stephen C. Levinson. 2005. Structural Phylogenetics and the reconstruction of ancient language history. *Science* 309:2072–2075.
- England, Nora C. 1991. Changes in basic word order in Mayan languages. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 57:446–486.
- Evans, Nicholas. 1995. *A grammar of Kayardild: With historical-comparative notes on Tangkic*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Evans, Nicholas. 2000. Kinship verbs. In *Approaches to the typology of word classes*, ed. Petra M. Vogel and Bernard Comrie, Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 23, 103–172. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2007. Insubordination and its uses. In *Finiteness: Theoretical and empirical foundations*, ed. Frans Plank and Irina Nikolaeva, 366–431. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Nicholas, Stephen C. Levinson, Nick J. Enfield, Alice Gaby, and Asifa Majid. 2004. Reciprocal constructions and situation type. In *Field manual: Volume 9*, ed. Asifa Majid, 25–30. Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics.
- Farr, Cynthia J.M. 1999. *The interface between syntax and discourse in Korafe, a Papuan language of Papua New Guinea*. PL C-148. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Filimonova, Elena, ed. 2005. *Clusivity: Typology and case studies of the inclusive-exclusive distinction*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Foley, William A. 1986. *The Papuan languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foley, William A., and Robert D. Van Valin. 1984. *Functional syntax and universal grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- François, Alexandre. 2001. Contraintes de structures et liberté dans l'organisation du discours. Une description du mwotlap, langue océanienne du Vanuatu. Phd thesis, Université Paris-IV Sorbonne.
- François, Alexandre. 2006. Re: YES and No. Posting to the LINGTYP mailing list, April 6th. URL <http://listserv.linguistlist.org/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind0604a&L=lingtyp&D=1&F=&S=&P=2748>, [accessed 26-July-2006].
- Gordon, Jr., Raymond G., ed. 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International, fifteenth edition. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com/>.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1966. Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In *Universals of language*, ed. Joseph H. Greenberg, 73–113. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2nd edition.
- Grinevald, Colette. 2000. A morphosyntactic typology of classifiers. In *Systems of nominal classification*, ed. Gunter Senft, Language, Culture and Cognition 4, 50–92. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Halliday, Michael A. K., and Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen. 2004. *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Arnold, 3rd rev. edition.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1996. Word-class-changing inflection and morphological theory. In *Yearbook of morphology 1995*, ed. Geert Booij and Jaap van Marle, 43–66. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2002. *Understanding morphology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2004. Coordinating constructions: An overview. In *Coordinating constructions*, ed. Martin Haspelmath, 3–39. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Haspelmath, Martin. In print. Terminology of case. To appear in *Handbook of case*, ed. Andrej Malchukov and Andrew Spencer, Oxford.
- Hengeveld, Kees. 1992. *Non-verbal predication: Theory, typology, diachrony*. Functional Grammar Series 15. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hill, Deborah. 1992. Longgu grammar. Phd thesis, Australian National University, Department of Linguistics, Canberra.
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 1996. Demonstratives in narrative discourse: A taxonomy of universal uses. In *Studies in anaphora*, ed. Barbara Fox, Typological Studies in Language 33, 205–254. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hooper, Robin. 1996. Type and instance nominalisations in Tokelauan. In *Oceanic studies: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Oceanic Linguistics*, ed. John Lynch and Fa'afo Pat, PL C-133, 223–241. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Jourdan, Christine, and Ellen Maebiru. 2002. *Pijin: A trilingual cultural dictionary*. PL 526. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria. 1993. *Nominalizations*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1987. Sentence focus, information structure, and thethetic-categorical distinction. In *Proceedings of the thirteenth annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, ed. Jon Aske, 366–382. Berkeley, California: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Leech, Geoffrey, Martin Weisser, Andrew Wilson, and Martine Grice. 1998. Survey and guidelines for the representation and annotation of dialogue. publ. by the LE-EAGLES-WP4-4 Integrated Resources Working Group. URL [\url{http://bowland-files.lancs.ac.uk/eagles/delivera/wp4final.ps}](http://bowland-files.lancs.ac.uk/eagles/delivera/wp4final.ps), [accessed 22-August-2006].
- Lehmann, Christian. 1982. Nominalisierung: Typisierung von Propositionen. In *Apprehension: Das sprachliche Erfassen von Gegenständen. Teil I: Bereich und Ordnung der Phänomene*, ed. Hansjakob Seiler and Christian Lehmann, Language Universals Series, 66–83. Tübingen: Narr.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1988. Towards a typology of clause linkage. In *Clause combining in grammar and discourse*, ed. John Haiman and Sandra A. Thompson, Typological Studies in Language 18, 181–225. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1996. Frames of reference and Molyneux's question: Cross-linguistic evidence. In *Language and space*, ed. Paul Bloom, Mary A. Peterson, Lynn Nadel, and Merrill F. Garrett, 109–169. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2001. Motion Verb Stimulus, version 2. In *'manual' for the field season 2001*, ed. Stephen C. Levinson and Nick J. Enfield, 9–13. Nijmegen: Max Planck Institut für Psycholinguistik, Language and Cognition Group.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2003. *Space in language and cognition*. Language, Culture and Cognition 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 1983. *A grammar of Manam*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications no. 18. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 1995. Apprehensional epistemics. In *Modality in grammar and discourse*, ed. Joan L. Bybee and S. Fleischman, Typological Studies in Language 32, 293–327. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Lincoln, P. C. 1978. Reef-Santa Cruz as Austronesian. In *Second international conference on Austronesian linguistics: Proceedings*, ed. Stephen A. Wurm and Lois Carrington, PL C-61, 929–967. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Longacre, Robert E. 1972. *Hierarchy and universality of discourse constituents in New Guinea languages: Discussion*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Lynch, John, Malcolm Ross, and Terry Crowley. 2002. *The Oceanic languages*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.
- Maddieson, Ian. 1984. *Patterns of sound*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Malchukov, Andrej L. 2004. *Nominalization / verbalization: Constraining a typology of transcategorical operations*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Margetts, Anna, and Peter K. Austin. 2007. Three participant events in the languages of the world: Towards a cross-linguistic typology. *Linguistics* 45:393–451.
- Maslova, Elena. 2004. A universal constraint on sensory lexicon, or when *Hear* can mean ‘see’? In *Tipologičeskie obosnovanija v grammatike: k 70-letiju professora Xrakovkogo V.S.*, ed. Aleksandr P. Volodin, 300–312. Moscow: Znak.
- Mithun, Marianne. 1992. Is basic word order universal? In *Pragmatics of word order flexibility*, ed. Doris Payne, 15–61. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Mosel, Ulrike, and Even Hovdhaugen. 1992. *Samoan reference grammar*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.
- Moyse-Faurie, Claire, and John Lynch. 2004. Coordination in Oceanic languages and Proto Oceanic. In *Coordinating constructions*, ed. Martin Haspelmath, 445–497. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Newman, John, ed. 1997. *The linguistics of giving*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Noonan, Michael. 2007. Complementation. In *Language typology and syntactic description, vol. II, Complex constructions*, ed. Timothy Shopen, 52–150. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition.
- Obata, Kazuko. 2003. *A grammar of Bilua: A Papuan language of the Solomon Islands*. PL 540. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Palmer, Bill. 1999. A grammar of the Kokota language, Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands. Phd thesis, The University of Sydney.
- Palmer, F. R. 2001. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition.
- Parker, Anna R. 2006. Evolution as a constraint on theories of syntax: The case against minimalism. Phd thesis, University of Edinburgh.
- Pederson, Eric, Eve Danziger, David Wilkins, Stephen C. Levinson, Sotaro Kita, and Gunter Senft. 1998. Semantic typology and spatial conceptualization. *Language* 74:557–589.

- Reesink, Ger. 1983. Switch reference and topicality hierarchies. *Studies in Language* 7:215–246.
- van Riemsdijk, Henk, ed. 1999. *Clitics in the languages of Europe*. Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 20-5. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Roberts, John R. 1997. Switch-reference in Papua New Guinea: A preliminary survey. In *Papers in Papuan linguistics No. 3*, ed. Andrew Pawley, PL A-87, 101–241. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Ross, John Robert. 2004. Nouniness. In *Fuzzy grammar: A reader*, ed. Bas Aarts, David Denison, Evelien Keizer, and Gergana Popova, 351–422. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [First published in 1973 as John Robert Ross, Nouniness, in *Three Dimensions of Linguistic Research*, ed. Osamu Fujimura, 137–257, Tokyo: TEC Company Ltd.].
- Ross, Malcolm D. 2001. Is there an East Papuan phylum? Evidence from pronouns. In *The boy from Bundaberg: Studies in Melanesian linguistics in honour of Tom Dutton*, ed. Andrew Pawley, Malcolm D. Ross, and Darrell Tryon, 301–321. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Ross, Malcolm D., and Åshild Næss. 2007. An Oceanic origin for Äiwoo, the language of the Reef Islands? *Oceanic Linguistics* 46:456–498.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1987. Thethetic/categorical distinction revisited. *Linguistics* 25:511–580.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 2006. Theticity. In *Pragmatic organization of discourse in the languages of Europe*, ed. Giuliano Bernini and Marcia L. Schwartz, 255–308. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Seiler, Hansjakob. 1986. *Apprehension: Language, object and order. part iii: The universal dimension of apprehension*. Language Universals Series 1/3. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Singer, R. 2001. The inclusory construction in Australian languages. Unpublished Honours thesis, University of Melbourne.
- Singer, R. 2005. Comparing constructions across languages: A case study of the relationship between the inclusory construction and some related nominal constructions. Unpublished talk, ALT 2005.

- Sinnemäki, Kaius. 2006. On Halliday's distinction between embedded and hypotactic clauses. In *A man of measure. Festschrift in honour of Fred Karlsson in his 60th birthday*, ed. Mickael Suominen, Antti Arppe, Anu Airola, Orvokki Heinämäki, Matti Miestamo, Urho Määttä, Jussi Niemi, Karli K. Pitkänen, and Kaius Sinnemäki, 375–384. Turku: Linguistic Association of Finland. Special Supplement to SKY Journal of Linguistics, Volume 19.
- Solomon Islands Census Office. 1999. Solomon Islands 1999 population and housing census main results. Report to the government of the Solomon Islands, Solomon Islands Census Office, Honiara.
- Staden, Miriam van, Gunter Senft, Nick J. Enfield, and Jürgen Bohnemeyer. 2001. Staged Events. In *'manual' for the field season 2001*, ed. Stephen C. Levinson and Nick J. Enfield, 115–125. Nijmegen: Max Planck Institut für Psycholinguistik, Language and Cognition Group.
- Stassen, Leon. 1997. *Intransitive predication*. Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stassen, Leon. 2000. AND-languages and WITH-languages. *Linguistic Typology* 4:1–54.
- Steele, Susan. 1978. Word order variation: A typological study. In *Universals of human language, vol. 4: Syntax*, ed. Joseph H. Greenberg, 585–623. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Terrill, Angela. 2002. Systems of nominal classification in East Papuan languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 41:63–88.
- Terrill, Angela. 2003. *A grammar of Lavukaleve*. Mouton Grammar Library, 30. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Terrill, Angela. 2004. Coordination in Lavukaleve. In *Coordinating constructions*, ed. Martin Haspelmath, 427–443. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Terrill, Angela, and Michael Dunn. 2006. Semantic transference: Two preliminary case studies from the Solomon Islands. In *L2 acquisition and creole genesis*, ed. Claire Lefebvre, Lydia White, and Christine Jourdan. John Benjamins.
- Tesnière, Lucien. 1969. *Éléments de syntaxe structurale*. Paris: Klincksieck, 2nd revised and corrected edition.

- Thompson, Sandra A., and Robert E. Longacre. 1985. Adverbial clauses. In *Language typology and syntactic description, vol. II, Complex constructions*, ed. Timothy Shopen, 171–234. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thompson, Sandra A., Robert E. Longacre, and Shin Ja J. Hwang. 2007. Adverbial clauses. In *Language typology and syntactic description, vol. II, Complex constructions*, ed. Timothy Shopen, 237–300. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition.
- Todd, Evelyn M. 1977. The Solomon language family. In *Papuan languages and the New Guinea linguistic scene*, ed. Stephen A. Wurm, PL C-38, 805–846. Canberra: Australian National University, repr. edition.
- Tryon, Darrell T., and Brian D. Hackman. 1983. *Solomon Islands languages: An internal classification*. PL C-72. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- de Vries, Lourens. 2005. Towards a typology of tail-head linkage in Papuan languages. *Studies in Language* 29:363–384.
- Wegener, Claudia. 2005. Major word classes in Savosavo. *Grazer Linguistische Studien* 64:29–52.
- Wegener, Claudia. 2006. Savosavo body part terminology. *Language Sciences* 28:344–359.
- Wegener, Claudia. In press. Expression of reciprocity in Savosavo. To appear in *Reciprocals and Semantic Typology*, ed. Nicholas Evans, Alice Gaby, Stephen C. Levinson and Asifa Majid, Amsterdam, Philadelphia.
- Wurm, Stephen A. 1978. Reefs-Santa Cruz: Austronesian, but...! In *Second international conference on Austronesian linguistics: Proceedings*, ed. Stephen A. Wurm and Lois Carrington, PL C-61, 969–1010. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1977. On clitics. In *Phonologica 1976*, ed. Wolfgang U. Dressler and Oscar E. Pfeiffer, 29–39. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1985. Clitics and particles. *Language* 61:283–305.
- Zwicky, Arnold M., and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 1983. Cliticization vs. inflection: English *n't*. *Language* 59:502–513.

Samenvatting

Een grammatica van Savosavo, een Papuaanse taal van de Solomon Eilanden

Deze dissertatie is de eerste uitgebreide descriptieve grammatica van het Savosavo, één van vier waarschijnlijk ver verwante Papua (d.w.z. non-Austronesische) talen die gesproken wordt op de Solomon Eilanden.

Hoofdstuk 1 geeft zowel achtergrond informatie over de taal en de sprekers als over de data die voor de grammaticale beschrijving gebruikt is en die over een periode van in totaal 13 maanden in het veld is verzameld. Verder levert een typologisch overzicht een schets van de grammatica, en het hoofdstuk eindigt met een onderdeel over de orthografie en een uitleg over de conventies die gebruikt zijn om de voorbeelden weer te geven.

Hoofdstuk 2 geeft een beschrijving van de fonologie weer. Als eerste wordt het fonologische systeem van de taal geïntroduceerd, die uit zeventien consonanten en vijf vocalen bestaat. De basis structuur van de syllabes is (C)V en de meerderheid van de wortels zijn bi- of trisyllabisch. De klemtoon bevindt zich voornamelijk op de voorlaatste syllabe, maar in sommige trisyllabische wortels bevindt het zich op de eerste syllabe. De klemtoon wordt vaak maar niet altijd beïnvloed door affixen en clitica. Het toevoegen van affixen en clitica leidt soms ook tot morfo-fonologische veranderingen zoals het samensmelten van identieke vocalen of stam modificaties. Een korte beschrijving van reduplicatie van de eerste en soms ook de tweede syllabe van een woord, wat een gebruikelijk fenomeen in Savosavo is, wordt gevolgd door een onderdeel over de basis *clausal pitch contouren* en de intonatie die geassocieerd wordt met sommige discourse partikels.

Hoofdstuk 3 verzorgt eerst definities voor enkele belangrijke termen en geeft dan een korte samenvatting van de functie van affixatie, het gebruik van clitische elementen, reduplicatie en stam modificatie in Savosavo. Voor elk beschreven morfeem en fenomeen wordt er verwezen naar de relevante secties in de grammatica.

Hoofdstuk 4 introduceert de woordsoorten en soorten frases die in het Savosavo geïdentificeerd kunnen worden: werkwoorden en het *verb complex*, adjectieven en adjectief

frases, telwoorden en telwoord frases, voornaamwoorden, lidwoorden en de demonstratief *ai* ‘dit’, een groep plaatsbepalingen die inherent lokatief zijn, de derivatie markeerders *sua* ‘ATTR’, *lava* ‘PROPR’ en *zepo* ‘PRIV’ die gebruikt worden om frases af te leiden die kunnen functioneren als adnominaal modificeerders of non-verbale predicaten, postposities en postpositionele frases, een emphatische modificeerder *toa* ‘echt’, de modificeerders *memere* ‘een beetje’ en *pono* ‘alleen’, bijwoorden, partikels en interjecties.

Binnen de woordklasse van de werkwoorden kunnen drie subgroepen gedifferentieerd worden: intransitieve, transitieve and ambitransitieve werkwoorden. Subjecten worden niet op het werkwoord geïndexeerd maar objecten van transitieve werkwoorden worden verplicht gemarkeerd door middel van affixatie of, in het geval van vier specifieke werkwoorden, door middel van stam modificatie. Object-indicatie op ambitransitieve werkwoorden is optioneel. Het hangt ervan af of de werkwoorden transitief of intransitief gebruikt worden. Objecten van ambitransitieve werkwoorden kunnen alleen door middel van suffixen geïndexeerd worden.

Het onderdeel over zelfstandige naamwoorden bevat ook informatie over het gendersysteem van Savosavo. Dit bestaat uit twee klassen: mannelijk en vrouwelijk. Voor levende wezens met een duidelijk herkenbare sekse is de klasse toewijzing niet flexibel. Alle andere levende wezens en alle levensloze of onbezielde dingen zijn normaal mannelijk maar kunnen in de andere klasse weergegeven worden om verkleining of bijzondere betekenis in de discourse weer te geven.

Zelfstandige naamwoorzinnen worden in Hoofdstuk 5 in meer detail besproken. Als eerste wordt de structuur van zelfstandige naamwoorzinnen beschreven die als hoofd of een naamwoord, een naamwoordelijke samenstelling, een persoonlijk voornaamwoord of een plaatsbepaling hebben. Ook worden de hoofdloze naamwoorzinnen besproken. De volgorde van de constituenten binnen een naamwoorzin ligt vast. Alleen zinnen die als hoofd de derivatie markeerder *sua* ‘ATTR’ hebben laten enkele flexibiliteit zien op het gebied van constituentenvolgorde.

Het tweede deel van hoofdstuk 5 omvat een beschrijving van het naamwoordklassen systeem. Savosavo heeft een klassen systeem met zeven klassen die gemarkeerd nominatief zijn. De accusatief is ongemarkeerd. De zes gemarkeerde klassen zijn nominatief, genitief, locatief, ablatief, comitatief and benefactief, die op de volgende wijzen gemarkeerd worden: de genitief word gemarkeerd door middel van een suffix, de nominatief, locatief and ablatief worden gemarkeerd door middel van enclitische elementen en de locatief, comitatief en benefactief worden gemarkeerd door middel van postposities. De locatief is de enige klasse die gemarkeerd kan worden door zowel enclitische elementen als ook door postposities. Wanneer een enclitisch element gebruikt wordt drukt deze klasse niet alleen een locatie in ruimtelijke zin uit maar ook een locatie in de tijd, een instrument, de

substantie waarvan iets gemaakt is, het onderwerp of de reden voor een gesprek, en een groep waarvan een subgroep geïdentificeerd wordt door de spreker.

Hoofdstuk 5 eindigt met een beschrijving van complexe naamwoorzinnen en geeft details over coördinatie van en tussen naamwoorzinnen, de appositionele constructie en de inclusief constructie.

Hoofdstuk 6 geeft dan een gedetailleerde beschrijving van het *verb complex*. Het begint met een beschrijving van de structuur van de stam van het werkwoord die geanalyseerd wordt als bestaande uit twee lagen. De binnenste laag bevat object markering en transitiviteits veranderende morfologie, terwijl de buitenste laag de morfemen bevat die finietheid, tijd, aspect en modus markeren als ook de *same-subject* markeerder *-a*. Na deze beschrijving van alle morfemen voor de binnen en buiten lagen volgt een discussie over reduplicatie en de effecten hiervan op werkwoorden. Het laatste deel van dit hoofdstuk handelt over seriële werkwoordsconstructies, een veel voorkomend fenomeen in Savosavo. Veel seriële werkwoordsconstructies bestaan uit lexicale werkwoorden maar sommigen bevatten aspectuele werkwoorden die voltooidheid of imperfectieve of ingressieve aspecten uitdrukken. Ook bevatten ze werkwoorden die de transitiviteit van het *verb complex* vergroten en daardoor benefactieve of oorzaakgevolg relaties uitdrukken.

Hoofdstuk 7 houdt zich bezig met onafhankelijke hoofdzinnen. Na een beschrijving van verbale en non-verbale affirmatieve declaratieve zinnen worden de emphatische morfemen *=e* en *te* besproken. Deze worden gebruikt om zowel het onderwerp als focus elementen te benadrukken en ze behoren tot de vijftien meest voorkomende morfemen in Savosavo. Het hierop volgende onderdeel houdt zich bezig met verschillende manieren om negatie uit te drukken. Dit wordt opgevolgd door een onderdeel over vragende zinnen en een korte beschrijving van *apprehensive clauses* (op-dat-niet zinnen).

Complexe zinnen zijn het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 8. Het hoofdstuk begint met een beschrijving van nevenschikking en volgt dan met een discussie over de verschillende soorten onderschikkende bijzinnen zoals de relatieve bijzin, de adverbiale bijzin en de complementszin. De relatieve bijzinnen kunnen zowel met het suffix *-tu* als ook met de derivationele markeerder *sua* 'ATTR' gevormd worden. Beide types worden besproken en hun structurele en syntactische verschillen worden beschreven. Het onderdeel over adverbiale bijzinnen bevat beschrijvingen van enkele verschillende soorten conditionele bijzinnen, temporale bijzinnen, simultane bijzinnen en doel bijzinnen. Hoofdstuk 8 eindigt met een beschrijving van cosubordinatie, de formatie van een keten of een *chain* van nevenschikhte bijzinnen. *Clause-chaining* wordt vaak gebruikt om een opeenvolging van gebeurtenissen te vertellen. Als eerste wordt de structuur van de *clause chain* beschreven en daarna volgt een discussie over *same-subject* markering in de niet finale bijzin van de serie, het bereik van de verbale morfologie in de finale bijzin en het fenomeen *tail-head linkage*.

Hoofdstuk 9, het laatste hoofdstuk van deze dissertatie, richt zich op nominalisatie door middel van *-ghu* ‘NMLZ’, een wijdverspreid kenmerk van Savosavo. Deze nominalisaties worden in enkele verschillende contexten gebruikt. De context bepaald de gradatie van nominalisatie, van zinsconstructies tot woordconstructies. Eerst wordt wat theoretische achtergrond informatie gegeven en daarna worden de functies en syntactische verbanden van de verschillende soorten *-ghu* nominalisaties beschreven.

Het appendix bevat drie teksten uit verschillende genres: een volksverhaal, een fragment van een fotovergelijkings spel gespeeld door twee mensen, en een fragment uit een gesprek tussen twee personen over de bereiding van verschillende soorten pudding. Een lijst van referenties van alle bronnen waarnaar gerefereerd wordt in de tekst rond de dissertatie af.

Curriculum Vitae

Claudia Wegener studied Linguistics, Psychology and Literature at the University of Bielefeld (Germany) and received her M.A. in Linguistics in 2002. She then worked as a research assistant at the University of Bielefeld until she was offered a Ph.D. scholarship at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, The Netherlands from 2002 to 2005. Following this, she worked as a research assistant at the Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz from 2005 to 2007. She is currently employed as the principal researcher and coordinator of the DoBeS project “Documentation of Savosavo, a Papuan language of the Solomon Islands”, which is funded by the Volkswagenstiftung and housed at the University of Manchester.

MPI Series in Psycholinguistics

1. The electrophysiology of speaking: Investigations on the time course of semantic, syntactic, and phonological processing. *Miranda van Turenhout*
2. The role of the syllable in speech production: Evidence from lexical statistics, metalinguistics, masked priming, and electromagnetic midsagittal articulography. *Niels O. Schiller*
3. Lexical access in the production of ellipsis and pronouns. *Bernadette M. Schmitt*
4. The open-/closed-class distinction in spoken-word recognition. *Alette Haveman*
5. The acquisition of phonetic categories in young infants: A self-organising artificial neural network approach. *Kay Behnke*
6. Gesture and speech production. *Jan-Peter de Ruiter*
7. Comparative intonational phonology: English and German. *Esther Grabe*
8. Finiteness in adult and child German. *Ingeborg Lasser*
9. Language input for word discovery. *Joost van de Weijer*
10. Inherent complement verbs revisited: Towards an understanding of argument structure in Ewe. *James Essegbey*
11. Producing past and plural inflections. *Dirk Janssen*
12. Valence and transitivity in Saliba, an Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea. *Anna Margetts*
13. From speech to words. *Arie van der Lugt*
14. Simple and complex verbs in Jaminjung: A study of event categorization in an Australian language. *Eva Schultze-Berndt*
15. Interpreting indefinites: An experimental study of children's language comprehension. *Irene Krämer*
16. Language-specific listening: The case of phonetic sequences. *Andrea Weber*
17. Moving eyes and naming objects. *Femke van der Meulen*
18. Analogy in morphology: The selection of linking elements in Dutch compounds. *Andrea Krott*
19. Morphology in speech comprehension. *Kerstin Mauth*

20. Morphological families in the mental lexicon. *Nivja H. de Jong*
21. Fixed expressions and the production of idioms. *Simone A. Sprenger*
22. The grammatical coding of postural semantics in Goemai (a West Chadic language of Nigeria). *Birgit Hellwig*
23. Paradigmatic structures in morphological processing: Computational and cross-linguistic experimental studies. *Fermín Moscoso del Prado Martín*
24. Contextual influences on spoken-word processing: An electrophysiological approach. *Daniëlle van den Brink*
25. Perceptual relevance of prevoicing in Dutch. *Petra M. van Alphen*
26. Syllables in speech production: Effects of syllable preparation and syllable frequency. *Joana Cholin*
27. Producing complex spoken numerals for time and space. *Marjolein Meeuwissen*
28. Morphology in auditory lexical processing: Sensitivity to fine phonetic detail and insensitivity to suffix reduction. *Rachèl J. J. K. Kemps*
29. At the same time...: The expression of simultaneity in learner varieties. *Barbara Schmiedtová*
30. A grammar of Jalonke argument structure. *Friederike Lüpke*
31. Agrammatic comprehension: An electrophysiological approach. *Marlies Wassenaar*
32. The structure and use of shape-based noun classes in Miraña (North West Amazon). *Frank Seifart*
33. Prosodically-conditioned detail in the recognition of spoken words. *Anne Pier Salverda*
34. Phonetic and lexical processing in a second language. *Mirjam Broersma*
35. Retrieving semantic and syntactic word properties. *Oliver Müller*
36. Lexically-guided perceptual learning in speech processing. *Frank Eisner*
37. Sensitivity to detailed acoustic information in word recognition. *Keren B. Shatzman*
38. The relationship between spoken word production and comprehension. *Rebecca Özdemir*
39. Disfluency: Interrupting speech and gesture. *Mandana Seyfeddinipur*
40. The acquisition of phonological structure: Distinguishing contrastive from non-contrastive variation. *Christiane Dietrich*
41. Cognitive cladistics and the relativity of spatial cognition. *Daniel B. M. Haun*
42. The acquisition of auditory categories. *Martijn Goudbeek*
43. Affix reduction in spoken Dutch. *Mark Pluymaekers*
44. Continuous-speech segmentation at the beginning of language acquisition: Electrophysiological evidence. *Valesca Kooijman*

45. Space and iconicity in German Sign Language (DGS). *Pamela Perniss*
46. On the production of morphologically complex words with special attention to effects of frequency. *Heidrun Bien*
47. Crosslinguistic influence in first and second languages: Convergence in speech and gesture. *Amanda Brown*
48. The acquisition of verb compounding in Mandarin Chinese. *Jidong Chen*
49. Phoneme inventories and patterns of speech sound perception. *Anita Wagner*
50. Lexical processing of morphologically complex words: An information-theoretical perspective. *Victor Kuperman*