

A grammar of Lavukaleve:
a Papuan language of the
Solomon Islands

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*For small erections may be finished by their first architects;
grand ones, true ones, ever leave the capstone to posterity. God
keep me from ever completing anything. This whole book is but
a draught - nay, but the draught of a draught. Oh, Time,
Strength, Cash, and Patience!*

Herman Melville *Moby Dick*

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Abstract

The thesis is in five major parts. The first part, Preliminaries, deals with the basic building blocks on which the grammar is founded; the introductory chapter, the phonology and the word classes.

The second part of the thesis deals with arguments and adjuncts. Chapter 4 outlines Noun Phrase structure and the structure of possessive constructions. Chapter 5 and 6 deal with issues inherent to individual nouns; noun formation in Chapter 5 and gender and agreement in Chapter 6. The morphological processes of noun formation are extremely complex; for example there are at least 86 different ways of forming dual and plural nouns. Chapter 7 discusses nominal adjuncts. Chapter 8 deals with the complex area of deictics, one of the most structurally elaborated areas of the language. There are three paradigms of demonstratives. One is a demonstrative modifier, and two are demonstrative pronouns, which differ in their pragmatic reference; one is used to refer to an entity not uppermost in the minds of the speaker and hearers, and the other is used elsewhere. The relationship between the three demonstrative paradigms is complex and interesting, and is dealt with in some detail. Presentative forms can be created from most of the deictics, as can predicative deictics, by means of additional morphology.

The third part of the thesis concerns predicate structure. Basic clause structure and principles of participant marking are outlined in Chapter 9. Constructions using the Agreement Suffix are examined in Chapter 10. The Agreement Suffix, one of the morphological means of marking participants, is a ubiquitous and important suffix in the language. Focus constructions, discussed in Chapter 11, are another very elaborated area of Lavukaleve morphosyntax. There are three paradigms of focus markers in Lavukaleve. Many different types of constituents can be focussed: a predicate, a sentence, an NP or an adjunct, including nominal adjuncts, adverbs, particles and non-main verbs. When predicates and sentences are focussed, the focus marker is the final element of the sentence. The agreement of the focus marker (with the person, gender and number of either the subject or the object of the clause) shows the domain of focus. When arguments and adjuncts are focussed, the focus marker appears immediately after the argument,

sentence-internally.

Chapter 12 deals with the expression of tense, aspect and mood. Chapter 13 deals with valency changing, the creation of predicates from words of other classes, as well as other word class-changing morphological processes. The final chapter of this part, Chapter 14, outlines the types of complex predicates existing in the language, including serial verb constructions, verb compounds, verb-adjunct constructions, and predicates involving the Habitual Auxiliary.

The fourth part of the thesis deals with interclausal syntax: clause chaining constructions (Chapter 15) and subordinate clauses (Chapter 16). There are three types of subordinate clauses; one of them, subordinate adverbial clauses, involves a *spit-ergative* marking system. Most other areas of the language have nominative/accusative alignment. The final part of the thesis, discourse organisation, aims to bring together some of the broader areas of importance to Lavukaleve discourse. The expression of questions and negation is described in Chapter 17. In Chapter 18 is a discussion of typical Lavukaleve ways of structuring discourse in narratives for textual cohesion, and an examination of how reference tracking devices operate across a larger section of narrative than a single sentence.

An appendix containing a glossed text forms the final part of this thesis.

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Abbreviations and conventions

A subject of a transitive verb (S is used for both transitive and intransitive subject unless specified in the text)

ABILitative (verb suffix)

ACTion (particle)

ADMONitive (verb suffix)

ANTerior (verb suffix)

Art article

CAUSative (verb suffix)

COMPLetive (verb suffix)

DEMONstrative

DIST1 distal (demonstrative category)

DIST2 unspecified distal (demonstrative category)

du dual

DURative (verb suffix)

DURIMP Durative Imperative (verb suffix)

EFOC focus marker from **heo** paradigm

EMPHatic (particle)

ex exclusive

EXTended (verb and deictic suffix)

f feminine

FEMinine gender

FOC focus marker from **feo** paradigm

FOLK people of a place (nominal suffix)

FUTURE tense (verb suffix)

GROUP referent forms a group (nominal suffix)

HABitual (verb suffix)

HORTative (verb suffix)

IMPF Imperfective (verb suffix)

in inclusive

INTention (particle)

INTRansitiviser (verb suffix)
 k.o. kind of (used in glosses of some nouns)
 LOCative (nominal suffix)
 LOCEMPH locative emphatic (particle)
 LOCZR Locativiser (verb suffix)
 m masculine
 MASCuline gender
 MEDial (demonstrative category)
 MOD demonstrative modifier (from **hoia** paradigm)
 MORE (verb suffix)
 n neuter
 NEGative (verb suffix)
 NEUTer gender
 NF Non-Finite (verb suffix)
 NOMZR Nominaliser (verb suffix)
 O object
 NP Noun phrase
 PCTIMP Punctual Imperative (verb suffix)
 PERLative (nominal suffix)
 pl plural
 PN demonstrative pronoun (from **foia** paradigm)
 POSSessive (nominal prefix)
 POTential (verb suffix)
 PREDicative (demonstrative identifier)
 PRESent tense (verb suffix)
 PROXimal (demonstrative category)
 PSNV Presentative (verb suffix)
 PSV Possessor-subject verb (verb suffix)
 PURPositive (verb suffix)
 QFOC focus marker from **meo** paradigm
 RECIProcal (verb suffix)
 REDUPlicated
 S subject (both transitive and intransitive unless otherwise stated)
 SBD subordinate (verb prefix)
 sg singular
 sp species (used in glosses of some nouns)
 SPECifier (adjective)
 sth something
 SUCCessive (verb suffix)
 SURPrise (verb suffix)
 TAM tense, aspect and mood (verbal categories)
 VOCative (particle)

PUNCTUATION IN EXAMPLE SENTENCES

in Lavukaleve examples:

comma - non-final rise in pitch

fullstop - sentence-final drop in pitch

exclamation mark - prosodically prominent element inserted into intonation contour

question mark - question intonation

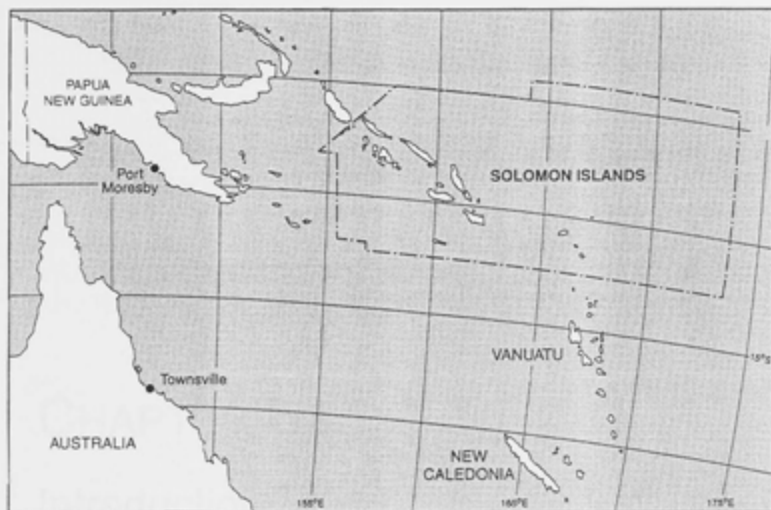
quote marks - direct speech

slash - pause with even pitch (only used where it is relevant to the point under discussion)

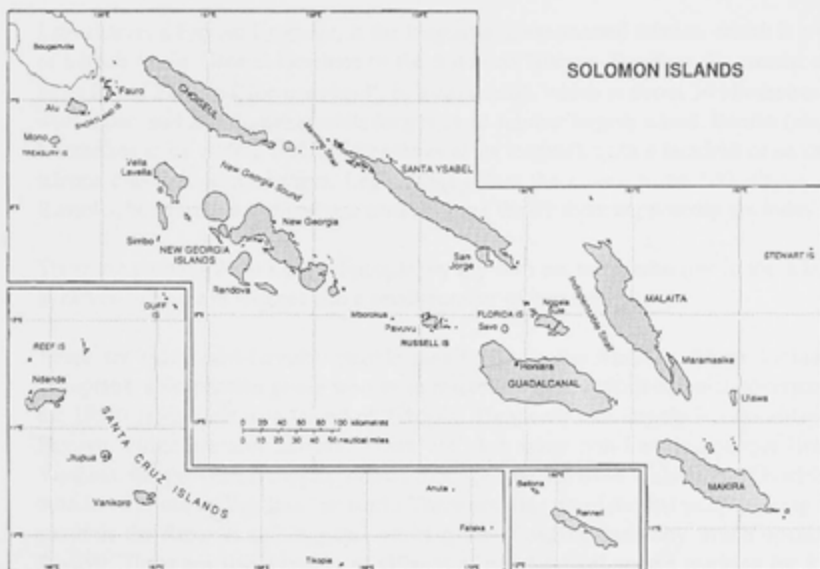
In glosses, the gender of a noun is given in brackets after the noun e.g. fish(m).

In glosses, only those verb prefix forms which distinguish between Subject, Object and/or Possessive are glossed as such. All 2nd person forms, and 1st person dual and plural, which do not distinguish these grammatical roles, are unmarked for these roles in glosses, even when their syntactic role is clear.

In translations, square brackets indicate explanatory material not actually present in the text. The letter/number codes at the ends of the translations refer to the exact place in the text from which the example was taken. Those beginning e1, e2 and e3 were either elicited or heard in conversation. Those beginning pr are from the translated prayer services. The rest are from spontaneous narrative texts.



Map 1: The Solomon Islands in the south-west Pacific



Map 2: The Solomon Islands

*I promise nothing complete;
because any human thing supposed
to be complete, must for that very
reason infallibly be faulty*
Herman Melville *Moby Dick*

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 LAVUKALEN AND LAVUKALS

Lavukaleve, a Papuan language, is the language of the Russell Islands, which is a group of islands in the Central Province of the Solomon Islands. The Russells consist of one large island Pavuvu ('the mainland', in local terms), which is about 34 kilometres at its widest part and 26 kilometres at its longest, and another largish island, Banika (about 14 kilometres at its widest, and 22 kilometres at its longest), with a hundred or so smaller islands clustered around them. Legend has it that there used to be 100 islands in the Russells, but during a cyclone one sank, leaving the 99 there supposedly are today.

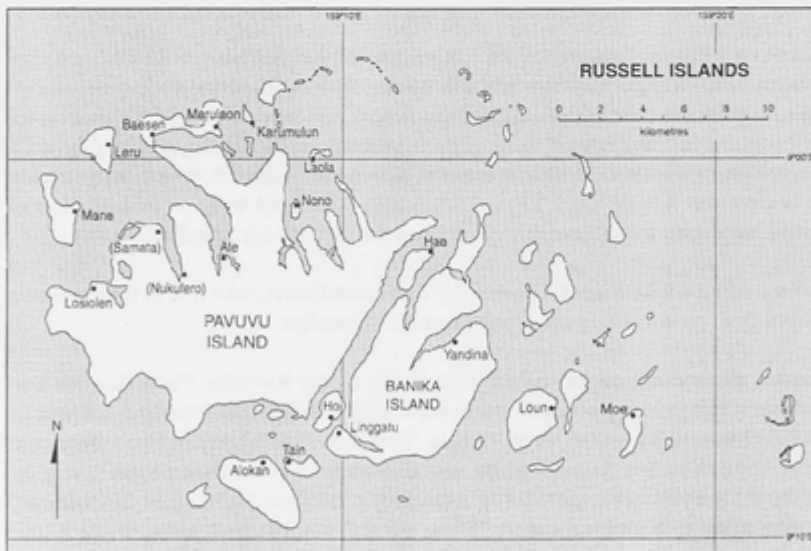
There are perhaps 2000 Lavukal people, by my own estimate, who live in these islands, in eleven or so main villages and a small number of hamlets.

There are many non-Lavukal people also living in the Russells. These include the Tikopians, a Polynesian group who were resettled by the British colonial government in the 1950s from their own island of Tikopia. They now live largely in two villages on Pavuvu: Nukufero and Samata. There are also many non-Lavukal people living in Yandina, the provincial capital. Mostly these people are from Malaita and Guadalcanal, who have come to Yandina for work. There are also non-Lavukal people living in the south of the Russells at Linggatu, working for a logging company which operates on Pavuvu. There are also a couple of villages of non-Lavukal people working for Russell Islands Plantation Estates Limited (RIPEL), a company that owns coconut and cocoa plantations and a small amount of cattle, mostly on Pavuvu. Apart from these areas, the only other non-Lavukal people in the Russells are those few who have married Lavukals and live in Lavukal villages.

There are comparatively few Lavukals working for RIPEL and living in Yandina or the other company centres, and very few Lavukals living outside the Russells. I know of a handful of Lavukal families living in Honiara. Almost all Lavukals live in the villages of the Russells.

These villages range in size from a handful of families to some hundreds of people. Most villages consist of a collection of houses, each with a separate kitchen, loosely organised around the central focal feature, the church. The people of the West Russells belong to the Church of Melanesia, an Anglican church; the East Russells are Catholic.

Most of the villages have been settled in recent times. Originally Lavukal people always lived on the largest island, Pavuvu, but when the British company Levers (now RIPEL) set up their plantations on Pavuvu in the early 1900s, they relocated the Russell people, largely against their people's will. They were resettled onto the smaller islands surrounding Pavuvu, and the struggle for the right to occupy Pavuvu continues today, and has been intensified by the operations of the logging company at Linggatu, in the south of Pavuvu. Nowadays most Lavukal villages are on the smaller islands.



According to my consultants, the Lavukal people are divided into four tribes: Keruval, Kaiselen, Solovui and Sevev. Black (1963: 13) also mentions two other tribes: Lakwil and Kakau, which were only known in Loun, and which appear to originate in Guadalcanal, a non-Lavukal island outside the Russells. I did not encounter these tribe

names. Black also says that Sevev is also a Guadalcanal tribe; my informants agree that Sevev is a new tribe, but they say it comes from Santa Isabel. These tribes are further divided into clans. A clan is a group of sisters of one mother, so there is no fixed number of them. A person belongs to the clan, and the tribe, of their mother. Clans too are named, with the name of a female ancestor. People must marry outside their clan, and preferably outside their tribe.

Each tribe has a chief, always a man. Chieftom is inherited through the clan line; the first-born son of the chiefly clan is chief of the tribe (my informants contradict Black (1963: 13), who says there is no chiefly line). The tribal chief administers control of the land and reef owned by the tribe.

Tribes are land-owning units. Different parts of the Russell Islands belong to different tribes. Members of each tribe are dispersed throughout the villages, but there is a preponderance of some tribes in some villages. Thus, people of the Keruval tribe mostly live in Karumulun, Kaiselen mostly live in Marulaon and Loun, Solovuï people mostly live in Laola and Hae, and Sevev are mostly in Ale.

There is also a village chief for each village. This is not a hereditary title; the chief, always a man, is elected (although my personal observation is that village chieftom does tend to run along father-son lines). The village chief has jurisdiction and responsibility over village matters.

Villages usually consist of a group of closely related families living together, usually with one nuclear family per house. Typically, a village is started up by a clan, usually consisting of two or more sisters and their families. Land is owned by women, passed through the matrilineal line, so women, as landowners, are the only ones who have a right to start a new village on previously unused land.

Lavukals live a subsistence agricultural and fishing lifestyle, growing kumara (sweet potato) as a staple food, and supplementing this with other vegetables and fish and seafood. Many people also earn a small amount of money by making copra (dried coconut flesh) from their coconut plantations, and selling it to RIPEL in Yandina. People spend their money mostly on tobacco, rice, tinned fish, clothes, kitchen utensils, petrol for motorised canoe transport, and school fees.

1.2 LAVUKALEVE

Lavukaleve is the name of the language of the Lavukal people, who belong to Lavukalen, the Russell Islands. These words are analysable: the name of the people consists of the stem *lavu* (the meaning of which is not known by Lavukals) with the plural suffix *-kal*. The language name consists of *lavukal*, the name of the people, together with the word *ve* 'pertaining to' (these are two separate words which have fused in this collocation) meaning 'pertaining to the Lavukals'. Lavukalen is *lavukal*,

again, with the Locative suffix *-n*¹; thus, 'the place of the Lavukals'. Lavukalen is the indigenous term for what is known in English as the Russell Islands.

In earlier literature, Lavukals and Lavukaleve are occasionally referred to as Laumbe. Capell (1969) says that Laumbe is the term used by people from Santa Isabel (see map of the Solomon Islands, page xxv) to refer to the Lavukals.

Lavukals divide their language into three main areas. The western area (actually north-western) consists of the main villages of Losiolen, Mane, Leru, Baesen, Marulaon, Karumulun, Ale, Nono and Laola. The central area consists of the village of Hae. The eastern (actually south-eastern) area consists of six main villages: Loun, Moe, Linggatu, Tain, Hoi and Alokán.

These three linguistic areas are characterised by different intonation patterns, all defined with respect to the language of the western area, which is considered by Lavukals of all three areas to be the real language, and the most conservative. The Hae language is characterised by a so-called sing-song intonation pattern. The speech of eastern Lavukals is said to be strong and harsh. The eastern areas have also had far more influence from Solomon Island Pijin and Guadalcanal languages through intermarriage, and there is substantial language mixing. There are no generally recognised lexical or grammatical differences between these language varieties, apart from those resulting from language mixing in the east.

1.3 LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

Lavukaleve is a Papuan language. The term Papuan is a cover term, used to refer to languages in northwestern Melanesia which are not Austronesian. Papuan languages as a group are a negatively-defined areal grouping, as opposed to Austronesian languages, which are a well-demonstrated genetic grouping. Most Papuan languages are spoken on mainland New Guinea; that is, in Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea. There are also Papuan languages in island New Guinea, including New Britain, New Ireland, reaching as far west as Timor and Alor, and as far east as the Solomon Islands.

1.3.1 LINGUISTIC PICTURE OF THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

Most of the languages of the Solomon Islands are Austronesian: there are around 63 Austronesian languages in the Solomon Islands (Tryon and Hackman 1983), and a handful of non-Austronesian, or Papuan languages. The classification of some of the languages of the Reef Islands and Santa Cruz has been the subject of some controversy, as to whether they are originally Austronesian, heavily influenced by Papuan languages, or whether they are in fact Papuan, heavily influenced by Austronesian languages (see

¹ Elsewhere in the language it is not possible to have a plural-suffixed noun with a Locative suffix.

e.g. Lincoln 1978, Wurm 1978; and Wurm 1982 for a brief overview).

The Austronesian languages of the Solomon Islands can be divided into three major genetic subgroups (Tryon and Hackman 1983: 49 ff.; Ross 1988): firstly North-West Solomonic, which includes all the Austronesian languages of the Solomon Islands from the north-west, down to just above the southern tip of Santa Isabel. North-West Solomonic is part of the Meso-Melanesian cluster and it also includes languages from Bougainville, New Ireland and so on, and is part of Western Oceanic. Secondly, there is South-East Solomonic, which includes everything from the southern tip of Santa Isabel down to Makira. This group is part of Eastern Oceanic. Thirdly, there are the Eastern Outer Islands languages, which are the Austronesian Santa Cruz languages.

The Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands which are still spoken are Lavukaleve, Bilua (spoken on Vella Lavella), Baniata (spoken on Rendova), Savosavo (spoken on Savo Island), and some of the languages of the Reef Islands/Santa Cruz, in the Eastern Outer Islands of Temotu Province (the other languages of Reef Islands/Santa Cruz are Polynesian). It is not clear whether these Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands form a family or not.

1.3.2 PREVIOUS CLASSIFICATIONS OF LAVUKALEVE

Codrington (1885) does not mention Lavukaleve in his vast compendium on the languages of Oceania. Ray (1928) is the first mention of Lavukaleve in print. Ray was the first to recognise Lavukaleve as a non-Austronesian language, and he classified it, together with Bilua, Baniata and Savosavo, as a non-Austronesian language of the Solomon Islands. Lanyon-Orgill (1953) noted its existence as one of the Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands, together with Savosavo, Bilua, Baniata and Kazukuru². He notes that there is little relationship between these languages; although he does make a claim for their genetic relatedness, and indeed makes a perhaps somewhat wild claim (considering the paucity of the data he was working with) for their relatedness to languages outside of the Solomon Islands:

A glance at the vocabulary shows little internal relationship between them, and in general it must be admitted that from this standpoint the only characteristic which they have in common is that their vocabulary is non-Melanesian. However, we are justified in believing them to be originally of one major stock for their syntax shows features not only common to the Papuan languages of the Melanesian islands, but also to the Papuan languages of New Guinea and the Louisiade Archipelago, and also, in a modified form, to the more archaic dialects of New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, and again – perhaps somewhat surprisingly – to the languages formerly spoken in Tasmania. (1953: 126)

² Lanyon-Orgill (1953: 124) says that there is a vocabulary of and grammatical notes on Lavukaleve among the Ivens papers in the Library of the School of Oriental Studies. I have not seen these.

Shortly after this, Capell said of Lavukaleve:

The language, generally referred to as Laumbe, is entirely unstudied, although it is known to be non-Austronesian. Its structure appears to be decidedly complicated. Dr. Fox, who has paid some attention to it³, mentions thirty-nine different ways of showing the plural of nouns. (Capell 1954: 85)

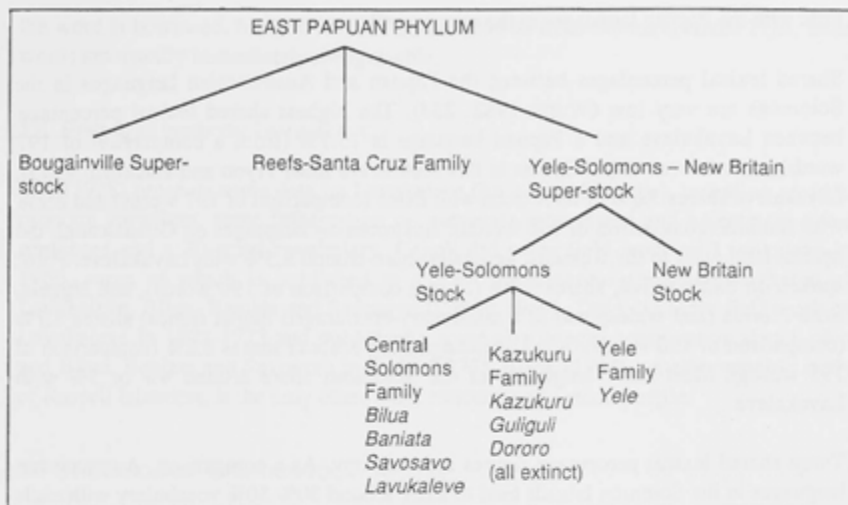
In a later work, Capell explicitly mentions Lavukaleve, Bilua, Baniata and Savosavo as the languages of the Western Solomons that are non-Austronesian, and also mentions the possibility of some of the Reef Islands and Santa Cruz languages as being non-Austronesian (Capell 1962: 371).

Greenberg (1971) follows these earlier analyses in making a claim for the genetic unity of the four languages Lavukaleve, Bilua, Baniata and Savosavo together as non-Austronesian, in his Indo-Pacific Hypothesis. Bilua, Baniata, Savo (Savosavo) and Laumbe (Lavukaleve) "seem to constitute another subgroup" (p. 816): the central Solomon languages. Together with the languages of Reef Islands/Santa Cruz, they form his Central Melanesian group. Note, however, that his evidence rests solely on the basis of comparison of pronouns and 52 lexical items.

Wurm (1972) proposed the East Papuan Phylum, which was revised in Wurm (1975), and more recently stated in Wurm (1982). The proposal is made mostly on the basis of typological features, such as the existence in these languages of genders, a dual number category, an inclusive/exclusive distinction in 1st person non-singular pronouns, four places for stops and nasals, and so on.

Wurm's East Papuan Phylum includes the area from the north-east and east of mainland PNG onwards: New Britain, Rossel Island, across the Solomon Islands as far as the Reef Islands-Santa Cruz Archipelago. The East Papuan Phylum has three main parts: Bougainville, Reef Islands/Santa Cruz, and Central Solomons-Yele – New Britain. Within Central Solomons-Yele, there are three parts: Central Solomons, the extinct Kazukuru family, formerly spoken on New Georgia in the Solomon Islands, and Yele. The following tree shows Wurm's (1982) proposal:

³ Unfortunately it has not been possible to trace the data on which Fox based this comment; or indeed, to find the source of Capell's comment.



Todd (1975) attempts to formalise the proposal of a genetic relationship between Lavukaleve, Bilua, Savosavo and Baniata, by means of comparison of morphological forms in the four languages. Todd used her own data for the classification, which was far more extensive than the data used by Greenberg and Wurm. She tentatively subgroups Savosavo and Bilua more closely together than Lavukaleve and Baniata, and she also suggests that Yele (Rossel Island) may be part of the same family, based on independent pronoun paradigms, possessive prefixes, noun number suffixes and vocabulary.

If Lavukaleve does have any relatives, these other three Solomon Islands Papuan languages, Savosavo, Bilua, and Baniata are the strongest candidates. However they are structurally very different to Lavukaleve, and indeed to each other, and a genetic relationship may be difficult to demonstrate. As Capell notes, "These languages [Bilua, Baniata, Kazukuru, Lavukaleve and Savosavo] share some common vocabulary, but it is small, and they are more outstanding for their differences not only from [Austronesian languages] but amongst themselves" (1969: 2).

Todd's work is suggestive, but far more work needs to be done on basic grammatical description of these languages before any firm conclusions about their past are possible. This grammar, as well as that of Obata (in prep.) on Bilua, is a step in this direction.

1.3.3 MORE RECENT CONTACT

Lavukaleve has long been surrounded by Austronesian languages, but Tryon and Hackman's (1983) counts of shared lexical items in languages of the Solomon Islands show that it shares comparatively little of their vocabulary; and indeed comparatively

little with the Papuan languages in the area as well.

Shared lexical percentages between the Papuan and Austronesian languages in the Solomons are very low (Wurm 1982: 234). The highest shared lexical percentage between Lavukaleve and a Papuan language is 13.7% (from a comparison of 197 words), with Savosavo (all figures in this section are from Tryon and Hackman 1983). Lavukaleve shares 7.6% of its lexicon with Bilua (comparison of 197 words) and 8.2% with Baniata (comparison of 195 words). Austronesian languages on Guadalcanal, the nearest land mass to the Russells, generally share around 8.5% with Lavukaleve. Poro, spoken on Santa Isabel, shares 8.9% (from a comparison of 190 words), and Nggela, from Florida (and widespread as a missionary-encouraged lingua franca) shares 8.7% (comparison of 196 words), and Langalanga from Malaita shares 8.2% (comparison of 195 words). Most other languages of the Solomons share around 4% or 5% with Lavukaleve.

These shared lexical percentage figures are very low. As a comparison, Austronesian languages in the Solomon Islands tend to share around 30%-50% vocabulary with each other. Lavukaleve shares at most 10.8% with any other Austronesian language (Paripao, a Lengo language from north-east Guadalcanal).

Thorough comparison of Lavukaleve's grammar with the grammars of nearby Austronesian languages is necessary to determine whether, and what kind of, linguistic borrowing has taken place between them. This thesis is merely the first step in this process.

In various places throughout this thesis, some comparison is made to various Austronesian languages, usually where there is a strikingly similar grammatical pattern to something in Austronesian languages, or evidence of Austronesian loan words in a particular area of Lavukaleve grammar. The Russell Islands are surrounded on three sides by islands with Austronesian-speaking people. Lavukaleve stories tell of a long history of contact between the people of New Georgia, Santa Isabel and Guadalcanal and the Russells. For this reason, I generally make comparisons with Austronesian languages from those areas. Because of the scarcity of linguistic data from many of these areas, I make most reference to Tolo, a language from south-east Guadalcanal, which has a dictionary and grammatical sketch (Smith Crowley 1986); Cheke Holo, a Santa Isabel language with a dictionary and grammatical sketch (White 1988); and Roviana, a New Georgia language, again with a dictionary and grammatical sketch (Whitehead 1949). I also have recourse to Proto Oceanic reconstructions, especially from Ross, Pawley and Osmond (1998).

It is of course far easier to show that a word is Austronesian in origin, than to show exactly which language Lavukaleve borrowed the word from. When I refer to a word from a particular Austronesian language, I am not making a claim that that was the language from which the word was borrowed into Lavukaleve; I am just showing that

the word is borrowed. Many words are also borrowed from Solomon Island Pijin; these words are usually immediately recognisable.

1.4 PREVIOUS WORK ON LAVUKALEVE

Ray (1928) presents some data on Lavukaleve (he calls it Laumbe), including a partial pronoun paradigm, some information on numerals, possession and adjectives, a few sentences and a 30-word vocabulary. Capell did some field work on Lavukaleve in 1960, some of which is published in a brief comparative grammatical sketch of Lavukaleve, Bilua, Baniata and Savosavo (Capell 1969). Todd did more field work on Lavukaleve in 1972-1973 and published a somewhat longer comparative sketch of it and Bilua, Baniata and Savosavo in Todd (1975). Black (1963), an ethnographic study of Russell Islanders, is the only other work concerning Lavukaleve.

1.5 THE LANGUAGE SITUATION TODAY

In 1954, Capell said of Lavukaleve: "It is spoken only by some 250 people, but a record should be made of it before it is swamped by Bugotu. There is no doubt that this is what will ultimately happen" (Capell 1954: 85).

This prediction is based on the fact that Bugotu was for some time the lingua franca of the Melanesian Mission in Santa Isabel and the Russells (Capell 1954: 84), and, given the small number of speakers Capell found, his prediction was reasonable. However things have not developed as he expected. The influence of Bugotu has declined, to the extent that no Lavukaleve I know speaks it. At the same time, the Solomon Islands has experienced a population explosion; with a growth rate of 3.5% (Solomon Islands National Literacy Committee 1992), the Solomon Islands has more people now than it ever has had. And until recently, this expanded population has been in the villages, living the traditional lifestyle and speaking vernacular languages. Lavukaleve has more speakers now than it has ever had.

However, even though the Lavukaleve population has grown, Lavukaleve itself is seriously threatened, but the threat comes not from Bugotu but from Pijin and English. Solomon Island Pijin, the lingua franca for the whole country, has a strong influence in the Russells. All radio broadcasts are in Pijin or English. The language of the church (both Anglican and Catholic) is mostly English, although there are some Anglican church services in Lavukaleve (Church of England in New Zealand 1951, c.1973, and Church of England in Melanesia 1975), and translation of more liturgies is in progress. School is conducted in English and Pijin. Apart from the Church of Melanesia orders of service, there are currently no reading materials available to Lavukaleve people, written in Lavukaleve. The languages of the outside world are Pijin and English. Even though Lavukaleve is the first language for most Lavukaleves, most people, especially younger people, are also fluent in Pijin. In the West Russells, people live a very traditional

lifestyle and have little access to town and outside influences, and all children grow up learning Lavukaleve as their first language. In the East Russells however, an area much closer to Yandina both geographically and socially, Pijin is slowly taking over, and many families do not speak Lavukaleve to their children. As a result, many of the families I talked to in the East Russells have children who cannot speak Lavukaleve.

This situation of people preferring to use the language of the outside world rather than their vernacular language is a story familiar from all over the world. For the Lavukals, the situation will probably get worse as more people move to town to access outside resources. Experience already shows that when this happens, Lavukaleve may quickly be lost.

1.6 THE NATURE OF THE DATA USED IN THIS THESIS

The data used in this thesis was collected by me, during three field trips taken between 1995 and 1998. A total of ten months was spent in the field. I lived in Mane Village, in the family of Patterson Barua, the chief of the Keruval tribe. It was not chance that led me to this village of all the Russells villages. The West Russells is acknowledged by Lavukals to have the best language speakers, who do not mix their language with Pijin, so it was deemed most suitable for me to learn Lavukaleve in the West. Mane was chosen because Patterson, as well as being a very important man, and therefore an appropriate person to look after a foreigner and teach me the language, is also engaged in translating the prayer book of the Anglican Church of Melanesia into Lavukaleve.

Most of my data consists of recorded stories, told by people from most of the villages of the West Russells. I have about 60 such stories, in total around eight hours of speech. The stories are traditional stories of the Lavukal people (for instance, origin myths, many stories about giants and magical old ladies, stories about magical animals and so on), life histories, stories about particular experiences (for instance getting married, an exciting fishing adventure), history stories (for instance earthquakes and cyclones and how various villages were started, how the Christian church came to the Russells), and procedural texts explaining to me how to do things (for instance how to weave mats, how to make traditional pudding, how to go kite-fishing).

Most of the stories in my corpus are told by men; it is very difficult for women to overcome their shyness of the recording machine; but as people got to know me better, I got more and more stories by women. The stories by women are all told by personal friends in villages where I have spent some considerable time. In villages where I only visited for a few days, I usually only got stories by men. The speakers range in age from late teens to their seventies.

The stories were narrated as monologues, into the tape recorder, with me and usually Patterson present, and, often, with a group of interested listeners also. Most people were very nervous of the tape recorder, and a couple of people wrote their stories down first,

then read them into the machine. These stories were not used for anything involving intonation.

The corpus also consists of some thousands of sentences written down by me, either elicited, or heard in conversation, or explicitly taught to me. There is also Patterson's translation of parts of the prayer book of the Church of Melanesia.

All the stories were transcribed by Patterson and me, and have been checked at least three times. Elicited sentences also were checked when they were written down. Patterson's prayer service translations have been checked extensively by him, and also by both of us together.

Patterson acted as my main linguistic informant. We spoke Solomon Pijin for work sessions. I was taught to speak Lavukaleve by everyone I interacted with, which was mostly Patterson and his wife Monica, my neighbour Emily, my friend Marion, as well as most of the Mane children. Most of my interaction in the village was conducted in Pijin initially, moving more to Lavukaleve as I learnt more. I am at best only a partial speaker at this stage.

Most of my time was spent in Mane village, but I also stayed in most of the other villages of the West Russells and collected data from nearly all of them. I have visited some of the Eastern villages; notably Loun and Alokun, but I have no data from there. For logistical reasons of transport difficulties, and also for political reasons to do with my affiliation with Patterson's faction, I was able to spend very little time in the East. For these reasons, my corpus consists entirely of the speech variety of the West Russells.

1.7 TYPOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF LAVUKALEVE

Lavukaleve has a medium-sized consonant phoneme inventory, with three places of articulation for stops (b, t, k) and nasals (m, n, ng). There is a marginal voicing distinction, in the two bilabial stops (p, b) and the two alveolar stops (t, d), but this distinction pertains mostly to loan words. There are three fricative phonemes (f, s, h), two approximants: a voiced velar approximant (g) and an unrounded bilabial approximant (v), and one rhotic and one lateral. There is a five-vowel system (i, e, a, o, u). Unusually for the region⁴ there is no contrasting series of oral versus prenasalised stops (although prenasalised allophones of the voiced stops do exist). Syllables can be open or closed, and consonant clusters consisting of two consonants, as well as unlimited vowel sequences, occur frequently. Stress is unpredictable, although it most commonly falls on the initial syllable of a word.

There are two major word classes in Lavukaleve: nouns and verbs. There are also a

⁴ All references in this section to typical Papuan and Oceanic patterns are from Lynch (1998).

large number of minor classes, including adjectives, demonstratives, pronouns, focus markers, postpositions, conjunctions, the Habitual Auxiliary, locationals, demonstrative identifiers and verb adjuncts. There is a definite article, unlike in almost all Papuan languages. It is marked for gender and number, and is the final member of a noun phrase. Many of the Oceanic languages of the Solomon Islands have definite articles, but they precede, rather than follow, their noun.

Nouns are divided into three genders. This is a feature common in languages of the East Papuan Phylum, and rare in Oceanic languages. Gender in Lavukaleve is marked in agreement forms on all noun modifiers, and on verbs through participant marking prefixes and suffixes. Gender distinctions are maintained in singular and dual forms throughout all areas of the language, but are collapsed in the plural. Nouns are overtly marked for number, and the methods of marking number are highly complex and irregular. There are up to 80 different ways of creating dual and plural forms of nouns. Plural formation depends largely on phonological and semantic criteria, and also bears some relationship to gender. Dual formation operates on different principles, largely depending on the phonological shape of the singular noun. There is case marking for three spatial/relational cases, but these have a low functional load. Possession is marked by a prefix on the possessed noun. Types of possession are undifferentiated, as in most Papuan languages, as opposed to Oceanic languages, in which possession is frequently a very complex area. In Oceanic languages, possessive affixes are frequently the same as object affixes; in Lavukaleve, all but one are identical to subject affixes. Like in most Papuan languages, but unlike in Oceanic languages, all modifiers follow their head noun.

Deictics are a highly elaborated feature of Lavukaleve. There are personal pronouns for 1st and 2nd persons, but not for 3rd person. The functional domain of personal pronouns in the 3rd person is filled instead by a demonstrative modifier, and two demonstrative pronouns, all three of which are marked for gender, number and three degrees of distance from the speaker, with a further distinction made in the distal category between specific and non-specific location. The two demonstrative pronouns differ solely in terms of their discourse pragmatics. One is used for a referent which is uppermost in the minds of speaker and addressee. The other is used for a referent who was referred to previously but who is not the last referent to have been mentioned. This demonstrative is used to switch attention between more than one referent in a discourse. The demonstrative modifier and this demonstrative pronoun, along with various other spatial deictics, have derived presentative forms, and also derived predicative forms. There is also a set of demonstrative identifiers which occur in a similar functional domain to the deictic predicates.

Verbs are the most morphologically complex of Lavukaleve words. Person, gender, number and syntactic role (subject and object) are marked by two prefix slots, and suffixes mark tense, aspect, mood and derivational categories such as causative, reciprocal, locativisation, nominalisation, intransitivisation, and intensity. There are also

three categories of subordination, as well as other categories including negation and extendedness, which can be marked by verbal suffixes. Verbs can also take a suffix to mark the gender and number of one participant. This gender/number marking is used to mark the subject of stative/resultative intransitive verbs (as opposed to active intransitive verbs which use a verbal subject prefix to cross-reference their subject), and also on the verbs of relative clauses and focus constructions.

Complex predicates are extremely common, and consist of verb-plus-auxiliary structures, serial verb constructions, and, to a much lesser extent, verb-adjunct combinations. Serial verb constructions are common in both Papuan and Oceanic languages, and adjunct constructions are well known in Papuan languages. Lavukaleve however does not make extensive use of either, preferring separate clauses for combining predicates and other expressions in general for common collocations.

Like many Papuan languages, one of the methods Lavukaleve uses to combine predicates is clause chaining. There are three verbal suffixes used in clause chains, which indicate the temporal relationship of the chained clause to the following clause. However, unusually for a language which has clause chaining, there is no switch-reference marking, and indeed there are no restrictions on argument sharing between chained clauses. Subordination is also a very frequent method of clause combining, and there are a few different semantic types of subordinate clauses. While in almost all areas of its morpho-syntax Lavukaleve is a nominative/accusative language, adverbial subordinate clauses involve a split-ergative marking system in which first and second person subjects follow a nominative/accusative participant marking system whereas third person subjects follow an ergative/absolutive marking system. Relative clauses are internally-headed; their heads are syntactically part of the relative clause, not the main clause.

Constituent order in Lavukaleve is fixed: SV/AOV. Departures from this norm are rare; an argument which is an afterthought can be postposed. Preposing and postposing for emphasis do not occur in Lavukaleve; these pragmatic functions are carried out instead by focus constructions.

Focus is a central part of Lavukaleve morpho-syntax. It is heavily grammaticalised into clause structure, and extremely frequent in discourse. Roughly one third of all clauses have some kind of grammatical focus construction. Any constituent can be focussed, including NPs, postpositional phrases and other nominal adjuncts, adverbs, predicates (either just a verb, or a verb with its object), subordinate clauses, the lexical part of a complex predicate, or indeed whole sentences. There are two different kinds of syntactic focus construction, one with the verb in a special form, used to mark focus on predicates (verb plus object) or whole sentences, and one without this special verb form, used for focussing on arguments, adjuncts and non-main verbal forms. In both construction types, focus is marked by special particles, which occur immediately after the focussed constituent and show agreement in person, gender and number. The scope

of the focus is indicated by the agreement of the focus marker. There are three separate focus markers, which differ in terms of the sentence type with which they occur. One is used only in polar questions; one in content questions and environments expressing particular kinds of emphasis; the third is used elsewhere.

There is a deep relationship between deictics and focus markers involving, among other things, a system of alliterative discord, a type of agreement system in which the form of a deictic in a focus construction requires the form of the focus marker to disagree with it in its initial consonant.

Focus marking and deictics are the most highly elaborated areas of Lavukaleve morpho-syntax, and indeed the largest chapters of this description are devoted to these. In these areas Lavukaleve finds grammatical expression of discourse-pragmatic domains of focus, emphasis and activation. Indeed, as is clear from the description to follow, it is not possible to explicate the basic morpho-syntax of Lavukaleve without making constant reference to these pragmatic domains.

CHAPTER TWO

Phonology and morphophonology

2.1 INTRODUCTION

A classical phonemic analysis works well for a description of Lavukaleve phonology. This chapter describes Lavukaleve sounds in terms of phonemes and their allophones. The chapter contains an inventory of the phonemes, followed by a description of their major allophones and their phonetic realisations. The phonological structure of words is described, followed by an analysis of stress rules. Intonation is dealt with briefly, in the final section of the phonological description. The following section of the chapter discusses the few morphophonemic processes in the language. After this is a discussion of orthographic issues.

2.2 THE PHONEMES

The phoneme inventory of Lavukaleve consists of fifteen consonants and five vowels. The consonants and vowels are set out in the following sections:

2.2.1 CONSONANTS

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	(p)		t	k	
voiced stop	b		(d)		
nasal	m		n	ŋ	
liquid			r l		
fricative		f	s		h
approximant	β			ɰ	

Phonemes in brackets are marginal phonemes in Lavukaleve; their distribution is discussed in Section 2.3.1 below.

2.2.2 VOWELS

	front	back
high	i	u
mid	e	o
low	a	

2.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE PHONEMES

This section presents a list of the phonemes with their major allophones and phonetic realisations, with examples of each.

2.3.1 STOPS

Stops include the voiceless series /p/, /t/, /k/ and voiced /b/ and /d/. Both /p/ and /d/ are rare phonemes, occurring in few words, a large proportion of which are, in each case, obviously recent loan words. They are considered to be phonemes of Lavukaleve because they are in contrastive distribution with other phonemes.

All stops can occur syllable-initially, but only /t/ and /k/ can occur syllable-finally (see Section 2.6 below).

- /p/ voiceless aspirated bilabial stop
-> [p^h]

This phoneme is rare; it occurs in only 14 words in the entire corpus, including six

which are obvious recent loans from Pijin. There are no minimal pairs between this phoneme and the closest other phoneme /b/; but there are sub-minimal pairs (see Section 2.4 below). They are consistently pronounced differently from each other. In addition, speakers clearly see them as different; the two sounds are always written differently by native speakers. These reasons are enough to distinguish /p/ and /b/ as separate phonemes.

examples:

hapilo ¹	[ˈhap ^h i.lo]	'wow!'
para	[ˈp ^h ara]	'larrikin'
sosopen	[ˈsoso.p ^h en]	'pot' (loan from Pijin)
sepul	[ˈsep ^h ul]	'snatch'

- /t/ voiceless aspirated alveolar stop

-> [t^h] ~ [t] / #_

-> [t] elsewhere

This phoneme is sometimes unaspirated when word-initial. This is particularly the case with certain words. For example the exclamation **tumai** 'really!' is almost always pronounced with unaspirated [t].

examples:

tata	[ˈt ^h at ^h a]	'spider'
keut	[ˈk ^h eut ^h]	'skin'

- /k/ voiceless aspirated velar stop

-> [k^h]

examples:

kariala	[ˈk ^h ariala]	'easily'
telako	[ˈt ^h elak ^h o]	'one'
fa'luk	[faˈluk ^h]	'cabbage'

¹ The first column in this and similar charts throughout this chapter is in the orthography described in Section 2.12 below.

- /b/ voiced bilabial stop

-> [ᵐb] ~ [b] / V-V

-> [b] elsewhere

This phoneme is often prenasalised intervocalically.

examples:

ho'bea	[ho'bea] ~ [hoᵐbea]	'good'
baere	[ᵐbaere]	'tell a story'

- /d/ voiced alveolar stop

-> [ᵐd] ~ [d] / V-V

-> [d] elsewhere

Like the other voiced stop /b/, /d/ is often prenasalised between vowels. The phoneme /d/ is very rare; it appears in only 13 words in the corpus, three of which are obvious recent loans from Pijin. The words are:

daeva	'goggles' (cf. Pijin daeva)
dis	'bowl' (cf. Pijin dis)
redio	'radio' (cf. Pijin redio)
dia-ria	'where?'
diahi-riahi	'where to?'
doi-roi	'which?'
daine-raine	'tomorrow'
dokulu	'iron bar'
dom	'one' (used for counting)
midua	'bee'
pi'pido	'common screw shell'
de	'here!' (Presentational particle)
hide	'thus'

It is considered a phoneme because there are minimal pairs contrasting /d/ and the closest phonemes to it, /t/ and /r/ (see below, Section 2.4). It does occur in function words, for example question words **doi** 'which'; **dia** 'where'; however in these words it freely alternates with /r/. This alternation between /r/ and /d/ is lexically constrained; it only occurs in a small group of question and time words, and never in any other words containing /r/ or /d/. The alternation between /r/ and /d/ is discussed in Section 2.10 below.

examples:

dokulu	[ˈdɔkʰulu]	'iron'
hide	[ˈhiˀde]	'thus'
midua	[ˈmiˀdua]	'bee'

2.3.2 NASALS

There are three nasal phonemes in Lavukaleve: /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/. Nasal phonemes in Lavukaleve do not have any obvious allophonic variation. Nasals, like stops, can all occur syllable-initially, but unlike some stops, they can also all occur syllable-finally.

- /m/ bilabial nasal

-> [m]

examples:

marigen	[ˈmari.ŋen]	'yesterday'
lamukas	[ˈlamu.kʰas]	'thousand'
houm	[ˈhoum]	'dolphin'

- /n/ alveolar nasal

-> [n]

examples:

nun	[ˈnun]	'four'
tina	[ˈtʰina]	'body'

- /ŋ/ velar nasal

-> [ŋ]

examples:

nganga	[ˈŋaŋa]	'river'
kanongam	[ˈkʰanoŋam]	'ten'
sing	[siŋ]	'womb'

2.3.3 LIQUIDS

There are two liquid phonemes in Lavukaleve; a rhotic trill /r/ and a lateral /l/. Like

nasals, liquids can occur syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

- /r/ alveolar trill
-> [r] ~ [r̥] ~ [ɹ] in free variation

This phoneme is usually pronounced as a trill, but can also be pronounced a single tap or, more rarely, a continuant, in all environments.

examples:

ravu	[ˈraβu] ~ [ˈɹaβu]	'blood'
iire	[ˈiire] ~ [ˈiiɛ]	'yes'
fo'for	[fo'for]	'fly'

- /l/ alveolar lateral
-> [l]

examples:

le'laol	[le'laol]	'two (f)'
vala	[ˈβala]	'stomach'
feil	[ˈfeil]	'bow'

2.3.4 FRICATIVES

There are three fricative phonemes in Lavukaleve: /f/, /s/ and /h/. All three fricatives can occur syllable-initially, but only /f/ and /s/ can occur syllable-finally.

- /f/ labiodental fricative
-> [f]

examples:

feman	[ˈfeman]	'shark'
lafi	[ˈlafi]	'water'
lefalef	[ˈlefalef]	'basket'

- /s/ alveolar fricative
-> [s]

examples:

sie	[ˈsie]	'five'
vi'visa	[βi'βisa]	'flower'
toto'as	[tʰotʰo'as]	'cloud'

- /h/ glottal fricative
-> [h]

examples:

hano	[ˈhano]	'then'
lahavarae	[ˈlahaβarae]	'troubled'

2.3.5 APPROXIMANTS

There are two approximants in Lavukaleve: /β/ and /ɥ/. They can occur both syllable-finally and syllable-initially.

- /β/ voiced unrounded bilabial approximant

The symbol /β/ is used in this description to represent a voiced unrounded bilabial approximant. This phoneme is pronounced with the lips spread, not rounded. There is a fricative variant which can occur in any position, but it is relatively uncommon. The symbol /β/ normally refers to a bilabial fricative. The International Phonetics Association has no symbol for the bilabial approximant, probably because the bilabial approximant and bilabial fricative are not distinguished phonemically in known languages of the world. However it is customary to use the /β/ symbol to represent the bilabial approximant in the languages in which it occurs (International Phonetics Association 1999: 9), as has been done here.

examples:

vatu	[ˈβatʰu]	'head'
sava	[ˈsaβa]	'nine'
ma'ruiv	[ma'ruivβ]	'wing'

- /ɥ/ velar approximant
-> [g] ~ [ɥ] / -#
-> [ɥ] ~ [ɣ] ~ [g] elsewhere

The fricative and stop variants /ɣ/ and /g/ of this phoneme are extremely rare. Almost always there is no obstruction; the [u] allophone of this phoneme has the widest distribution and is by far the most common of the three allophones.

examples:

gonu	[ˈuɔnu]	'turtle'
vuguru	[ˈβuɔu.ru]	'back'
na'nug	[naˈnuɔ]	'thought'

2.3.6 VOWELS

Lavukaleve has a basic five-vowel system, with phonemes /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/. There is no contrastive vowel length; long vowels are analysed as identical-vowel sequences (see below, Section 2.5).

- /i/ high front vowel
 - > [i] – [ɪ] / unstressed syllables
 - > [i] elsewhere

examples:

ila	[ˈila]	'fishing net'
bilibili	[ˈbilibili]	'hornbill'

- /e/ close-mid vowel
 - > [e]

examples:

enga	[ˈeŋa]	'three'
sie	[ˈsie]	'five'
legis	[ˈleɣis]	'leaf'

- /a/ low central vowel
 - > [a]

examples:

ara	[ˈara]	'ground'
sava	[ˈsaβa]	'nine'

- /o/ mid back vowel

-> [o] ~ [ɔ]

examples:

oa	[ˈoa]	'six'
lomo	[ˈlomo]	'beard'

- /u/ high back vowel

-> [ɔ] / m-

-> [u] elsewhere

This vowel drops in height considerably after /m/. It is often impossible to distinguish /o/ and /u/ after /m/, although native speakers always know which vowel phoneme it is (in terms of being able to spell the word consistently with either /o/ or /u/).

examples:

urio	[ˈurio]	'crab'
vuguru	[ˈβuuɟu.ru]	'back'
lalamu	[ˈlalamɔ]	'morning'

For convenience, the rest of this chapter, and thesis, will use the orthographic conventions as set out in Section 2.12 below except where forms are quoted inside square brackets.

2.4 MINIMAL CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE PHONEMES

This section shows minimal or near-minimal pairs involving phonetically close phonemes.

2.4.1 CONSONANTS

	INITIAL	MEDIAL
p : b	para 'larrikin' baere 'talk'	tapalav 'white people' raba 'rubber thong'
b : v	baisa 'let's go-GROUP' vaisa 'sister'	-ba 'Durative Imperative plural' -va 'Punctual Imperative singular'

b : f	bei 'shellfish sp.' fei 'scrape'	natukoba 'wall post' kofa 'naked'
b : m	bunu 'big house' munu 'k.o.leaf'	sabo 'clear garden' tamu 'no'
v : p	vilu 'exceed' piru 'bowline'	sevo 'tabu, don't' sepul 'snatch'
p : f	piru 'bowline' finu 'belongings'	sepul 'snatch' tefutefur 'splash'
f : v	fe 'foot' ve 'go'	tafe 'shelf' tave 'be not'
t : d	toi 'help' doi 'where?'	sita 'fifth' hide 'thus'
d : r	de 'here!' re 'say'	hide 'thus' iire 'yes'
r : l	re 'say' le 'day'	ere 'front of canoe' ele 'see it'
d : l	de 'here!' le 'day'	midua 'bee' lua 'place name'
g : k	gu 'wave' ku 'like, similar to'	agu 'crossbeam' aku 'like'
k : h	hae 'point' kae 'put sth up'	buhual 'thunder' buku 'conch'

2.4.2 VOWELS

a : e : i	la 'feminine singular definite article' le 'day' li 'build'
o : u	ro 'one (feminine singular)' ru 'big (feminine singular)'

2.5 VOWEL SEQUENCES

Rules of syllable structure are such that very often vowels occur in sequences of two, three, four or more. These vowels are analysed here as vowel sequences, not diphthongs, on phonetic grounds, and on theoretical grounds.

Vowels in non-identical sequences always involve two prosodic peaks, not one, and it is not the case that of the vowels in a sequence, one has more prosodic prominence than the other; all vowels of a vowel sequence are given equal weight (except if one of them is stressed).

In addition, stress is a syllabic phenomenon, and the fact that vowels of a non-identical vowel sequence are syllables, not diphthongs, is shown by the fact that in a vowel sequence it is common for one to receive stress, and not another. For example:

o.'as 'bush'
'**o.a** 'six'

All but one of the possible combinations of two-vowel sequences have been found:

AA taalea 'shellfish sp.'	AE baere 'talk'	AI lai 'rain'	AO gao 'war canoe'	AU tau 'limb'
EA hobea 'good'	EE see 'be full'	EI nei 'coconut'	EO neo 'tooth'	EU feu 'go up'
IA fia 'lightning'	IE sie 'five'	II iire 'yes'	IO ku'kunio 'knee'	IU kiu 'die'
OA soa 'seven'	OE toe 'branch'	OI toi 'help'	OO sooso 'neck'	OU houm 'dolphin'
UA kua 'moon'	UE -	UI kui 'sun'	UO mutuo 'behind'	UU luulu 'straight'

The absence of the /ue/ sequence may be accidental. On the other hand, there is a morphophonemic rule which operates to change the Nominaliser suffix -e to -i after a stem-final -u (see Section 2.9 below). The fact that there are no vowel sequences involving /ue/ may indicate that this morphophonemic rule is in fact a more general

phonological rule which operates to change all /ue/ sequence into /ui/ sequences, regardless of morpheme boundaries. There are no other suffixes involving initial /e/ or prefixes with final /u/.

2.5.1 IDENTICAL VOWEL SEQUENCES OR LONG VOWELS?

Note that the examples above indicate identical-vowel sequences involving all five vowels as well. These have been analysed as identical vowel sequences rather than long vowels for three reasons. Firstly, they are relatively uncommon; if any or all of them are long vowel phonemes, they would have an extremely low functional load. Secondly, there is a full set of non-identical vowel sequences in Lavukaleve; analysing these too as vowel sequences enables the generalisation that V-V combinations are possible with all vowels (with the possible exception, of course, of /ue/). Thirdly, positing identical-vowel sequences rather than long vowels enables simpler more powerful phonotactic rules with respect to syllable structures involving vowel sequences.

The problem of distinguishing identical vowel sequences from stressed syllables is discussed in Section 2.7.3 below.

2.6 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Lavukaleve allows consonant clusters at syllable boundaries, and allows unrestricted vowel clusters (except for /ue/, discussed above). Syllables are of the following structure:

$$\sigma \quad \rightarrow \quad (C_1) V (C_2)$$

C_1 is any consonant.

C_2 is any of the following consonants: t, k, l, r, m, n, ŋ, s, f, v, g

That is, a syllable can begin with any vowel or any consonant; and a syllable can end with any vowel or any consonant except p, d, b, and h.

In practice, closed syllables are far more common word-finally than word-internally. In fact almost all word-internal closed syllables occur in words which are formally reduplicated, e.g. **tamtam** 'reef', **kelkel** 'dugong', **funfun** 'firefly' (note that there are no words of the form ***tam**, ***kel** or ***fun** in the language today). There are however also rare examples of word-internal closed syllables not in formally reduplicated words, e.g. **an'kav** 'pumice', so it is not possible to account for internal closed syllables by a historical reduplication rule. Word-final closed syllables are far more common. Evidence from noun plural formation strategies (Section 5.6) suggests that there has been a historical process of word-final vowel loss, which would account for the development of these word-final closed syllables.

Many words consist only of vowels. Lavukaleve allows long sequences of vowels. A sentence example is **ngai ui eua** 'I (f) eat food' (1sg food(n) 3sgnO-eat-sgf).

A word can in principle consist of any number of syllables:

W -> σ^*

Monosyllabic roots are common. The longest root found is of six syllables: **manogirigiri** 'seagull sp.'. Most roots consist of two or three syllables. All verb roots are vowel-final.

2.7 STRESS

Stress is realised as a slightly louder and lengthened syllable. Stress assignment is partly fixed and partly lexically assigned. Most words have stress on their initial syllable. A very small proportion of words (something around 0.05% in the corpus) has stress on their second syllable. Of these, many are old reduplications of the form $C_\alpha V_\beta C_\alpha V_\beta X(X\dots)$; that is, the word looks as if its first CV syllable has been reduplicated. Others are obvious recent loan words which retain the stress pattern of the original word. For the rest, there is no obvious formal reason for the non-initial stress. It appears simply to be a property of these words. A very few words have stress on their third syllable. Those phenomena relating to mono-morphemic words will be exemplified first. Stress patterns in morphologically complex words will be described after this.

2.7.1 STRESS IN MONO-MORPHEMIC WORDS

- Most words have stress on the initial syllable. In particular almost all CVCV words (including all CVCV nouns) are stressed on the initial syllable. For example:

'tata	'spider'
'piru	'bowline'

but note also:

ka'so	'not know'
-------	------------

- Many two-syllable words of the form CVCVC have stress on the second syllable:

ni'kol	'first'
fa'luk	'cabbage'
fo'sal	'fish'

This is not always the case however:

'legis	'leaf'
'mikāt	'centipede'
'hamus	'night'

- Words of the shape $C_{\alpha}V_{\beta}C_{\alpha}V_{\beta}X(X\dots)$, in which the first CV is identical to the second CV, invariably receive stress on the second syllable:

tu'tuk	'torso'
va'var	'talk'
le'lenga	'pudding'

These words are considered old reduplications because of their initial syllable; the unreduplicated part is not synchronically analysable.

- Words of other syllable structures receive initial or second syllable stress. Some examples:

VCVV	e'rau	'fall'
	'urio	'crab'

CVCVVV	bu'taeo	'eagle'
	'siriae	'fishing'

CVVCV	le'usa	'betel nut slats'
	'beata	'leatherback turtle'

Most of the words with stress on the second syllable are nouns. There are also a couple of particles and adjectives, and a handful of verbs.

- A few words have stress on their third syllable:

fela'koe	'village'
mala'gula	'bird'
lau'rario	'praise'
mita'keu	'dog'

- Recently borrowed words always receive stress in the place it would occur in the source language (even if extra syllables have been added in order to make the word conform with Lavukaleve phonotactics):

'kavis	'cabbage' (from Pijin 'kavis)
ta'rak	'truck' (from Pijin 'traki)

'daeva 'goggles' (from Pijin 'daeva)

- Secondary stress occurs every second syllable in either direction from the syllable with primary stress:

'mano.giri.giri	'seagull sp'
'lovi.tan	'eel sp.'
.mita'keu	'dog'

2.7.2 STRESS IN MORPHOLOGICALLY COMPLEX WORDS

All lexical roots have stress. Generally, affixes do not have their own stress. In certain circumstances, however, the Possessive prefixes cause stress shifts on the words in which they occur.

A lexical root with affixes (not including the Possessive prefixes) will retain its stress even when prefixes occur on the verb:

'liki	'want'
o-'liki	'[someone] wants it'
o-ma-'liki	'they want it'

Monosyllabic roots receive stress when affixed:

'na	'in'
e-'na	'in it'

However when a noun or verb receives the Possessive prefix, stress shifts occur, under certain very constrained circumstances.

STRESS SHIFTS WITH POSSESSIVE PREFIX ON NOUNS

Suffixes do not affect the position of stress on a noun, but the Possessive prefixes (which are, incidentally, the only prefixes available to nouns) do. If the noun is not monosyllabic, when it gets a Possessive prefix, stress remains in the place it would be if the prefix were not there. But if the noun is monosyllabic and is prefixed, stress moves to the prefix. So for example:

- stress position of nouns of more than one syllable is unaffected by prefixing:

'uia	'knife'	o-'uia	'his knife'
vo'vou	'boy'	o-vo'vou	'his boy'

- stress position of monosyllabic nouns moves when noun is prefixed:

'ta	'time'	'o-ta	'its time'
'nu	'hair'	'o-nu	'his hair'
'kiv	'clothes (pl)'	'o-kiv	'his clothes (pl)'

Occasionally this stress shift rule has been noted with nouns of more than one syllable:

'tua	'wife'	'o-tua	'his wife'
------	--------	--------	------------

This is very rare, however.

With nouns that undergo the loss of a final vowel under Possessive prefixing (see below, Section 2.9), when this loss of the final vowel creates a monosyllabic noun, then this stress shift rule applies to some words but not others:

'fina	'belongings'
'e-fin	'our belongings'

but:

'langi	'name'
o-'lang	'his name'

If there were a fixed rule to cover these situations, it would be possible to say that the two rules, loss of final vowel for prefixed nouns, and stress shift for prefixed monosyllabic nouns, must be ordered with respect to each other. However the fact that both patterns appear shows that the rules do not have a fixed ordering with respect to each other. Rather, it seems each word has its own pattern.

STRESS SHIFTS WITH POSSESSIVE PREFIX ON VERBS

There is a construction type in which the subject of certain verbs can be cross-referenced on those verbs by a Possessive prefix instead of the usual subject prefix (or Agreement Suffix). This construction is discussed in Section 13.4 (see also Section 2.9.3 below for description of a morphophonemic rule involved in this construction). What is of concern here is the fact that when verbs receive a Possessive prefix, the stress of the verb moves from its place on the verb root to the Possessive prefix:

'I came', is usually a-'vo, but under the Possessor-subject construction it is:

- 1) 'ngavoe
 nga- vo -e
 1sgPOSS- come -PSV
I came

Similarly, 'he went up' is usually **o'feu**, but under the Possessor-subject construction it is:

- 2) 'ofei
 o- feu -i
 3sgPOSS- go.up -PSV
he went up

The stress on such prefixes is very marked. Occasionally stress does occur in the subject prefix of regular verbs. Normally, 'he came' is pronounced with stress on the verb root, but occasionally one hears stress on the prefix instead:

- 3) 'ovo
 o- vo
 3sgS- come
he came

Possessor-subject constructions seem to be a relatively new construction coming into the language; they are used very commonly by younger people, especially children and teenagers, and almost never by older people. It is possible that the stress pattern of this new and popular construction is leaching into regularly-marked verbs. Formal factors aid the transfer. Possessive prefixes are formally identical to subject prefixes apart from the 1st singular form. So for most forms, only the form of the verb (not including the subject prefix) and the stress pattern mark the fact that the construction is a Possessor-subject construction. The Possessor-subject construction is only available to a very small number of verbs. It is no large step for speakers to start to use this stress pattern on other verbs apart from just the verbs of Possessor-subject constructions.

2.7.3 HEARING STRESS VERSUS IDENTICAL-VOWEL SEQUENCES

It was said above that stress is realised as a longer and louder syllable. There are no long vowels phonemically in Lavukaleve, but there are identical vowel sequences, which are realised essentially as long vowels (see Section 2.5 above). Because of the association between length and stress, and the partly unpredictable nature of stress, it is sometimes a difficult matter in individual words to decide if a vowel sound is long because it is stressed, or long because it is a sequence of two identical vowels. For some words morphophonemic tests can be applied to distinguish between the two analyses.

Stress shift rules such as those described above can be utilised; if it is possible to put the word in question into a construction in which a stress shift rule will apply, one can then

discern whether the syllable in question still sounds long (in which case it is an instance of an identical-vowel sequence) or not (in which case it is a stressed syllable)².

2.8 INTONATION

I have not done an intonational study of Lavukaleve, but it is worth noting a few points. There are two main intonational patterns in Lavukaleve discourse. A very noticeable drop in pitch occurs at the end of intonation patterns which are coextensive with syntactic structures which one would wish to call declarative sentences. Thus, in shorthand, a declarative sentence is characterised intonationally by a final drop in pitch.

There is also a high rising pitch which occurs at the end of certain clause types; this pitch involves a steady intonation across the clause, culminating in a sharp rise on the last syllable of the clause. This kind of intonation pattern occurs on non-final clauses in clause chaining constructions, and in subordinate clauses which precede a main clause. They are always completed - syntactically and intonationally - by a main clause, which has the drop in pitch described above. Note that the few subordinate clause types that can follow their main clause, e.g. purposive clauses, are always pronounced with their own sentence-intonation when they do so, as are the main clauses with which they are in construction. (See Chapters 15 and 16 for a syntactic description of these construction types).

Questions, as in many languages, are also expressed with a rising intonation.

2.9 MORPHOPHONEMIC OPERATIONS

There are three kinds of morphophonemic operations: those that add material; those that remove material completely, and those that merely change the quality of phonemic material. In Lavukaleve, there is reduplication; there is a process of glottal stop insertion between vowels at morpheme boundaries; there are processes of vowel deletion; and there is a process involving change of vowel quality. Reduplication is relatively frequent, glottal stop insertion is rare. The other morphophonemic processes are obligatory, and therefore ubiquitous.

2.9.1 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is a relatively productive process in Lavukaleve. It can apply to words of many word classes, there is a range of actual forms of reduplication which can apply,

² One might expect that identical vowel sequences distinguished only by stress, /aa/ vs. /a'a/ would occur. As it happens, there are no examples of such sequences as /a'a/ in the data. It is not clear whether this is an accidental or motivated gap.

and different forms of reduplication can apply to the same word apparently freely.

Reduplication has been found most frequently on verbs, but also on nouns, adjectives and adverbial particles in the corpus. The exact shape which reduplication takes depends partly on the syllabic form of the word to which it applies. There are three types of partial reduplication, and full reduplication also occurs. Partial reduplication can take the shape of reduplication of an initial CV, CVV or CVCV:

- CV reduplication: **le** 'see' **le-le**; **namu** 'shake' **na-namu**; **haua** 'care for' **ha-haua**; **telako** 'one' **te-telako**; **rongea** 'play' **ro-rongea**; **kiu** 'fight' **ki-kiu**
- CVV reduplication: **rao** 'surround' **rao-rao**; **veo** 'arrive' **veo-veo**; **ria** 'be cross' **ria-ria**
- CVCV reduplication: **namu** 'shake' **namu-namu**; **hului** 'go round' **hulu-hului**; **ruvale** 'huge' **ruva-ruvale**

Full reduplication also occurs, but only in the following two adverbs in the corpus: **karial** 'slowly, gently' **karial-karial**, **rikai** 'slowly' **rikai-rikai**. These are considered reduplications, not two separate repeated words, because they receive one primary stress, on the initial syllable, which is one of the criterion for words (see below).

While vowel-initial words occur in the corpus, there are no examples of reduplicated vowel-initial words (although compare **iloilo** 'different' discussed below, as a possible example of reduplication in an earlier stage of the language). Similarly, while words of closed syllables occur in the language, there are no examples of closed-syllable reduplication.

Reduplication only applies to word stems, not to affixes on words. Thus **kiu** 'die' can appear reduplicated as **ki-kiu**, and if it has a subject prefix, its reduplicated form appears as **o-ki-kiu** (3sgS-DUP-die) 'he dies'. Similarly the transitive verb **volori** 'make' has been found as **e-volo-volori-ne** (3sgnO-Dup-make-IMPF '[they] were making it').

Reduplication is relatively flexible, in that the same word can appear with different reduplication patterns. For example I have often heard the adverbial particle **leon** 'quickly', a word frequently heard in conversation, as **le-leon**, **leo-leon** and **leon-leon**, all with the same meaning: 'hurry up!'. Similarly, compare the forms of the adjective **tula** 'small' in the following examples:

4)	emina		tutula		la
	e-	mina	Dup-	tula	-a
	1plexPOSS-	thing(f)	REDUP-	small	-sgf
					sgfArt
		<i>our little thing</i>			

e3 004a

5)	mina	tulatula		
	mina	Dup-	tula	-a
	thing(f)	REDUP-	small	-sgf
	<i>a little thing</i>			

pr 095

The precise form of the reduplication does not seem to have a functional difference: the reduplicated forms mean the same thing as each other.

Reduplication is obligatory with the Reciprocal suffix (see Section 13.3.4). In other contexts it often has a semantic function. The word **mina** 'thing' becomes **minamina** 'everything'. Similarly **lafa** 'place' when reduplicated is **lafalafa** 'every place'. With some verbs reduplication can give an iterative meaning: **veo** 'arrive' **veoveo** 'keep touching at', **kini** 'smell' **kinikini** 'keep sniffing around'. With adverbs it can give an intensified meaning: **karial** 'slowly' **karialkarial** 'very slowly'. It does not always have a semantic function however: there is no meaning difference between **telako** 'one' and **tetelako** 'one'.

There are words which are frozen reduplications: e.g. **iloilo** 'different' (there is no form ***ilo**), and the verbal adjuncts **va'var** 'talking', **fo'for** 'fly' and so on. See also Section 5.6 for evidence of old reduplications in nouns. These frozen forms suggest that a process of reduplication has been available in the language for some time.

2.9.2 INSERTION OF GLOTTAL STOP BETWEEN VOWELS AT MORPHEME BOUNDARY

When identical vowels come together at morpheme boundaries, a glottal stop is optionally, but very rarely, inserted to break up the vowel cluster: **ngo-oatum** 'your uncle' (2sgPOSS-elder.male) is normally pronounced [ŋoatum], but has also been heard as [ŋoʔoatum] (if this rule does not apply, then this sequence in particular is subject to the next rule to be described, reduction of identical vowels at morpheme boundaries). This process is not obligatory, and is, in fact, quite rare.

2.9.3 VOWEL LOSS

There are three types of morphophonemic operations involving vowel loss. The first is a process which reduces identical vowel sequences at morpheme boundaries. The second is a process of loss of final vowels on nouns to which a Possessive prefix has been attached. The third is a process in which the final /u/ of a verb stem is lost when that verb is in a Possessor-subject construction.

REDUCTION OF IDENTICAL VOWEL SEQUENCES AT MORPHEME BOUNDARIES

When identical vowels come together at morpheme boundaries, one of the vowels is lost. For example, the 3rd singular neuter object verbal prefix **e-** plus the Subordinate

prefix **e-** reduce to **e-**:

- 6) **lar** **hau** **emege**
 lar hau -la e- me -ge
 daylight(n) go.ashore -NEG 3sgnO- SBD- continue -ANT

...daylight had not come yet...

hr1 002

The negative verbal suffix **-la** plus the singular feminine agreement suffix **-a** reduce to **-la**:

- 7) **vonam** **kini** **laveala** **feo.**
 vo- nam kini lavea -la -a feo
 3plO- to ACT appear -NEG -sgf 3sgfFOC

...they were still playing, but she didn't show herself to them.

jn2 034

The final vowel of **tuna** 'be really' and the feminine singular Agreement suffix **-a** reduce to /a/:

- 8) **Ona** **orea** **tuna** **la.**
 o- na o- re -a tuna -a la
 3sgfO- in 3sgS- say -sgf be.really -sgf sgfART

(He took the coconut) To the one she had really said.

co 102

Note that this rule of identical vowel sequence reduction applies only at morpheme boundaries. It is not a general rule of the language. Identical vowel sequences are permitted within morphemes; see Section 2.5 above.

Occasionally, when the two identical vowels coming together are both prefixes, particularly if both are **o-** prefixes, this rule of vowel loss does not apply, but rather both vowels are pronounced as an identical vowel sequence:

- 9) **taragau** **na** **fo'sal** **voko** **vela**
 taragau na fo'sal vo- ko vela
 sea.eagle(m) sgmART fish(pl) 3plO- throw go

velavel **ta** **oole.**
 vela -vel ta o- o- le
 go -COMPL just 3sgfO-3sgS- see

...a sea eagle going fishing saw her.

gm 027

STEM-FINAL VOWEL LOSS AFTER A POSSESSIVE PREFIX

Some vowel-final noun stems, when prefixed with a Possessive prefix, obligatorily lose their final vowel. Such noun stems are almost all disyllabic, of the form CVCV.

For example:

beko	'stone'	o-bek	'his stone'
rara	'side'	o-rar	'his side'
soka	'finger'	o-sok	'his finger'
vage	'mound'	o-vag	'his mound'

This rule does not apply to all CVCV roots. For example:

kala	'mother'	o-kala	'his mother'
gera	'feeling'	o-gera	'his feeling'
talū	'word'	o-talu	'his word'

There are approximately twice as many roots which do not lose their final vowel when prefixed with a Possessive prefix as those which do. This rule is discussed in more detail in Section 5.5.

VOWEL LOSS WITH POSSESSOR-SUBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS

Possessor-subject constructions are an unproductive construction type in which the subject of certain intransitive verbs is marked by a Possessive instead of subject prefix, stress shifts to that prefix (see Section 2.7.2 above) and, for the verb stems ending in /u/ that enter this construction, the final /u/ is lost:

- 10) **Ovai.**
 o- vau -i
 3sgPOSS- go.out -PSV
He went out.
- 11) **Ohai**
 o- hau -i
 3sgPOSS- go.ashore -PSV
He went ashore.
- 12) **Ofei.**
 o- feu -i
 3sgPOSS- go.up -PSV
He went up.

See Section 13.4 for discussion of this construction type.

2.9.4 CHANGE IN VOWEL QUALITY

There are two morphophonemic processes that change vowel quality. The first is an assimilation process involving the Nominaliser suffix **-e~i**. The second is a process which changes the last vowel of an utterance when it is being called out.

ASSIMILATION WITH THE NOMINALISER SUFFIX -e--i

The Nominaliser suffix **-e--i** assimilates in quality with the final vowel of the verb stem:

The suffix is realised as:

- e after a stem-final -a or -o
- i after a stem-final -u
- ∅ after a stem-final -e or -i

For example:

honia	'know'	honiae	'knowledge'
lo	'finish'	loe	'the end'
iru	'sleep'	o-irui	'his sleeping'
ve	'go'	ve	'way, method'
lei	'be'	lei	'being, existence'

The first two realisations of the Nominaliser suffix are simply due to a process of assimilation. The vowel is mid after a mid or low vowel, and high after a high vowel. The realisation of the Nominaliser suffix as zero after /e/ or /i/ is an example of the previous morphophonemic rule discussed: reduction of identical vowel sequences at morpheme boundaries. See Section 13.1.1 for discussion of this Nominaliser suffix.

VOCATIVE VOWEL CHANGE

The other kind of morphophonemic change which operates to alter vowel quality is of a rather different nature, and is perhaps not, strictly speaking, a morphophonemic process. Unlike the other morphophonemic processes described above, this process is not just a surface formal phenomenon; its occurrence must be described in terms of its pragmatic environment. It has a meaning, and speakers can choose deliberately whether or not to use it.

When people shout across a distance, the final vowel of the utterance which they shout is replaced by the vowel sequence /ou/, and stress shifts to the penultimate syllable. Thus my name, when shouted, becomes [andʒe'lou]; the final /a/ vowel is replaced by /ou/, and stress shifts to the end of the word instead of the second syllable where it appears in normal Lavukaleve pronunciation.

This process very commonly occurs with names, which are commonly shouted. It also affects other types of utterances; '**vulama** 'come here!' (come-Durative Imperative singular) becomes [βula'mou] when shouted.

Most utterances in Lavukaleve are vowel-final; verbs (the final element of most sentences) are, and most verbal suffixing is; in particular, the kinds of things likely to be yelled at a distance are. Names usually are, and Imperative verbs always are. Of those things liable to be shouted which are not already vowel-final, the last consonant and vowel is deleted before /ou/ is added. Thus the name Patterson, when shouted, becomes [pate'sou].

2.10 ALTERNATIVE REALISATIONS

There are some examples of alternative pronunciations of certain words. These alternative realisations all involve interchange between different phonemes of the language. That is, the alternations neutralise the distinction between otherwise independent phonemes. However, being lexically constrained, and also being optional, it is never the case that ambiguity arises through the neutralisation of these phonemes in the words in which it occurs. In each case, I have written the words in question with their most common pronunciation. The words are:

/d/ ~ /r/	ria	[ˈdia] ~ [ˈria]	'where to?'
	roi	[ˈdoi] ~ [ˈroi]	'where?'
	raine	[ˈdaine] ~ [ˈraine]	'tomorrow'

Note that the /d/ ~ /r/ alternation only occurs in the words initial position. The word **raine** also occurs in the word **iruraine** 'daily'. In this case the pronunciation can only be:

	iruraine	[ˈiru.raine]	'daily'
/b/ ~ /v/	beko	[ˈbeko] ~ [βeko]	'stone'
	vuli	[ˈbuli] ~ [βuli]	'behind'
/n/ ~ /l/	mulukuita	[ˈmunuˈkuita] ~ [ˈmuluˈkuita]	'mosquito'
	halangas	[ˈhanaŋas] ~ [ˈhalaŋas]	'coral'

These alternations are all a generationally-based phenomenon. Younger people, in their twenties or younger, tend to pronounce /d/, /b/ and /n/ in certain words where older people consistently pronounce /r/, /v/ and /l/ respectively. This is not a universal generational sound change, but rather is lexically constrained.

2.11 WORDS

So far, and indeed throughout the rest of this work, the concept and extent of words is assumed. In Lavukaleve, the definition of words is a relatively simple matter.

Words can be defined on phonological grounds. One can pause between, but not within, a word; this is Anderson's (1985: 151) idea of "potential pause locations". On another level, words have psychological reality; speakers can pronounce them in isolation and talk about them. Units smaller than a word, however, cannot be easily pronounced or talked about in isolation. Grammatical words are made up of stems plus, in some cases, affixes. Phonological words are in almost all cases coextensive with grammatical words; there are only one case in which a phonological word is different from a grammatical word. This is verb compounds. In verb compounds (see Section 14.2) one grammatical word is made up of two phonological words, each with its own stress. In all other cases, phonological words are the same as grammatical words.

2.12 ORTHOGRAPHY

An orthography has been in use for a number of years by the Lavukal community. I follow this established orthography, with a couple of differences. The only respects in which the Lavukals' orthography differs substantially from the IPA conventions are as follows:

PHONEME	IS WRITTEN
/β/	v
/u/	g
/ŋ/	ng

There is some debate within the community about how best to represent the phoneme /ŋ/ in the orthography. The symbol ñ was used for some time, in keeping with the orthographies of other languages of the region. However problems with typesetting mean that usually the bar is left off, and thus phonemes /n/ and /ŋ/ are in practice not distinguished in the orthography. Recent consensus has decided that the digraph /ng/ should be used instead of ñ.

Stress is not marked in the Lavukal orthography, but in this work I do indicate lexical stress, by a straight quote before the stressed syllable: **vo'vou**, only on those stems in which stress is not on the initial syllable.

Same-vowel sequences are also not represented in the Lavukals' orthography, but I do represent them here in the following circumstances. I always write identical vowel sequences when they are a part of a mono-morphemic word: see 'be full'. However, when two morphemes come together and create an identical-vowel sequence, a morphophonemic rule comes into play to reduce the sequence (see Section 2.9), and these are not represented in the surface forms of words.

Throughout this thesis, four-line example sentences are used. The first line consists of surface forms; the second line consists of underlying forms; the third line is a

morphemic gloss, and the fourth line is a free translation. In many cases, the first and second lines are identical, but it is useful to have the two separate lines precisely for those circumstances in which identical-vowel sequences are reduced; and for the few other morphophonemic processes in the language.

CHAPTER THREE

Word classes

Word classes are recognised on the grounds of morphological possibilities and syntactic distribution, combined with, in some cases, semantics. There are two large open word classes in Lavukaleve: nouns and verbs. There are also a large number of medium-sized to small closed classes. This chapter contains a justification of the classification of these word classes. More details on each of them are found elsewhere in the thesis. However some of the smaller classes which are not discussed elsewhere in the thesis are described more fully in this chapter. Thus there is a description of the counting system, and of some of the more commonly occurring particles.

The following word classes and subclasses must be recognised for Lavukaleve. They will each be discussed in turn.

OPEN:

- nouns
 - common nouns
 - locational nouns
 - place nouns (Section 3.1)

- verbs
 - transitive
 - intransitive
 - ambitransitive (Section 3.2)

CLOSED:

- adjectives (Section 3.3)
 - numbers (3.3.1)
- demonstratives (Section 3.4)

- personal pronouns (Section 3.5)
- the definite article (Section 3.6)
- the focus markers (Section 3.7)
- the Habitual Auxiliary (Section 3.8)
- postpositions (Section 3.9)
- conjunctions (Section 3.10)
- locationals (Section 3.11)
- **nun** 'from' (Section 3.12)
- demonstrative identifiers (Section 3.13)
- **roi-doi** 'which?' (Section 3.14)
- reflexive **muan** 'self' (Section 3.15)
- verb adjuncts (Section 3.16)
- particles
 - adverbial particles
 - question particles
 - time particles
 - quantifier particles
 - vocative particles
 - hesitation particles
 - exclamation particles
 - relational particles
 - other particles (Section 3.17)

3.1 NOUNS

The class of nouns is an open class of words which share the following morphological and syntactic features:

- they function as the heads of NPs
- they have inherent gender
- they can be modified by the demonstrative modifier
- they can take the definite article

There are three subclasses of nouns: common nouns (these include many of what are traditionally termed proper names), locational nouns and place nouns. All of these have the features outlined above. Locational nouns and place nouns differ from common nouns in their ability to function as nominal adjuncts in a clause without appearing in a postpositional phrase.

Locational nouns function as nominal adjuncts using the Locative suffix **-n**. Common nouns are unable to take this suffix; instead, spatial relations involving common nouns are expressed using postpositional phrases. There are only a small number of locational nouns; it is a closed subclass of the open class of nouns. These include, for the most part, nouns referring to places, positions, body parts and time.

Place nouns can function as nominal adjuncts with no morphological marking. All place nouns are proper names, but not all proper names are place nouns; some are common nouns, some are locational nouns.

Both locational nouns and place nouns can be modified by adjectives and demonstratives, and they have inherent gender.

Nominal adjuncts, including those formed with common nouns in postpositional phrases, with locational nouns using the Locative (and Perlocative) suffixes, and with place nouns are discussed in Chapter 7.

There are three genders in Lavukaleve: masculine, feminine and neuter, named for the fact that in the masculine class belong (among other things) most nouns referring to male people, in the feminine class belong (among other things) all nouns referring to female people, and in the neuter class belong very few nouns referring to humans. Nouns have a fixed gender, which controls agreement with its modifiers, and throughout the clause. Note that there are a few nouns which are always plural. Because plural nouns do not have gender, this means that, strictly speaking, there are some nouns which do not have inherent gender. Such nouns are considered a special case of common nouns; the phenomenon is more to do with morphological exigencies of Lavukaleve than with the syntactic distribution of such words. The principles associated with gender assignment are discussed in Chapter 6.

3.2 VERBS

Verbs have the following syntactic and morphological features:

- they function as argument-taking predicates
- they can take subject prefixes, and object prefixes if transitive
- they can take the Agreement Suffix to agree with their nominal arguments
- they can take TAM suffixes
- they can take the Nominaliser suffix *-e ~ -i* (they have to be nominalised in order to function as head of an NP)
- they can take the Locativiser suffix *-l*

There are three subtypes of verbs, defined on the basis of their primary valency. Intransitive verbs take only one argument (subject). Transitive verbs take two arguments (subject and object). Ambitransitive verbs can take either one or two arguments, with no morphological affixation to mark the change of transitivity. There are no ditransitive verbs in Lavukaleve (see Chapter 9.3.2 for argumentation for this claim), and there are no verbs with zero valency. All verb stems are vowel-final.

In the corpus around 51% of all verbs are intransitive, around 45% are transitive, and around 4% are ambitransitive.

3.2.1 TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs take two arguments, expressed as verbal affixes and/or NPs:

1)	bagatum	na	fo'sal	na	aole		
	bagatum	na	fo'sal	na	a-	o-	le
	male.giant(m)	sgmArt	fish(m)	sgmArt	3sgO-	3sgS-	see
	<i>...the giant saw the fish</i>						<i>mn2 030</i>

It is a simple matter to tell which verbs are transitive and which are intransitive, because object arguments are obligatorily cross-referenced on all transitive verbs. Subject arguments are not obligatorily expressed, either by overt NP or cross-referencing prefix (see Section 9.7).

3.2.2 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Intransitive verbs take one argument, expressed as a verbal affix and/or NP:

2)	bagatum	na	ovo		
	bagatum	na	o-	vo	
	male.giant(m)	sgmArt	3sgS-	come	
	<i>...the giant came</i>				<i>mn2 028</i>

3.2.3 AMBITRANSITIVE VERBS

Ambitransitive verbs are those verbs which can function either transitively or intransitively with no overt morphological affixation to show the change in transitivity. There are only about a dozen ambitransitive verbs in the corpus. Of these, there are two kinds. There are those verbs for which the subject of the intransitive form of the verb corresponds in semantic role to the subject of the transitive form of the verb; and there are those in which the subject of the intransitive form corresponds to the object of the transitive form. In Lavukaleve these two types account for about half of the ambitransitive verbs each. All ambitransitive verbs in the corpus are listed here with their intransitive and transitive glosses:

AMBITRANSITIVE VERBS, S=A TYPE

hoa	poke through, poke something through
lai	paddle, paddle something
rau	go round, surround something
sulai	illuminate, illuminate something

valiri	turn, turn something
vea	know, know something
hai	do, do something
i	do, do something

AMBITRANSITIVE VERBS, S=O TYPE

ao	get in, put something in
fale	stand, stand something up
foa	go down, take something down
hoi	go in, put something in
igu	go, take something out
kekea	dry out, dry something out
lei	be, hang something
vo	come, begin something

Note that two of these S=O type verbs, **lei** and **vo**, have somewhat unpredictable semantic correspondences ('be, hang' and 'come, begin' respectively).

Compare the following example of **vo** 'begin' (transitive) with example (2) above using **vo** 'come' (intransitive):

3)	Iut	eavo.		
	iut	e-	a-	vo
	youth.group(n)	3sgnO-	1sgS-	begin

I began the youth group.

am 093

Division of verbs into the two groups above seems to have at least some semantic motivation. Verbs with more agentive intransitive subjects fall into the S=A group, whereas verbs with non-agentive intransitive subjects fall into the S=O group. Note that most motion verbs pattern with S=O verbs, not S=A verbs, as is common in the world's languages.

TWO IRREGULAR VERBS: **TUNA** 'BE REALLY' AND **TAVE** 'BE NOT'

There are two intransitive verbs which act slightly differently from other intransitive verbs. The verbs are **tuna** 'be really' and **tave** 'be not'. (**Tuna** 'be really' is cross-classified as an adjective and a particle). While both **tuna** and **tave** are argument-taking predicates, able to cross-reference their subject arguments with verbal morphology, and, in the case of **tuna**, able to take the Negative suffix **-la**, neither of them can take any other verbal morphology. Also anomalous is that they can occur immediately following another intransitive verb, but not obviously in construction with that verb. For instance, compare examples (4) and (5), which have **tuna** and **tave** functioning as normal argument-taking predicates, with examples (6) and (7), which have **tuna** and **tave** immediately following another verb:

- 4) **O vona tunala fi man hin kala**
 o vo- na tuna -la fi man hin kala
 and 3plO- in be.really -NEG 3sgnFOC what(m) 3sgmEFOC mother(f)

ofo'foira.

o- fo'foira
 3sgPOSS- work(f)

And they really don't believe in the work of the mother. [i.e. the mother's work is not real to them] emk 018

- 5) **Inu ngobuk tavem.**
 inu ngo- buku tave -m
 2sg 2sg- conch(m) be.not -sgm

It's not your conch.

v1 013

- 6) **oina kini haulam tunam fin.**
 oina kini hau -la -m tuna -m fin
 other.MED.sgm ACT go.ashore -NEG -sgm be.really -sgm 3sgmFOC

... he didn't come back ashore.

co 313

- 7) **Olang tokam tavem.**
 olang toka -m tave -m
 because be.strong -sgm be.not -sgm

Because he didn't have any strength.

mt 038

The examples of **tuna** and **tave** immediately following another verb are problematic because it is not obvious what relationship they have with that verb. These are different to serial verb constructions in Lavukaleve, because in serial verb constructions in Lavukaleve, the shared subject is cross-referenced only once on the whole predicate, not on each verb as here (see Section 14.1). Also, with **tave** at least, the intransitive verb which it follows is always from the same semantic type; it is a verb with a modifying meaning, often a verb that is cross-classified as an adjective (see next section).

There are a few possible analyses. One is that such examples show a unique kind of serial verb construction, although this is problematic for the reasons given. Another possibility is that **tuna** and **tave** are not verbs in this context, but rather are some unique word class such as agreement-taking adverbial particles. (Section 3.17.1 below shows that adverbial particles do not show agreement). The approach taken here is that the strange behaviour of **tuna** and **tave** is a lexical phenomenon, related to their semantic properties of being frequently appropriate as verbal modifiers, while retaining other properties associated with intransitive verbs in Lavukaleve.

Such constructions, with two independent predicates occurring next to each other but not in a serial verb construction and with no overt relationship to each other, only occur with verbs **tave** and **tuna**; in all other cases, clauses in sequence must be overtly marked for their relationship with each other, either as subordinate-dependent or coordinate-

dependent or coordinated independent clauses.

3.3 ADJECTIVES

There are only around fifty adjectives in the corpus. There are doubtless more adjectives than this in the language, but it is nonetheless significant that such a small number have been found so far. In many of Lavukaleve's Oceanic neighbours, it is often a difficult matter to tell whether a particular word is an adjective or an intransitive verb. This situation also occurs in Lavukaleve; they usually appear in the same position in the sentence, and even though intransitive verbs have far more morphological possibilities than adjectives, they often do not avail themselves of them and in fact usually only appear with the Agreement Suffix, as do adjectives. Predicative adjectives are impossible to distinguish from intransitive verbs. However attributive adjectives, as a syntactic class, do occur, and can be easily described by their syntactic and morphological features:

- they occur inside an NP (after the noun, before the definite article, if there is one) modifying a head noun
- they have no inherent gender or number, but agree in gender and number with their head noun, using the Agreement Suffix paradigm also used by verbs
- the only morphology they can receive is the Agreement Suffix

If a word has these features, it is called an adjective. Many adjectives can also appear predicatively; in these circumstances they are indistinguishable from intransitive verbs. For example, compare the following uses of **ho'bea** 'good'. In the first example, **ho'bea** is used attributively, modifying its head noun **mina**, and occurring inside the NP between the head noun and the definite article. In the second example, **ho'bea** is used predicatively. It is not possible to tell if it is an intransitive verb, or a non-verbal predicate, with ellipsed head noun:

8)	Aka	foiga	mina	hobea		la	feo.
	aka	foiga	mina	hobea	-a	la	feo
	then	PN.MED.sgn	thing(f)	good	-sgf	sgfArt	3sgtFOC

And it's a good thing.

jo 035

9)	Aka	vovo	la	hobea	ke.
	aka	vovo	la	hobea	-a ke
	then	girl(f)	sgfArt	good	-sgf EMPH

And the girl was very beautiful.

co 151

Note that intransitive verbs, if they are in a clause with stative or resultative meaning, mark their subject using the Agreement Suffix (see Section 10.5); therefore stative/resultative intransitive verbs often appear with the same morphology as adjectives. If a word can be used as a nominal modifier inside an NP, with the above-

mentioned other characteristics, it is an adjective. Each such lexical item may have another, predicative, function, although many do not. If it does, it is considered to be cross-classified as a verb. Unfortunately, for many of the adjectives listed below the corpus is not sufficient to show whether, as well as being used attributively, they can be used predicatively. This area awaits more detailed examination in the future.

Numbers form a subclass of adjectives. They don't have inherent gender, they occur in an attributive relationship with nouns, but they can take, in addition to agreement morphology (which is only available to 'one' and 'two'), morphology deriving ordinal forms. Some of them can also take morphology deriving higher-number forms. These are discussed separately below.

Because there are relatively few adjectives in Lavukaleve, it is worthwhile to list them exhaustively. Their categorisation is similar to Dixon's (1982) discussion of semantic types of adjectives.

DIMENSION

bakel 'big'; **monomono** 'small'; **ru** 'big'; **tula** 'small', **kurai** 'big'¹

AGE

koisove 'new'; **lelengisa** 'young'

VALUE

ho'bea 'good'; **tuna** 'really', **iloilo** 'different'; **kivua** 'precious'; **laura**, 'great'; **sevo** 'tabu'; **mea** 'SPECifier'; **ro** 'one, unit', **gilogilo** 'pure'; **kia** 'almighty'; **laita** 'secret/sacred'; **lalamu** 'early'; **lave** 'married'; **lulu** 'righteous/straight'; **taotao** 'horrible'

COLOUR

kokoras 'black'. Also recent loans from Solomon Pijin: **bulu** 'blue'; **iala** 'yellow'; **girin** 'green'

PHYSICAL PROPERTY

foko 'leaning'; **folufolu** 'fat'; **kasakasa** 'thin'; **koekoe** 'blind'; **lafia** 'watery'; **fofono** 'whole'; **nuu** 'overgrown'; **furifuri** 'down, low, worst'; **kofa** 'naked'; **suvi** 'paralysed'

HUMAN PROPENSITY

lahavarae 'troubled'; **rorora** 'gentle'; **nura** 'wild'; **togoloa** 'divided in beliefs'

¹ The exact semantic differences between the three words glossed as 'big' and the two glossed as 'small' require further investigation.

NUMBER

telako 'one'; **lelaol** 'two'; **enga** 'three'; **nun** 'four'; **sie** 'five'; **oa** 'six'; **soa** 'seven'; **sevi** 'eight'; **sava** 'nine'; **kanongam** 'ten'

Many other words of these semantic types are intransitive verbs. In particular, Dixon's category of *SPEED* is realised by intransitive verbs in Lavukaleve. Note that the only other basic colour terms indigenous to Lavukaleve, apart from **kokoras** 'black' are **kelekele** 'white' (neuter noun); **raravu** 'be red' (intransitive verb) and, interestingly, **to'vesa** 'orange' (word class unknown). The existence of a term for orange suggests that there were other indigenous basic colour terms in Lavukaleve, which have recently been replaced by Pijin terms (cf. Berlin and Kay 1969).

There are a small number of irregular adjectives, which depart from the norm given above in one or more particulars. These irregular adjectives include the following:

- **bakel** 'big', and all the numbers from **enga** 'three' through to **kanongam** 'ten', have the distributional characteristics of adjectives, but fail to show agreement with their head noun.
- **ru** 'big' has an irregular agreement paradigm (see Section 10.1 for the regular agreement forms used by adjectives):

	singular	dual	plural
masc	rua	rual	ruvalev
fem	ru	rul	
neut	rugi	rugil	

- **ro** 'one, unit' also has an irregular agreement paradigm:

	singular	dual	plural
masc	roa	roal	rovo
fem	ro	rol	
neut	roge	rogel	

This adjective **ro** 'one, unit' has rather interesting semantics; it is discussed in Section 4.1.2. Note that **mea** 'SPECifier' also has non-adjectival uses. It is discussed in some detail also in Section 4.1.2.

3.3.1 NUMBERS AND THE COUNTING SYSTEM

The numbers 'one and 'two' also have irregular agreement forms: 'one' **telako** (f, n) **telakom** (m); 'two' **lelaol** (f), **lelemal** (m), **lelagel** (n). The other numbers do not agree

with their head noun; in this respect they are like **bakel** 'big'.

Ordinal numbers are derived, more or less irregularly, from cardinal numbers with the addition of a suffix **-ta**. The word for 'first' is suppletive. There are only ordinal numbers up to tenth. Beyond that, ordinal numbers are identical to cardinal numbers. Ordinal numbers are as follows:

first	nikol
second	leleta
third	engata
fourth	nuta
fifth	sita
sixth	oata
seventh	soata
eighth	sevita
ninth	savata
tenth	kanata

It is worth discussing the functional class which expresses the counting system here, even though words for counting do not form one syntactic class.

There are special counting numbers and modifying numbers for 'one' and 'two'. Lavukaleve has a decimal counting system. The following set of number words shows the Lavukaleve counting system. Note that words from the adjective class, and words which are normal nouns, both form part of this counting system.

Word Class	gloss	word
adjectives	one	telakom (m); telako (f and n) (dom for counting)
	two	lelemal (m); lelaol (f); lelagel (n) (lemal for counting)
	three	enga
	four	nun
	five	sie
	six	oa
	seven	soa
	eight	sevi
	nine	sava
	ten	kanongam
noun	ten	kane
derived from adjectives	50	siehave
	60	oahave
	70	soahave
	80	sevihave

	90	savahave
noun (fem)	100	tangalu
noun (neut)	1000	lamukas
noun (neut)	1 000 000	mola

The words for fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty and ninety are derived from the words for five, six, seven, eight and nine respectively, with the addition of suffix **-have**. It is not clear what word class the derived numbers are; all the examples of each in the corpus are in complex numerical phrases like those outlined below.

To form numbers from eleven to nineteen, the base **kane** 'ten' is followed by the relevant number: **kane enga** 'thirteen'; literally 'ten three'. Either **kane** or **kanongam** 'ten' can be used to express the number ten, but **kane** is the base used for forming other numbers.

The word **kane** 'ten' functions as an NP head, taking numeral modifiers, as will be seen in the next paragraphs. It has dual and plural forms: **kane** is the singular form; **kanal** is the dual form (two tens); and **kanamil** is the plural form. However it never occurs in a position which would allow one to tell what its gender is.

The word for twenty is **kanal**, which is the dual form of the noun **kane** 'ten'. To form numbers from twenty-one to twenty-nine, **kanal** is followed by **o** 'and' and the relevant number: **kanal o enga** 'twenty three'; literally 'two tens and three'.

The word for thirty is **kanamil enga**, which is the plural form of the number **kane** 'ten', followed by **enga** 'three'. To form numbers from thirty-one to thirty-nine, **kanamil enga** is followed by **o** 'and' and the number: **kanamil enga o enga** 'three tens and three'.

The word for forty follows the same pattern as thirty; it is **kanamil nun** 'four tens'. Numbers from forty-one to forty-nine are formed using the same strategy as those from thirty-one to thirty-nine.

Numbers from fifty to ninety are formed on a different pattern. They each consist of a single word, the first part of which is a number from five (**sie**) to nine (**sava**), followed by the invariant morpheme **have**, which has no independent meaning². Thus fifty is **siehave**; sixty **oahave**. Fifty-three is **siehave o enga**; this pattern is already familiar.

The word for a hundred was given above: **tangalu**, a feminine noun. Numbers between 101 and 199 are built from processes already familiar; thus 101 is **tangalu o telako** 'one hundred and one'. The noun **tangalu** has no dual form; two hundred is **tangalu lelaol**

² Note the occurrence of **-have** also in **elahave** 'how much'; see below.

'two (f) hundred'. The number for 'two' takes feminine gender to agree with the gender of **tangalu**. Three hundred and higher use the plural form of the noun, with a number: **tangalual enga** 'three hundreds'.

The word for a thousand, **lamukas**, acts in a similar fashion. Two thousand is **lamukas lelavel** 'two (n) thousand' (with neuter gender to agree with **lamukas**). Three thousand and higher use the plural form of 'thousand' with a number: **lamukasaol enga** 'three thousands'.

Ten thousand is expressed by a phrase: **lamukasaol vo-na kanongam** literally 'thousands of-them ten'. A hundred thousand is formed on a similar pattern, but with the order of words reversed: **tangalual vo-na lamukasaol kanongam** literally 'hundreds of-them thousands ten'.

One million is **mola** (n). Two million is **mola lelavel** 'two (n) million'. Three million is **mola enga**. This noun, like many in Lavukaleve, does not have dual and plural inflections.

Lavukaleve's decimal counting system is possibly a loan from neighbouring Oceanic languages; Lynch (1998: 144) notes that most Oceanic languages have decimal systems. Laycock (1975: 224) observes that decimal systems are rare in mainland Papuan languages:

Pure decimal systems characterise many Austronesian languages of Island Melanesia, Polynesia, and Indonesia, but are rarely found within the New Guinea area itself...
Decimal systems do not appear to exist at all in the non-Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area.

Lavukaleve's lower numbers at least are not, however, cognate with Oceanic numbers. If there has been borrowing, it appears that it is the decimal system that has been borrowed, rather than the terms used to express the system³.

In addition to the counting system, there are also a small number of nouns which refer to a group of ten of various culturally important things. Some of these nouns include **feil** 'ten dogs'; **koku** 'ten possums'; **kolo** 'ten pigs'; **lolu** 'ten fish'; **legom** 'ten coconut crabs'; **baem** 'ten bonitos'; **tafor** 'ten arm-rings'. These words are regular nouns; they are singular, they have gender, and they have dual and plural forms. So for instance, a group of ten dogs is **feil**, and a group of twenty dogs is **feilal**, the dual form of **feil**.

These nouns can also be combined with numbers in NPs to express groups larger than

³ Although cf. Arosi **tangarau** 'a hundred' and **meru** 'a thousand' (Capell 1971: 50); Kwaio **tangafuru** 'ten' (Keesing 1985: 89). These suggest that Lavukaleve's **tangalu** 'a hundred' and **mola** 'a thousand' could be borrowings from an Oceanic language (Arosi and Kwaio are both Oceanic languages, spoken on Makira and Malaita respectively).

ten:

- 10) kolo o telakom
 kolo o telako -m
 ten.possums(m) and one -sgm
a group of eleven possums e1 051a

The nouns are used as regular nouns in sentences, forming the heads of NPs. Note the singular verb agreement:

- 11) Ngai feil roge ale fi.
 ngai feil roge a- le -ø fi
 1sg ten.dogs(n) one.sgn 1sgS- see -sgn 3sgnFOC
I see ten dogs. [i.e. I see one lot of ten dogs] e1 051b

Children, however, tend to use these words as collective nouns, using them in NPs as possessed heads with a possessor noun referring to the super-ordinate category to which the group noun belongs. In the following example, **feil**, the group noun, is expressed as the possessed head of the NP, with **mitakeu** 'dog' the possessor, referring to the superordinate category. Note there is a number agreement clash in this example: the speaker used a singular noun **mitakeu** and a plural possessive prefix **ma-**, to refer to the same entity. It is not clear if this is a mistake or not. More examples would elucidate this point:

- 12) Ngai mitakeu mafeil roge ale fi.
 ngai mitakeu ma- feil roge a- le -ø fi
 1sg dog(m) 3plPOSS- ten.dogs(n) one.sgn 1sgS- see -sgn 3sgnFOC
I see one [group of] ten dogs. e1 051c

It is not clear whether this type of construction is a stage in language acquisition or a linguistic change in progress.

These group-of-ten nouns bear no formal relationship to the nouns referring to their super-ordinate category. Consider the forms below:

foe 'pig'	kolo 'ten pigs'
mitakeu 'dog'	feil 'ten dogs'
fo'sal 'fish'	lolu 'ten fish'
urio 'coconut crab'	legom 'ten coconut crabs'
karu 'possum'	koku 'ten possums'
meo 'bonito'	baem 'ten bonitos'
sa'sau 'arm-ring'	tafor 'ten arm-rings'

Lynch (1998: 245) notes the occurrence of this type of system in some Pacific languages with decimal systems, for example Fijian. Closer to the Russell Islands, Keesing notes a somewhat more elaborated system for Kwaio (1985: 90), an Oceanic language spoken on Malaita.

3.4 DEMONSTRATIVES

There are two subtypes of demonstratives: demonstrative pronouns, consisting of two paradigms, **foia** and **oia**, and a demonstrative modifier **hoia** (cited in their feminine singular medial forms⁴). Demonstratives each have a paradigm of inflecting forms, marking gender, number, and three degrees of distance of the referent from the speaker, with a further distinction made in the distal category between specific and non-specific location.

3.4.1 DEMONSTRATIVE MODIFIER

A class of demonstrative modifiers is distinguished on the following grounds:

- they form a paradigm of contrasting forms
- they function as nominal modifiers
- they have no inherent gender or number, but take this from their head
- they can take Presentative **-ri**, Predicative **-o/om/v** and Group suffixes **-sa/-ha**

Demonstrative modifiers can be distinguished from adjectives by the fact that demonstrative modifiers can modify demonstrative pronouns, whereas adjectives cannot. The paradigm for demonstrative modifiers is given in Section 8.5, where their syntactic and morphological properties, and their relationship with demonstrative pronouns, are discussed fully.

3.4.2 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

There are two demonstrative pronoun stems, **foia** 'she' and **oia** 'the other one' (both cited in their feminine singular medial forms). They are distinguished as a separate word class on the following grounds:

- they each consist of a paradigm of contrasting forms
- they have inherent gender, number and distance specifications, as well as specification for the type of anaphoric reference which they make
- they function as nominal heads
- they cannot be modified by adjectives, though they can be modified by the demonstrative modifier

Foia and **oia** are both used to make anaphoric reference to a participant in a discourse.

⁴ All gender-marked forms are cited in their 3rd singular feminine forms throughout this work. This is because for many paradigms, the feminine form is the least marked form.

They differ in that **foia** is used to make anaphoric reference to an activated referent, one which is uppermost in hearers' minds, whereas **oia** is used to make anaphoric reference to a semi-activated referent, one which was uppermost in hearers' minds until recently.

They are not considered personal pronouns, largely because they make obligatory reference to distance from the speaker, which is characteristic of demonstrative pronouns, rather than personal pronouns. A full discussion of these demonstrative pronouns, including justification of their classification, and explanation of the difference between them, as well as discussion of the difference between them and the demonstrative modifier, appears in Chapter 8, where the paradigms of each are presented.

3.5 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

There are first and second person pronouns in Lavukaleve, but no third person pronoun. The functional domain of third person pronouns is filled by demonstrative pronouns instead. Argumentation for this division of the deictic paradigms is presented in full in Chapter 8, where also the paradigm of 1st and 2nd person pronouns is given.

Defining features of personal pronouns are:

- they mark person and number of the referent, and inclusion/exclusion of the addressee (only in 1st person non-singular forms)
- they function as nominal heads
- they cannot be modified by adjectives, though they can be modified by the demonstrative modifier
- they take the Group suffixes **-ha/-sa**

It is perhaps worth noting here that there are no indefinite pronouns in Lavukaleve. Concepts like *someone/anyone* are expressed using the noun **ali** 'man'; *no-one* is expressed by the NP **malav rovo-ru** 'people one.pl-NEG (no people)' or **ali roa-ru** 'man one.sgm-NEG (no man)'. Concepts like *something/anything* are expressed by the noun **mina** 'thing'; *nothing* by **mina ro-ru** 'thing one.sgf-NEG (not a thing)'. **Man** 'what', **ami** 'who', and **elahave** 'how much', all masculine nouns, can also mean 'whatever', 'whoever' and 'however much' respectively. Plural noun **elav** 'how many' can also mean 'however many'. **Roi-doi** 'which' can also mean 'whichever'. Concepts like *somewhere/anywhere/nowhere*, *somehow/anyhow* and so on are expressed as 'in a place', 'in no place', 'in a way' and so on in Lavukaleve. There are no special expressions for these concepts.

3.6 THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

The definite article consists of a paradigm of inflecting forms which appear with a noun in an NP to mark definiteness. It has the following morphological and syntactic

features:

- it can only occur with a head noun
- it is obligatorily inflected for gender and number to agree with its head, and it can take no further morphological affixation
- only one article can occur per NP
- when it occurs it is always the final word of the NP

The paradigm for the definite article is given in Section 4.1.2, where there is a discussion of its morphological, syntactic and pragmatic features.

3.7 THE FOCUS MARKERS

There are three paradigms of focus markers, which are marked for person, gender and number of a particular element of the constituent with which they are in construction⁵. The three stems themselves have different pragmatic meanings as follows: the **meo** focus marker is used in polar questions; the **heo** focus marker is used in information questions, in clauses containing the demonstrative pronoun **foia**, and to mark strong emphasis; and the **feo** focus marker is used elsewhere, in other contexts in which focus is marked (the focus markers are cited in their 3rd person singular feminine forms here). The focus markers have the following features:

- they each form a paradigm marked for person, gender and number and they can take no further morphological affixation
- they do not function as the head of a clause; that is, they have no arguments of their own
- they can occur in construction with NPs, adjuncts, verbs or entire sentences
- they are always constituent-final

The syntactic, morphological and pragmatic functions of the focus markers are discussed in Chapter 11. The paradigms are given in that chapter.

3.8 THE HABITUAL AUXILIARY

The Habitual Auxiliary is a stem **me**. It is defined as its own word class on the following grounds:

- it forms the second part of a complex predicate, in construction with a verb
- it cross-references the subject of the predicate of which it forms a part, using either the Agreement Suffix, as verbs can, or its own special set of prefixes

⁵ What the focus marker agrees with is a matter of some complexity, which is dealt with in Chapter 11.

- it has no valency

The form and functions of the Habitual Auxiliary are discussed in Section 14.3.

3.9 POSTPOSITIONS

Postpositions are a small class of words. Their defining features are:

- they occur as the final element of a postpositional phrase
- they obligatorily cross-reference their head noun with an object prefix
- they take no further morphology

The postpositions are:

na	in, on, etc.
nam	to, from
hal	above
tat	on top of
nal	because of
ham	for
ne	with (accompaniment)
ku	like
kelei	near

The last postposition, **kelei** 'near', belongs in its own subclass as, unlike the others, it can occur with the Locative suffix. Postpositions and postpositional phrases are discussed in Section 7.1. Note there is a conjunction **ne** 'and', formally identical to **ne** 'with' (see Section 3.10).

3.10 CONJUNCTIONS

There are seven conjunctions in Lavukaleve: **aka** 'and, so then'; **taman** 'however'; **leta** 'but'; **o** 'and, or'; **olang** 'because'; **ve** 'or'; **ne** 'and'. The last can also function as a postposition. Conjunctions share the following features:

- they occur in between a pair of coordinated clauses or NPs
- apart from **aka**, which can take the Presentative suffix **-ri** and Predicative **-o/om/v**, they cannot take any morphological affixation

The use of conjunctions in conjoined clauses is mentioned in Section 15.4.6 and discussed in Section 18.1.3. The Presentative and Predicative suffixes, and **aka**, are discussed in Sections 8.9.4 and 8.10.3.

3.11 LOCATIONALS

Locationals are a loose, heterogeneous class of words that include the **hoka** 'here' paradigm (including **hoka** 'here'; **hoika** 'there, medial'; **heaka** 'there, distant'; **hoaka** 'there; unspecified distance'); **ika** 'there', and **koka~oka** 'far', all of which take Presentative suffix **-ri** and Predicative **-o/om/v**, plus a number of other single uninflecting words including **uke** 'near'; **umu** 'under, below'; **vuli** 'behind'; **fain** 'on top'; **fafaril** 'across'; **sangine** 'together'.

These words are grouped together not on morphological grounds; indeed they are morphologically very varied. Rather they are grouped together on the semantic basis that they provide locational specification to a clause. They function as adjuncts, having scope over a whole clause. Some of these words can take the Presentative **-ri**, Predicative **-o/om/v** and Extended **-la**. Their classification as locationals recognises the fact that they form a semantic class. In strictly formal terms, different classes could be recognised, based on whether or not they take either the Presentative **-ri** and Predicative suffix **-o/om/v** (**hoka**, **hoika**, **heaka**, **hoaka**, **aka**, **ika**, **koka** and **oka**) and Extended **-la** (the same group but without **hoaka** and **aka**). Those that do not would then be classified as particles. However it seems descriptively more revealing to think about them in terms of their semantic relationship to each other. In this way, members of the same semantic set like **uke** 'near' (uninflecting) and **koka~oka** 'far' (taking Presentative **-ri** and Predicative **-o/om/v** and Extended **-la**) do not have to be separated.

Those locationals which end in **ka** enter into certain formal and paradigmatic relationships with each other, and with the demonstratives; these forms are discussed in Sections 8.9 and 8.10, where there is also a discussion of the Presentative **-ri** and Predicative **-o/om/v** and Extended **-la**.

3.12 NUN 'FROM'

Nun 'from' is a locational particle which differs from the other locationals in that it always occurs together with a nominal adjunct, immediately following it, and together with this nominal adjunct it forms a complex locational adjunct. **Nun** is discussed in Section 7.4.

3.13 DEMONSTRATIVE IDENTIFIERS

There is a class of words which are formally related to the **foia** demonstrative pronoun, with the addition of an extra syllable /hV/ after the first syllable of the pronoun, where V takes its form from the vowel of the first syllable of the pronoun.

Demonstrative identifiers only occur in non-verbal clauses, functioning somewhat similarly to predicative deictics. See Section 8.11 for a discussion of them, and a

comparison with predicative deictics.

3.14 ROI-DOI 'WHICH?'

There is a word **roi-doi** 'which?' (the forms vary freely; see Section 2.10), a question word, which forms its own word class, on the basis of its morpho-syntactic properties. It functions as the head of an NP, so one might want to call it a noun, but there are two reasons that this is not an appropriate classification. Firstly, it is a criterial feature of nouns that they have their own inherent gender. **Roi** does not, but instead takes its gender from the word whose status it is questioning. Secondly, it can appear in an NP in apposition with, and before, this noun which it is questioning. Nouns do not do this; two nouns in the same NP must normally appear in a head-modifier relationship, using the possessive construction (see Section 4.2 for discussion of this). The fact that **roi** can appear in apposition with a noun means that it is not a noun. The fact that it appears before, not after, this noun, means that it could not possibly be modifying this noun; modifiers invariably follow, not precede, their heads. For these reasons, **roi** is not considered a noun or an adjective, but instead is considered to belong to its own word class.

Other question words are discussed below, Section 3.17.2. **Roi** is discussed further, along with other question words, in Section 17.1.4.

3.15 REFLEXIVE MUAN 'SELF'

The reflexive word **muan** 'self' is in its own word class, as it has features unique to it. It is obligatorily prefixed with a Possessive prefix, to indicate its referent. It may also be preceded by an NP stating this referent. Verbal morphology cross-references the NP (or the referent to which the Possessive prefix refers), not **muan** itself. **Muan** is not a noun, as it has no gender, and does not function as the head of an NP, cannot be modified by a demonstrative and cannot take the definite article, does not function as an argument, and therefore it cannot be cross-referenced by a predicate. **Muan** is called a reflexive word, because one of its functions is reflexive, but it also occurs to indicate that the actor did the action alone, by themselves. In the following example, **muan** appears with a 1st person singular Possessive prefix, and an NP consisting of the 1st person pronoun precedes it. The verb cross-references the 1st singular subject:

- 13) Ngai ngamuan ta lava ga ekone
 ngai nga- muan ta lava ga e- ko -ne
 1sg 1sgPOSS- self just bamboo(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- throw -IMPF
- angoa.
 a- ngoa
 1sgS- stay

I keep on rod fishing by myself.

w1 024

Reflexive constructions are discussed in Section 13.3.5.

3.16 VERB ADJUNCTS

There is a small closed class of verb adjuncts, consisting of only four words: **fo'for** 'fly, prepare'; **ko'kor** 'tight'; **so'sor** 'fast' and **va'var** 'talking'.

Verb adjuncts only occur in construction with the verb **hai** 'do'; together the words form a kind of complex predicate. They immediately precede **hai**. Nothing can intervene between the verb adjunct and **hai**, and the verb adjunct cannot occur with any other verb than **hai**.

It is easy to distinguish verb adjuncts from other word classes. They are not nominal arguments, because they are never, under any circumstance, cross-referenced by the verb. They are not verbs, because they never receive any verbal morphology; and in addition, verbs are all vowel-final. They are different from particles, both in their fixed position and in their reliance on the presence of **hai** 'do'. It is interesting to note the formal relationship between the four verb adjuncts: they all end in /t/, and they look like older reduplications; the non-initial stress pattern is also suggestive of this (see Section 2.7.1 for a discussion of the types of words which have non-initial stress). If they are old reduplications, it is not at all clear what the unreduplicated words were, or what word class they were. Interestingly, there is a noun **va'var** 'talking' as well.

Note that borrowed verbs also function similarly to verb adjuncts, but in construction with **sia** 'be, become, happen, do' rather than with **hai**. Verb adjunct constructions are discussed in Section 14.4.

3.17 PARTICLES

There are a large number of particles in Lavukaleve; these words take no morphological affixation, and do not occur in close construction with any other word or constituent. They can be divided into smaller subclasses based on their scope across a constituent or clause, and their semantics. Adverbial particles have scope over a clause or a single verb. Hesitation and exclamation particles do not have scope. Other particles have scope over a whole clause. They all function syntactically as adjuncts.

3.17.1 ADVERBIAL PARTICLES

There are only ten adverbial particles in the corpus. Most verbal modification is done by full verbal clauses rather than by adverbs. Adverbs are a subclass of particles which can have scope over a single verb (although this is not always the case; they can also have scope over an entire clause). They are all manner adverbs. As there are so few, it is worth giving an exhaustive list, although there are probably more in the language than

occur in the corpus collected so far.

uruala 'properly'
karial(a) 'slowly, easily'
rikai 'quickly'
laketa 'on foot'
saka 'fast'
enata 'at that moment'
leon 'hurriedly'
la 'straight away'
hotu 'at the same time'
tuna 'really'

Adverbial particles generally immediately precede the verb which they modify, although this is not obligatory. As adverbs are not discussed elsewhere in the thesis, it is worthwhile to show some examples here:

14)	ngarolon		mina	oemege		fi
	nga- rolo -n		mina	o- e-	me	-ge fi
	1sgPOSS- mind -LOC		thing(f)	3sgfO- SBD-	continue	-ANT 3sgnFOC
	leta rikai ngolaila		merea		fongai.	
	leta rikai ngo-lai -la		me -re -a		fongai	
	but quickly 2sg- tell -NEG		HAB -NF -sgf		1sgFOC	

...I (f) kept it inside myself (kept it to myself), and I didn't tell you quickly.

co 380

15)	Emaiguge		laketa	aka nun aka
	e- ma- igu		-ge laketa	aka nun aka
	1pl.ex- 3plS- take.out		-ANT on.foot	then from then
	nun aka nun kini vau, koi		Pipisala elavea.	
	nun aka nun kini vau koi		Pipisala e- lavea	
	from then from ACT go.out also		Pipisala 1pl.ex- appear	

They took us on foot, on and on and on we went, then we reached Pipisala.

kg1 026

Apart from these adverbial particles, adverbials can also be derived from intransitive verbs using the suffix **-ril**. This is discussed in Section 13.2.3.

3.172 QUESTION PARTICLES

Question particles include the following: **ria-dia** 'where?'; **riahi-diahi** 'where to?' (the r-initial and d-initial forms vary freely; see Section 2.10); **ninam** 'when?'; and **vala** 'how, what, why?', a general interrogative. These particles all occur as the first word of a question sentence.

Other question words are intransitive verbs **vasia** 'be where?' and **ela** 'be how many?'; masculine nouns **ami** 'who?'; **man** 'what?'; **elahave** 'how much?'; and the plural noun

elav 'how many?'. Question particles and other question words are discussed in Section 17.1.

3.17.3 TIME PARTICLES

There are three time particles. They are: **kosora** 'today'; **raine** 'tomorrow'; **marigen** 'yesterday'. Note also there is a word **movele** 'the day after tomorrow', which is a neuter noun. There is no word for 'the day before yesterday'.

3.17.4 QUANTIFIER PARTICLES

There are only two quantifier particles; **suni** 'all' and **mail** 'a bit'. Other concepts from this semantic area are expressed by words of other word classes, e.g. **vutia** 'be many' (intransitive verb); **ro-ru** 'none' (adjective **ro** 'one' with negative suffix); **fatu** 'half' (noun); **viluril** 'most' (derived verb); and **fan** 'some' (noun). They function as adjuncts.

3.17.5 VOCATIVE PARTICLES

There are three vocative particles, which appear at the end of sentences, and provide illocutionary force to the utterance. Typically they occur with commands and exhortations. The three particles are **na** (vocative, singular), **nail** (vocative, dual) and **nai** (vocative, plural). The particles are always spoken as the final word of an utterance, after an intonation break (indicated below by the slash and comma respectively in the following examples), and they always receive very strong stress. Their use is only possible in very informal circumstances. Note that I have translated them as 'you', which, in this context, seems like the closest functional equivalent in English. They do not, however, make any reference to person, and are not to be understood as pronouns of any sort. Some examples:

- 16) E! Ngana lafa ro feo ngonerea / na!
 e nga- na lafa ro feo ngo-ne -re -a / na
 hey! 1sgO- in part(f) one.sgf 3sgfFOC 2sg- give -FUT -sgf / VOC.sg
Hey! Give me a bit, you! co 024
- 17) Hamus hobe, na!
 hamus hobe -ø na
 evening(n) good -sgn VOC.sg
Good night, you! e3 016a
- 18) Vulamela, nail!
 vula -mela nail
 come -DURIMP.du VOC.du
Come here, you two! e3 016b

3.17.6 HESITATION PARTICLES

Hesitation particles are used as fillers while a speaker decides what to say next. They cannot sensibly be said to have scope. Some of the common ones include **a**, **e**, **mi**, **i** and **mina** 'um'. **Mina** is also a feminine noun meaning 'thing', but in its use as a hesitation particle it appears in sentences not as an argument but rather as a filler, while the speaker thinks of the word they want.

3.17.7 EXCLAMATION PARTICLES

There are quite a few exclamation particles, used to show instant reaction and emotion. These words seem to be particularly sensitive to style; this is cross-linguistically common. The following are some of the most common ones:

eseko	'wow! is it true?' (used by younger people)
hapilo	'oh my goodness!' (used by older people)
e	'hey!' (used generally, to get someone's attention)
eta	'wow!' (exclamation of surprise, used generally)
sala	'hey! stop that!' (exclamation of disapproval, used in admonishing young children)
tumai	'really! oh, right!' (used generally, as a response to information, or giving feedback to a speaker as a way of eliciting more information)
sie	'stop that!' (used only for admonishing dogs)

3.17.8 RELATIONAL PARTICLES

The following are the most common relational particles: **noka** 'even'; **tin** 'only'; **hide** 'thus' (used with quoted speech); **koi** 'also, too'; **ke** 'emphatic' (provides assertive emphasis to a clause or constituent); **vausa** 'finished, enough' (said at the end of a story).

3.17.9 MISCELLANEOUS PARTICLES

There are many other particles, including the following most common ones: **iire** 'yes'; **tamu** 'no'; **maiva** 'maybe'; **bae-bai** 'let's go!'; **de** 'have this!' (presentational particle); **nam** 'gimme!'; **ta** 'just', 'must'; **kini-ini** action particle; **hini** beneficiary particle. **Bae-bai** is anomalous in that it can take the Group suffix (see Section 8.10.1). Because of this, strictly speaking it should not be classified as a particle, but it seems unnecessary to give this word its own word class.

Some of these particles, in particular **ta** 'just', 'must' and **kini-ini** and **hini** are very

prevalent, and warrant some discussion.

The particle **ta** is extremely prevalent, and has a couple of different meanings. Often it means 'must':

- 19) "O! Ngai koi vela lame kini ngane memal nala
 o ngai koi vela la- me kini nga- ne me -mal nala
 oh 1sg also go 1sgS- HAB ACT 1sgO- with SPEC -du.m mduArt

lanam ta akiure"

la- nam ta a- kiu -re
 3dumO- to must 1sgS- die -FUT

"Oh! I too will go to my two brothers, then I must die there"

mn3 059

- 20) Hoina nikol ta'vulimal ta okoroire.
 hoina nikol ta'vulimal ta o- koroi -re
 MOD.MED.sgm first house.posts(pl) must 3sgFO- chop -FUT

(He wants to build a house.) He needs to cut posts first.

e1 040e

More commonly, it has a less immediately obvious meaning, but can often be translated as 'just'. It seems to provide some sort of emphasis for the next piece of discourse. Typically, it is followed by a pause (indicated by the slash or comma in the next examples), and then a new participant, or a new event, is introduced. For example:

- 21) Malav va aunion esiage, maruta la
 malav va aunio -n e- e- sia -ge ma- ruta la
 people(pl) plArt evening-LOC 3sgnO- SBD-do -ANT 3plPOSS- lamp(f) sgfArt

koan omafouge ta,
 koa -n o- ma- fou -ge ta
 door -LOC 3sgFO- 3plS- put.on -ANT just

taragau na hano ove / ruta la omaham.
 taragau na hano o- ve / ruta la o- ma -ham
 sea.eagle(m) sgmArt then 3sgS- go / lamp(f) sgfArt 3sgFO-take-PURP

The people, upon evening coming, just put out their light, and the sea eagle went to take the light.

gm 065

- 22) Vokuire voure,
 vo- kui -re vo- u -re
 3plO- burn -NF 3plO- eat -NF
- ngoane ngoa voemege ta /
 ngoa -ne ngoa vo- e- me -ge ta /
 stay -IMPF stay 3plO- SBD- HAB ANT just /
- hano / lokalem na ovoe.
 hano / lo- kalem na o- vo -e
 then / 3duPOSS- father(m) sgmArt 3sgPOSS- come -PSV

They cook them and eat them, it just goes on, then the father comes.

gm 085

Ta often occurs after a subordinate clause, as in these examples, or after a coordinate-dependent clause in a clause chain, and it seems to be that it is signaling that that piece of the discourse is finishing, and a new one is about to start.

The particle **kini** ~ **ini** is glossed ACTION. It is an extremely frequently occurring particle, and unfortunately it is difficult to describe exactly what it means. It often appears directly before an action verb, and is best translated into English as "go and (V)". It refers to motion or action; and suggests completiveness, or decisiveness in the accomplishment of the action. It refers to reaching a place, or carrying out an action: that is, successful attainment of a goal. It immediately precedes the goal. If the goal is an action, it immediately precedes the (O and) V. If the goal is reaching a place, it immediately precedes the place reached.

The difference between **kini** and **ini** is generational. Older people prefer **ini**; younger people prefer **kini**. The **kini** form seems to be gaining ground, in that there are older speakers who alternate between **kini** and **ini**, but younger speakers rarely use **ini**. Note that the generationally-based initial **k/ø** alternation also occurs in the locationals **koka** and **oka** 'far'; see Section 8.9.2 for a discussion. Some examples of **kini** and **ini** follow.

- 23) **ama** **aokoge** **aerauge,**
 a- ma a- o- ko -ge a- e- erau -ge
 3sgmO- take 3sgmO- 3sgS- throw -ANT 3sgmO- SBD- fall -ANT

kini **vatu** **ga** **ehaire.**
 kini vatu ga e- hai -re
 ACT head(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- take.off -NF

Taking and throwing him, he fell, and he up and cut off his head.

kg2 037-038

- 24) **Oefeuge** **ta** **aka** **bagatum** **na** **kini** **ovau**
 o- e- feu -ge ta aka bagatum na kini o- vau
 3sgfO- SBD- go.up -ANT just then male.giant(m) sgmArt ACT 3sgS- go.out

Upon her going up, then the giant went and came down [from the bush to their village]. jn2 006

- 25) **Velanun** **lai** **ga** **hoare** **evoge** **ini**
 vela -nun lai ga hoa -re e- e- vo-ge ini
 go -DUR rain(n) sgnArt poke-through -NF 3sgnO- SBD- come-ANT ACT
ukeare **lo.**
 ukea -re lo
 come.close -NF finish

It went on, and the rain started falling, it up and came close.

cs1 018

- 26) **Kua** **oloe** **ini** **vela** **leme.**
 kua o- lo -e ini vela le- me
 moon(f) 3sgS- finish -NOMZR ACT go 1plex- HAB

We would up and go at the end of the month.

ao 012

- 27) **Vau** **claveage,** **emare** **sokil**
 vau e- lavea -ge e- ma -re sokil
 go.out 1plex- appear -ANT 1plex- take -NF small.ship(m)
- na** **emare** **kini** **Mosibe** **eigu.**
 na e- ma -re kini Mosibe e- igu
 sgmArt 1plex- take -NF ACT Mosibe 1pl.ex- take.out
- Upon us arriving there, a launch takes us, and took us to Mosibe.* kg1 023

- 28) **"Bagatum** **na** **fin** **kini** **vau**
 bagatum na fin kini vau
 male.giant(m) sgmArt 3sgmFOC ACT go.out
- ngatulav** **va** **vokurure** **leim** **sala!"**
 nga- tulav va vo- kuru -re lei -m sala
 1sgPOSS- children(pl) plArt 3plO- hit -NF exist -sgm hey!
- "It's the giant, he has up and gone out and killed my children! Hey!"* jn2 015

Hini (glossed INTention) marks an intended action or intended goal. It refers to something being aimed or destined or given for a purpose or a person. It almost always occurs following the benefactive postposition **ham** 'for'. It usually appears immediately after the thing which is intended; the intended target/goal, whether this is an action or a person, or an inanimate object.

- 29) **voham** **hini** **talv** **hobea** **oeane,**
 vo- ham hini talv hobea -a o- ea -ne
 3plO- for INT word(f) good -sgf 3sgFO- talk.about -IMPF
- ...we tell them the good news.* am 057
- 30) **voham** **hini** **ui** **sevo** **ema** **ve,**
 vo- ham hini ui sevo e- ma ve
 3plO- for INT food(n) tabu 3sgnO- take go
- ...take Holy Communion to them,* am 059
- 31) **man** **olikirem** **na,** **oham** **hini** **avolorima.**
 man o- liki -re -m na o- ham hini a- volori -ma
 what(m) 3sgS- want -NF -sgm sgmArt 3sgFO-for INT 3sgmO- make -DURIMP.sg
- You give her what she wants!* co 275

The next sentence is about house-building. Strips of betel tree fibre are used to sew together the sago leaves to make walls:

- 32) **Nat** **na** **aham** **hini** **le'usa**
 nat na a- ham hini le'usa
 sago.palm(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- for INT betel.tree(f)
- feo** **ngotatavarirea,** **ahoaham.**
 feo ngo- tatavari -re -a a- hoa -ham
 3sgFOC 2sg- split -FUT -sgf 3sgmO- poke.through -PURP
- The betel wood is for the sago; you split [the betel wood] to sew it [i.e. the sago].* b2 011

CHAPTER FOUR

Noun phrases and possession

This chapter outlines the structure of NPs, and then describes in detail the elements which can modify a head noun. These elements include adjectives (including numbers), demonstrative modifiers and the definite article. Two particularly frequently occurring adjectives, **ro** 'one' and **mea** 'SPECifier' are discussed in detail. The structure of possessive phrases and the semantic characteristics of the possessive construction are also examined.

4.1 THE STRUCTURE OF NPs

An NP consists of a head, and, if this is a noun, it may be followed by optional modifiers including adjectives. The Specifier adjective **mea** and the adjective **ro** 'one' follow other adjectives and the final slot of the NP is filled, optionally, by the definite article or a demonstrative modifier. If the head is a demonstrative or personal pronoun, the only modification it can have is a demonstrative modifier. This word order of head followed by modifiers is obligatory.

The following schema outlines the maximal structure of NPs in Lavukaleve:

Noun	Adj *	mea 'SPEC'	ro 'one'	{ Art Dem modifier }
{ Personal pronoun Demonstrative pronoun }			Dem modifier	

4.1.1 HEADS OF NPS

Nouns and demonstrative and personal pronouns may function as heads of NPs. The head controls agreement within the NP (and in the clause).

Some examples follow, of an NP consisting of an unmodified noun head, a modified noun head and a personal pronoun head respectively. The relevant NPs are italicised:

- 1) **Velanun** **velanun** **velanun** **kini** **karokomua** **oole.**
 vela -nun vela -nun vela -nun kini karokomua o- o- le
 go -DUR go -DUR go -DUR ACT gecko(f) 3sgfO- 3sgS- see
He went on and on and on, then he saw a gecko. *mn4 086*
- 2) **amare,** **lake** **rugi** **ga** **esoire** **fona.**
 a- ma -re lake rugi ga e- soi -re fona
 3sgmO- take -NF road(n) big.sgn sgnArt 3sgnO- follow -NF PN.PROX.sgm
...taking it, he went along the big road. *hr1 010*
- 3) **Sou** **ore,** **okala** **la** **"Inu mina ofiva."**
 sou o- re o- kala la inu mina o- fi -va
 rise 3sgS- say 3sgPOSS- mother(f) sgfArt 2sg thing(f) 3sgfO-hear-PCTIMP.sg
She up and said, his mother, "You listen to this." *co 299*

ELLIPSIS OF HEADS

Heads of NPs can be ellipsed if their referent is retrievable from context. In the following example, the NP **bakel sevoa** consists of two adjectives and an ellipsed head, which, although not present in the sentence, controls the agreement of **sevoa**. Note that **bakel** is an irregular adjective, in that it does not show agreement.

- 4) *(In the evening a steamer (f) came.)*
Bakel **sevoa** **hano** **mea.**
 bakel sevo -a hano me -a
 big tabu -sgf then SPEC -sgf
Terribly big, that one then [was]. *ns 095*

In the next example, **savatam na** is a headless NP, with understood head **fo'sal** 'fish (m)', which controls the masculine agreement. Example (6), included for comparison, shows that ordinal numbers are syntactically modifiers, not heads, and thus that (5) is indeed an example of nominal ellipsis, and **savatam** is not the head of its NP:

- 5) **Aka loval** **sevi fiv** **malang** **ga.**
 aka loval sevi fiv ma- langi ga
 then giant.trevally(pl) eight 3plFOC 3plPOSS- name(n) sgnArt

The eight fishes, they are called loval.

Savatam	na	fin	Fafas	hin.
savata -m	na	fin	fafas	hin
ninth -sgm	sgmArt	3sgmFOC	fafas(m)	3sgmEFOC

The ninth is a fafas.

b1 050-051

- 6) **Kini nei** **leleta** **ga** **esulaire**
 kini nei leleta -ø ga e- sulai -re
 ACT coconut(n) second-sgm sgnArt 3sgnO- illuminate -NF

I went and shone the torch on the second coconut...

w2 016

As one might expect from the above data on nominal ellipsis, headless relative clauses can occur (see also Section 16.3):

- 7) **Matua** **ona** **taa** **la** **hano** **kiua.**
 matua o- na ta -a la hano kiu -a
 old.coconut(f) 3sgfO- in be.born -sgf sgfArt then die -sgf

The [one] born from an old coconut then died.

co 291

4.1.2 MODIFICATION IN NPs

Adjectives, the demonstrative modifier and the definite article may be used to modify a head noun. Demonstrative and personal pronouns may be modified by the demonstrative modifier only. The maximal NP structure given above makes some broad claims which should be commented on. Firstly, the schema indicates that any number of adjectives may occur in an NP. Actually, in texts no more than three have been found per NP, and elicitation speakers were unwilling to allow more than two or three adjectives within an NP, preferring instead to use a series of shorter sentences, or to use intransitive verbs rather than adjectives. Secondly, while other adjectives can occur in any order with respect to each other, if **ro** 'one' occurs with other adjectives, it must be the final one. The next sections describe in turn the elements which can be used for modification of a head noun.

ADJECTIVES

As described in Section 3.3, adjectives are a closed class with only around fifty members. They occur after a head noun, and they agree in number and gender with their head, using the Agreement Suffix (see Section 10.4). Most adjectives use the Agreement Suffix to show agreement; some, like **ro** 'one', **ru** 'big', **telako** 'one' and **lelaol** 'two' have their own inflectional paradigms. Some, like **bakel** 'big' and the numbers from three to ten do not show agreement. Some examples:

- 8) *tome rua fin koi ika leim.*
 tome rua fin koi ika lei -m
 hole(m) big.sgm 3sgmFOC also there exist -sgm
...there was a big hole there co2 107
- 9) *Olang gaikokomal monomonov vona ta leao.*
 olang gaikoko -mal monomono -v vo- na ta le- ao
 because canoe -pl small -pl 3plO- in just 1duex- go.in
Because we went in small canoes. w1 053
- 10) *fo'sal bakel ho'beam na, hoinari fin,*
 fo'sal bakel ho'bea -m na hoina -ri fin
 fish(m) big good -sgm sgmArt MOD.MED.sgm -PSNV 3sgmFOC
masulum na aham hide afou mame.
 ma- sulum na a- ham hide a- fou ma- me
 3plPOSS- chief(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- for thus 3sgmO- put 3plS- HAB
... the best big fish, that one, they would give to the chief. ch 003

There are two adjectives which deserve special mention here: **ro** 'unit, one' and **mea** 'SPECifier'. These adjectives, as well as being extremely frequent, bear some resemblance in terms of their functions to the demonstrative modifier; these interesting features merit discussion.

Ro 'ONE'

There is an indefinite adjective **ro** 'one'. It also has a special use, not as a modifier but as a head, in which case it means 'the one', 'the other'; that is, it has a definite and/or contrastive meaning.

Ro 'one' (cited in the feminine singular form), while functioning syntactically as a regular adjective, is morphologically irregular in that it has its own inflectional paradigm for person/number agreement. It differs from other adjectives morphologically also in that it has a special suffix **-ru**, added to the inflected word, to negate it. The inflectional paradigm of **ro** (given also in Section 3.3) is as follows:

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
MASC	roa	roal	rovo
FEM	ro	rol	
NEUT	roge	rogeI	

Note that having its own inflectional paradigm is not an unusual property of adjectives; the adjective **ru** 'big' also has its own inflectional paradigm (see Section 3.3), but is nonetheless distributionally a perfectly normal adjective.

If there is more than one adjective in an NP, including **ro**, **ro** is always the final one. For example:

- 11) *Ali rua folufolum roa alem fin.*
 ali rua folufolu -m roa a- le -m fin
 man(m) big.sgm fat -sgm one.sgm 1sgS- see -sgm 3sgmFOC
I saw a big fat man. e1 023d

Ro marks an entity as indefinite:

- 12) "Ngali ra ba kini foe roa
 ngali ra ba kini foe roa
 friend(m) coconut.crab(f) go!sg ACT pig(m) one.sgm
 akula amefoi" hide ore.
 a- kula a- me- foi hide o- re
 3sgmO- run.after 3sgmO- lduin- hold thus 3sgS- say
"Friend rat, let's go catch a pig" he said. mn4 003

- 13) *Velanun velanun velanun velanun*
 vela -nun vela -nun vela -nun vela -nun
 go -DUR go -DUR go -DUR go -DUR
 velanun velanun kini savaom roa alere,
 vela -nun vela -nun kini savaom roa a- le -re
 go -DUR go -DUR ACT tree.sp(m) one.sgm 3sgmO- see -NF
They went on and on and on, then they saw a savaum tree, ... mn4 073

- 14) *Mima hona ana*
 Mima hona a- na
 Mima(m) MOD.PROX.sgm 3sgmO- in
 fo'sal rua roa aehoage,
 fo'sal rua roa a- e- hoa -ge
 fish(m) big.sgm one.sgm 3sgmO- SBD- poke.through -ANT
 olav ga hano hale.
 o- lava ga hano hale -s
 3sgPOSS- bamboo(n) sgnArt then break -sgn
Mima hooks a big fish and his bamboo [fishing rod] breaks. w1 022

- 15) *Mima hona hau erau oiga*
 Mima hona hau erau oiga
 Mima(m) MOD.PROX.sgm go.ashore fall other.MED.sgn
 enata hano gu ro halere voa.
 enata hano gu ro hale -re vo -a
 that.moment then wave(f) one.sgf break -NF come -sgf
At that very moment that this Mima went ashore, a wave broke. w1 014

In the non-singular, **ro** means 'some':

- 16) **Kala ngai namu ena**
 kala ngai namu e- na
 mother(f) 1sg place(n) 3sgnO- in
kaneol **rol ngoa lome**
 kaneol rol ngoa lo- me
 two.female.relatives one.duf stay 3duS- HAB
enam ikari fi avere.
 e- nam ika -ri fi a- ve -re
 3sgnO- to there -PSNV 3sgnFOC 1sgS- go -FUT
Mother, in this place, some [two] sisters are living, there I'll go. *co 031*
- 17) **Kini kanege rovo vone va'var haire**
 kini kanege rovo vone ne va'var hai -re
 ACT family(pl) one.pl 3plO- with talking do -NF
vomare hau hoire hila.
 vo- ma -re hau hoi -re hi -la
 3plO- take -NF go.ashore go.in -NF do/say -EXT
And they talked with some families and brought them in. *rk1 019*
- It was mentioned above that **ro** can be negated, using the suffix **-ru**, a suffix which only occurs on this word. When negated, **ro** means 'none' or 'not one' (see Section 17.2.3):
- 18) **aka malav rovoru ika vela leiv fiv.**
 aka malav rovo -ru ika ve -la lei -v fiv
 then people(pl) one.pl -none there go -NEG exist -pl 3plFOC
...so no people can go there. *jo 012*
- 19) **Mina roru omala leim fongai.**
 mina ro -ru o- ma -la lei -m fongai
 thing(f) one.sgf -none 3sgfO- take -NEG exist -sgm 1sgFOC
I never took anything. *co2 075*
- 20) **Aka siare rovoru felelav fiv.**
 aka sia -re rovo -ru fele -la -v fiv
 then do -NF one.pl -none return -NEG -pl 3plFOC
That's why none of them returned. *jn 055*

Ro is a marker of indefiniteness, but one would not want to call it an indefinite article, for a number of reasons. Firstly, it has the syntactic distribution of an adjective. Secondly, it does not have the frequency or obligatoriness which one might expect of an article; it is certainly far less frequent than the definite article. Thirdly, it is not obligatory in indefinite NPs, again unlike the definite article, which is obligatory in all definite NPs (unless there is a demonstrative to express the definiteness). Fourthly, and crucially, it can, under certain constrained circumstances, co-occur with the definite article. The circumstances in which this can happen are as follows.

It was shown above that NP heads can be ellipsed, which results in adjectives looking

like they are the heads of NPs. The heads of NPs in which **ro** occurs are particularly frequently ellipsed:

21)	airaol	lelaol	ruiaol		feol	leiaol.	
	airaol	lelaol	ruia	-ol	feol	lei	-aol
	2women	two.f	old.woman	-duf	3dufFOC	exist	-du.f

...two old women live there.

Aka	longoae			ga	akari	fi
aka	lo-	ngo	-e	ga	aka	-ri
then	3duS-	stay	-NOMZR	sgnArt	then	-PSNV
ngo	lomel		ro	oka	mail	ro
ngo	lo-	me	-l	ro	koka	mail
stay	3sgS-	HAB	-du	one.sgf	far	a.bit
				one.sgf	near	a.bit

The way they live, one lives far away a bit, and the other lives a bit closer.

co 033-034

In these circumstances, **ro** usually has a contrastive meaning or it has a definite meaning 'the one': both meanings are exemplified in the example above.

And in such circumstances, when **ro** is in an NP with an ellipsed head, the definite article (or the demonstrative modifier **hoia** 'this') can be present:

22)	ta	roa	hide	ore:	"E!	Ngahouba!	
	ta	roa	hide	o- re	e	nga-	hou
	just	one.sgm	thus	3sgS-	say	hey!	1sgO-
							wait.for
							-DURIMP.pl
	Feu	houla	ro	oakoroi"		hide	ore.
	feu	houla	ro	o-	a-	koroi	hide
	go.up	stick(f)	one.sgf	3sgFO-	1sgS-	chop	thus
							3sgS-
							say

...then one [boy] says "Hey! You lot wait for me! I'll go up and chop a stick" he says.

Hano.	Roa	na	ofeu.
hano	roa	na	o- feu
then	one.sgm	sgmArt	3sgS-
			go.up

Okay. The one [boy] went up.

hr2 022-024

23) (So he parcelled them [the eggs] in munu leaf, then he gave them to us two [my brother and me] to hold. We held them and came along, I held them.)

Roa	na	koi	mafan	fiv	ofoiv	hiv.
roa	na	koi	ma-	fan	fiv	o-
one.sgm	sgmArt	also	3plPOSS-	some	3plFOC	3sgS-
						hold -pl
						3plEFOC

The other one [i.e. my brother] held some of them too.

mt 062

24)	"Le vala	memalen		ke"	roa	hoina	ore.
	le	vala	me-	ma-	le	-n	ke
	but	how	1pl.in-	3plS-	see	-ADMON	EMPH
					one.sgm	MOD.MED.sgm	3sgS-
							say

"But hang on, they might see us" that other one says.

ja 245

It is only in this syntactic environment, with an ellipsed head, that **ro** has a definite/contrastive meaning and is compatible with the definite article and the demonstrative modifier.

Because in these syntactically-constrained circumstances **ro** can occur with the definite article, one would not want to call it an indefinite article. However, **ro** certainly does bear a resemblance to an indefinite article when it appears with a noun head. In fact, it bears certain resemblance to the kinds of meanings which the English noun 'one', in its non-numeral sense, can have (cf. Givón 1981). It is generally translated as such, as the examples given show. Note that one would also not want to call **ro** a specific article, largely because it does not refer to specificity.

One could argue that when it appears with a noun head **ro** is an indefinite article, and when it appears as a head, it is not. However, because of the four reasons outlined above: namely, its relative infrequency, non-obligatoriness, adjective-like distribution and co-occurrence with the definite article, **ro** is described as an adjective here, although it is acknowledged that it has many properties more usually associated with articles, and possibly at some future stage of the language it will become a fully-fledged indefinite article.

MEA 'SPECIFIER'

The second adjective which requires discussion is **mea**, glossed as SPECifier (cited here in the feminine singular form). When it is used in construction with nouns, **mea** functions syntactically and morphologically as an adjective, occurring between a noun and the definite article. Like other adjectives, it has no inherent gender, but inflects to agree with its head noun, using the Agreement Suffix on the stem **me**¹.

In this construction, **mea** marks out an entity as being a particular one, known to both speaker and addressee. It refers to shared knowledge, shared not because it has been referred to already in the discourse, but shared in the sense that everybody knows it. It refers to common knowledge, common sense and shared knowledge of the world, which is based on the fact that all Lavukals live in the same place, and have always done so (at least in their cultural mythology), and share the same culture and world view. Some examples:

¹ There are two plural forms in free variation: **meav** and **mev**.

- 25) **Nikol ta'vulimal fiv ngokoroirev,**
 nikol ta'vuli -mal fiv ngo- koroi -re -v
 first house.post -pl 3plFOC 2sg- chop -FUT -pl
- ta'vulimal va houla lagari mea feo.**
 ta'vuli -mal va houla lagari me -a feo
 house.post -pl plArt stick(f) choose SPEC -sgf 3sgfFOC
- First you cut the posts. The posts are [from] this special tree [which we all know].* b2 002

- 26) **Mina hori hano kastom me ga**
 mina ho -ri hano kastom me -ø ga
 thing(f) MOD.PROX.sgf -PSNV then custom(n) SPEC -sgn sgnArt
- ena, ta ana siriae**
 e- na ta a- na siriae -e
 3sgnO- in time(m) 3sgmO- in catch.fish -NOMZR
- chai mamem na ana,**
 e- hai ma- me -m na a- na
 3sgnO- do 3plS- HAB -sgm sgmArt 3sgmO- in
- This thing, in this custom before [which we all know], when they would go fishing, ...* cs2 051

- 27) **Laekiuge lovuliman**
 la- e- kiu -ge lo- vuliman
 3dumO- SBD- die -ANT 3duPOSS- back
- suluverav mev malaketei tugua ta oi.**
 suluverav me -v ma- laketei tugua ta o- i
 chiefs(pl) SPEC -pl 3plPOSS- life(n) exchange just 3sgS-do
- When [the two men] died, after them, the lives of these chiefs [who we all know] changed.* jh 023

This type of referentiality bears a superficial resemblance to what Himmelmann (1996) describes as the recognitional function of demonstratives: "Recognitional use of demonstratives ... draws on specific, 'personalized' knowledge that is assumed to be shared by the communicating parties due to a common interactional history or to supposedly shared experiences" (p. 233). However **mea** differs from recognitional demonstratives in a few ways. Firstly, recognitional demonstratives, as Himmelmann describes them, are used primarily by the speaker to make sure the hearer knows which referent the speaker means, by calling on shared knowledge between the speech act participants:

A central feature of this use is that the speaker anticipates problems with respect to the information used in referring to a given referent. That is, the speaker is uncertain whether or not the kind of information he or she is giving is shared by the hearer or whether or not this information will be sufficient in allowing the hearer to identify the intended referent. Such use could always be (and in fact often is) accompanied by a you know? or remember?-type of tag question. (p. 230)

This is not the case with **mea**; rather than being an overt manifestation of a speaker's uncertainty over whether or not their intended referent will be understood, **mea** is, it

seems, rather an acknowledgment of the fact that the speaker and the hearer share their knowledge and experience of the world. Further, although **mea** has these referential functions which resemble demonstratives in certain ways, **mea** is not a demonstrative.

According to two of Himmelmann's (1996) criteria for what constitutes a demonstrative, **mea** does not contain reference to distance in its semantics, which demonstratives do, and it is frequently used for first mentions of unique entities, which demonstratives cannot be; this can be seen in examples (28) and (29) below for instance. In addition, **mea** can co-occur with the definite article, which demonstratives cannot, and it can co-occur with demonstratives, which suggests that it occurs in a different slot from demonstratives. Finally, **mea** can never appear without a head, unlike demonstratives. For these reasons, **mea** is not considered a demonstrative, although it is certainly true that its functions do bear some resemblance to some of the functions commonly seen in demonstratives.

Mea is usually translated here using 'this' or 'that', but the reader should understand these in the sense of 'this thing that we all know about (because we share a common culture and know the same things)'.

Because it makes overt reference to shared knowledge, **mea** often occurs with proper nouns, in particular, places and people familiar to all Lavukal people. Such usages cannot be felicitously translated into English.

28)	Ma		Baesen		mea				la
	ma		Baesen		me	-a			la
	sea.passage		Baesen(f)		SPEC	-sgf			sgfArt
	osoire		ae		lavea		lome		ga.
	o- soi -re		ae		lavea	lo-	me	-ø	ga
	3sgfO- follow -NF		go.up		appear	3sgS-	HAB	-sgn	sgnArt

It (m) came along and appeared in the sea passage at Baesen. ns 052

29)	Hano	ka		ta		roa		na		Mafur	na
	hano	ka		ta		roa		na		Mafur	na
	then	LOCEMPH		time(m)		one.sgm		sgmArt		Mafur(m)	sgmArt
	oae	Fean	Kengaraon		holu		mem		na		
	o- ae	Fean	Kengarao	-n	holu	me	-m		na		
	3sgS- go.up	Fean	Kengaraon	-LOC	harbour(m)	SPEC	-sgm		sgmArt		
	ana		golu		avaham.						
	a-	na	golu	a-	va	-ham					
	3sgmO-	in	spear(m)	3sgmO-	pull	-PURP					

Once upon a time, Mafur went up to Fean, in this Kengaraon harbour, to go spear fishing.
b1 002

- 30) **Lore** **"Ami hin akari mina mea ho."**
 lo- re ami hin aka -ri mina me -a ho
 3duS- say who(m) 3sgmEFOC then -PSNV thing SPEC -sgf MOD.PROX.sgf
They said "Who did this thing?" ja 240
- 31) **Houla fokoa mea ro ona vaure,**
 houla foko -a me -a ro o- na vau -re
 stick(f) leaning -sgf SPEC -sgf one.sgf 3sgfO- in go.out -NF
He went out on a tree that was leaning over (i.e. on one of these leaning trees), v2 027-028

As some of the above examples have shown, **mea** can co-occur easily with the definite article and demonstrative modifier. This makes a certain amount of intuitive sense: the definite article and demonstrative modifier, both marking definiteness, refer to an entity as something that both speaker and addressee can be expected to be able to identify. This is consistent with the functions of **mea**, which marks an entity as one that the speaker knows and expects their addressee to be able to identify. However, even though it makes intuitive sense for **mea** and the definite article or demonstrative modifier to co-occur, it is still not possible to predict when the definite article or demonstrative modifier would occur with **mea** and when they would not. This is a subtle area, difficult for a non-native speaker to fully understand.

Even though it is not strictly relevant to NP structure, it is worthwhile, in this discussion of **mea**, to note that **mea** can also occur in a non-adjectival use, in construction with particles and nominal adjuncts (i.e. postpositional phrases, locative-marked nouns, and place nouns). In construction with particles and nominal adjuncts it creates either an NP or a nominal modifier phrase with that word or phrase. In (32), the particle **hano** forms an NP head together with **mea**, and takes the definite article. In (33), the particle **akari** 'like that', together with **mea**, modify the head noun **le** 'day'. In (34) **akari mem** functions as the conjoined head (with **leftenan**, separated by the conjunction **ve** 'or') of the NP **leftenan ve akari mem roa ane** 'lieutenant or something like that':

- 32) **Hano meav va vonam mina roru tamu.**
 hano meav va vo- nam mina ro -ru tamu
 then SPEC.pl pl.Art 3pl.O- to thing(f) one.sgf -none no
Those before [i.e. the ancestors] had nothing. cs2 002
- 33) **Le akari me roge**
 le aka -ri me -ø roge
 day(n) then -PSNV SPEC -sgn one.sgn
ena fi kini ngohaure.
 e- na fi kini ngo- hau -re
 3sgnO- in 3sgnFOC ACT 2sg- go.ashore -FUT
One day, on a certain day [a day like that], you come ashore. jt2 015

- 34) *Mina leftenan ve akari mem roa ane fi.*
 mina leftenan ve aka-ri me -m roa a- ne fi
 um lieutenant(m) or then-PSNV SPEC -sgm one.sgm 3sgmO- with 3sgnFOC

It was with a lieutenant or something like that.

co2 081

In the next set of examples, **mea** is in construction with nominal adjuncts, again forming an NP or nominal modifier with the nominal adjunct. In example (35) the Postpositional phrase **kala okav ena** 'in the mothers' group', with **mea**, functions as a clausal subject: 'those in the mothers' group'. In (36) **mea** (followed by **ro**), with the PP **ngai ngane** 'with me', forms an NP:

- 35) *Viluril kala okav ena mev,*
 vilu -ril kala o- kavu e- na me -v
 exceed -MORE mother(f) 3sgPOSS- group(n) 3sgnO- in SPEC -pl

Especially those who join this mothers' group

emk 011

- 36) *ngai ngane mea ro foia hoika leia.*
 ngai nga- ne me -a ro foia hoika lei -a
 1sg 1sgO- with SPEC -sgf one.sgf PN.MED.sgf there.MED exist -sgf

...I have a sister [lit: a woman with me] over there.

co 063

In the following example, the locative-marked noun **loe** 'end' (derived from verb **lo** 'finish') functions, with **mea**, as a modifier of head noun **nei** 'coconut':

- 37) *Velanun velanun kini nei oloen me*
 vela -nun vela -nun kini nei o- lo -e -n me -ø
 go -DUR go -DUR ACT coconut(n) 3sgS- finish -NOMZR -LOC SPEC -sgn
esulaire foiga, hano ngabaik na sem.
 e- sulai -re foiga hano nga- baik na see -m
 3sgnO- illuminate -NF PN.MED.sgn then 1sgPOSS- bag(m)sgmArt fill -sgm

It goes on and on, then I shine the torch on the last coconut, then my bag is full.

w2 050

The precise semantic function of **mea** in these constructions is difficult to capture, although it seems to be similar in some respects to the semantic function of **mea** with nouns.

Example (36) shows an idiom in the language; the normal way to refer to a sibling is to use a phrase consisting of the postposition **ne** 'with' (correctly prefixed) followed by **mea** (suffixed to show the gender and number of the sibling in question). Literally, the phrase means 'that one with me/you/etc. who you all know about'. Thus **ngane mea** above is 'my sister', and, for instance, **ngone mem** is 'your brother' (2sg-with SPEC-sgm). In this idiom, **mea** frequently co-occurs with the definite article and **ro**, the indefinite adjective.

NUMBERS

Numbers are adjectives, and function to modify a head noun within an NP.

- 38) Molev sie va hano kiuv.
 molev sie va hano kiu -v
 canoes five plArt then die -pl

The five canoes are destroyed.

ja 147

If numbers co-occur with other adjectives within an NP, they can appear in either order:

- 39) Ngai molev oa ruvale fiv alev.
 ngai molev oa ruvale -v fiv a- le -v
 1sg canoes(pl) six huge -pl 3plFOC 1sgS- see -pl

I saw six big canoes

e3 005c1

- 40) Ngai molev ruvale oa fiv alev.
 ngai molev ruvale -v oa fiv a- le -v
 1sg canoes(pl) huge -pl six 3plFOC 1sgS- see -pl

I saw six big canoes

e3 005c2

Many nouns have separate forms for dual and plural number. Some nouns, however, do not. If a speaker wishes to refer to two of a noun which does not have a special dual form, the number two is used, together with the singular, not plural, form of the noun, in an NP. For example, the noun **sevo** (m) 'vow', has a singular form **sevo**, and a plural form **sevokal**, but no dual form. It is the singular form rather than the plural which is used for two vows:

- 41) Hoikariom ngai sevo lelema koi amamal.
 hoika -ri -om ngai sevo lelema koi a- ma -mal
 there.MED -PSNV -m/n 1sg vow(m) two.m also 1sgS- take -du

There now I took two more vows.

am 044

If a noun does not have a plural form, a number is used, together with the singular form of the noun, as with **nei** 'coconut' in the next example:

- 42) Nei kanal o kanamil enga o akari voma
 nei kanal o kanamil enga o aka -ri vo- ma
 coconut tens.du or tens.pl three or then -PSNV 3plO- take

voafeire.

vo- a- fei -re
 3plO- 1sgS- scrape -FUT

I will take 20 or 30 coconuts or so and scrape them.

if 007

Numbers and the counting system are discussed in Section 3.3.1.

THE DEMONSTRATIVE MODIFIER

The demonstrative modifier is used to modify a noun or demonstrative pronoun within an NP. It cannot co-occur with the definite article in the same NP.

- 43) Ngai ta buku hoina anuvea heo.
 ngai ta buku hoina a- nuve -a heo
 1sg just conch(m) MOD.MED.sgm 3sgmO- own -sgf 3sgfEFOC

I own that conch!

vl 014

- 44) Kekimare ngoanun ngoanun koa ga
 kekima -re ngoa -nun ngoa -nun koa ga
 listen -NF stay -DUR stay -DUR door(n) sgnArt
 ealare, oekakomeon ta
 e- ala -re o- e- kako -meon ta
 3sgnO- open -NF 3sgfO- SBD- look.out -SURP just
 foina hoina loveare leim. Koan.
 foina hoina lovea -re lei -m koa -n
 PN.MED.sgm MOD.MED.sgm be.stiff -NF exist -sgm door -LOC

Listening, she opened the door and looked around, and the man was stiff (dead). In the doorway.
jn 090

The latter construction type of a demonstrative modifying a demonstrative pronoun, as well as the forms and functions of demonstratives, is discussed in detail in Section 8.6.

THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

The definite article occurs in the final syntactic slot of an NP. Its form agrees with its head noun in number and gender. It has the following inflectional paradigm.

	sg	du	pl
masc	na	nala	va
fem		la	
neut	ga	gala	

The definite article marks definiteness. That is, it marks a referent as being one which the speaker knows the identity of, and assumes the addressee knows the identity of as well. Definiteness may come from the referent having unique reference, from being the only one of its kind (and therefore known to the addressee), or from being previously introduced in the discourse. These are all well exemplified in Lavukaleve.

In the following example, the definite article appears with **kui** 'sun' by virtue of its unique reference; there is only one sun, and the speaker can thus assume the addressee to have a definite referent for it.

- 45) **Kui na iare aekiuge,**
 kui na ia -re a- e- kiu -ge
 sun(m) sgmArt be.hot -NF 3sgmO- SBD- die -ANT
- malav va suni kini lagire lov.**
 malav va suni kini lagi -re lo -v
 people(pl) plArt all ACT shelter -NF finish -pl

The sun was very hot, and the people all went and sheltered [in the shade].

v2 017

A referent can gain definiteness through being previously introduced in the discourse, as the following examples show. In each example, a new referent is introduced as indefinite, without the definite article. It is then referred to as definite, with the definite article, once its definite identity has been established.

- 46) **Hide akari hinire aka ae falere**
 hide aka -ri hini -re aka ae fale -re
 thus then -PSNV say -NF then go.up stand -NF
- mafei, feu malav vomalai.**
 ma- feu -i feu malav vo- ma- lai
 3plPOSS- go.up -PSV go.up people(pl) 3plO- 3plS- tell

They said that, then they went back up and told people.

Malav va vomalaige "Kini vau".
 malav va vo- ma- lai -ge kini vau
 people(pl) plArt 3plO- 3plS- tell -ANT ACT go.out

They told the people "Go out!".

v2 035-036

- 47) **meo voha fi mame.**
 meo vo- ha fi ma- me
 tuna(pl) 3plO- clear 3sgnFOC 3plS- HAB

...they were catching bonito.

Meo va voetegige mavau.
 meo va vo- e- tegi -ge ma- vau
 tuna(pl) plArt 3plO- SBD- feed -ANT 3plS- go.out

When the bonito were feeding, they went out.

ja 017-018

The definite article is sometimes used with proper nouns, as in many languages (although not English). The distinctions here are very subtle, and not easily understood by a non-native speaker. For example, compare the following two uses, with and without the definite article. Note that when place names which would normally appear with a Locative suffix have a definite article, they cannot have the Locative suffix, but instead use a postpositional phrase (see Section 3.1 for an account of place nouns, and Chapter 7 for an account for the difference between the Locative suffix and postpositional phrases).

- 48) *Karumulu* *la* *ona* *vau* *hului* *ke.*
 Karumulu *la* *o-* *na* *vau* *hului* *ke*
 Karumulu(f) *sgfArt* *3sgfO-* *in* *go.out* *go.round* *EMPH*
- It went right round Karumulun.* *ns 032*
- 49) *Karumulun* *felere* *aela* *foe.*
 Karumulu *-n* *fele* *-re* *ae* *-la* *foe*
 Karumulu *-LOC* *return* *-NF* *go.up* *-NEG* *1pl.exFOC*
- We didn't go back to Karumulun.* *ns 091*

4.1.3 JUXTAPOSED NOUNS

There are occasional examples of two nouns in juxtaposition but these are quite rare. Normally two nouns together must show an overt relationship to each other by using a possessive construction, as shown below (Section 4.2). There are a few examples however in which two nouns appear together to be part of a single NP, with no possessive construction:

- 50) *Nikol lafa* *ona* *fo'foira* *oaia* *la*
 nikol *lafa* *o-* *na fo'foira* *o-* *a-* *i* *-a* *la*
 first part(f) *3sgfO-* *in work(f)* *3sgfO-* *1sgS-do* *-sgf* *sgfArt*
- feo* *Honiara taon.*
feo *Honiara taon*
3sgfFOC *Honiara town*
- The first place I did work in was Honiara town.* *am 051*

One perhaps lexicalised example of this is with the phrase *mo'sil savu* 'high tide edge', which refers to the high-tide mark on a beach:

- 51) *Osure* *lore,* *omare* *mo'sil savun*
o- *su -re* *lo -re* *o-* *ma -re* *mo'sil savu -n*
3sgfO- *tie -NF* *finish -NF* *3sgfO-* *take -NF* *high.tide edge -LOC*
- vulanun* *vulanun* *hano.*
vula -nun *vula -nun* *hano*
come -DUR *come -DUR* *then*
- Having tied her up, they took her and came to the sea shore.* *hr2 036*

4.2 POSSESSION

Possession is a relatively simple matter in Lavukaleve. Unlike in many of the nearby Oceanic languages, there is only one possessive construction, which is used to express every semantic kind of possession. The possessor is expressed by an optional NP, and an obligatory Possessive prefix which is attached to the head noun of the NP expressing the possessed item. This possessive construction is also used for non-possessive relational meanings. The ensuing discussion will first describe the Possessive prefixes

and structural features of their use, and then exemplify the different semantic relationships which this construction can convey.

4.2.1 STRUCTURAL FEATURES

The Possessive prefix paradigm, which is used to express the possessor, is identical to the verbal subject prefix paradigm (see Section 9.7) in all forms except for the 1st person singular form. The 1st person singular Possessive prefix is **nga-**, which is actually identical to the 1st person singular verbal object prefix (actually 1st dual and plural forms are all also identical in both subject, object and Possessive paradigms). Like the subject prefixes, Possessive prefixes do not mark gender. The paradigm is as follows:

Possessive prefixes:

	SG	DU	PL
IEXCL	nga-	le-	e-
IINCL			me-
2	ngo-	mele-	
3	o-	lo-	ma-

When a Possessive prefix is attached to a noun, a morphophonemic rule can come into operation. This rule causes the loss of a final vowel on some vowel-final nouns; consonant-final nouns are unaffected. It cannot be predicted which nouns will be affected by this rule. The formation of possessed nouns is described in Section 5.5.

The following examples show firstly a possessive phrase in which the possessor is expressed simply by a prefix on the possessed noun; secondly, a possessor expressed by an NP plus a prefix, and thirdly a possessor expressed by an NP consisting of a personal pronoun, plus the prefix:

- 52) **Leta otail ga tasin fi olei.**
 leta o- tail ga tasi -n fi o- lei
 but 3sgPOSS- house(n) sgnArt sea -LOC 3sgnFOC 3sgS- exist

But its home was the sea.

ns 065

- 53) **Navigol na olang fi David.**
 navigol na o- langi fi David
 cyclone(m) sgmArt 3sgPOSS- name(n) 3sgnFOC David(m)

The cyclone's name was David.

rk2 035

- 54) **ikaika** *el* **lena'nug** **telakom** **afoure** **fi.**
 ikaika el le- na'nug telako -m a- fou -re fi
 each 1duex 1duexPOSS- thought(m) one -sgm 3sgmO- make -NF 3sgnFOC
...we both had one (i.e. the same) thought. [lit: our thought was one] *m1 009*

4.2.2 SEMANTIC FEATURES

The possessive construction outlined above is used to express all types of possessive relationships, including alienable, inalienable, generic possessor, body part and kinship possession, as well as part-whole relationships and other relationships of association rather than actual possession. The following examples give some indication of the range of use.

alienable possession:

- 55) **Hoikariom** **masulakatev** **vofure**
 hoika -ri -om ma- sulakatev vo- fu -re
 there.MED -PSNV -m/n 3plPOSS- torches.pl 3plO- light -NF
So they all lit their torches... *jn 111*

inalienable possession:

- 56) **Ngai** **ngalang** **fi** **Janet.**
 ngai nga- langi fi Janet
 1sg 1sgPOSS- name(n) 3sgnFOC Janet(f)
My name is Janet. *sv 001*

generic possessor:

- 57) **Omare,** **vala** **koi** **nei** **ga** **olem** **ga**
 o- ma -re vala koi nei ga o- lemi ga
 3sgfO- take -NF how also coconut(n) sgnArt 3sgPOSS- eye(n) sgnArt
ena **eofou.**
 e- na e- o- fou
 3sgnO- in 3sgnO- 3sgS- put.on
Taking it, then she put it in the eye of the coconut. *co 219*

body parts:

- 58) **Aka** **mafan** **e** **etau** **vofoire** **fi**
 aka ma- fan e- tau vo- foi -re fi
 then 3plPOSS- some 1pl.ex 1pl.exPOSS- hands(pl) 3plO- hold -NF 3sgnFOC
laen **ofoure** **fi** **songi** **leme.**
 laen o- fou -re fi songi le- me
 line(f) 3sgfO- put.on -NF 3sgnFOC swim 1pl.ex- HAB
Then some of us held our hands and make a line and we were swimming. *ef 024*

kinship:

- 59) Vala ta mesa suni fo'foira oivele
 vala ta me -sa suni fo'foira o- i -vele
 how just 1pl.in -GROUP all work(f) 3sgfO- do -SUCC

mekala

me- kala o- me- lugu -re
 1pl.in.POSS- mother(f) 3sgfO- 1pl.in- think.of -FUT

How, if we all worked together, would we look after our mother?

co 286

part-whole:

- 60) Houla la ta'rai tail ga okoan fi
 houla la ta'rai tail ga o- koa -n fi
 tree(f) sgfArt church(n) sgnArt 3sgPOSS-door -LOC 3sgnFOC

olei.

o- lei
 3sgS- exist

The tree is in front of the church. [lit: at the door of the church]

e1 080j

group membership:

- 61) aka fo'sal makom hogariom kini
 aka fo'sal ma- komu hoga -ri -om kini
 then fish(pl) 3plPOSS- school.of.fish(m)MOD.PROX.sgn -PSNV -m/n ACT

ohau.

o- hau
 3sgS- go.ashore

...this group of fish came ashore

b1 003

This possessive construction can also be used to indicate a relationship of association rather than possession. In fact usually the only possible way to have two nouns within the same NP is to put them in a head-modifier relationship using the Possessive prefix. For example:

- 62) Aka foiga molio la o beko mina an'kav
 aka foiga molio la o beko mina an'kav
 then PN.MED.sgn tree.sp(f) sgfArt and stone(f) um pumice(m)
- obek* na nego voemen hide fi
 o- beko na nego vo- e- me -n hide fi
 3sgPOSS- stone(m) sgmArt float 3plO- SBD- HAB -ADMON thus 3sgnFOC

So [they would take] the molio and the stone - what? - , the pumice stone that can float, ...

cs2 024

- 63) Suvala na beko ovo'vou fin.
 Suvala na beko o- vo'vou fin
 island.name(m) sgmArt stone(m) 3sgPOSS- child(m) 3sgmFOC

Suvala is a baby stone

sv 003

Since the possessive construction is used to express relational meanings, some but not

all of which are possessive, it would perhaps have been better to call the prefixes Relational, rather than Possessive. However their most common function is to express possession, thus the choice of name.

Recursive possession can occur:

- 64) **Kini malav va matulav manapikal**
 kini malav va ma- tulav ma- napi -kal
 ACT people(pl) plArt 3plPOSS- children(pl) 3plPOSS- nappy -pl
- vomakoge ta, taragau na kini**
 vo- ma- ko -ge ta taragau na kini
 3plO- 3plS- throw -ANT just sea.eagle(m) sgmArt ACT
- votogore omav**
 vo- togo -re o- ma -v
 3plO- take.out -NF 3sgS- take -pl
- So when the people put out their children's nappies, the sea eagle took them* gm 060

Negative possession, or not-having, can use this possessive construction, with the negative particle **tamu**: 'its X is not' (see Section 17.2).

- 65) **"Lokosu foga. Ogan tamu." ore.**
 lokosu foga o- gan tamu o- re
 headless PN.PROX.sgn 3sgPOSS- meat no 3sgS- say
- "This one [coconut tree] is headless! It has no fruit," he said.* jn 135-136

Rarely, negative possession is expressed using a non-verbal existential construction 'there is no X' (again see Section 17.2). The (non-)possessor can be expressed by a postpositional phrase, usually using postposition **nam** 'to', as in the following example:

- 66) **Daeva o raba o kaukamea o mina**
 daeva o raba o kaukamea o mina
 goggles(n) and rubber(f) and wire(f) and thing(f)
- akari mea la vonam tamu.**
 aka -ri me -a la vo- nam tamu
 then -PSNV SPEC -sgf sgfArt 3pl.O- to no
- They had no goggles or rubber or wire or anything like that. [lit: there were no goggles etc. to them]* cs2 003

CHAPTER FIVE

Noun formation

Verbal inflectional processes in Lavukaleve are remarkably regular; all verb stems are completely regular, and apart from a couple of straightforward morphophonemic rules, there is only one form for each verbal affix. Nouns and noun inflections are, conversely, very irregular. In many cases there are slightly different noun stems depending on which suffix or prefix is to be added, and these are unpredictable by rule. In addition, for some categories, the form of the suffix taken by a particular noun cannot be predicted.

There are six formation processes which can apply to noun stems: Locative suffix **-n**; Perlative suffix **-ne**; Folk suffix **-mil**; the possessed noun formation process; dual formations; and plural formations.

This chapter explores factors associated with the formation of noun stems. It describes each of the noun formation types in turn, and explains what morphological regularities can be found, and shows the limitations of such morphological regularities. To begin with (Section 5.1), I will clarify the notions of noun roots and noun stems. Sections 5.2 to 5.6 describe separately the types of formations which may apply to noun stems. Section 5.6, the major part of this chapter, discusses in detail the complex principles associated with the formation of dual and plural nouns.

5.1 INTRODUCTION: LEXICAL ROOTS AND STEMS

All nouns have a citation form. This is the form which the Folk, dual and plural suffixes are added to. In addition to this citation form of the stem, some nouns have a different

locative stem, which is the stem which the Locative and Perlative suffixes are added to¹. In many nouns this locative stem differs from the citation stem by the addition of extra material before the suffix. This extra material is unpredictable.

CITATION STEM	LOCATIVE STEM + LOCATIVE SUFFIX	GLOSS
safe	safeli-n	'(on the) kitchen shelf'
itao	itaoge-n	'(in a) different place'

To avoid confusion about the level which the description to come is referring to, I will use the following terminology to refer to different types of nouns or parts of nouns. I will say that every noun is a lexical root. This lexical root may have one or two stems: the citation stem, and the locative stem. The lexical root is in almost all instances formally identical to the citation stem (see Section 5.6 for an instance of where this is not the case).

Also important for the relationship between lexical roots and stems is that many nouns appear in their citation stems as consonant-final, whereas their locative stem is vowel-final, and further, their dual and plural suffixes begin with the same vowel which appears as the final vowel of the locative stem. This might make it seem that the vowel is part of the stem, not part of the suffixes, but, as will shortly be seen, this is not a good analysis. To begin with, consider the following examples:

CITATION STEM	LOCATIVE STEM + SUFFIX	DUAL FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
keker	kekera-n	-	kekeraul	'dry place'
namutin	namutina-n	namutinal	namutinaul	'mainland'
fongasar	fongasara-n	fongasaral	fongasaraul	'walling'
hatal	hatala-n	-	hatalav	'bed'
tail	taila-n	-	tailav	'house'

Examples like this might make one want to posit an underlyingly vowel-final form for the lexical root; e.g. *kekera, *namutina, etc. However, many consonant-final lexical roots add a vowel to form the locative stem, and add a different vowel for the dual or plural forms. For example:

CITATION STEM	LOCATIVE STEM + SUFFIX	DUAL FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
hamus	hamusi-n	-	hamusaul	'night'
tu'tuk	tutuku-n	tutukul	tutukaul	'torso'

¹ Strictly speaking, this stem should be called the locative/perlative stem, but this is a somewhat unwieldy term.

It is very tempting to posit underlyingly vowel-final forms for some, though not all, lexical roots, and possibly this is the correct historical analysis. But the simplest accurate synchronic account is that there is no necessary formal relationship between citation stems and locative stems.

Note that the various noun suffixes are mutually incompatible; a noun cannot appear with more than one suffix at a time. This means, for instance, that dual or plural-suffixed nouns cannot receive the Locative or Perlocative suffix. If a speaker wants to express something like this, they put a dual or plural-suffixed noun into a postpositional phrase, and thus avoid the problem².

5.2 NOUN FORMATION WITH THE LOCATIVE SUFFIX

The Locative suffix is an invariant form **-n**, which refers to static location in place or time (its semantic features, and the syntactic status of locative-suffixed nouns, are discussed in more detail in Section 7.2). As discussed in Section 3.1, the Locative (and Perlocative) suffixes can only be attached to a subclass of nouns, called locational nouns.

As explained above, many nouns have a special locative stem, apart from their citation stem, which the Locative suffix (and Perlocative suffix, as will be seen below) must be attached to. Further examples include the following, which show the citation stems of certain nouns, with their corresponding locative stems:

CITATION STEM	LOCATIVE STEM + LOCATIVE SUFFIX	GLOSS
ho'vul	ho'vulu-n	'(in the) ear'
lar	lara-n	'(in the) daylight'
furi	furinge-n	'(in the) west, weathercoast'
Taigin	Taigina-n	'(in) Guadalcanal'
Lavukal	Lavukale-n	'(in) the Russell Islands'
lea	leale-n	'(in the) cave'
rara	rarava-n	'(on the) side'
nganga	ngangaoli-n	'(at the) river'

The correspondences between these stems are unpredictable; there is no way of knowing, from the citation stem of a noun, what form the locative stem will be. However there are two discernible patterns of relationship. The first pattern involves all consonant-final lexical roots/citation stems in which a final vowel appears in the locative stem. That this vowel is better analysed as a part of the locative stem, not the Locative suffix, is suggested by the complete unpredictability of the form of the actual

² One possible exception to this rule is the indigenous name of the Russell Islands, **Lavukalen**, which looks like historically as though it consists of root **lavu**, plus plural suffix **-kal**, plus Locative suffix **-n**. The root **lavu** is not analysable today by native speakers.

vowel. As was discussed above (Section 5.1), this vowel cannot be part of the underlying form of the lexical root/citation stem, as it does not necessarily occur in the citation stems of these words. So the vowel belongs not to the lexical root/citation stem, and not to the Locative suffix, but instead to the locative stem of the word.

The second set of correspondences shows an interesting phenomenon whereby the stem form receives additional material at the end, before the Locative suffix. Examples of this are **lea** ~ **lealen** '(in the) cave'; **safe** ~ **safelen** '(on the) shelf'; **nganga** ~ **ngangaolin** '(at the) river'; **rara** ~ **raravan** '(on the) side'.

As was discussed above (Section 5.1) these locative stems are not general stem forms for all noun suffixes. They are used only for the Locative suffix and the Perlocative suffix.

Note, however, that not all nouns have irregular locative stems; for many nouns, the locative stem is identical in form to the citation stem. Put differently, many nouns do not have a locative stem, but instead add a Locative suffix directly to a citation stem. Some examples:

CITATION STEM	LOCATIVE STEM + SUFFIX	GLOSS
aunio	aunio-n	'(in the) evening'
tasi	tasi-n	'(in the) sea'
savu	savu-n	'(on the) edge'
fela'koe	fela'koe-n	'(in the) village'
vatu	vatu-n	'(on the) head'
kui	kui-n	'(in the) sun'

The analysis presented has said that there is an invariant Locative suffix, which is added to sometimes irregularly derived noun stems. It is less descriptively appealing to argue that the noun stems themselves are identical to their citation forms, and it is the Locative suffix which is irregular. Rather it is better to say that the Locative (and Perlocative) suffixes are completely regular, and it is the noun stems which may contain irregularities. This is particularly so given that other areas of the language show that noun stems do have an inherent tendency towards unpredictable formal behaviour.

5.3 NOUN FORMATION WITH THE PERLOCATIVE SUFFIX

The Perlocative **-ne**, like the Locative suffix, is only available to a subclass of nouns called locational nouns. The Perlocative suffix refers to motion through or along a place or time. This suffix, like the Locative suffix, must be affixed to the locative stem, not the citation stem of the noun.

CITATION STEM	LOCATIVE STEM + PERLATIVE SUFFIX	GLOSS
o'as	o'ase-ne	'(through the) bush'
luga	lugauli-ne	'(through the) bush'
tail	taila-ne	'(through the) house'
rarava	rarava-ne	'(along the) side'
itau	itauge-ne	'(through a) different place'
foto	foto-ne	'(through the) middle'
lai	lai-ne	'(along the) top'
savu	savu-ne	'(along the) edge'
le	le-ne	'(through the) day'

The Perlative suffix is much less frequent in the corpus than the Locative suffix.

5.4 NOUN FORMATION WITH THE FOLK SUFFIX

The Folk suffix **-mil** derives a noun with the meaning that its referent is an inhabitant of the place mentioned by its noun: 'the folk of X place'. Actually the suffix is very rarely used, and although it is not unproductive it does not come up very often in texts.

This suffix presents an anomaly; in six spontaneous occurrences in the corpus, five are attached to the citation stems of the noun, but one is attached to the locative stem plus Locative suffix. These are the examples:

CITATION STEM	LOCATIVE STEM	-MIL FORM	GLOSS
tasi	tasi	tasi-mil	'(folk from the) sea'
furi	furi	furi-mil	'(folk from the) west'
vego	vego	vego-mil	'(folk from the) east'
Talaon	Talaon	Talaon-mil	'(folk from) Talaon'
Monggo	Monggo	Monggo-mil	'(folk from) Monggo'
o'as	o'ase	o'asen-mil	'(folk from the) bush'

The first five words have **-mil** attached to their citation stems, but the last word, **o'asenmil**, has **-mil** attached to the locative stem + Locative suffix form. This is the only instance in the language of one noun appearing with more than one nominal suffix; in all other instances this is not allowed³. This anomalous behaviour can probably be attributed to the infrequency of use of this suffix.

5.5 POSSESSED NOUN FORMATION

Some vowel-final noun stems, when prefixed with a Possessive prefix, obligatorily lose

³ Except, that is, for **Lavukalen**; see above footnote.

their final vowel. Such noun stems are mostly disyllabic, of the form CVCV.

For example:

soka	'finger' (f)	o-sok	'his finger'
vala	'belly' (n)	o-val	'his belly'
ngoro	'snore' (m)	o-ngor	'his snore'
beko	'stone' (n)	o-bek	'his stone'
vage	'mound' (m)	o-vag	'his mound'
fefi	'bottom of pool' (n)	o-fef	'its bottom'
komu	'school of fish' (n)	o-kom	'its school'
kora	'edge' (n)	o-kor	'its edge'
tasi	'sea' (n)	o-tas	'its sea'
tome	'hole' (m)	o-tom	'its hole'
mima	'way of life' (n)	o-mim	'its way of life'
golu	'spear' (m)	o-gol	'his spear'

The few non-CVCV words which lose their final vowel are:

houmala	'fish hook' (f)	o-houmal	'his fish hook'
houla ⁴	'tree, stick' (f)	o-houl	'his tree'
aro	'language' (n)	o-ar	'his language'
a'vuri	'parcel' (m)	o-avur	'his parcel'
bua	'banana leaf' (m)	o-bu	'his banana leaf'
kua	'tribe' (n)	o-ku	'his tribe'

The rule does not apply to all CVCV roots. For example:

kala	'mother' (f)	o-kala	'his mother'
gera	'feeling' (f)	o-gera	'his feeling'
talū	'word' (f)	o-talu	'his word'
sisi	'nose' (n)	o-sisi	'his nose'
buku	'conch' (m)	o-buku	'his conch'
kusu	'string basket' (m)	o-kusu	'his string basket'

Note that there are one or two words which optionally apply this rule: e.g., **rara** 'side', **orar** ~ **orara** 'its side'; **mola** 'canoe', **omola** ~ **omol** 'his canoe'. For the vast majority of words, however, there is only one correct possessed form. Native speakers always correct a wrong form.

There are approximately twice as many roots which do not lose their final vowel when prefixed with a Possessive prefix as those which do. There is no obvious rule which predicts which nouns will lose their final vowel and which will retain it when possessed.

⁴ The /ou/ represents a sequence of two vowels: see Section 2.5.

It appears not to be an alienable/inalienable distinction; there are body parts which lose their final vowel (e.g. finger, belly), and body parts which retain it (e.g. nose, neck). Similarly, there are what would presumably be alienable nouns which lose their final vowel (e.g. spear, stone), and those that do not (e.g. string basket, conch shell).

The vowel loss does not seem to depend on the form of the word either. The CVCV nouns which do lose their final vowel are not obviously formally different to the ones which do not; and likewise there seems to be no obvious link between the non-CVCV ones which lose their final vowel.

One factor which may be relevant is gender. Although among all nouns there is a roughly even spread of masculine, feminine and neuter nouns, among those nouns which lose their final vowel when possessed, of a random sample of 40, 5 were feminine, 10 were masculine and 25 were neuter. That is, there are far more neuter nouns in this group than one might expect. It is not clear, however, exactly what to make of this. There may be a historical reason which is no longer apparent.

The presence of a suffix on a possessed noun means that the final vowel is retained, even on those nouns in which it is normally lost. For example:

koli 'inside'	okol 'its inside'	okolin 'in its inside'
foto 'middle'	ofot 'its middle'	ofoton 'in its middle'

5.6 DUAL AND PLURAL NOUN FORMATION

Singular nouns are formally unmarked for number with explicit morphology (though see the discussion below about the limited appearance of masculine singular and feminine singular suffixes, Section 5.6.3). The formation of dual nouns and plural nouns operates for the most part independently. Dual formation is largely dependent on phonological criteria. Nouns form their plurals, however, on the basis of membership of one of ten declensions, each declension having its own plural forming strategy (the class labels, named for the most common formative within the declension, are: NONE, KAL, UL, VIL, V, L, MAL, N, VERAV, and OTHER). Within each declension, the actual form of the plural marker is determined largely by phonological considerations, which are similar to those which affect dual formation. There is some scope for variation among the affixes selected by a particular noun.

There is much irregularity in dual and plural noun formation; in fact there are at least 86 ways of forming dual and plurals from singular nouns. However, underlying the apparently endless series of exceptions there is a fundamental system upon which most of the dual and plural formations are based. In particular, there are two general rules which hold across all dual and plural formation strategies.

Firstly, a number of words are consonant-final in their citation stems but in their dual

and plural formations add a vowel which is predictable in quality if one considers the word to actually be an old reduplication of an originally CVCV word, which lost the final vowel after reduplication. Some examples are:

SG FORM	DUAL FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
vekevek	vekeveke-l	vekeveke-ul	'tree sp.' (n)
filifil	filifili-l	filifili-mal	'nail' (m)
kolukol	kolukolu-l	kolukolu-vil	'pestle' (m)
lamulam	lamulamu-l	lamulamu-iv	'storm' (m)
suvisuv	-	suvisuvi-ul	'stonefish' (m)
negoneg	negonego-l	negonego-ul	'driftwood' (n)

Thus, for example, under this analysis the word **vekevek** derives from an earlier word ***veke**. It underwent reduplication, ***vekeveke**, then subsequently lost its final vowel, thus becoming the consonant-final stem **vekevek**. Under dual and plural formation, however, the final vowel is reinstated; thus, **vekevekel**, **vekevekeul**.

This analysis renders completely predictable the form of the vowel in the dual and plural formations in this type of word. All words of this phonotactic pattern behave in this way. These old reduplications, then, are all analysed as underlyingly vowel-final in their lexical roots, and are thus the only instance in which a lexical root differs from a citation stem.

There is another large group of apparently consonant-final nouns which have dual and plural suffixes both starting with the same, unpredictable vowel. It is convenient, and probably historically correct, to think of these noun stems as being underlyingly vowel-final. Under such an analysis their dual and plural formations would thus become completely regular. Examples of such nouns are (I use hyphens to show what the morpheme boundaries would be under this analysis):

SG FORM	DUAL FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
kakal	kakale-l	kakale-v	'older brother' (m)
mikat	mikate-l	mikate-v	'centipede' (m)
kolang	kolangi-l	kolangi-v	'shin' (n)
ku'kut	ku'kuti-l	ku'kuti-v	'midrib' (n)
vukel	vukelu-l	vukelu-maul	'back of head' (m)

Under this analysis, the noun stems would be vowel-final, and the dual and plural formations would be the regular formations according to the phonological form and declensional class (if relevant) of that noun stem (see below).

However, importantly, it is not possible to explain all irregular dual and plural formations in this way. Some dual nouns with irregular suffixes are vowel-final. For instance:

SG FORM	DUAL FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
kora	kora-ul	kora-vil	'rocks at edge of island' (f)
mulukita	mulukita-ul	mulukita-vil	'orange' (f)

And some consonant-final noun stems have a dual suffix starting with a particular vowel, and a plural suffix starting with a different vowel, or no vowel:

SG FORM	DUAL FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
sukafal	sukafal-el	sukafal-aol	' <i>Acropora pulchra</i> (tree sp.)' (m)
funfun	funfun-il	funfun-aul	'firefly' (m)
keal	keal-uil	keal-verav	'trochus' (m)
fe'laus	fe'laus-aul	fe'laus-vutim	'spider conch' (m)

One would certainly not want to analyse these consonant-final stems as underlyingly vowel-final. It is not clear what to make of these facts. Probably the correct historical explanation is that most, if not all of these nouns, were at one stage vowel-final. This explains those nouns which have identical vowels in dual and plural suffixes. For the other nouns, it could be that after the loss of the vowel, the nouns disregarded their earlier final vowels, and made dual and plural forms on an ad-hoc basis. Without knowledge about earlier stages of the language, it is only possible to speculate.

The second major generalisation that can be made about dual and plural formations, irrespective of declension, concerns those masculine nouns ending in **-m**, most of which refer to higher animates. Under plural formation, such nouns lose their final **-m** before receiving their plural suffix:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
holovem	holove-v	'devil' (m)
makatoem	makatoe-v	'green parrot' (m)
nemem	neme-v	'brother' (m)
le'aem	le'ae-v	'man' (m)
ku'raem	ku'rae-v	'elder man' (m)
kalem	kale-v	'father' (m)
tulakom	tulako-v	'small one' (m)
sokoraem	sokorae-v	'lizard' (m)
sulum	sulu-verav	'chief' (m)
leumam	leuma-laul	'upper lip' (m)

Not all masculine stems ending in **-m** lose their final **-m** before plural suffixation, however. Some of those which don't are higher animates, but most are not. Those which don't:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
tum	tum-aul	'husband' (m)
bagatum	bagatum-aul	'giant' (m)
savaom	savaom-aul	'tree sp.' (m)
to'vum	to'vum-kal	'bubbles' (m)
tamtam	tamtam-aul	'reef' (m)
beiram	beiram-aul	'blue-fin trevally' (m)
farasam	farasam-aul	'spinefoot (fish sp.)' (m)
ko'rom	ko'rom-aul	'black surgeonfish' (m)

Note that the duals of such words do not necessarily lose their final **-m**. The first group below do not, but the second group do:

SG FORM	DUAL FORM	GLOSS
ne'mem	ne'mem-al	'brother' (m)
le'aem	le'aem-al	'man' (m)
ku'raem	ku'raem-al	'elder man' (m)
sokoraem	sokoraem-al	'lizard' (m)
sulum	sulum-al	'chief' (m)
leumam	leum-al	'upper lip' (m)
kalem	kale-l	'father' (m)
tulakom	tulako-l	'small one' (m)

This phenomenon of loss of final **-m** before plural suffixation raises some important issues to do with the meaning of this final **-m** of masculine nouns. These issues will be discussed below (Section 5.6.3).

5.6.1 DUAL NOUN FORMATION

The formation of dual nouns is mostly achieved by suffixing **-l**, or some form related to **-l**, most commonly **-al** or **-ol**. There are no noun declensions based on dual formation strategies; instead there are a number of strategies of dual formation which are, to a large degree, dependent on phonological criteria. As with other areas of noun formation, there is much irregularity; but there are some basic rules which apply to most nouns at least to some extent. The following section outlines the generalisations which can be made about dual formation, and discusses the exceptions.

NOUNS WHICH DO NOT HAVE A DUAL FORM

There are many nouns which do not have a dual form. There are two categories of these: nouns for which no dual is possible, and nouns for which the dual form is identical to the singular form (but which, for instance, can be modified by dual demonstratives).

Mass nouns appear to be the only nouns for which duals are impossible. Other nouns, for which the dual form is identical to the singular form, include nouns referring to tiny things which always come in large numbers and which one would not normally count; nouns referring to abstract entities; nouns which it does not make sense to refer to in the non-singular; common food items; nouns referring to things to do with the sea; and body parts. There is much overlap here with nouns which do not have plural forms (see below for discussion of the 'none' plural declension); but there are far more nouns which don't have a dual form than nouns which don't have a plural form. Further, not all of the nouns which do not have a dual form fall into any of these semantic groups. Some examples of nouns which have no dual form, (but which do have a plural form):

- mass nouns (e.g. sky, thunder)
- nouns referring to entities which are very small and always come in large number (e.g. star)
- abstract nouns (e.g. evening, day)
- other things which it makes no sense to refer to in the non-singular (e.g. reef, different (non-Lavukal) island, fire, mummy)
- common food items (e.g. **matal** fruit, yam, coconut crab)
- things to do with the sea (e.g. lobster, blue starfish, shark, hermit crab, saltwater eel, stonefish, squirrelfish, giant trevally)
- body parts (e.g. shoulder, scab, brain, tongue, vein, heart, bone, knee, liver, forehead, cheek, collarbone, belly, head, back)
- birds (e.g. cockatoo, hornbill, chicken, green parrot, bird, **ma'rea** parrot)

NOUNS WHICH DO HAVE A DUAL FORM

The following sections outline the dual formatives used for particular phonological forms. Note that this section attempts to generalise about forms found; it deals with common tendencies, not hard and fast rules. It is a post-hoc description, not an attempt at forming predictive rules. There is no necessary rule, for instance, that all vowel-final nouns will suffix -l in the dual.

VOWEL-FINAL NOUNS

Most vowel-final nouns have a dual formed by suffixing -l to the singular form. For example:

SG FORM	DUAL FORM	GLOSS
ki'kile	ki'kile-l	'headhunting axe' (f)
ruio	ruio-l	'bamboo water container' (f)
teru	teru-l	'reed' (n)
sugi	sugi-l	'hornshell' (m)
ngia	ngia-l	'swearing' (n)
ngiungiu	ngiungiu-l	'secret' (f)

laketei	laketei-l	'life' (n)
homolo	homolo-l	'fruit' (f)

CONSONANT-FINAL NOUNS

Most consonant-final nouns, and a very few vowel-final nouns, form their dual by suffixing **-al** to the singular form:

SG FORM	DUAL FORM	GLOSS
aulit	aulit-al	'octopus' (m)
baik	baik-al	'bag' (m)
remrem	remrem-al	'mussel sp.' (n)
sing	sing-al	'womb' (m)
fakas	fakas-al	'shoulder' (m)
keruv	keruv-al	'egg' (n)
foar	foar-al	'passage' (m)
navigol	navigol-al	'cyclone' (m)
mai	mai-al	'lawyer cane thorn' (m)
simu	simu-al	'clear sandy-bottom patch of reef' (m)

FEMININE NOUNS ENDING IN -A

Most feminine nouns ending in **-a** in the singular form, plus a few nouns of other genders and other final phonemes, form their dual by suffixing **-ol** (the relationship between feminine nouns and nouns ending in **-a** is discussed in Section 6.1.1):

SG FORM	DUAL FORM	GLOSS
kakalea	kakalea-ol	'older sister' (f)
binabina	binabina-ol	'war canoe' (f)
betea	betea-ol	'grouper' (f)
kevea	kevea-ol	'soft coral' (f)
matua	matua-ol	'old coconut' (f)
buma	buma-ol	'school of small fish' (f)
ma	ma-ol	'sea between islands' (f)
kaforok	kaforok-ol	'sea slug' (m)
loi	loi-ol	'puddle in log' (n)

NOUNS WITH OTHER DUAL SUFFIXES

Other dual suffixes are much less common, restricted to, at most, a few words each.

SG FORM	DUAL FORM	GLOSS
bin	bin-aol	'bean' (f) (loan from Pijin): see below for

		discussion of loan words
fe'laus	fe'laus-aul	'spider conch' (m)
lav	lav-eal	'marriage' (n)
mal	mal-eaol	'forked stick' (m)
kelas	kelas-el	'skinned havu nut' (m)
funfun	funfun-il	'firefly' (m)
giale	giale-naol	'kitchen' (f)
luga	luga-olin	'bush' (m)
keal	keal-uil	'trochus' (m)
ha'lema	ha'lema-ul	'black surgeonfish' (f)
erea	erea-v⁵	'front of canoe' (n)

OTHER DUAL FORMATIONS

There are a handful of other dual formation strategies, including forms involving minor stem alternations, and suppletion. Forms involving loss of final **-m** before adding the dual suffix are discussed above. Other forms are:

SG FORM	DUAL FORM	GLOSS
kelkel	kelekelel	'dugong' (m)
si'kul	si'kual	'school' (n)
koli	kolal	'interior' (m)
fu'loa	fu'lol	'floor' (f)
ta'raitail	ta'raital	'church' ⁶ (n)
ali	airal	'man' (m)

5.6.2 PLURAL NOUN FORMATION

Plural noun formation strategies can be divided into ten groups, based on whether or not the noun takes a plural form, and if so, which one. These ten groups are here called declensional classes. Note that these declensional classes have relevance only for plural formation; there are no other correlations between these declensions and the way a noun will form its dual or locative, for instance. Declensional classes exist only for the purposes of classifying nouns according to how they behave with respect to plural formation.

⁵ This dual form is identical to the plural form of this word. This also represents the only example of a dual suffix **-v**. The suffix **-v** is, however, a common plural suffix.

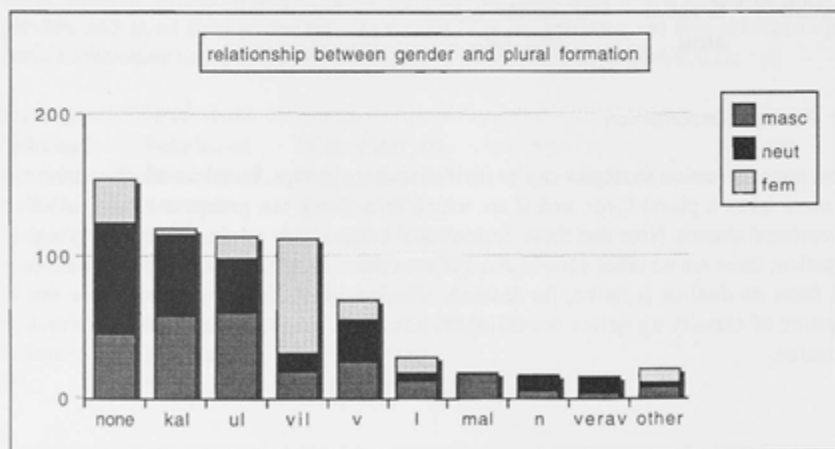
⁶ This is actually a phrase involving two words: **ta'rai** 'prayer' and **tail** 'house'. However, the fact that this phrase has its own dual form shows that it is at least partly lexicalised. Incidentally, there is no dual form for 'house'.

The declensional classes, in order of most to least frequent, are as follows:

1. NONE: the noun has no plural form
2. KAL: the noun suffixes **-kal** to form a plural
3. UL: the noun suffixes **-ul** to form a plural
4. VIL: the noun suffixes **-vil** to form a plural
5. V: the noun suffixes **-v** to form a plural
6. L: the noun suffixes **-l** to form a plural
7. MAL: the noun suffixes **-mal** to form a plural
8. N: the noun suffixes **-n** to form a plural
9. VERAV: the noun suffixes **-verav** to form a plural
10. OTHER: including suppletion and other irregular formations

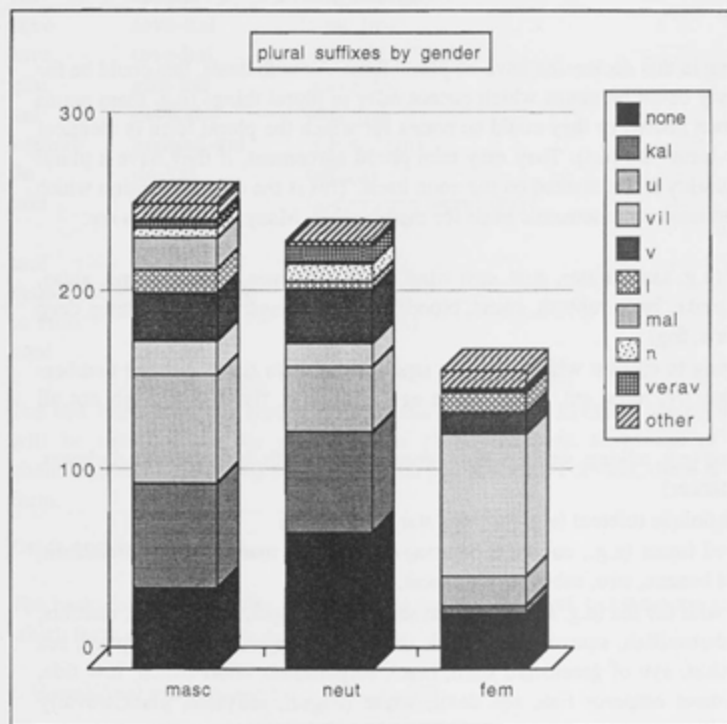
The declensions are named for their most basic formative, but within most declensions there are a number of largely phonologically determined subclasses, with slight variations of this basic suffix. The variations mostly involve various vowels preceding the basic form of the suffixes. There are also a number of irregularly formed members in most of the declensions.

Membership of these classes is unpredictable, but there are correlations with gender. Some declensions contain nouns mostly of one gender, while others have a more mixed membership. The following chart shows the relationships between gender and membership of each declension:



The chart is based on a corpus of 669 nouns. The most common declension, NONE, in which there is no overt plural form, contains a somewhat larger proportion of neuter nouns than either masculine or feminine nouns. This is related to the fact that mass nouns are often neuter (see Section 6.1.2). The KAL, UL and V declensions have very few

feminine nouns, whereas the *VIL* declension consists largely of feminine nouns. The *L* declension has largely feminine and masculine nouns, and very few neuter nouns. *MAL*, *N* and *VERAV* are overwhelmingly masculine and neuter. The miscellaneous *OTHER* class contains nouns of all three genders, but somewhat fewer neuter nouns. The following chart shows the same information, but this time sorted by gender; it shows the proportion of plural formation strategies occurring with nouns of each gender.



For masculine nouns the most common plural formation strategies are the **-kal** or **-ul** suffixes, or nothing at all. There are also a large number of less common strategies for masculine nouns. For feminine nouns, however, there are fewer available strategies. Most common is **-vil**, or nothing at all, and there are some other infrequent options. For neuter nouns, the most common strategy is to have nothing at all. **-Kal** is common, **-ul** and **-verav** are less common, and there are other rarer strategies.

The *NONE* declension contains many mass nouns and other nouns that are semantically incompatible with plurality, but apart from this, and the correlations with gender, there are apparently no other semantic or other generalisations that can be made about class membership. This is perhaps not surprising; in most languages which have inflectional classes there is usually little to be said about what determines membership of the

classes.

In the sections to follow, the membership and actual forms of the suffixes of each declension will be discussed. There is a large amount of irregularity, but underlying it all, there is a basic system, and it is this system that I will aim to elucidate.

THE 'NONE' DECLENSION

Nouns belonging in this declension have no plural form. As with duals, this could be for two reasons: they could be nouns which cannot refer to plural things (e.g. mass nouns and some abstract nouns) or they could be nouns for which the plural form is identical to the singular form (the rest). They may take plural agreement, if they have a plural referent, but plurality is not marked on the noun itself. This is the only declension which seems to have at least some semantic basis for membership. Many of the nouns are:

- mass nouns (e.g. sand, water, dust, east wind, west wind, wind, earth, flame, algae, bush, rain, smoke, bark, rubbish, sweat, blood, sea, belongings, grass, lightning, deep sea, leaf debris, fog)
- nouns referring to entities which are very small and always come in large numbers (e.g. ant, blue fly, **naga** ant, louse, louse egg, mosquito, fly, bee (though not all insects))
- abstract nouns (e.g. talking, war, epilepsy, group, year, youth, brotherhood, darkness, secret, life, cancer)
- nouns with a unique referent (e.g. morning star, sun, daddy)
- common food items (e.g., coconut, banana, sugar cane, mango, food, breadfruit, kumara, wild banana, taro, cabbage, fish, meat, fruit, sago)
- things to do with the sea (e.g. starfish, green snail shell, limpet, chiton shell, nautilus, cone shell, damselfish, squirrelfish, **se'luk** shellfish, snapper, mother of pearl, sea slug, sea urchin, eye of greensnail shell, black surgeonfish, short conch, low tide, dolphin, trumpet emperor fish, sea devil, white seagull, jellyfish, giant trevally (though not all sea creatures))
- body parts (e.g. hair, grey hair, body hair, nose, neck, eye, palm, fat, scab, ulcer, ear, skin, breast, mouth, beard, wing, intestines)

The nouns which belong in this declension are not necessarily the same as the nouns which have no dual form, although, as the semantic groupings indicate, there is some overlap.

THE KAL DECLENSION

Nouns of this declension use suffix **-kal** to form their plural. Most of the nouns belonging to this declension are masculine or neuter, although there are a few feminine nouns. Very many of the words in this class are CVCV in structure, and all except four

(shown below) in the corpus are vowel final.

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
la	la-kal	'dream' (n)
lata	lata-kal	'black-lipped clam' (n)
mari	mari-kal	'sacrifice' (m)
siu	siu-kal	'kingfish' (m)
sevo	sevo-kal	'vow' (m)
tove	tove-kal	'plant shoot' (m)
gilu	gilu-kal	'grave' (n)
kei	kei-kal	'bait' (m)
koanali	koanali-kal	'fish sp.' (m)
ila	ila-kal	'net' (n)
mai	mai-kal	'lawyer cane thorn' (m)
taol	taol-kal	'towel' (m)
veur	veur-kal	'noise' (n)
to'vum	to'vum-kal	'bubble' (m)
kaol	kaol-kal	'raft' (n)

The KAL class is unique among the suffixial declensions in that it has no subclasses; as will be seen below, for all the other plural suffixes, there are at least a few phonologically determined variants of each plural suffix. For -kal, there is only a single form.

THE UL DECLENSION

The basic form of the suffix for this plural declension is -ul, but there are some variants, which form six subclasses as follows:

I. Vowel-final stems add -ul:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
banga	banga-ul	'cowry' (m)
beko	beko-ul	'stone' (f)
lova	lova-ul	'giant trevally' (f)
soso	soso-ul	'gutter' (m)
miga	miga-ul	'fish bone' (n)

II. Consonant-final stems add **-aul**:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
fakas	fakas-aul	'shoulder' (m)
gogomet	gogomet-aul	'scab' (n)
matal	matal-aul	'fruit sp.' (m)
ta'rak	ta'rak-aul	'truck' (f) (loan from Pijin)
kivir	kivir-aul	'pus' (n)
namutin	namutin-aul	'mainland' (n)

III. One word **tavalol** 'saroka vine' (n) adds **-oul**: thus **tavaloloul**.

IV. One word, **kelkel** (sg) **kelekeleul** (pl) 'dugong' (m) is perhaps an old reduplicated word, in which a lost final vowel is replaced under plural suffixation. This process is completely regular, and was described above. However this stem is irregular in that it adds a medial vowel as well. It appears as though this is another vowel which has been lost that is replaced in the plural. Occasionally unstressed vowels between consonants are elided, for example the place name Pipisala is pronounced variously as [pipi'sala] and [pip'sala].

V. Two other words are slightly irregular: **lekoleko** (sg) **lekolekaul** (pl) 'part of coconut tree' (f); **savaom** (sg) **savamaul** (pl) 'tree sp.' (m).

VI. Eight words form a subclass of this declension by suffixing various forms all involving **-Caul**. The suffixes are: **-kaul**, **-naul**, **-laul**, **-umaul**, **-tumaul**. The words, with their plural formatives, are as follows:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
tara	tara-kaul	'rumble of thunder' (f)
giale	giale-naul	'kitchen' (f)
isura	isura-laul	'unripe havu nut' (n)
kosovau	kosovau-laul	'plantain' (m)
nugur	nugur-umaul	'current' (m)
vukel	vukel-umaul	'back of head' (m)
vaga	vaga-tumaul	'giant' (m)
leumam	leuma-laul	'upper lip' (m)

The last word, **leumam**, loses its final /m/ too; see discussion above. Note that there is another word similar to the second last word **vaga** 'giant' (m), which is **bagatum** (pl. **bagatumaul**). Presumably these two words came from one source, and this perhaps accounts for the plural formation **vagatumaul**. An alternation between /b/ and /v/ does occur in the language; see Section 2.10. Possibly if more was known about the history of the other words in this subclass, there would be comparable explanations of these plural formations.

THE VIL DECLENSION

This declension has predominantly feminine membership, although masculine and neuter nouns do occur in this class too. Overwhelmingly the nouns of this class end in **-a**. As noted above (see also the discussion in Section 6.1.1), there is a correlation between feminine nouns and nouns ending in **-a**, which accounts for this fact. There are seven subclasses of this declension, as follows:

I. The overwhelming majority of words in this declension just add **-vil**

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
bo'rea	bo'rea-vil	'arrow' (f)
katelea	katelea-vil	'crocodile' (f)
kota	kota-vil	'joint' (m)
levo	levo-vil	'bamboo pipe' (f)
fetu	fetu-vil	'thumb' (f)

II. A few words in this declension lose their final segment or segments before adding suffix **-vil**:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
ruima	ru-i-vil	'old man' (f)
ruia	ru-i-vil	'old woman' (f)
kuio	kui-vil	'inkori fruit' (f)
nagoliao	nagolia-vil	'blue-ringed octopus' (f)
fu'loa	fu'lo-vil	'floor' (f) (loan from Pijin)

In the case of **ruia** and **ruima**, an alternative way of stating this is that they lose their feminine singular marker **-a** before adding the plural marker (**ruima**, despite having a male human referent, belongs to the feminine gender). Then **ruim** loses its final **-m**, as many **m**-final higher animates do before receiving a plural suffix (see discussion above).

As far as the other three words in this subclass are concerned, there is no general phonological reason why they should lose their final vowel before adding **-vil**. ***Kuiovil**, ***nagoliaovil** and ***fuloavil** would be perfectly acceptable in terms of the phonological structure of the language. These words are just irregularities in the system.

III. Three words add **-ovil**: **hagi** (sg) **hagiovil** (pl) 'dry coconut leaf' (m); **bolol** (sg) **bololovil** (pl) 'cartridge' (n); and **nat** (sg) **natovil** (pl) 'sago leaf' (m). The latter word is possibly underlyingly **o**-final; there is a similar word **nato** 'sago fruit' in the language. Also, the dual of **nat** 'sago leaf' is **natol**, which suggests again that there is an **-o** vowel underlyingly in the stem. The **bolol** word adds an **o** before the **-vil** to break up an /lv/

cluster; but this cluster is actually allowed between syllables in Lavukaleve; cf. **kealverav** 'trochuses'. Similarly for **hagi**, there is no phonological reason why the plural should be **hagiovil**, not ***hagivil**. Note that other words ending in **-i** do just get **-vil**: **keati** (sg) **keativil** (pl) 'cat' (m), **marai** (sg) **maravil** (pl) 'warrior' (m).

IV. One word **fokos** 'coconut stump' (m) adds **-uvil**: **fokosuvil**.

V. Two words add **-avil**: **ofis** (sg) **ofisavil** (pl) 'office' (f) (loan from Pijin); **lale** (sg) **laleavil** (pl) 'plant sp.' (f). The first of these uses a vowel to break up the /sv/ cluster; although it is not clear on what grounds the vowel /a/ is chosen as opposed to any other vowel, and it is also not clear that /sv/ is actually an impossible cluster. The second of these words has no phonological explanation. Compare other e-final words in this declension: **laike** (sg) **laikevil** (pl) 'cowry' (m); **pine** (sg) **pinevil** (pl) 'sweet coconut husk' (f).

VI. One word **mal** 'forked stick' (m) adds **-eavil**: **maleavil**.

VII. One word **ko'kol** 'sea passage' (n) adds **-auvil**: **ko'kolauvil**.

THE V DECLENSION

The basic form of the plural suffix for this declension is **-v**, but there are eight subclasses of this group. The subclasses are as follows:

I. Vowel-final stems add **-v**

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
foe	foe-v	'pig' (m)
ki	ki-v	'clothes' (n)
kivu	kivu-v	'sin' (n)
sura	sura-v	'ripe havu nut' (n)
borokouta	borokouta-v	'old rotten havu nut' (n)

Compare **isura isuralaul** 'unripe havu nut' to **sura surav** 'ripe havu nut' above.

II. Words ending in **-io** lose the final **-o** before adding the plural suffix (this happens in the L declension too, but it is not a general rule for all **io**-final words):

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
ku'kunio	ku'kuni-v	'knee' (f)
so'sokio	so'soki-v	'bone' (f)
tagio	tagi-v	'snake' (f)

III. Words ending in a consonant add **-ev**. Note that vowel-final **kokoroko**, **kua** and **toa**

are also in this group:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
feman	feman-ev	'shark' (m)
kakal	kakal-ev	'older brother' (m)
totoas	totoas-ev	'cloud, sky' (m)
lav	lav-ev	'marriage' (n)
mikat	mikat-ev	'centipede' (m)
kokoroko	kokoroko-ev	'chicken' (m)
kua	kua-ev	'coconut tree' (n)
toa	toa-ev	'banana tree' (m)

It is possible that the apparently consonant-final words in this group underlyingly end in *-e*. Some support for this notion for some of the words comes from the dual suffixes of **lav**, **kakal** and **mikat**, which are all *-el*. This may be true for some words, but the word **feleas** (sg) **feleasev** (pl) 'young grass' (n) has dual suffix **feleasal**, not ***feleasel** as one would predict if its stem were indeed underlyingly *e*-final. Note also that there is no phonological motivation for the form of the suffix for **kua**; compare **fua** (sg) **fuav** (pl) 'wasp' (m).

IV. Six words ending in *-a* lose their final *-a* before being suffixed with *-ev*:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
fiata	fiat-ev	'thunder' (f)
kimita	kimit-ev	'mat' (f)
kokotea	kokot-ev	'sharp rock' (f)
malagula	malagul-ev	'bird' (m)
kera	ker-ev	'paddle' (n)
mola	mol-ev	'canoe' (n)

The first three words are feminine, and thus could be losing the final *-a* vowel before plural suffixation in accordance with the general rule discussed below, but the other words are masculine and neuter. Also, appealing to the general 'loss of final *-a* in feminine nouns' rule would not explain why *-ev*, not *-v*, was suffixed.

V. Three words are suffixed with *-av*:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
ha'tal	ha'tal-av	'bed' (m)
lake	lake-av	'fire', 'road' (n)
tail	tail-av	'house' (n)

Note the homonym **lake** 'entrance channel' (n) which forms its plural in group I: **lakev** (see Section 5.6.3 where this is discussed).

VI. Four words are suffixed with **-iv**:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
fokosu	fokosu-iv	'tree stump' (f)
sasa	sasa-iv	'green coconut leaf' (n)
vu'vul	vu'vul-iv	'heart' (m)
ku'kut	ku'kut-iv	'midrib' (n)

The latter two may have an underlying final **-i** vowel: the dual formative for these two words is **-il**. The first two cannot be explained in this way; they just suffix **-l** for the dual.

VII. Two words ending in **-i** suffix **-ov**:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
langi	langi-ov	'name' (n)
femi	femi-ov	'face' (n)

Note that **fagi** 'island', though it ends in **-i**, belongs in group I and forms its plural as **fagiv**.

VIII. One word **kolang** 'shin' (n) adds **-iov**. This word may be underlyingly ***kolangi**, as it forms its dual by adding **-il** too. This would mean it belongs to group VII above.

THE L DECLENSION

The segment **/l/** is more typically associated with the dual category in Lavukaleve. It is common throughout many of Lavukaleve's grammatical paradigms with this function, and it also marks dual forms of nouns. However it does also occur in this one declension as a marker of plurality.

There are six subclasses in this declension, as follows:

I. Those words which end in **-a** suffix **-l** (there are only two such words in the corpus):

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
lea	lea-l	'cave' (m)
sova	sova-l	'group frenzy' (f)

II. Words which end in **-io** lose their final **-o** before suffixing **-al** (these words are all feminine, as indeed almost all words ending in **-io** are (see Section 6.1.1)):

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
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urio	uri-al	'coconut crab' (f)
falio	fali-al	'fingernail' (f)
fukio	fuki-al	'kidney' (f)
lafio	lafi-al	'well' (f)
sagio	sagi-al	'line' (f)

III. Words which end in consonants suffix **-aol**:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
gurugurur	gurugurur-aol	'noise of canoe' (n)
sukafal	sukaf-aol	' <i>Acropora pulchra</i> (tree sp.)' (m)
foforok	foforok-aol	'bicolour parrotfish' (m)

IV. Words which end in **-i**, **-u** or **-e** suffix **-al** (and **to'vum** and **vais** also belong to this class):

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
lovu	lovu-al	'branch' (m)
simu	simu-al	'star' (m)
toe	toe-al	'branch' (m)
honi	nohi-al	'nape' (n)
bili	bili-al	'puddle in rock' (n)
to'vum	to'vum-al	'bubble' (m)
vais	vais-al	'older brother' (m)

V. One word **fa** 'hip joint' (f) suffixes **-oaol**: **faoaol**.VI. One word **la'mar** 'ground nuts' (n) suffixes **-ail**: **la'marail**.

THE MAL DECLENSION

There are only four subclasses of this small all-masculine declension. They are:

I. Most words suffix **-mal**:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
buku	buku-mal	'conch' (m)
gaikoko	gaikoko-mal	'canoe' (m)
felfel	felfel-mal	'butterfly' (m)
koli	koli-mal	'biscuit' (m)

II. Three words suffix **-imal**: **sokil** (sg) **sokilimal** (pl) 'small boat'; **vu'vul** (sg) **vu'vulimal** (pl) 'heart'; **ta'vul** (sg) **ta'vulimal** (pl) 'housepost'. The underlying stems of these words could be **i**-final. **Vu'vul** was mentioned above as being very likely **i**-final.

III. One word loses its final **-l** before suffixing **-mal**: **katil** (sg) **katimal** (pl) 'adze'. Note that this is not a phonologically required rule; cf. **fefel** above, which just suffixes **-mal** directly.

IV. One word **kafol** 'mangrove crab' suffixes **-emal**: **kafolem** (pl). As the dual suffix for this word is **-el**, this stem is possibly underlyingly **e-final**.

THE N DECLENSION

All members but one of this small declension are masculine or neuter. Many are monosyllabic, or of CVV structure. There are three classes, which are as follows.

I. All members but two are vowel-final, and suffix **-n** for the plural. For example:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
haa	haa-n	'liver' (n)
hou	hou-n	'cheek' (n)
fe	fe-n	'foot' (n)
va	va-n	'vine' (n)
tulai	tulai-n	'toilet place' (m)
hoho	hoho-n	'rafter' (n)

II. One word **lalog** 'lee side of island' (n), suffixes **-en**: **lalogen** (pl) 'lee sides of islands'.

III. One word **feil** 'bow' (m) suffixes **-an**: **feilan** (pl) 'bows'.

THE VERAV DECLENSION

All members of this small declension form their plurals in the same way, by suffixing the form **-verav**. Some stems are vowel-final, some are consonant-final, but this does not affect the shape of the plural suffix. One word **sulum** 'chief' (m) loses its final **-m** before suffixing **-verav**, in compliance with the general rule mentioned above and discussed in more detail below that higher animate masculine nouns ending in **-m** lose the **-m** before adding the plural suffix.

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
kua	kua-verav	'wrinkles on hand' (n)
losi	losi-verav	'basket' (n)
fakon	fakon-verav	'snub-nosed emperor fish' (m)
tail	tail-verav	'house' (n)
fela'koe	fela'koe-verav	'village' (n)
hai	hai-verav	'point' (n)

THE 'OTHER' DECLENSION

There are a small number of words which form their plurals by suppletion, loss of final syllables, or various other irregular one-off strategies. An exhaustive listing of those in the corpus follows:

I. Suppletion. All of these terms are common kin and human classification terms. Note the gender distinction between 'girl' and 'boy' is collapsed in the plural; both are just 'children'. Collapse of gender distinctions in the plural is a pervasive feature throughout the language.

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
aira	homelav	'woman' (f)
ali	malav	'man' (m)
vo'vou	tulav	'boy' (m)
vo'vo	tulav	'girl' (f)
vaisa	nemev	'younger sister' (f)
ta	tafa	'woman' (f)

The last correspondence, **ta tafa**, could be suppletion or it could be suffixation.

II. Loss of final syllable:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
galengam	galeng	'boy' (m)
houla	houl	'tree' (f)
kuisa	kuis	'bottle' (f)
soka	sok	'finger' (f)
suta	sut	'giant clam' (f)

It is perhaps pertinent to note that all of those words that just lose a final **-a**, are feminine.

5.6.3 DISCUSSION OF DUAL AND PLURAL FORMATIONS

The descriptions above of dual and plural formation strategies have raised a number of issues. This section attempts to make some generalisations about dual and plural formation. It also points to some caveats about the extent to which these phenomena can be analysed as rule-governed and the extent to which they must be seen as unpredictable. This is particularly the case with respect to the phenomenon of the masculine singular and feminine singular suffixes, which has been mentioned above, but which needs further discussion. Also of particular interest are how borrowed words behave under dual and plural formations; the phenomenon of multiple dual/plural formation strategies for the same noun; homonyms; and the question of nouns which are always plural, and have no singular or dual forms.

THE MASCULINE AND FEMININE SINGULAR SUFFIXES

One issue which arises from the preceding data is that of singular marking. It is possible to analyse the final /a/ in some feminine nouns, and the final /m/ in some masculine nouns, as gendered singular markers: /a/ for feminine singular and /m/ for masculine singular. This analysis has neat correlations with other gender/number agreement marking in Lavukaleve. That is, **-a** is the feminine singular Agreement Suffix used in verbs and adjectives; and **-m** is the corresponding masculine singular form. Also, this analysis accounts for the loss of /a/ before some dual and plural suffixes (e.g. **ruia** 'old woman' (f) **ruivil** 'old women (pl)'), and similarly the loss of /m/ before some dual and plural suffixes (e.g. **sulum** 'chief' (m), **suluverav** 'chiefs (pl)'). It certainly seems that it is an accurate historical analysis. However, it is not the case that all final **-m** segments occur on masculine singular nouns, or all final **-a** segments occur on masculine singular nouns. Thus the analysis only has limited application. The reasons are as follows.

Firstly, with respect to /a/ as a feminine singular marker, while many feminine nouns do end in /a/, many do not, and further, many non-feminine nouns end in /a/. Similarly, while many masculine nouns end in /m/, not all do; and a few non-masculine nouns do end in /m/: for example: e.g. **iunifom** 'uniform' (f); **aram** 'sand' (n); **kastom** 'custom, culture' (n). This means that the suffixes are not general throughout the language. Two of these three words are loans, it is true, but some of the above examples (see also below) have shown that loan words are very deeply incorporated into the plural formation system, and generally act for these purposes in the same way as indigenous words.

Secondly, with respect to the loss of **-a** on feminine nouns, and **-m** on masculine nouns, it is not the case that this always happens before dual or plural suffixation. Firstly, it is not just feminine nouns which lose a final /a/ before a number suffix; in fact, neuter nouns can too. For example the plural form of **mola** 'canoe' (n) is **molev**. Similarly the plural of **kera** 'paddle' (n) is **kerev**. Secondly, not all m-final masculine nouns lose this /m/ before a plural suffix: **tamtam** 'reef' (m), **tamtamaul** (pl); **ko'rom** 'black

surgeonfish (m) **ko'romaul** (pl); kovekukuam 'puddle on ground' (m), **kovekukuamaul** (pl).

Thus, a final /m/ or /a/ usually, but not always, corresponds with a masculine or feminine noun respectively. Presumably these segments are remnants of a previously productive nominal gender-marking system. But for a synchronic analysis of Lavukaleve, it is not useful to see stem-final /a/ and /m/ as anything other than unanalysable parts of their noun stems.

The loss of final vowels, including /a/ and all other vowels, in dual and/or plural formation is in no way related to the process described in Section 5.5 of loss of final vowels in Possessed nouns. The group of nouns that lose their final vowels under Possessed noun formation bear no particular relationship with the nouns that lose their final vowel under dual and/or plural formation. The two are completely separate morphological processes.

BORROWED WORDS AND DUAL AND PLURAL FORMATION

Obvious recent loan words behave exactly as words which are presumably indigenous with respect to their dual and plural formations. That is, duals of borrowed words are formed according to the same phonological criteria as duals of indigenous words. Borrowed words are assigned to one of the ten plural declensions as far as can be seen on the same basis as indigenous words; they are certainly apparent in most of the ten declensions, and not obviously more represented in one declension than another. There are no examples of borrowed words in some of the smaller declensions; probably simply because there are few indigenous words in them anyway. It is certainly not the case that all borrowed words are confined to one or two declensions. And within each declension, borrowed words behave exactly as indigenous words do, operating under the same phonological considerations as indigenous words. Some examples of dual and plural formations of words known to be loans:

SG FORM	DUAL FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS	SOURCE
KAL declension				
taol (m)	taolal	taolkal	'towel'	Solomon Pijin
buti (n)	buti	butikal	'shoe'	Solomon Pijin
VIL declension				
belo (f)	belol	belovil	'bell'	Solomon Pijin
ofis (f)	ofisal	ofisavil	'office'	Solomon Pijin
UL declension				
planteson (f)	planteson	plantesonaul	'plantation'	Solomon Pijin
wof (f)	wof	wofaul	'wharf'	Solomon Pijin
VERAV declension				
bin (f)	binaol	binverav	'bean'	Solomon Pijin
MAL declension				
gaikoko (m)	gaikokol	gaikokomal	'canoe'	Austronesian: cf. Tolo haioko 'dugout canoe' (Smith Crowley 1986)
V declension				
kokoroko (m)	kokoroko	kokorokoev	'chicken'	Solomon Pijin
NONE declension				
wo	wo	wo	'war' (f)	Solomon Pijin

MULTIPLE DUAL/PLURAL MARKING STRATEGIES FOR A NOUN

A striking feature of plural noun formation, and, to a lesser extent, dual noun formation, is that it is not uncommon for one noun to have different dual or plural forms. Often one speaker will use one dual or plural form, and another speaker will use a different one. In some cases the same speaker will use different dual or plural forms on different occasions.

With respect to dual marking, in every case where there is an alternative dual marking strategy, one of the alternatives is no marking at all. In other words, for many nouns, dual marking is optional. Some examples:

SG FORM	DUAL FORMS
foe 'pig' (m)	foel or foe 'two pigs'
luat 'vein' (n)	luatal or luat 'two veins'
vu'vul 'heart' (m)	vu'vulil or vu'vul 'two hearts'
nana 'shadow' (f)	nanaol or nana 'two shadows'

There are no discernible semantic differences between these dual variants.

Many words show alternate plural marking strategies. These include nouns of all three genders, and the interchange between different suffixes shows some interesting tendencies. Some masculine and neuter nouns show some interchange involving **-kal**. Thus for example:

SG FORM	PLURAL FORMS
vage 'mound' (m)	vagen or vagekal
bili 'puddle' (n)	bilial or bilikal
hai 'headland' (n)	haiverav or haikal

There are also alternative masculine and neuter forms which involve other variants:

WORD	PLURAL FORMS
masiv 'year' (m)	masivaul or masiv
tail 'house' (n)	tailverav or tailav
namu 'place' (n)	namuv or namu

For feminine nouns which have alternative plural marking strategies, one of the alternatives is always **-vil**. Thus, for example:

WORD	PLURAL FORMS
solo 'mountain' (f)	solokal or solovil
tata 'spider' (f)	tata or tatavil
fiata 'gun' (f)	fiatev or fiatavil
tagio 'snake' (f)	tagiv or tagiovil

This pattern suggests that **-vil** is replacing other feminine plural-marking strategies, perhaps indicating a process of regularisation.

It can be seen from these few examples that some of the words which show alternative number-marking strategies are very common, frequently-used words (e.g. **namu** 'place', **tail** 'house', **masiv** 'year') whereas others are much less frequent (e.g. **fakon** 'k.o. fish'; **bili** 'puddle', **fiata** 'gun').

It seems that there are generational differences between the use of some of these forms. Older people tend to use the less regular forms, and teenagers and children tend to use the more regular forms, especially the **-kal** and **-vil** alternatives, which require less morphophonemic alternations, and can easily attach to any phonological stem type.

HOMONYMS

Homonyms provide evidence that while phonological criteria are important, they are not the only means by which the dual or plural form of a noun is determined. In some cases, two homonyms have the same dual and/or plural form; in other cases, they are different.

Below are some examples.

SG FORM	DUAL FORM	PLURAL FORM	GLOSS
ara	-	-	'east wind' (f)
ara	-	-	'grass' (n)
fia	fial	fiakal	'body painting' (m)
fia	-	-	'lightning' (n)
hai	hai	haikal	'point' (n)
hai	hai	hain	'forehead' (n)
hoho	hohol	hohon	'rafter' (n)
hoho	hohol	hohokal	'redtail snapper' (n)
hou	hou	houn	'cheek' (n)
hou	-	-	'smoke' (n)
kala	kalaol	kalavil	'mother' (f)
kala	kala	kalaul	'collarbone' (n)
koli	kolal	kolaul	'interior' (m)
koli	kolil	kolimal	'biscuit' (m)
ko'mua	ko'muaol	ko'muavil	'story' (f)
ko'mua	ko'muaol	ko'muavil	'female giant' (f)
kua	kua	kuavil	'moon' (f)
kua	kuaol	kua	'eye of greensnail shell' (f)
kua	kua	kuaev	'coconut tree' (f)
kua	kual	kuaverav	'wrinkles on hand' (f)
la	lal	lakal	'dream' (n)
la	lal	lakal	'coconut husk' (n)
la	lal	lavil	'soft part of baby's head' (m)
lake	lake	lakeav	'fire' (n)
lake	lake	lakeav	'road' (n)
lake	lake	lake	'jellyfish' (n)
lake	lakel	lakev	'entrance channel' (n)

Some of these alternatives may simply be due to the fact that even the same nouns often do have alternative dual and plural marking strategies.

NOUNS WHICH ARE OBLIGATORILY PLURAL

There are a small number of nouns which are obligatorily plural in terms of their agreement and cross-referencing. These *pluralia tantum* nouns sometimes refer to things which usually or always include many items (e.g. *neo* 'teeth'). Most are mass nouns (e.g. *leruv* 'flesh', *gigil* 'measurements', *vui* 'breath', *kirav* 'smell', *ura* 'steam'). One further word is hard to understand from an outsider's point of view: *isia* 'boat stern'. There are no words which are obligatorily dual.

CONCLUSIONS

It is possible, as has been shown, to reduce some of the complexity of Lavukaleve's dual and plural formations by positing a couple of phonological rules, a small number of unpredictable declensional classes, and masses of exceptions. With Hausa, a language of a similar degree of complexity to Lavukaleve in its plural formations, internal reconstruction has enabled a much better understanding of the plural formation system (Hellwig and McIntyre (to appear)). If the history of Lavukaleve were known, or if there were extant close relatives of Lavukaleve, much more of the apparent randomness could well shown to be part of a larger pattern.

CHAPTER SIX

Gender and agreement

Gender is a grammatical category which is used to distinguish between different classes of nouns. In many languages, gender is also used to distinguish between different classes of pronouns. In Lavukaleve, gender is used to distinguish between different classes of nouns and pronouns. The gender of a noun is determined by its class and by the number of syllables in its stem. The gender of a pronoun is determined by its class and by the number of syllables in its stem. The gender of a noun and pronoun is used to determine the gender of the verb in a sentence. The gender of a verb is determined by the gender of the subject and the gender of the object. The gender of a verb is used to determine the gender of the subject and the gender of the object. The gender of a verb is used to determine the gender of the subject and the gender of the object.

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CHAPTER SIX

Gender and agreement

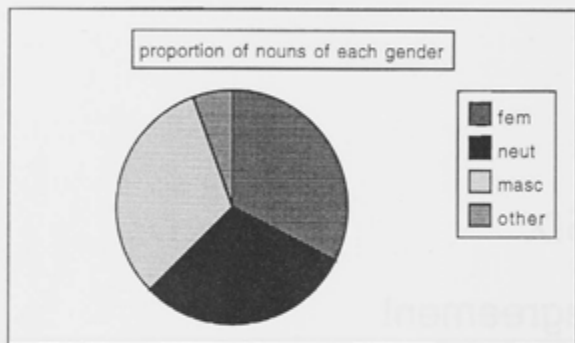
Gender is a category which belongs to nouns, but is reflected syntactically by agreement in other word classes. I use the term 'gender' in the traditional sense, to refer to the type of system which Derbyshire and Payne (1990) call "gender concordial classifiers"; and Aikhenvald (1994) calls "grammaticalised gender systems", which are a type of her "noun classification systems". The discussion to follow has as its general theoretical underpinning Corbett's (1991) approach to the formal and functional analysis of gender as an agreement category.

Gender is an extremely important and pervasive category in Lavukaleve syntax. Gender agreement occurs in most words in a sentence; and as discourse typically contains much ellipsis of nouns, gender is useful for reference tracking. There are three genders in Lavukaleve. They are named masculine, feminine and neuter, on the grounds that the so-called 'masculine' class contains, among other things, the nouns which refer to human males; the 'feminine' class contains, among other things, the nouns that refer to human females; and the 'neuter' class contains mostly non-human referents.

All nouns have an inherent gender, but this gender is in most cases not marked overtly on nouns (although see Section 5.6 on the relationship between gender and plural formation of nouns). All modifiers in an NP, except for possessors (and a few other minor lexically-determined exceptions), agree in gender with the head noun. That is, gender is marked on adjectives, demonstratives, and the definite article. In addition, most clausal elements which cross-reference to a nominal argument are also marked for the gender of their nominal argument. So object prefixes, the Agreement Suffix, and the focus markers are also marked for the gender of the noun to which they refer. Thus gender is a pervasive feature of Lavukaleve morpho-syntax.

6.1 GENDER ASSIGNMENT

There are roughly equal numbers of masculine, feminine and neuter nouns in Lavukaleve. The following chart shows the proportions of nouns in the corpus belonging to each gender (in a count of 805 nouns).



That is, masculine nouns account for 32% of all nouns, neuter for 30% and feminine 33%. The 'other' category, 5% of nouns, consists largely of obligatorily-plural nouns, which show no gender.

Nouns are assigned to one of three genders on the basis of both formal and semantic factors (using Corbett's (1991) distinction). All nouns derived with nominalisers are neuter or feminine, depending on the nominaliser. The final segment of other nouns largely determines what genders they can potentially belong to. Beyond this point, semantic factors come into play. The following sections discuss the kinds of criteria which are important in determining gender assignment.

6.1.1 FORMAL ASSIGNMENT OF GENDER

There are two types of formal assignment of gender: morphological and phonological assignment. Both of these are important in Lavukaleve. There are two morphological rules:

- Nouns formed with the neuter Abstract Nominaliser **-e -i** are neuter

In fact most underived abstract nouns are neuter also (see discussion below). However the morphological rule is much stricter than the semantic rule: there are no derived abstract nouns which are not neuter, but there are a few underived abstract nouns which are not neuter.

- Nouns formed with the feminine Abstract Nominaliser **-io** are feminine

In fact, almost all nouns ending in **-io** are feminine; see below. See Section 13.1 for an account of these two nominalisers.

Phonological assignment depends on the final segment or segments of a noun. The rules are:

- Nouns ending in **-io** and **-f** are feminine (e.g. **louaio** 'yellow mullet', **laffio** 'well', **tagio** 'snake', **haikio** 'shout', **kiokio** 'kingfisher', **aunio** 'evening', **urio** 'coconut crab', **lefalef** 'basket')
- Nouns ending in **-m** and **-n** are masculine (e.g. **lamulam** 'storm', **leumam** 'upper lip', **fafanem** 'leaf sp.', **rom** 'coconut branch', **houm** 'dolphin', **feman** 'shark', **lovitan** 'saltwater eel', **funfun** 'firefly', **sigun** 'birth hut')
- Nouns ending in **-ae** and **-r** are neuter (e.g. **taukae** 'grater', **leukae** 'cuttlefish', **kakaleuae** 'brotherhood', **folufoluae** 'fat', **lar** 'daylight', **hovir** 'cough', **fegir** 'sweat', **veur** 'noise', **huluhulur** 'flame')
- Nouns ending in **-e**, **-ng**, **-g**, **-i**, **-l**, **-s**, **-t** and **-v** are masculine or neuter (e.g. **fe** 'foot' (n), **safe** 'shelf' (n), **ge** 'bottom' (m), **kage** 'plant sp.' (m), **negoneg** 'driftwood' (n), **fangfang** 'tumour on tree' (m), **filang** 'weathercoast' (n), **sing** 'womb' (m), **lalog** 'lee side of island' (n), **na'nug** 'thought' (m), **fai** 'shin' (m), **lai** 'rain' (n), **lari** 'lime' (n), **mari** 'sacrifice' (m), **felfel** 'butterfly' (m), **bomil** 'leaf sp.' (n), **falis** 'gum' (n), **legis** 'leaf' (n), **o'as** 'bush' (m), **halangas** 'hard coral' (m), **sot** 'crown of tree' (n), **nanas** 'orchid' (m), **maruiv** 'feather' (n), **tovutov** 'bubble' (m)).

There are some exceptions to most of these rules. A strikingly large proportion of the exceptions are recent loan words. In fact recent loan words rarely belong to the gender which would be expected from principles of phonological assignment. For example there are only four words ending in **-m** which are not masculine. One is **iunifom** 'uniform' (f), and one is **kastom** 'custom, accepted practice' (n). (See below for an account of principles for the assignment of gender to loan words.) Similarly, of the 10 words ending in **-n** which are not masculine, 9 are obvious recent loan words from Solomon Pijin: **taon** 'town' (f), **laeman** 'lemon, bush lime' (f), **laen** 'line' (f), **reven** 'stripe' (from 'ribbon') (f), **bin** 'bean' (f), **planteson** 'plantation' (f), **paniken** 'cup' (n), **sosopen** 'pot' (n) and **si'pun** 'spoon' (n). Also, the one word ending in **-s** which is not masculine or neuter is **ofis** 'office' (f). Of the two words ending in **-t** which are not masculine or neuter, one is **singeret** 'cigarette' (f). Of the 6 words ending in **-i** which are not masculine or neuter, three of them are **suti** 'torch' (f) (from English 'shoot light' via Solomon Pijin), **meleni** 'melon' (f) and **ta'rai** 'prayer' (f) (cf. **tarai** 'pray' in Cheke Holo, an Austronesian language spoken in Santa Ysabel (White 1988)). Of the two non-masculine, non-neuter words ending in **-l**, one is **baol** 'bowl' (f). And finally, there are only two words ending in **-k** which are not masculine or neuter, and they are **ta'rak** 'truck' (f) and **tepok** 'kapok' (f), both from Solomon Pijin.

There are only a small number of other exceptions to the phonological principles laid out above. A few of these are clearly loan words from Austronesian languages, and it is indeed possible that they all are. The following is an exhaustive list of them:

ba'bale	'hut' (f) cf. Proto Oceanic * pale 'open-sided building' (Green and Pawley 1998: 49)
kilekile/ki'kile	'axe' (f) cf. Proto Oceanic * kiRam 'axe' (Osmond and Ross 1998: 88)
kiokio	'kingfisher' (m) cf. Cheke Holo khiokhio 'beach kingfisher' (White 1988)
totogale	'picture' (f) cf. Cheke Holo thotogale 'picture, drawing, photograph' (White 1988)
tutupi	'fist' (f) cf. Cheke Holo tutupi 'fight, hit with fists' (White 1988)
pine	'sweet coconut husk' (f)
si'val	'mango tree' (f) (cf. mango fruit si'val (m))
lom	'inherited useful trees' (n)
mangit	'Indian mackerel' (f)
ta'tavi	'sea urchin' (f)
remrem	'mussel sp.' (n)
ha'hamio	'ant sp.' (m)
kilimar	'flock of white seagulls' (m)
aram	'ground' (n)
namutin	'mainland' (n)
fongasar	'walling of house' (m)
nugur	'sea current' (m)
lagari	'choice' (f)

Gender assignment systems based on phonological criteria are found in mainland Papuan languages, notably of the Torricelli and Lower Sepik families (Foley 1986: 85); Yimas is discussed also in Corbett (1991: 55-7). Arapesh and Yimas are two of the best-known systems; but Lavukaleve is much more modest in its gender system than either of these two languages. In both Arapesh and Yimas, for a large proportion of nouns at least, there is overt phonological marking of their gender membership. Thus for Yimas, there are around 12 genders (Foley 1986 calls them noun classes) of which four have semantic assignment, and the other eight are for inanimate nouns, and have phonological assignment. Of the genders with phonological assignment, there are seven subclasses, each one marked by the final segments of nouns, as well as through extensive agreement throughout the sentence. The difference between Lavukaleve and a language like Yimas is that in Yimas, the phonologically determined genders have no exceptions; every noun of a particular gender has its correct phonological form. In Lavukaleve, by contrast, there are exceptions for almost all of the phonological assignment rules; and furthermore, some phonological forms are not covered by phonological rule at all (e.g. nouns ending in **-a**, **-o** and **-u**). Lavukaleve has the same

kind of system as languages like Yimas and Arapesh, but to a much lesser degree.

It seems, then, that for Lavukaleve phonological criteria operate for the majority of indigenous words. But there is more to the assignment of gender than just phonological criteria. Many of the phonological criteria separate out feminine nouns from masculine and neuter nouns, but most of the phonological rules do not distinguish between masculine and neuter. Also, nouns ending in **-a**, **-o** and **-u** are roughly evenly divided between all three genders. So there are many nouns left unaccounted for by phonological assignment. The genders of these nouns depend to a large extent on semantic criteria. These semantic criteria are discussed next.

6.1.2 SEMANTIC ASSIGNMENT OF GENDER

There is some relationship between the gender of a noun and the semantic nature of the referent of a noun. In the examples to follow, the overlap between phonological and semantic assignment is clear.

Feminine nouns include:

- female human beings and mythical creatures, for example: **aira** 'woman'; **homela** 'woman'; **veua** 'girl'; **tua** 'wife'; **ruia** 'old woman'; **vaisa** 'younger sister'; **kakalea** 'older sister'; **vovo** 'daughter, girl'; **kala** 'mother'; **vava** 'mummy'; **ta** 'woman'; **kom'ua** 'female giant'
- also one word referring to a male human being is classified as feminine gender: **ruima** 'old man'. This word is discussed below.
- all reptiles except **sokoraem** 'lizard', for example: **katelea** 'crocodile'; **tagio** 'snake'; **karokomoa** 'gecko', and note also **ku'kulia** 'frog' (turtles are not classed as reptiles, and are masculine, like animals)
- some birds, for example: **bu'taeo** 'eagle'; **hamanua** 'hawk'; **kilimarea** 'white seagull'; **kuku** 'dove'; **nioko** 'megapode'; **siviroko** 'parrot'
- some insects, for example: **ku'kuia** 'ant'; **midua** 'bee'; **mulukuita** 'mosquito'; **sou** 'fly'
- some fish, for example: **betea** 'grouper'; **fainama** 'snapper'; **mangit** 'Indian mackerel'; **meo** 'tuna'; **toukolo** 'damsel fish'
- most fruits, for example: **nato** 'sago fruit'; **kuio** 'inkori fruit'; **mulukita** 'orange'; **hau** 'pana'; **homolo** 'fruit'; **mogea** 'wild apple'; **ngotea** 'young coconut fruit'; **pine** 'sweet coconut husk'; **matua** 'old coconut fruit'
- most trees producing edible fruits, for example: **kevasa** 'ngali nut tree'; **kino** 'cutnut tree'; **lega** 'alite tree'; **le'usa** 'betel nut tree'; **nato** 'sago palm tree'; **uao** 'breadfruit tree'
- long things, for example: **uia** 'knife'; **vagea** 'hoe'; **bo'rea** 'arrow'; **dokulu** 'iron pole'; **fiata** 'gun'; **kaukamea** 'wire'; **laigio** 'string'; **lomosa** 'long-beam'; **natukomba** 'wall post'; **piru** 'thin cable'; **reven** 'stripe, ribbon'; **sagio** 'line'; **talio** 'cable'; **raba** 'rubber thong for fish-spear'; **tos** 'torch'; **mota** 'spine'; **rala** 'edge of

pandanus leaf'; **fa** 'timber logs'; **fetu** 'thumb'; **soka** 'finger'; **gusio** 'little finger'; **himara** 'axe'; **kaeta** 'spider web'; **kakasa** 'firewood sticks'; **lakea** 'ladder'; **levo** 'bamboo flute'; **ruio** 'bamboo water container' (made of a section of bamboo stem); **sa'sakio** 'paddle'; **tagio** 'snake'; **vagea** 'hoe'

Masculine nouns include:

- male human beings, nouns referring to male roles, and mythical figures: **bagatum** 'male giant'; **kalem** 'father'; **ne'mem** 'brother'; **tum** 'husband'; **tasiu** 'brothers in religious order'; **mamam** 'daddy'; **ali** 'man'; **holovem** 'devil'; **ku'raem** 'village elder'; **marai** 'warrior'; **para** 'larrikin'; **karomalan** 'enemy'
- substantial, roundish things, for example: **ankav** 'pumice'; **a'vuri** 'parcel'; **bunu** 'type of big house'; **fina** 'belongings'; **kui** 'sun'; **kusu** 'string bag'; **lea** 'cave'; **fa'luk** 'cabbage'; **halangas** 'hard coral', **fangfang** 'tumor on tree'; **fufu** 'stomach'; **keva** 'basket (big type)'; **ko'bau** 'club'; **suma** 'taro'; **vu'vul** 'heart'
- all animals: **foe** 'pig'; **mitakeu** 'dog'; **karu** 'possum'; **kusukui** 'rat'; **lekofat** 'flying fox'; **gonu** 'turtle'; **beata** 'leatherback turtle'
- some birds: **belama** 'frigate bird'; **kaikal** 'cockatoo'; **kiokio** 'kingfisher'; **kulukulu** 'pigeon'; **makatoem** 'green parrot'; **manogirigiri** 'seagull sp.'; **mala'gula** 'bird'
- some insects: **felfel** 'butterfly'; **fua** 'wasp'; **funfun** 'firefly'; **ha'hamio** 'ant'; **lai** 'louse'; **mikat** 'centipede'; **naga** 'ant sp.'
- some fish: **beiram** 'blue-fin trevally'; **fafas** 'two-spotted red snapper'; **farasam** 'spinefoot'; **feman** 'shark'; **lemkut** 'large-eye bream'; **moge** 'dogtooth tuna'; **siu** 'kingfish'; **maleut** 'trevally'; **fo'sal** 'fish'
- most high prestige and staple foods, for example: **fa'luk** 'cabbage'; **uvi** 'yam'; **uvikola** 'cassava'; **umalau** 'sweet potato'; **suma** 'taro'; **maki** 'ngali nut pudding'; **bua** 'wild banana'

Neuter nouns include:

- only one human noun: **tu'tul** 'baby'
- no birds or insects, but some fish and shellfish: **kuilak** 'abalone'; **lata** 'black-lipped clam'; **kavis** 'squirrelfish'; **teo** 'k.o. squirrelfish'; **rolo** 'coral trout'; **sera** 'fish sp.'
- water terms, for example: **lafi** 'water'; **fau** 'low tide'; **tasi** 'sea'; **hoi** 'deep blue sea'; **nganga** 'river'; **lafio** 'well'; **i'sima** 'lake'; **loi** 'puddle in tree'; **bili** 'puddle in rock'; **hoitug** 'deep pool'; **feffi** 'bottom of pool'; **ko'kol** 'sea passage'; **kekera** 'reef, shallow sea'; **lai** 'rain'; **vulit** 'liquid'
- terms to do with the passage of time, for example: **hamus** 'evening'; **hamusive** 'night'; **lalamo** 'morning'; **le** 'day'; **movele** 'day after tomorrow'; **dani** 'dawn'; **uik** 'week'
- many things to do with important traditional and sacred things, for example: **gilu** 'grave'; **gali** 'war canoe'; **sagul** 'traditional medicine'; **mima** 'church, way of life'; **sa'sau** 'arm-ring'; **lom** 'useful trees inherited through clan lines'; **gao** 'stone canoe'
- many words referring to parts of houses, and utensils used around the house: **tail** 'house'; **koa** 'door'; **safe-tafe** 'shelf'; **le** 'oven'; **lelehoe** 'oven'; **kula** 'roof'; **hoho**

'rafter'; **fofo** 'basin'

- many body parts, for example: **tau** 'limb'; **vala** 'belly'; **ravu** 'blood'; **tina** 'body'; **keruv** 'egg'; **haa** 'liver'; **keut** 'skin'; **lemi** 'eye'; **folufoluae** 'fat'; **nalo** 'guts'; **leu** 'mouth'; **sooso** 'neck'; **fulu** 'tail'; **nu** 'hair'; **vatu** 'head'; **sisi** 'nose' **let** 'tongue'; **feo** 'palm'; **lomo** 'beard'; **femi** 'face'; **nget** 'shark or dolphin fin'; **hou** 'cheek'; **fegir** 'sweat'; **honi** 'nape of neck'; **tu'tuk** 'torso, trunk'
- abstract terms, for example: **lalo** 'peace'; **mate** 'war'; **laketei** 'life'; **lav** 'marriage'; **iut** 'youth'; **tonga** 'chance'; **natu** 'olden ways'; **hove** 'goodness'; **koro** 'darkness'

Size and shape are often important in gender assignment in the languages of the world. But one noteworthy feature of Lavukaleve is that long things are feminine and round things are masculine, rather than the other way around, which is more common. Alamlak for instance (Bruce 1984: 97) has long things assigned to masculine gender and round squat things to feminine gender, as does Mianmin (Foley 1986: 81), to name just two examples.

All these semantic principles are more in the nature of weak tendencies than predictive associations. For example, although long things are often feminine, **kolukol** 'pestle' is masculine, and **kemus** 'rope' is neuter. Some time words are not neuter, e.g. **aunio** 'evening' (f). Many body parts are masculine or feminine, e.g. **falio** 'fingernail' (f); **kotovanga** 'throat' (f); **lausu** 'thigh' (f); **guguru** 'back' (f); **fai** 'chin' (m); **fakas** 'shoulder' (m); **hani** 'vulva' (m); **ho'vul** 'ear' (m); **runai** 'elbow' (m). Many other similar counter-examples exist.

6.1.3 DISCUSSION OF GENDER ASSIGNMENT

Formal assignment principles are more regular and transparent than semantic assignment principles. This suggests that the formal system is the first step in determining gender for most nouns already existing in the language, and only after that does the semantic system come into operation.

The fact that exceptions to the phonological assignment system are almost all recent loan words suggests that the phonological assignment system is less important now in determining gender than it once was. Today the morphological and semantic systems, and concept-association, are more important in assigning gender to new nouns than phonology is. It is worth looking more closely at how recent loan words are assigned gender.

RECENT LOAN WORDS

There are 48 obvious recent loan words in my corpus of around 800 nouns. For about half of these, the gender they receive can be understood in terms of the principles outlined above. For the other half, the principles behind their gender assignment remain

opaque.

A very few of the recent loans (mostly from Pijin) receive gender by phonological assignment: **redio** 'radio' is feminine, as are almost all words ending in **-io**. **Wof** 'wharf' and **sef** 'cupboard' (from 'safe', as in 'meat safe') are feminine, as are all words ending in **-f**. **Baik** 'bag', **lanis** 'launch, small boat', and **taol** 'towel' are all masculine; all words with these endings are either masculine or neuter. (There is an indigenous word **sokil** 'small boat' which is semantically close to **lanis**, and which is also masculine. This kind of semantic analogy is a common way of assigning gender to loan words in the languages of the world (Corbett 1991: 77). There are other instances in Lavukaleve; this point is expanded upon below.) These are the only recent loan words which comply with the gender suggested by their phonology.

Many of the other words appear to have semantic gender assignment. So for example **suti** 'torch', **laen** 'line', **reven** 'stripe', **raba** 'rubber thong' and **singeret** 'cigarette' could all be feminine by virtue of being long things. For **laen**, there is a semantically close indigenous word **sagio** 'line' which is also feminine.

Similarly, **bin** 'bean', **laeman** 'lime', **manioko** 'pawpaw', **meleni** 'watermelon', **to'mato** 'tomato' and **vingga** 'chili' are all feminine, as are most fruits.

Keati 'cat' is masculine as all animals are. **Iut** 'youth' and **kastom** 'custom, customary ways, accepted practice' are neuter like most abstract nouns. Compare also the indigenous word with a parallel meaning to **kastom**: **mima** 'way, accepted practice, traditional custom', which is neuter. **Dis** 'dish', **paniken** 'cup', **baket** 'bucket'; **sopu** 'soap'; **si'pun** 'spoon' and **sosopen** 'pot' are neuter as are most utensils used around the house. **Kisin** 'kitchen' is neuter like most words referring to houses and parts of houses.

Corbett (1991) says that it is rare, and ill-attested, for languages to have different gender assignment rules for borrowed words than for indigenous words. I am not proposing that Lavukaleve has different rules entirely for borrowed than indigenous words. Rather, I suggest that both borrowed words and indigenous words are assigned gender according to two different, though overlapping systems, but it is the relative importance of these systems that differs for borrowed versus indigenous words. Thus for indigenous words, phonological rules are the most important for assigning gender to nouns, and semantic rules are secondary. For borrowings however, semantic rules are the primary consideration for gender assignment, and phonological rules are secondary.

Put slightly differently, it is possible that phonological rules may have been more important in earlier stages of Lavukaleve, but more recently semantic rules have become more important.

HOMONYMS

There are many homonyms in Lavukaleve, and it is interesting to note that in some cases they take the same gender, but in other cases their genders differ. Thus:

WORD	GLOSS AND GENDER
hai	'point, promontory' (n)
hai	'forehead' (n)
simu	'star' (m)
simu	'coconut shoot' (m)
lake	'fire' (n)
lake	'road' (n)
lake	'jellyfish' (n)
lake	'entrance channel from deep sea through reef to an island' (n)
tara	'rumble, as of thunder' (f)
tara	'fleet of canoes' (m)
soka	'starfish' (m)
soka	'finger' (f)
kala	'mother' (f)
kala	'collarbone' (n)

The closer semantically the words are, the more likely they are to have the same genders. This is natural; some of these words are clearly chance homonyms, whereas others are really the same word. So for example **hai** meaning 'point, promontory' is probably the same word as **hai** meaning 'forehead', and they have the same gender; but probably **kala** meaning 'mother' is a chance homonym with **kala** meaning 'collarbone', and they have different genders.

EXPLOITATION OF GENDER FOR SEMANTIC PURPOSES

In most cases, gender is a fixed feature of a noun, but it is possible in Lavukaleve, though rare, for the gender of a noun to be changed for semantic purposes. There are a few instances in the corpus of a masculine or neuter noun being treated as a feminine noun, to express the fact that it is very small. Consider the following examples:

- 1) ba kini foe roa akula amefoi
 ba kini foe roa a- kula a- me- foi
 go!sg ACT pig(m) one.sgm 3sgmO- run.after 3sgmO- lduin- hold

...let's go catch a pig...

mn4 003

- 2) ("Give us some fire." "To cook what?")

"O!	Foe	tula	ro	okuiham	fi .			
o	foe	tula	-a	ro	o-	kui	-ham	fi
oh	pig	small	-sgf	one.sgf	3sgfO-	burn	-PURP	3sgnFOC

"Oh! It's to cook a little pig."

mn4 031

In the first of the above examples, **foe** 'pig' is shown controlling masculine agreement, as it normally does. However in the second example, **foe** is feminine. This is a device deliberately exploited by the speaker for a particular semantic purpose. The speaker has just asked the evil giant if he could use the giant's fire. He wants to cook a pig he has just caught, but he doesn't want to tell the giant that, because he knows the giant will take the pig from him if he knows about it. He is eventually forced to admit to the giant that he wants the fire to cook the pig on it, but he tries to claim that the pig is only very small, and thus not worth the giant's attention. To emphasise the tiny size of the pig, the speaker uses feminine agreement instead of the usual masculine. The next pair of examples shows a similar situation:

- 3) "Mola roge foiga vula me!"

mola	roge	foiga	vula	me	-ø
canoe(n)	one.sgn	PN.MED.sgn	come	HAB	-sgn

"A canoe is coming!"

gm 089

- 4) mola tula ro feo ona ovau.

mola	tula	-a	ro	feo	ona	na	ovau.
canoe	small	-sgf	one.sgf	3sgfFOC	3sgfO-	in	3sgS- vau
							go.out

...he went out in a very small canoe.

co 016

The first of the above examples shows **mola** 'canoe' acting in its normal way as a neuter noun, taking neuter agreement. In the second example, however, it takes feminine agreement. The speaker deliberately uses feminine agreement to emphasise the smallness of the canoe in this situation. It is not known if a noun can also be treated as masculine or neuter to make a particular point; nor indeed what the point made would be.

Note that it is not obvious from the corpus of feminine nouns that small things are associated with feminine gender, but two different speakers on different occasions did make this association, as the above examples show. It is difficult to know what to make of this.

6.2 AGREEMENT

Gender is expressed in Lavukaleve primarily through agreement, not through the form of the noun itself, despite the importance of phonological form of the noun for gender assignment. Almost all nominal modifiers agree with their head nouns; that is, the definite article, adjectives, demonstrative modifiers and the focus markers. Also

demonstrative pronouns show gender agreement. Further, some elements agree with nouns across the clause. Verbal prefixes which cross-reference objects (but not those which cross-reference subjects) show gender agreement, as does the verbal Agreement Suffix. Actually, all these elements show not just gender but also number agreement. For most forms, gender and number are expressed together in portmanteau morphemes. An example of this concordance shown in different word classes throughout the sentence:

5)	airaol	le'laol	ruiaol		feol	leiaol.
	airaol	le'laol	ruia	-ol	feol	lei -aol
	women.du(f)	two.f	old.woman	-du.f	3dufFOC	exist -du.f

...two old women live there.

co 033

Throughout the language, however, all gender distinctions are shown only in the singular and dual numbers; plural forms never express gender. This is true not just of morphological affixes and grammatical words, but also of many lexical items (e.g. **vo'vou** 'boy child', **vo'voul** 'two boys'; **vo'vo** 'girl child', **vo'vol** 'two girls'; **tulav** 'children (either/both sexes)'). That is, there is a syncretism of the three genders in the plural number. This collapse of gender distinctions in the plural number is the kind of syncretism which Corbett (1991: 190 ff.) calls convergence, and is a relatively common phenomenon in the languages of the world. The only thing perhaps slightly less common is the fact that gender distinctions are maintained throughout the dual number, and converge only in the plural.

Having stated what kinds of elements must agree, it should be noted that there are some instances of these elements in Lavukaleve which cannot show gender agreement. There are some lexical restrictions to the rule that all adjectives must always agree in gender with their head noun: the adjective **bakel** 'big' does not show gender/number agreement, and the numbers from three to ten, which are also adjectives, do not show gender/number agreement. Otherwise, all those elements mentioned above that agree in gender must always obligatorily show gender agreement. This is normally a straightforward matter; however there is one word **ruima** 'old man' which has anomalous agreement properties. This word is the topic of the next section.

THE HYBRID NOUN **RUIMA** 'OLD MAN'

Corbett (1991: 183 ff.) defines hybrid nouns as those nouns which "neither simply take the agreement of one consistent agreement pattern nor belong to two or more genders". There is one word in Lavukaleve like this: **ruima** 'old man'. All nouns referring to human males are masculine in gender, except for **ruima**. This word always takes a feminine, not masculine, definite article:

- 6) **ruima la** * **ruima na**
 ruima la ruima na
 old.man sgfArt old.man sgmArt
the old man

But it takes either masculine or feminine agreement in other word classes. Typically it takes masculine pronouns and demonstratives, and feminine adjectives and verbal agreement:

- 7) "Vasiam oina ruima la?"
 vasia -m oina ruima la
 be.where -sgm other.MED.sgm old.man sgfArt
"Where is that other one, the old man?" mn2 041
- 8) Okay. Velanun aka ruima ro na'nug aofou.
 okay vela -nun aka ruima ro na'nug a- o- fou
 okay go -DUR then old.man one.sgf thought(m) 3sgmO- 3sgS- make
Okay. It went on, then one old man had an idea. rk1 045
- 9) ruima la hano kiu.
 ruima la hano kiu -a
 old.man sgfArt then die -sgf
...the old man was dead. jr2 052

Often, though, speakers hesitate over which agreement pattern to use, and frequently use a combination of both, or use one gender for agreement, then repeat themselves using the other gender. In the following example, note the changes in gender agreement between intonation units (slashes represent pauses on level pitch):

- 10) aka roa / ruima ro feo / olang fi Tagoila.
 aka roa / ruima ro feo / o- langi fi Tagoila
 then one.sgm / old.man one.sgf 3sgfFOC / 3sgPOSS- name(n) 3sgnFOC Tagoila
...then there was one [man], one old man, his name was Tagoila. jr2 008
- 11) Hoinari ruima / hoiariom
 hoina -ri ruima / hoia -ri -om
 MOD.MED.sgm -PSNV old.man / MOD.MED.sgf -PSNV -m/n
 olang fi / Runa.
 o- langi fi / Runa
 3sgPOSS- name(n) 3sgnFOC / Runa
That old man, his name was Runa. jr2 050

The anomalous agreement properties of **ruima** are due to the fact that it is assigned to the feminine gender, even though it denotes a human male referent. **Ruima** is the only word in Lavukaleve which behaves in this anomalous way with respect to its agreement properties. Interestingly, the other human noun which could potentially have anomalous agreement patterns is **tu'tul** 'baby', which is neuter. However I have never observed

any anomalous agreement patterns associated with this word; it invariably takes neuter agreement. Normally if speakers are discussing a particular baby they will refer to it with a gendered noun, e.g. **vo'vou** 'boy' or **vo'vo** 'girl', instead of using **tu'tul**. **Tu'tul** is more usually used in the abstract, talking about non-particular cases; such cases are easily compatible with neuter gender.

NON-PROTOTYPICAL CONTROLLERS AND DEFAULT AGREEMENT

The fact, stated above, that gender agreement is obligatory in all elements which are able to show gender, presents problems occasionally. Corbett (1991: 203 ff.) discusses the two types of problems typically associated with languages like Lavukaleve which have so-called "enforced" gender. The first problem arises when gender agreement depends on a head which is not itself specified for gender. The second problem arises when the speaker is unable to specify the gender of a referent. Lavukaleve deals with the two problems in different ways.

In those cases in which gender agreement is controlled by an element which does not have gender, Lavukaleve obligatorily uses 3rd person singular neuter agreement, henceforth called "default agreement".

This kind of agreement can be seen for instance when the focus markers are in construction with, and hence must agree with, an adjunct (first two examples) or a verb (third example):

- 12) *spepat* *vona* *fi* *fo'foira* *oai.*
 spepat vo- na fi fo'foira o- a- i
 spare.parts(pl) 3plO- in 3sgnFOC work(f) 3sgfO- 1sgS- do
...I worked on spare parts. co2 001
- 13) *Atat* *fi* *beko* *ovo'vou* *roa* *fifire* *olei.*
 a- tat fi beko o- vo'vou roa fifi-re o- lei
 3sgmO- on.top 3sgnFOC stone(f) 3sgPOSS- boy(m) one.sgm sit -NF 3sgS- exist
One baby stone sits on top of it. sv 004
- 14) *eui* *ekuire,* *ui* *eu* *fi* *leme.*
 e- ui e- kui -re ui e- u fi le- me
 1plexPOSS- food(n) 3sgnO- burn -NF food(n) 3sgnO- eat 3sgnFOC 1plex- HAB
...cooking our food, we eat it. mt 019

Default agreement can also be seen in certain situations in discourse, when a speaker wants to say that things continued on in the same manner for some time before a new event occurred. The normal way to say this is to use the verb **me** 'continue', in a subordinate clause using the Anterior suffix **-ge**, the subject of which is specified only by a 3rd singular neuter prefix. Because it is a verb of a subordinate adverbial clause, the third person intransitive subject is expressed using an object prefix (see Section 16.1

for an explanation of this). What is of concern here is only that there is no true subject; but filling the subject position on such verbs is a 3sg prefix, of neuter gender. An example:

- 15) **Aka hano ogaikoko na leam.**
 aka hano o- gaikoko na lea -m
 then then 3sgPOSS- canoe(m) sgmArt burst -sgm

Then his canoe broke.

- Aka emege aokefeuri.**
 aka e- e- me -ge a- o- ke feu -ri
 then 3sgO- SBD- continue -ANT 3sgMO- 3sgS- push.off go.up -CAUS

It went on like that, then he pushed [his canoe] up [on shore].

w1 016-017

A third situation in which default agreement can be seen is with the non-pronominal use of a demonstrative, which is used more or less as a sequencing device between clauses, much like the colloquial English 'okay'. See Section 8.4.3 for a discussion of this. The important point here is that although a demonstrative is used, it does not have a nominal antecedent in this function; and the form used for this function is the singular neuter medial demonstrative pronoun. This, then, is another instance of neuter gender being used when there is no controller gender. An example of this usage:

- 16) **Le ga eveage, ofeu.**
 le ga e- vea -ge o- feu
 day(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- SBD- emerge -ANT 3sgS- go.up

Next day, she went up [to the bush].

- Ofei foiga.**
 o- feu -i foiga
 3sgPOSS- go.up -PSV PN.MED.sgn

She went up, okay.

- Feunun feunun feunun ta**
 feu -nun feu -nun feu -nun ta
 go.up -DUR go.up -DUR go.up -DUR just
- tulav va foiva suni ika rongea-ne fi ngoa mame.**
 tulav va foiva suni ika rongea-ne fi ngoa ma- me
 children(pl) plArt PN.MED.pl all there play -IMPF 3sgnFOC stay 3plS- HAB

She went up, went up, up, up, but all her children were there, playing.

jn2 022-024

RESOLUTION

The second problem with enforced agreement systems comes about when a speaker is unable to specify agreement. This situation could come about for two reasons. Firstly, the speaker may not know the gender of a referent. Secondly, the language may not allow the correct agreement required. This latter situation could happen if there are two participants of different genders. (If there are more than two participants, plural

agreement is used, which does not distinguish gender. However with two participants, dual gender/number agreement is used, and gender must be distinguished.) If there are two participants of the same gender, there is no problem. If there are two participants of different genders, and at least one of the participants is masculine, then masculine agreement is used. Thus:

17)	Aira	la	o	vo'vou	na	vasiamal?	
	aira	la	o	vo'vou	na	vasia	-mal
	woman(f)	sgfArt	and	boy(m)	sgmArt	be.where	-du.m

Where are the woman and the boy?

e3 003c

If, however, there are one feminine and one neuter participant, speakers cannot use feminine or neuter dual agreement (or masculine), but instead must use plural agreement. As gender distinctions do not occur in the plural number, this strategy neatly sidesteps the problem. (This and the previous example are elicited. Perhaps not unsurprisingly, this kind of example is rare in natural discourse.¹):

18)	Paniken	ga	o	kuisa	la	vasiav?	
	paniken	ga	o	kuisa	la	vasia	-v
	cup(n)	sgnArt	and	bottle(f)	sgfArt	be.where	-pl

Where are the bottle and the cup?

e3 003e

This kind of system is what Corbett (1991: 279) calls syntactic resolution of gender conflicts; resolution is achieved using syntactic principles.

If a speaker does not know the gender of a referent, they can either avoid agreement, or, they can use question words like **man** 'what'; **ami** 'who' and **elahave** 'how much', in which case gender is syntactically assigned, because these question words are masculine nouns. Thus:

19)	Man	hin?
	man	hin
	what(m)	3sgnEFOC

What is it?

These question words still take masculine agreement even when their referent is known to be feminine. Consider for example the following sentence, in which **man** 'what', with a masculine demonstrative, is used to refer to **ruia** 'old woman', a feminine noun. In this story, an old woman is born from a magical rotten coconut, to the surprise of the boy, who is the speaker in the second sentence:

¹ My examples may seem somewhat unnatural; but compare them with Givón's (1972: 82) example of gender resolution in Chibemba: "The book, the bed and the peanut are here" (quoted in Corbett 1991: 275).

20)	matua	la	"Pak!"	oerege		taman	ruia.
	matua	la	pak	o- e- re -ge		taman	ruia
	old.coconut(f)	sgfArt	bang!	3sgfO- SBD- say -ANT		but	old.woman(f)

...the old coconut goes "Bang!" but it's an old woman!

Olere	ta	"Eta ngakala	man	hona	koi?"
o- le -re ta eta nga- kala man hona koi					
3sgfO- see -NF just Wow! 1sgPOSS- mother(f) what(m) MOD.PROX.sgm also					

Seeing her, "Hey! My goodness [lit: my mother], what's this now?" [the boy says]. co 242-243

CHAPTER SEVEN

Nominal adjuncts

This chapter discusses four kinds of adjuncts involving nouns in Lavukaleve, which mostly express location. There are three basic types: those involving nouns in postpositional phrases, those involving the Locative and Perlocative suffixes on nouns, and those involving place nouns. In addition, there are complex adjuncts involving any of these plus a particle **nun** 'from'. These phrase types share a similar function syntactically, in that they are all phrases which are not subcategorised for by the predicate. They differ in their internal structures. Different subclasses of nouns are able to participate in each of the different types of nominal adjuncts. Common nouns appear in postpositional phrases. Locational nouns, a small subclass of nouns, are the only nouns which can appear with the Locative and Perlocative suffixes. Place nouns, another subclass of nouns, are the only nouns which can appear as an adjunct without overt marking in the form of a Locative or Perlocative suffix or postposition (see Section 3.1). Both locational and place nouns can also be used with postpositions. Note that demonstratives and locative deictics are discussed elsewhere (Chapter 8).

The following examples illustrate the three basic types of nominal adjuncts with the intransitive verb **feu** 'go up':

Postpositional phrase:

1)	Feuma!	Feuma	tutum	anam
	feu -ma	feu -ma	tutu -m	a- nam
	go.up -DURIMP.sg	go.up -DURIMP.sg	grandparent -sgm	3sgmO- to
	heaka feu	lake	emava!"	
	heaka feu	lake	e- ma	-va
	there.DIST1 go.up	fire(n)	3sgnO-take	-PCTIMP.sg

Go up! Go up to that old man over there! Go up and take [his] fire!

mn4 011

Locational noun plus Locative suffix:

2)	Otaire		lore,		aka		mafeu		o'asen.
	o-	tairi	-re	lo	-re	aka	ma-	feu	o'as -n
	3sgFO-	divide	-NF	finish	-NF	then	3plS-	go.up	bush -LOC

When he had divided [the work], they went up to the bush.

v2 014

Place noun:

3)	Makaol		ga		emarenun			feu	Singafeun	fi
	ma-	kaol	ga	e-	ma	-re	-nun	feu	Singafeun	fi
	3plPOSS-	raft(n)	sgnArt	3sgnO-	take	-NF	-DUR	go.up	Singafeun	3sgnFOC

mangoa.

ma- ngoa
3plS- stay

They took their raft and went up to Singafeun and stayed there.

m2 005

7.1 POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES

There are nine postpositions in Lavukaleve. They are:

na	in, on, etc.
nam	to, from
hal	above
tat	on top of
nal	because
ne	with (accompaniment)
ku	like
kelei	near
ham	for

Postpositional phrases involve a postposition, which is obligatorily prefixed with an object prefix cross-referencing a noun or pronoun, and an optional NP which has this cross-referenced noun or pronoun as head. The NP, if it appears, immediately precedes the postposition. The following example shows, first a postpositional phrase in which the full NP has been ellipsed and only the prefixed postposition appears; and secondly, a postpositional phrase involving a full NP with postposition following it:

9)	"Tam akari	akari	akari	fi	ngone	
	tam aka -ri	aka -ri	aka -ri	fi	ngo- ne	
	man then -PSNV	then -PSNV	then-PSNV	3sgnFOC	2sg- with	
	mem	na	ngai	ngana	sia	lome" .
	me -m na	ngai	nga- na	sia	lo- me	
	SPEC -sgm sgmArt	1sg	1sgO- in	do	3sgS- HAB	

"Man. Your brother did such and such to me".

co 345

Each of the postpositions will be discussed separately in the following sections.

NA 'IN', 'ON', ETC.

This is by far the most common postposition, and it has a very broad range of functions and meanings. It is used to express any locational relation, and also has a general relational function. For the sake of consistency, **na** is universally glossed as 'in'.

Its meanings can be broadly divided into two types: locational (including meanings such as in, inside, on, to, with, by, near, etc.) and relational (referring to NPs expressing instrument, purpose, recipient, reason, experiencer, material, time, goal, out of, into, with respect to, in a language). Copious examples of **na** can be found throughout this thesis. Included here are a few examples only, showing some of the range of meanings:

10)	Ika	fi	lolei.	Nganga	na	ana.
	ika	fi	lo- lei	nganga	na	a- na
	there	3sgnFOC	3duS- exist	river(m)	sgmArt	3sgmO- in

The two are there. By the river.

ja 273

11)	Vokikiare		"Man	ana		hide
	vo- kikia	-re	man	a- na	na	hide
	3plO- ask	-NF	what(m)	3sgmO- in	in	thus
	hi	mevo?"	hide	aerege.		
	hi	me- vo	hide a-	e- re	-ge	
	3sgnEFOC	2pl- come	thus 3sgmO-	SBD- say	-ANT	

He asked them "For what [i.e. why] have you come like this?" he said.

b1 008

12)	Tail	ga	nat	ana		fi
	tail	ga	nat	a-	na	fi
	house(n)	sgnArt	sago.palm(m)	3sgmO-	in	3sgnFOC
	eli		ga	olei.		
	e-	li	-i	ga	o-	lei
	3sgnO-	build	-NOMZR	sgnArt	3sgS-	exist

The house is made from sago.

b2 015

HAL 'ABOVE'

Hal means 'above'; it refers to an entity which is higher than, and not touching, another entity. This is quite a rare word; there are no spontaneous textual examples of it. The first example below is elicited; the second is from the Lavukaleve translation of the Church of Melanesia prayer service. Note its metaphorical use in this example. This is possibly a calque from English.

- 17) **Totoas na solo la ohal fi olei.**
 totoas na solo la o- hal fi o- lei
 cloud(m) sgmArt mountain(f) sgfArt 3sgfO- above 3sgnFOC 3sgS- exist
The cloud is above the mountain. e1 079s

- 18) **Mina onal Lod na God lauram aesiage:**
 mina o- nal Lod na God laura -m a- e- sia -ge
 thing(f) 3sgfO- because Lord(m) sgmArt God(m) great -sgm 3sgmO- SBD- do -ANT
For the Lord is a great God:

o sulum lauram aesiage
 o sulum laura -m a- e- sia -ge
 and chief(m) great -sgm 3sgmO- SBD- do -ANT

naumal elav va vohal.
 naumal ela -v va vo- hal
 god(pl) how.many -pl plArt 3plO- above

and a great king above all gods.

pr 024-025

TAT 'ON TOP OF'

Tat refers to an entity which is on top of a surface, touching it.

- 19) **e wof otat fi fifire**
 e wof o- tat fi fifi -re
 1pl.ex wharf(f) 3sgfO- on.top 3sgnFOC sit -NF
lukariare ngoa leme.
 lukaria -re ngoa le- me
 group.together -NF stay 1pl.ex- HAB

...we were sitting down on the wharf, as a group.

kg1 044

- 20) *(I make the pudding.)*
Nikol bomil ga umu efou, etat simiu ro
 nikol bomil ga umu e- fou e- tat simiu ro
 first leaf.sp(n) sgnArt under 3sgnO- put.on 3sgnO- on.top red.leaf (f) one.sgf
First I put a bomil leaf underneath, and on top one simiu leaf... if 012

21)	<i>tamtam</i>	<i>atat</i>		<i>siare,</i>		<i>falere,</i>		<i>rikai</i>
	tamtam	a-	tat	sia	-re	fale	-re	rikai
	reef(m)	3sgmO-	on.top	do	-NF	stand	-NF	quickly
	<i>ae</i>	<i>falelam</i>		<i>fin.</i>				
	ae	fale	-la	-m	fin			
	go.up	stand	-NEG	-sgm	3sgmFOC			

...he stood up on the reef, he didn't stand up quickly

s1 035

NAL 'BECAUSE'

Nal means 'because'. The object prefix cross-references to the noun referring to the reason. **Nal** almost always occurs in a fixed expression **mina onal** 'thing (f) 3sgfO-because: because of the thing', in which **mina** is a shorthand way of referring to the reason:

22)	<i>Mina</i>	<i>onal</i>		<i>Mima</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>folufolum</i>	<i>tunam</i>	<i>siare</i>
	mina	o-	nal	Mima	na	folufolu	-m tuna	-m sia
	thing(f)	3sgfO-	because	Mima(m)	sgmArt	fat	-sgm really	-sgm do

[Mima can't get into his friend's canoe] Because Mima is really fat...

w1 044

23)	<i>Akari</i>		<i>avala</i>		<i>loi</i>		<i>ga</i>
	aka	-ri	a- vala		lo-	i -ø	ga
	then	-PSNV	3sgmO- pull		3duS-	do -sgn	sgnArt
	<i>enal</i>		<i>fi</i>		<i>losok</i>		<i>va malaa.</i>
	e-	nal	fi	lo-	soka	va	ma- laa
	3sgnO-	because	3sgnFOC	3duPOSS-	fingers(pl)	plArt	3plS- imprint

Because of their pulling like that, their fingers left an imprint.

v1 029

In the translated prayer services, **nal** also has the meaning 'through, by means of'. This is a small semantic extension from the more common meaning of 'because'. There are no spontaneously occurring examples of **nal** with this meaning in the corpus:

24)	<i>suni</i>	<i>mina</i>	<i>sikala o</i>		<i>matea</i>	<i>hamus</i>	<i>hoga</i>	<i>ena</i>
	suni	mina	sikala o		matea	hamus	hoga	e- na
	all	thing(f)	be.bad and		dangers	evening(n)	MOD.PROX.sgn	3sgnO- in
	<i>merea</i>		<i>la</i>		<i>ona,</i>	<i>Jisas Karais</i>	<i>eLod</i>	
	me	-re -a	la	o-	na	Jisas Karais	e-	Lod
	continue -FUT	-sgf	sgfArt	3sgfO-	in	Jesus Christ(m)	1pl.exPOSS-	Lord(m)
	<i>na</i>	<i>anal.</i>		<i>Amen.</i>				
	na	a-	nal	amen				
	sgmArt	3sgmO-	because	amen				

...keep us from all troubles and dangers of this night, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

pr 193

NE 'WITH'

Ne is used to mark an accompanying entity. It is used when accompanier and accompanied are human, or animals, or inanimate objects.

- 25) **vaunun** **vaunun** **mamitakeumal** **va** **vone.**
 vau -nun vau -nun ma- mitakeu -mal va vone.
 go.out -DUR go.out -DUR 3plPOSS- dog -pl plArt 3plO- with
...they go out, go and go and go, with their dogs. hr2 010

- 26) **Foiga** **hola** **na** **olegis** **vone**
 foiga hola na o- legis vo- ne
 PN.MED.sgn tree.sp(m) sgmArt 3sgPOSS- leaf(n) 3plO- with
asangirire **hi** **mame.**
 a- sangiri -re hi ma- me
 3sgmO- mix -NF do/say 3plS- HAB
Then they would mix the hola leaf with them [the pumice and molio fruit]. cs2 018

When ne 'with' appears without the object prefix it is best seen as a conjunction. It joins constituents of equal syntactic status, as in the two NPs below:

- 27) **Airal** **mima** **emare** **vomal**
 airal mima e- ma -re vo -mal
 men.du way.of.life(n) 3sgnO- take -NF come -du
nala **final** **Sepo** **ne** **Laumate.**
 nala finala Sepo ne Laumate
 mduArt 3dumFOC Sepo(m) with Laumate(m)
The two men who brought the church were Sepo and Laumate. rk1 010

KU 'LIKE'

Ku expresses similarity to something else. It can also express a meaning of 'sort of, almost, nearly', particularly when it is used with time expressions.

- 28) **Malav** **o'asen** **nun** **kini** **vauv** **voku**
 malav o'as -n nun kini vau -v vo- ku
 people(pl) bush -LOC from ACT go.out -pl 3plO- like
fi **efoa** **taon** **la** **onam.**
 fi e- foa taon la o- nam
 3sgnFOC 1pl.ex- go.down town(f) sgfArt 3sgfO- to
We went down to the town like people who've come out from the bush. ef 048

- 29) **Nun** **voku** **mail** **fi** **foa.**
 nun vo- ku mail fi foa
 four(pl) 3plO- like a.bit 3sgnFOC go.down
It was perhaps four o'clock [when we] went down. ns 087

KELEI 'NEAR'

Kelei means 'near', usually in the spatial, but also in the temporal sense.

- 30) Aka nun aka nun vau Goa akelei nun
 aka nun aka nun vau Goa a- kelei nun
 then from then from go.out Isabel(m) 3sgmO- near from
- huluire kini mahau.
 hului -re kini ma- hau
 go.round -NF ACT 3plS- go.ashore

They went on and on, they went out to near Isabel, then they turned around and came back in.

me 025

- 31) Aka vomare velanun velanun
 aka vo- ma -re vela -nun vela -nun
 then 3plO- take -NF go -DUR go -DUR
- kini aunio okelei mail fi.
 kini aunio o- kelei mail fi
 ACT evening(f) 3sgfO- near a.bit 3sgnFOC

He took them, it went on, and it was nearly evening.

hrl 008

Kelei is unusual among postpositions in that it can take the Locative suffix, seemingly with no different meaning than without it. Apart from **kelei**, only nouns take the Locative suffix; but **kelei** is not a noun in such examples, because it still has the object prefix, which is unavailable to nouns:

- 32) lafa onam loveala fagi rogeru
 lafa o- nam lo- vea -la fagi roge -ru
 part(f) 3sgfO- to 3sgfO- emerge -NEG island(n) one.sgn -none
- ekelein tamu ke.
 e- kelei -n tamu ke
 3sgnO- near -LOC no EMPH

...there were no other islands near to the place.

gm 039

HAM 'FOR'

The postposition **ham** 'for' is used to indicate a beneficiary. It is formally identical to, and has an obvious semantic relationship with, the verbal Purposive suffix (see Section 16.2).

- 33) aham maki na ata fi lome.
 a- ham maki na a- ta fi lo- me
 3sgmO- for nut.pudding(m)sgmArt 3sgmO- pound 3sgnFOC 3sgS- HAB

...he goes inside, and she makes maki for him.

co 084

34)	<i>Aham</i>		hide	mina	oea		ke.
	a-	ham	hide	mina	o-	ea	ke
	3sgmO-	for	thus	thing(f)	3sgfO-	talk.about	EMPH

She told him the story. [lit: she told the story for him]

co 156

7.2 NOMINAL ADJUNCTS USING THE LOCATIVE AND PERLATIVE SUFFIXES

The Locative suffix has an invariant form **-n**, and the Perlative suffix has invariant form **-ne**. The complex morphological formation of nouns with these suffixes is described in Chapter 5. This section simply describes the types of nouns which can take the Locative and Perlative suffixes, and the syntactic function of such suffixed nouns.

Adjuncts involving Locative and Perlative-marked nouns do not form full NPs. The NP consists only of a noun (which may have a Possessive prefix), but there is no article, and no modification¹.

7.2.1 NOUNS WITH THE LOCATIVE SUFFIX

The Locative suffix refers to general static location, both temporal and spatial. Semantically it has a similar function to the postposition **na** 'in', but whereas any noun can take part in a postpositional phrase, nouns which can take the Locative suffix belong to a certain restricted subclass of nouns, called locational nouns. This set contains a number of semantic classes: time nouns, place nouns, body parts, nouns referring to places, positional nouns, and other miscellaneous nouns.

A sample of nouns which take the Locative suffix, with their suffixed form, is given below:

SEMANTIC CATEGORY	CITATION FORM	LOCATIVE FORM	GLOSS
time:	kunuhani	kunuhanin	'afternoon'
	aunio	aunion	'evening'
	lalamu	lalamun	'morning'
	hamus	hamusin	'night'
	lar	laran	'day'
place names:	Goae	Goaen	'Isabel'
	Taigin	Taiginan	'Guadalcanal'
	Lavukal	Lavukalen	'Russell Islands'

¹ There is one exception to this in the corpus: **aunion la ona** 'evening(f)-LOC sgfArt 3sgfO-in' 'in the evening'. This example has been checked, and was accepted by speakers; but it is the only example of a locative-marked noun receiving the definite article (and, further, a postposition).

body parts:	gata	gatan	'top of head'
	tu'tuk	tu'tukun	'torso'
	ho'vul	ho'vulun	'ear'
	femi	femin	'face'
place nouns:	tail	tailan	'house'
	furi	furingen	'weathercoast'
	lea	lealen	'cave'
	o'as	o'asen	'bush'
	fela'koe	fela'koen	'village'
	koa	koan	'door'
	keker	kekeran	'dry place'
	itau	itaugen	'different place'
	savu	savun	'edge'
	hoi	hoin	'deep sea'
	nganga	ngangaolin	'river'
	houhouma	houhouman	'smoky place'
	tulai	tulain	'toilet place'
	tasi	tasin	'sea'
positional nouns:	erea	erean	'front'
	mutuo	mutuon	'behind'
	kora	koran	'end'
	leura	leuran	'outside'
	rarava	raravan	'side'
	rolo	rolon	'inside'
	koli	kolin	'inner part'
	foto	foton	'middle'
lai	lain	'top'	
other nouns:	aro	aron	'language'
	tonga	tongan	'chance'
	ta	tan	'behalf'

Note that there are more nouns in some of these semantic groups which do not take the Locative suffix, but instead take a postposition to form a locational phrase. For example:

SEMANTIC CATEGORY	WORD	POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASE	GLOSS
time:	le	le ena	'day'
	masiv	masiv ana	'year'

place nouns:	tangki	tangki ena	'water tank'
	fagi	fagi ena	'island'
	lou	lou vona	'edges'
	ma	ma ona	'sea passage between islands'
	i'sima	i'sima ona	'lake'

There is no rule which will predict whether a noun will take a Locative or Perlocative suffix or a postposition.

Locative-suffixed nouns function syntactically as adjuncts. They can appear anywhere in a sentence. Some examples:

35)	"Okay.	Hogari		ena		kini
	okay	hoga		e-	na	kini
	okay	MOD.PROX.sgn		-PSNV	3sgnO-	in
	malav	mafan		maruta		koan
	malav	ma-	fan	ma-	ruta	koa
	people(pl)	3plPOSS-	some	3plPOSS-	lamp(f)	door
	omaleile			fi,		kini
	o-	ma-	lei	-le	fi	kini
	3sgfO-	3plS-	hang	-POT	3sgnFOC	ACT
	onemare"					ore.
	o-	ne-	ma	-re		o-
	3sgfO-	2sgS-	take	-FUT		3sgS-
						re
						say

*"Okay. When some of those people hang their lamp in the doorway, you go and take it" she said.
gm 064*

36)	ovo'vou	na	vau	houla	ro
	o-	vo'vou	na	vau	houla
	3sgPOSS-	boy(m)	sgmArt	go.out	tree(f)
	ogean		hano	ngium.	
	o-	ge	-n	hano	ngiu
	3sgPOSS-	bottom	-LOC	then	hide
					-sgm

...her boy goes out and hides in the bottom of the tree.

gm 106

If a speaker wants to modify a Locative-marked noun, or make it definite by using the definite article, they must use a postpositional phrase instead of a simple Locative suffix on a noun. For example, **fela'koe** 'village' is a locational noun; that is, it normally takes a Locative suffix to form a locational phrase. However in the following example, it is modified and must therefore take a postposition instead:

37)	fela'koe	rugi	ena	
	fela'koe	rugi	e-	na
	village(n)	big.sgn	3sgnO-	in

in a big village

rk1 085

7.2.2 NOUNS WITH THE PERLATIVE SUFFIX

The Perlative suffix *-ne* refers to motion through some material or terrain such as bush, or motion along a line, for instance a shore line. The Perlative suffix is quite rare. This makes it difficult to tell if it is restricted like the Locative suffix in the nouns which it can appear with, or whether it can appear more generally. All of the nouns it occurs with in the corpus belong to that subclass of nouns which is compatible with the Locative suffix (see discussion above). As with the Locative suffix, some of these nouns have special forms when they appear with the Perlative suffix; this is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Again like nouns with the Locative suffix, nouns suffixed with the Perlative form sentential adjuncts. Some text examples of Perlative adjuncts:

38)	"Malav	hova	vone	o'asene	
	malav	hova	vo- ne	o'as	-ne
	people(pl)	MOD.PROX.pl	3plO- with	bush	-PERL
	kelearev	va,	sagio	la	ona
	kelea -re -v	va	sagio	la	o- na
	walk -NF -pl	plArt	line(f)	sgfArt	3sgfO- in
	vau	voigu",	hide	voerege.	
	vau	vo-	igu	hide	vo- e- re -ge
	go.out	3plO-	take.out	thus	3plO- SBD- say -ANT

"Those people who are going walking through the bush, go out from the line" he said. kg1 005

39)	Oraravane	ta	huluire	taogene	vela lome.
	o- rarava -ne	ta	hului -re	itao -ne	vela lo- me
	3sgPOSS- side -PERL	just	go.round-NF	different.place-PERL	go 3sgS- HAB

He would go alongside of her, then turn and go a different way.

ch 014

40)	Motoka vula	lome	ga	raravane	otin.
	motoka vula	lo- me -ø	ga	rarava -ne	o- tin -
	car come	3sgS- HAB -sgn	sgnArt	side -PERL	3sgPOSS- only

[When] a truck came, it would just go along the side (of the road).

co2 086

7.3 PLACE NOUNS

The subclass of nouns called place nouns consists only of proper names referring to places; and only some of these. Most proper names referring to places are locational nouns or common nouns; that is, they can appear with the Locative suffix or in a postpositional phrase when functioning as an adjunct. However some place names are able to form bare adjunct phrases. That is, they form adjunct phrases without the Locative suffix, and without the use of a postposition. To understand the distinction between regular place names and these special place nouns, compare Karumulu (the name of a village in the central Russells), a locational noun which takes the Locative suffix when functioning as an adjunct, with Mane (the name of a village in the West

Russells), which can function as an adjunct without any suffixation or use of postpositions:

- 41) **Aka foiga Karumulun fi amalukari.**
 aka foiga Karumulu -n fi a- ma- lukari
 then PN.MED.sgn Karumulu -LOC 3sgnFOC 3sgmO- 3pls- keep
And then in Karumulun they buried him. jt 059
- 42) **Ali na ta hona Mane fi olei.**
 ali na ta hona Mane fi o- lei
 man(m) sgmArt time(m) MOD.PROX.sgm Mane(f) 3sgnFOC 3sgS- exist
The man is now in Mane. e1 082e

Around half of the place names recorded in the corpus are locational nouns, and thus act like Karumulu, and most of the rest are place nouns, and act like Mane². It is perhaps noteworthy that place names which have only recently started to be talked about, like Yandina (the capital of the province), Honiara (the capital of the Solomon Islands), and Australia all act like Mane; that is, they are place nouns, which do not take the Locative suffix or postpositions when functioning as adjuncts, but rather are bare adjuncts³.

Most place names do not have a meaning; that is, they are special names, not common nouns co-opted for the purpose of fixed reference to a place. However there are some place names which do have a meaning. These all function as common nouns, and occur in Postpositional phrases when they form adjuncts:

- 43) **Kini foa Vaga Ofe enam siare.**
 kini foa vaga o- fe e- nam sia -re
 ACT go.down giant 3sgPOSS- foot(n) 3sgnO- to do -NF
They reached Giant's Foot (place name). b1 023

7.4 COMPLEX NOMINAL ADJUNCTS WITH NUN 'FROM'

There is a particle **nun** 'from' which, together with an adjunct, forms a complex adjunct expressing the notion of movement from the location or time expressed by the other part of the nominal adjunct. **Nun** always immediately follows the adjunct with which it occurs. The types of adjuncts which **nun** most frequently occurs with are nominal adjuncts: postpositional phrases, nouns with Locative and Perative suffixes, and place

² Note that places names of the Karumulu type are always referred to with their Locative suffix in Pijin and English; thus Karumulun.

³ Actually, Mane village and Karumulun village were both founded well within living memory, as all the villages were (the Lavukals were forcibly removed from Pavuvu early this century). However even though these villages were founded recently, the village names are the same as the island names, and presumably the islands were already named in Lavukaleve; thus one cannot make any argument from village foundation dates about the productivity of naming strategies.

nouns.

- 44) *Goa anam nun mina holovem na ve naumal na*
 Goa a- nam nun mina holovem na ve naumal na
 Isabel(m) 3sgmO- at from um devil(m) sgmArt or god(m) sgmArt

*amakikiarige**ta...*

a- ma- kikia -ri -ge ta
 3sgmO- 3plS-ask -CAUS -ANT just

[Coming] from Isabel, they asked the devil or god [where he was]...

me 026

- 45) *Tome na lotailan nun avure,*
 Tome na lo- tail -n nun a- vu -re
 hole(m) sgmArt 3duPOSS- house -LOC from 3sgmO- dig -NF

*lofei**umune.*

lo- feu -i umu -ne
 3duPOSS- go.up -PSV under -PERL

They dug a hole from their house going underground up [to the bush where the giant was].

mn4 068

- 46) *Ali na Adina nun Mane foam.*
 ali na Adina nun Mane foa -m
 man(m) sgmArt Yandina from Mane go.down -sgm

The man starts from Yandina towards Mane.

e1 082c

Nun is also found with deictics, such as **aka** 'then', **ika** 'there' and words from the **hoka** paradigm (see Chapter 8 for a description of all these). See example (30) and the following:

- 47) *Aka ikari nun fi, emare, Charles Fox*
 aka ika -ri nun fi e- ma -re Charles.Fox
 then there -PSNV from 3sgnFOC 1pl.ex- take -NF ship.name(n)
- ena foa Vera Naaso emalufu.*
 e- na foa Vera Naaso e- ma- lufu
 3sgnO- in go.down Vera Naaso 1pl.ex- 3plS- leave

It was from there, they took us on the Charles Fox (a ship) to Vera Naaso and dropped us [back home].

ef 054

- 48) *Selwyn hoaka nun kini vaum.*
 Selwyn hoaka nun kini vau -m
 Selwyn there.DIST2 from ACT go.out -sgm

It went out from way over there at Selwyn [College].

ef 014

Nun can also be found in construction with **aunio** 'evening', and more rarely with one-off expressions which seem to be thought of by the speaker as a spatial or temporal setting. In these cases, it means something more like 'during':

7 - NOMINAL ADJUNCTS

- 49) **Aka leae** **aunio nun,** **aere** **fi,**
 aka le- ae aunio nun ae -re fi
 then 1duex- go.up evening from go.up -NF 3sgnFOC

filangen **lehului.**
 filange -n le- hului
 weathercoast -LOC 1duex- go.round

Then during the evening we go up, we go round to the weathercoast.

wl 009

- 50) **Galengam nun si'kul** **ena** **nikol** **vere.**
 galengam nun si'kul e- na nikol ve -re
 boy(m) from school(n) 3sgnO- in first go -NF

From a young boy [lit: during boyhood], I first went to school.

m1 003

*There are certain things which one
language can do supremely well,
which it would be almost vain
for another to attempt*
Edward Sapir *Language*

CHAPTER EIGHT

Deictics

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The deictics to be considered in this chapter are of two main types. There are the pronoun/demonstratives, and the locative deictics. Apart from these, there is also a third, very rare set of demonstrative identifiers.

The pronoun/demonstratives include first and second person pronouns, two paradigms of demonstrative pronouns (**foia** and **oia**), and a paradigm of demonstrative modifiers (**hoia**) (these words are referred to in their feminine singular medial forms throughout the discussion). The demonstratives mark gender, number and three degrees of distance of the referent from the speaker, plus making another distinction in the distal form between specific and nonspecific distance. It is shown below that **hoia** is a demonstrative modifier and **foia** and **oia** are demonstrative pronouns which differ in their degree of activation in the discourse. The three-way distinction which is drawn between **foia**, **hoia** and **oia**, is a complex and problematic area in the description of Lavukaleve morpho-syntax; and an important one in terms of fundamental morpho-pragmatic categories of the language.

The locative deictics are for the most part syntactically simpler than the demonstratives. They include the four-member paradigm **hoka/hoika/heaka/hoaka** 'here/there/there far/there far, unspecified'; **koka-oka** 'far'; **uke** 'near'; **ika** 'there'; **aka** 'then, next, so, etc.'; **igala** and **gala** 'there' and **ka** 'locational emphatic'. These forms, for the most part, function as locational adverbs, that is, syntactically they are adjuncts.

Both the pronoun/demonstratives and locative deictics can appear with certain suffixes: Group suffixes **-sa** (ungendered) and **-ha** (feminine), the Extended **-la**, and the Presentative and Predicative suffixes **-ri** and **-o/om/v** respectively. Only certain of the

deictics can appear with each of these suffixes.

To begin with the first and second person pronouns will be examined. Following this is a discussion of demonstratives **foia**, **hoia** and **oia**. Each paradigm is discussed separately, then the relationships between them are examined. Each of the locative deictics is discussed in turn. The penultimate part of the chapter discusses the morphological affixes available to these deictic words. The final section examines the infrequently-occurring set of demonstrative identifiers.

It would take far more time and space than is available to cover all aspects of the forms and use of Lavukaleve's deictics. In the discussion to follow, I mention only briefly the spatial functions of these deictics, and instead concentrate on a description of their morpho-syntax and some aspects of their use in narratives. This chapter does not cover pronominal affixes; their use is treated in Section 9.7.

8.2 FIRST AND SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

8.2.1 FORM

First and second person pronouns in Lavukaleve are marked for person and number. First person non-singular pronouns are also marked for inclusion/exclusion of the addressee. Pronouns are not marked for syntactic function. The paradigm is as follows:

	SG	DU	PL
1 EXCL	ngai	el	e
1 INCL		mel	me
2	inu	imil	imi

Dual forms are identical to plural forms, with the addition of /l/. The segment /l/ is a pervasive dual marker in the language, but in other areas of the language, e.g. lexical items, it is attached to the singular form of the word, rather than to the plural form, to create a dual.

The only further affixial morphology available to first and second person pronouns is the Group suffixes **-sa** and **-ha**. They are discussed below (Section 8.10.1).

8.2.2 FUNCTIONS

First and second person pronouns are mostly only used for special emphasis. All the information contained in first and second person pronouns is also contained in the largely obligatory verbal cross-referencing and agreement morphology (see Section 9.7); thus, the free pronoun forms are not needed for disambiguation or identification of arguments. In fact, they contain rather less information than verbal cross-referencing

morphology, as they do not specify gender and convey no information about syntactic function.

Pronouns function as the heads of NPs (see Section 4.1.1). The following set of examples illustrates the use of free pronouns in texts:

- 1) *Imil* rara roge ena vomelesu ga
 imil rara roge e- na vo- mele- su ga
 2du side(n) one.sgn 3sgnO- in 3plO- 2du- tie sgnArt

ena velamela.
 e- na vela -mela
 3sgnO- in go -DURIMP.du

You two go to the other side where you tied them up.

mt 027

- 2) *Ngai* volere hi lame.
 ngai vo- le -re hi la- me
 1sg 3plO- see -NF do/say 1sg- HAB

I would watch them.

jo 046

- 3) *Aka* e velanun hano fina na elufum ke.
 aka e vela -nun hano fina na e- lufu -m ke
 then 1pl.ex go -DUR then belongings(m) sgmArt 1pl.ex- leave -sgm EMPH

Tailav va makolin.
 tail -v va ma- koli -n
 house-pl plArt 3plPOSS- interior -LOC

We went on, we left our belongings. Inside the houses.

ef 022

The circumstances governing the use of free pronouns in texts have not been explored; presumably their appearance can be accounted for in terms of information structure, but the details await further research.

Pronouns are also frequently found functioning resumptively, that is, following and in juxtaposition with the NP to which they refer:

- 4) *Lavukal* e ta ana legis
 Lavukale e ta a- na legis
 Lavukals 1pl.ex time(m) 3sgmO- in leaf(n)
- ekaeham*
 e- kae -ham hivele, nikol feo
 3sgnO- put.up -PURP do/say -vele nikol feo
 first 3sgfFOC
- nato* la feo.
 nato la feo
 sago.palm(f) sgfArt 3sgfFOC

When we Lavukals are preparing a kite to fly, the first thing [to get] is the sago.

eg 002

5)	Aka	malav e	roaru	kiulam.				
	aka	malav e	roa	-ru	kiu	-la	-m	
	then	people 1pl.ex	one.sgm	-none	die	-NEG	-sgm	
	<i>And we, the people [lit. the people we] didn't die. [i.e. none of us people died]</i>							<i>ns 117</i>

(In the above example, **malav e** functions as an external topic, thus lit: 'and the people we, no-one died'.)

It is shown in the next section that the demonstrative pronoun **foia** also occurs frequently in this function.

8.3 DEMONSTRATIVES

There are two demonstrative pronouns, **foia** and **oia**, and one demonstrative modifier, **hoia**. **Foia** and **oia** differ in terms of their level of activation in the discourse: **foia** is used to make anaphoric reference to an activated participant, whereas **oia** is used to make anaphoric reference to a semi-active participant.

The following discussion covers the form and functions of Lavukaleve's demonstratives. In particular, their discourse functions are described, mainly drawing on terminology from Himmelmann's (1996) typology of demonstrative uses. There are, according to this schema, four typical discourse functions of demonstratives: *discourse deixis* (reference to an event or proposition or segment of discourse, rather than to an entity); *tracking* (making reference to usually major participants in order to keep track of what is happening to whom); *recognitional* (the referent can be identified by specific, shared knowledge); and *situational* (making reference to an entity present in the speech situation). Only some of Lavukaleve's demonstratives can be used for each of these uses.

8.4 FOIA

8.4.1 FORM

The demonstrative pronoun **foia** 'she' functions as a nominal head. The paradigm:

foia 'she'

		PROXIMAL	MEDIAL	DISTAL 1	DISTAL 2
SG	MASC	fona	foina	feana	foana
	FEM	fo	foia	fehea	fohoa
	NEUT	foga	foiga	feaga	foaga
DU	MASC	fonala	foinala	feanala	foanala
	FEM	fol	foiaol	feheaol	fohoaol
	NEUT	fogala	foigala	feagala	foagala
PL		fova	foiva	feava	foava

Some examples:

- 6) **Foiga matail hi.**
foiga ma- tail hi
PN.MED.sgn 3plPOSS- house(n) 3sgnEFOC
That's their house. fk 025

- 7) **Lake ga esoire fova vau mev.**
lake ga e- soi -re fova vau me -v
road(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- follow -NF PN.PROX.pl go.out HAB -pl
Following the road they go out. hr2 009

- 8) **Foia omavel lofeu.**
foia o- ma -vel lo- feu
PN.MED.sgf 3sgfO- take -COMPL 3duS- go.up
Taking it [the pana (f)] they went up. ja 389

- 9) **Foanun foanun "Dia? Dia?"**
foa -nun foa -nun dia dia
go.down -DUR go.down -DUR where where
[He] went down and down "Where [is it]? Where [is it]?"

"Feana heana heana heana"
feana heana heana heana
PN.DIST1.sgm MOD.DIST1.sgm MOD.DIST1.sgm MOD.DIST1.sgm

foa. Hoikariom."
foa hoika -ri -om
go.down there.MED -PSNV -m/n

"It (m) is far away, way way way down. It's there". mn 077-078

8.4.2 FUNCTIONS

There are four terms in the foia deictic system, all speaker-anchored. There are three

degrees of distance. The closest one, **fo** 'that one (f), near', glossed PROXimal, is used prototypically for a referent close to the speaker. Usually, this means within touching distance or close to touching distance. The next distance, **foia** 'that one (f) a little distance away', glossed MEDial, is prototypically used for referents within the vicinity. For example, during a conversation someone not in the conversation but within calling range could be referred to using the medial form. The third distance, the **fehea** form 'that one (f), far', glossed DISTal 1, refers to someone or something very far away, say on the next island, or in another country. The fourth form, **fohoa**, glossed DISTal 2, is used to refer to someone an unspecified but long distance away. This form is used for a referent a long way away, in situations in which the speaker does not want to specify exactly where. The lack of specification is usually because the speaker is uninterested in being precise about distance; they just want to say the referent is not close. This form is far less common than the first three.

Note that the differences between **fo/foia/fehea/fohoa** (and **ho/hoia/hea/hoa**) are described by consultants in terms of distance from the speaker, and this does seem to be their prototypical use. But their actual use in texts is more to do with the speaker's representational point of view in the story, or apparent viewpoint, rather than pure distance from the speaker.

All four distance forms are used for situational and recognitional uses, and the proximal and medial forms are used for discourse deixis and tracking, but it seems the two distal forms are not used for these latter functions.

Like first and second person pronouns, the demonstrative pronoun **foia** is very frequently used resumptively. This is possible for the proximal, medial and distal 1 forms, although it is not clear whether the distal 2 forms can be used in this way:

- 10) **Aka losokilio tula la fe foia**
 aka lo- sokilio tula -a la fe foia
 then 3duPOSS- small.ship(f) small -sgf sgfArt even PN.MED.sgf
hoika leia.
 hoika lei -a
 there.MED exist -sgf
Their small boat, it was there. co 029
- 11) **Ngotea la foia / hano lea.**
 ngotea la foia / hano lea -a
 young.coconut(f) sgfArt PN.MED.sgf / then burst -sgf
The young coconut, it burst open. co 135
- 12) **Hano keati fona kiliriare leim koi.**
 hano keati fona kiliria -re lei -m koi
 then cat(m) PN.PROX.sgm be.hopeful -NF exist-sgm also
The cat, he was hopeful [of catching fish] too. s2 023

- 13) Aka *belama* *feana* *ere.*
 aka belama feana ere
 then frigate.bird(m) PN.DIST1.sgm front.of.canoe

The frigate bird, he was at the front of the canoe.

s2 014

The definite article in the first two examples shows that the resumptive pronoun is not in the same NP as the head noun, because definite articles are invariably the final element of an NP. The construction is analysed as two NPs in juxtaposition. Small particles occasionally intervene between the two NPs, as in example (10), but this is uncommon. Usually the two NPs are contiguous. When they are contiguous, there is not usually an intonation break between the NP and the resumptive pronoun (pauses on even pitch are indicated by slashes in the above examples).

This resumptive pronoun use is by no means obligatory, although it is relatively common, particularly in the narrative genre. A full-scale study has not been done, but it is possible that this resumptive use is a topic construction. Two resumptive uses never occur in one sentence.

8.4.3 A GRAMMATICALISED USE OF FOIGA

By far the most common **foia** demonstrative pronoun form, simply in terms of frequency in texts, is the singular neuter form **foiga**. In the majority of cases, the antecedent of **foiga** is not an entity but an entire proposition. This use of **foiga** often occurs between two clauses to link the clauses in a temporal sequence (something like English 'then', 'after that', or, more colloquially, 'okay'); this is a discourse deixis function. In this function it is not an argument of a predicate, but rather an adjunct. Some examples of this use of **foiga**:

- 14) Mavai *foiga* *oinala* *foa* *fufumal.*
 ma- vau -i foiga oinala foa fufu -mal
 3plPOSS- go.out -PSV PN.MED.sgn other.MED.dum go.down lie -du

They go, then, the two boys lie down.

ja 062

- 15) Vomare *fela'koe* *voevole* *aka foiga*
 vo- ma -re fela'koe -n vo- e- vo -le aka foiga
 3plO- take -NF village -LOC 3plO- SBD- come-POT then PN.MED.sgn
 vofare, *voune* *sia* *mame.*
 vo- fa -re vo- u -ne sia ma- me
 3plO- bake -NF 3plO- eat -IMPF do 3plS- HAB

Taking the fish back to the village, when they come, then, okay, they would bake them and eat them.

cs2 050

- 16) **Kuin voko lo, foiga.**
 kui -n vo- ko lo foiga
 sun -LOC 3plO- throw finish PN.MED.sgn

Having [put them] in the sun, okay.

Na'hou ekove leme.
 na'hou e- kove le- me
 tree.sp 3sgnO- look.for 1pl.ex- HAB

We go and find a nahou tree.

eg 006-007

- 17) **Kini oetuluale, foiga**
 kini o- e- tulua -le foiga
 ACT 3sgfO- SBD- be.taut -POT PN.MED.sgn

enelufule oaere.
 e- ne- lufu -le o- ae -re
 3sgnO- 2sgS- leave -POT 3sgS- go.up -FUT

If it [the kite string] goes taut, okay, when you leave it, it goes up (you let it go up). *eg 040*

Foiga is also used in expressions such as the following:

- 18) **Foiga ke!**
 foiga ke
 PN.MED.sgn EMPH

That's enough!!

This is a common expression of annoyance, frequently heard in conversation, meaning something like "That's enough! Stop annoying me!". Some further examples from the corpus:

- 19) **Aerege ta "Aka le foiga ke".**
 a- e- re -ge ta aka le foiga ke
 3sgmO- SBD- say -ANT just then but PN.MED.sgn EMPH

He said this, then "Okay, well, that's it then".

co 281

The next example is from the last sentence of a story:

- 20) **Foiga tin. Foiga tin ke!**
 foiga tin foiga tin ke
 PN.MED.sgn only PN.MED.sgn only EMPH

That's all. That's it!!

sk 016

8.5 HOIA

The **hoia** stem is a demonstrative modifier, meaning 'this [N]', 'that [N]'. It takes its specifications for gender and number from its nominal head, and also marks distance. Note that the paradigm is identical to that shown above for the demonstrative pronoun **foia**, except for the initial consonant, and feminine Distal forms. In feminine Distal

forms, forms with **fehe-** and **foho-** in the **foia** paradigm are different in this **hoia** paradigm: sequences **hehe** and **hoho** are avoided:

hoia 'this'

		PROXIMAL	MEDIAL	DISTAL 1	DISTAL 2
SG	MASC	hona	hoina	heana	hoana
	FEM	ho	hoia	hea	hoa
	NEUT	hoga	hoiga	heaga	hoaga
DU	MASC	honala	hoinala	heanala	hoanala
	FEM	hol	hoiaol	heaol	hoaol
	NEUT	hogala	hoigala	heagala	hoagala
PL		hova	hoiva	heava	hoava

Some examples:

- 21) Ana eonege ta olakun
 a- na e- o- ne -ge ta o- laku -n
 3sgmO- in 3sgnO- 3sgS- give -ANT just 3sgPOSS- hate -LOC
maki hoina aune.
 maki hoina a- u -ne
 nut.pudding(m) MOD.MED.sgm 3sgmO- eat -IMPF

She gave it to him, but he didn't want to eat that nut pudding.

co 173

- 22) "Sala! Ngavo'vou sevitam na
 sala nga- vo'vou sevitam -m na
 hey! 1sgPOSS- boy(m) eighth -sgm sgmArt
 olevo oku tuna fi
 o- levo o- ku tuna fi
 3sgPOSS- bamboo.flute(f) 3sgfO-like really 3sgnFOC
 levo hoia ofi lame" ore.
 levo hoia o- fi la- me o- re
 bamboo.flute(f) MOD.MED.sgf 3sgfO- hear 1sg- HAB 3sgS- say

"Hey! It sounds like the bamboo flute of my eighth son, that bamboo pipe I'm hearing!" she said.
 jn2 028

- 23) "Onu ga ema rumaul
 o- nu ga e- ma rum -aul
 3sgPOSS- hair(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- take room -pl
- iloilov hoiva vona esula*
 iloilo -v hoiva vo- na e- su -la
 different -pl MOD.MED.pl 3plO- in 3sgnO- tie -EXT
- esula keleava"* *hide ore.*
 e- su -la keleava -va hide o- re
 3sgnO- tie -EXT walk -PCTIMP.sg thus 3sgS- say
- "Take his hair, then walk around and tie it up all over the place in those different rooms" she said.* *jn2 093*
- 24) Aka Suvala heana fin aearem hin.
 aka Suvala heana fin a- ea -re -m hin
 then Suvala(m) MOD.DIST1.sgm 3sgmFOC 1sgS-talk.about-FUT -sgm 3sgmEFOC
- I'll talk about that Suvala island over there* *sv 002*

In Lavukaleve, nominal heads can be ellipsed. In such cases *hoia* looks like it is the head of an NP; a better analysis, however, is that it is a modifier of an ellipsed head. Consider the following examples. In the next example, *hova* 'these' is used to refer to the fish mentioned in the previous sentence. The giant is actually apparently looking at the fish as he says *hova*:

- 25) Aevauge, bagatum na
 a- e- vau -ge bagatum na
 3sgmO- SBD- go.out -ANT male.giant(m) sgmArt
- felere vore, fo'sal va voole.*
 fele -re vo -re fo'sal va vo- o- le
 return -NF come -NF fish(pl) plArt 3plO- 3sgS- see
- Him going back, the man giant saw (his) fishes.*
- Volere, "Ami okiv hova?"*
 vo- le -re ami o- ki -v hova
 3plO- see -NF who 3sgS- shoot -pl MOD.PROX.pl
- Seeing them, "Who shot these?"* *mn2 006-007*

In the next example, the first NP is *hoanala*, with the nominal head (referring to the mother and the boy) understood. The second NP (*roal hoanala*) repeats *hoanala*, adding further clarification, to show that the speakers means the pair previously mentioned (the pair the story is about). *Roal* is an adjective, not a noun (see Section 4.1.2 for a discussion of *roa*). Both *roal* and *hoanala* are modifying the same ellipsed noun(s), those referring to the mother and boy. *Hoanala* cannot be a head here, modified by *roal*; if it were, it would have to precede, not follow, *roal*:

26)	<i>Hoanala,</i>	<i>roal</i>	<i>hoanala</i>	<i>finala</i>	<i>oka</i>	<i>oka</i>	<i>ke.</i>
	hoanala	roa	-l hoanala	finala	oka	oka	ke
	MOD.DIST2.dum	one.sgm-du	MOD.DIST2.dum	3dumFOC	far	far	EMPH

But those two [the older boy and his mother], that pair [sit] far away [from each other]. co 039

And another similar example, again with an NP with two modifiers and an ellipsed head:

27)	<i>Aka</i>	<i>irure</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>eveage,</i>					
	aka	iru	-re	le	e-	vea	-ge		
	then	sleep	-NF	day(n)	3sgnO-	SBD-	emerge	-ANT	
	<i>roa</i>	<i>hona</i>		<i>vuli</i>	<i>mem</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>hide</i>	<i>ore</i>	"O!...
	roa	hona		vuli	me -m	na	hide	o-	re o
	one.sgm	MOD.PROX.sgm		behind	SPEC -sgm	sgmArt	thus	3sgS-	say oh

They slept, then next day, this one, the younger one, said "Oh!..." co 030

See Section 8.6.2 below for further discussion in support of this point.

8.5.1 THE DISTANCE PARAMETER

As with the demonstrative pronoun **foia**, there are four distinctions made in the **hoia** forms; three degrees of distance, and a further distinction in the distal term between specified and unspecified location. In Lavukaleve, as is the case in many other languages, the distance parameter in these deictics is also used anaphorically in texts, to distinguish between referents closer and further away in terms of the apparent viewpoint of the speaker in the story. Only the proximal **ho** 'this' and medial **hoia** 'that' can be used for referring to established referents in a discourse; that is, tracking and recognitional uses.

The three degrees of distance are the same for **hoia** as for the demonstrative pronoun **foia** discussed above. Thus the closest one, **ho** 'this', glossed PROXimal, is used for a referent close to the speaker. Usually, this means within touching distance, or uppermost in a speaker's mind. The next distance, **hoia** 'that, near', glossed MEDial, is for referents within the vicinity. In discourse someone not uppermost in the speaker's mind could be referred to using this form. The third distance, the **hea** form 'that, far', glossed DISTal 1, refers to someone or something very far away, say on the next island, or in another country. The fourth form, **hoa**, glossed DISTal 2, is used to refer to someone an unspecified but long distance away. This form is used for a referent who is a long way away, if the speaker does not want to be particularly precise about exactly where. As with **fohoa**, this form is far less common than the first three.

8.6 FOIA AND HOIA

The relationship between the **foia** and **hoia** stems is complex and interesting and, from

the point of view of Lavukaleve morpho-syntax a fundamentally important one. In the above descriptions it was said that **foia** stems are demonstrative pronouns, and **hoia** stems are demonstrative modifiers. These terms are applied for descriptive convenience; these words must be referred to in some way. But the distinction between them is not so clear-cut as these labels suggest. The purpose of this section is to try to clarify the structural relationship between them.

It was shown above that there are strong formal similarities between the demonstrative modifier (**hoia** stems) and the demonstrative pronoun (**foia** stems). There are, however, strong arguments for distinguishing them as separate word classes with different meanings deriving from their different syntactic distributions.

8.6.1 MORPHOLOGICAL CRITERIA FOR DISTINGUISHING FOIA FROM HOIA

Foia and **hoia** cannot take all of the same morphology. Both can take the Group suffixes **-sa** and **-ha** (as can first and second person pronouns). However only **hoia** can take the Presentative **-ri** and Predicative **-o/om/v** (see Section 8.10 below). **Foia** cannot take the Presentative and Predicative suffixes.

8.6.2 SYNTACTIC CRITERIA FOR DISTINGUISHING FOIA FROM HOIA

The main syntactic difference between **foia** stems and **hoia** stems is that **foia** stems can freely occur as head of an NP, and normally do, whereas **hoia** stems cannot occur as heads of their NPs, but must have a nominal head. This claim needs to be examined.

Firstly, **foia** stems can be modified by **hoia** stems, but **hoia** stems cannot be modified by **hoia** stems. Recall that Lavukaleve NP structure is such that the first element of an NP is the head, and this is followed by dependents, which agree in gender and number with that head (see Section 4.1). Consider the following sentences:

28)	<i>Foia</i>	<i>hoinariom</i>		<i>masiv</i>	<i>hin.</i>	
	foia	hoia	-ri	-om	masiv	hin
	PN.MED.sgm	MOD.MED.sgm	-PSNV	-m/n	year(m)	3sgmEFOC
	<i>That was the year.</i>					<i>rk2 014</i>
29)	<i>*Hoia</i>	<i>hoinariom</i>		<i>masiv</i>	<i>hin.</i>	
	hoia	hoia	-ri	-om	masiv	hin
	MOD.MED.sgm	MOD.MED.sgm	-PSNV	-m/n	year(m)	3sgmEFOC
						<i>e3 005e</i>

Hoia stems can, and freely do, modify **foia** stems, but **hoia** stems cannot modify other **hoia** stems. This distributional fact suggests that **foia** is a head, whereas **hoia** is a modifier.

Further evidence to support the analysis that **foia** is a head and **hoia** a modifier is that

foia can freely occur as the sole member of an NP (recall that heads are the only members of NPs that can freely occur as the sole members of NPs), whereas **hoia** stems cannot:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| 30) | Fona
fona
PN.PROX.sgm | masiv
masiv
year(m) | hin.
hin
3sgMEFOC | <i>This is the year.</i> | <i>e3 028e</i> |
| 31) | *Hona
hona
MOD.PROX.sgm | masiv
masiv
year | hin.
hin
3sgMEFOC | | <i>e3 028e</i> |

Sentences with a **hoia** stem as sole member of an NP are consistently rejected in elicitation. Note however that such constructions do occur in texts; in a text there would be understood to be an ellipsed head here. However the fact that such constructions cannot occur in elicited speech suggests that without context the construction is not grammatical. A possible account of this is that NPs in which **hoia** stems appear to be the sole member of the NP involve ellipsis.

Note that the difference between sentences such as (28) and (30) is that (28) is a very strong, emphatic statement; the speaker is telling the story of when a big cyclone came to the islands, and trying to recall the exact year when it happened. Example (30) is a much less marked way of saying this.

Further, **foia** cannot modify nouns:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| 32) | Ali <i>hoia</i>
ali hoia
man MOD.MED.sgm | ngolem.
ngo-
2sg- | le -m
see -sgm | <i>Look at that man.</i> | <i>e1 068c/2</i> |
| 33) | *Ali <i>foia</i>
ali foia
man PN.MED.sgm | ngolem.
ngo-
2sg- | le -m
see -sgm | | <i>e1 068c/1</i> |

Structures do occur in which a noun is followed directly by either a **foia** or **hoia** stem. However, such structures, while appearing identical on the surface, actually are fundamentally different; and in fact have different meanings derivable from this different fundamental structure:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--|--|--|------------------|------------------|
| 34) | Ali <i>hona.</i>
ali hona
man(m) MOD.PROX.sgm | | | <i>This man.</i> | <i>e3 013d/1</i> |
|-----|--|--|--|------------------|------------------|

35)	Ali	(na)	fona.
	ali	na	fona
	man(m)	sgmArt	PN.PROX.sgm

He is (the) man.

e3 013d/2

In example (34) the **hoia** stem is modifying the noun **ali** 'man'. Under the analysis proposed here, the whole is an NP; with head noun and demonstrative modifier. Example (35) is, in contrast, a predication, as the translation indicates. It is a verbless sentence consisting of two NPs, **ali na** and **fona**. The position in which the definite article can occur is significant. Definite articles are always the final element of the NP in which they appear (see Section 4.1.2).

Thus, there are syntactic and morphological differences between the **hoia** stems and **foia** stems which require them to be clearly distinguished at some level. **Foia** stems can freely be NP heads, while **hoia** stems cannot out of context, in situations where ellipsis cannot be involved. **Foia** stems cannot modify nouns; whereas **hoia** stems usually do. Different syntactic distribution is a criterion for different word classes. For these reasons, it makes descriptive sense to regard **foia** stems as demonstrative pronouns, and **hoia** stems as demonstrative modifiers.

8.7 OIA

8.7.1 FORM

The forms of the **oia** deictic are shown in the following paradigm. Note that the forms are identical to those of the demonstrative pronoun **foia** and demonstrative modifier **hoia**, except for the lack of initial consonant. Note also that the **oia** stem only has two degrees of distance, proximal and medial; unlike the **foia** and **hoia** stems, the **oia** stem has no distal forms. In fact, the proximal degree is marginal; only the singular neuter proximal form appears in the corpus, and attempts at elicitation of other proximal forms were unsuccessful. In fact, the singular neuter **oga** form was rejected in elicitation by some speakers, even though I have recorded it in use by others.

oia 'the other one'

		PROXIMAL	MEDIAL ¹
SG	MASC	-	oia
	FEM	-	oia
	NEUT	oga	oiga
DU	MASC	-	oinala
	FEM	-	oial
	NEUT	-	oigala
PL		-	oiva

8.7.2 FUNCTIONS

Oia is another demonstrative pronoun, with much more restricted circumstances of use than the more general **foia**. It is used only for tracking (making reference to usually major participants in order to keep track of them throughout a narrative). But within this general tracking function, **oia** has a specific domain of usage. It is used to refer to an entity who is not the most activated one at the moment of speech. In practice, this means that someone who was in the conversation some short time ago will be referred to using **oia**, to mean 'the one who I talked about before'. In narratives, **oia** is used most commonly to reactivate a non-activated participant.

In this description, Chafe's (1987; 1994, especially pp. 53-56 and Chapter 6) notion of activation is used². He distinguishes between three levels of activation. That is, out of all the many concepts people have in their minds at any one time,

[a]n active concept is one that is currently lit up, a concept in a person's focus of consciousness. A semi-active concept is one that is in a person's peripheral consciousness, a concept of which a person has a background awareness, but which is not being directly focused on. An inactive concept is one that is currently in a person's long-term memory, neither focally nor peripherally active. (1987: 25)

Activation is a matter of degree. An entity, once active, gradually loses its active status over time. Lavukaleve neatly encapsulates the degree of activatedness of a pronoun

¹ The terms 'Proximal' and 'Medial' are not so immediately relevant for the **oia** demonstrative, but are retained because of morphological parallels with the **foia** and **hoia** demonstratives.

² This term 'activation' is borrowed from discourse analysis and psycholinguistics, in order to describe the semantic-pragmatic functions of the **oia** pronoun, especially with respect to how it differs from **foia**. But in using the term, I do not necessarily subscribe to all the theoretical concerns of the area from which the term is taken. I only use the concept with respect to reference tracking; the wider implications of activation in the language are not dealt with here.

referent with the distinction between **foia** and **oia**. **Foia** is used to refer anaphorically to participants which are active. **Oia** is used to refer anaphorically to participants which have become somewhat less activated; these are semi-active entities, in Chafe's terms. It is used in situations in which there is more than one main participant, essentially to switch activation between participants. Chafe makes the point that more than one entity cannot be activated at any one time. As one entity is activated, another loses its activation. **Oia** makes overt the change in activation levels caused by the switch of attention between participants.

Some examples should make this clearer. In the following excerpt, there are two sets of participants: a boy and a group of giants. The **oia** stem is used when the speaker switches attention between the two sets of participants. In the first sentence, the giants are the active participant. In the second, the first clause is a head-tail linkage clause, with the giants still as active participant. **Oina** is then used to switch activation from the giants back to the boy (who were last heard about two sentences back as lying in wait for the giants). So the boy is now the active participant, and the activation of the giants recedes. The third sentence starts with a similar head-tail linkage, with the boy still as active participant, then **oiva** is used to switch activation back to the giants. The giants then become the active participant of the next few clauses (slashes indicate pauses on even pitch in the next examples).

36)	Lelaol	loelakoge,		bagatumaul	va	vov.	
	lelaol	lo- e-	lako -ge	bagatum -aul	va	vo	-v
	two.f	3dufO-	SBD- cry	-ANT male.giant	-pl	plArt	come -pl

Two o'clock sounding, the giants came.

Voeoge,		oina	/	fiata	la	one	fufum.
vo- e- vo -ge	oina	/	fiata	la	o-	ne	fufu -m
3plO- SBD- come -ANT	other.MED.sgm	/	thunder(f)	sgfArt	3sgfO-	with	lie.down-sgm

Them coming, he (the other one) lay with his gun.

Fufure		aemege,				kini
fufu -re	a-	e-	me	-ge		kini
lie.down -NF	3sgmO-	SBD-	continue	-ANT		ACT

oiva	eraula	hano	vokila
oiva	erau	-la	hano vo- ki -la
other.MED.pl	fall	-EXT	then 3plO- shoot -EXT

laemege		vokila	laemege	hano.
la- e- me -ge	vo- ki -la	la- e- me -ge	hano	
3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ANT	3plO- shoot-EXT	3sgmO-SBD- HAB	-ANT	then

He stayed lying down, then they (the other ones) all landed and [he] kept on shooting them [as they landed].

Kiure	lov.
kiu -re	lo -v
die -NF	finish -pl

They all died.

mn3 064-067

Similarly, consider the following sentence, from a story about two brothers.

37)

<i>Oina</i>	/	vuli	mem		na	/
oina	/	vuli	me	-m	na	/
other.MED.sgm	/	behind	SPEC	-sgm	sgmArt	/
okala		la	one	/	ofeu	
o-	kala	la	o-	ne	/	feu
3sgPOSS-	mother(f)	sgfArt	3sgfO-	with	/	3sgS-
						go.up
aka	nikol	mem	na	aka	<i>oina</i>	vau
aka	nikol	me	-m	na	aka	oina
then	first	SPEC	-sgm	sgmArt	then	other.MED.sgm
						go.out
fo'sal	va	vokurune			/	
fo'sal	va	vo-	kuru	-ne	/	
fish (pl)	plArt	3plO-	hit	-IMPF	/	

He (the other one) - the younger one - went up [to the bush] with his mother, then the older one, he (the other one) went out catching fish co 005

The following excerpt comes a little later in the same story. The older brother goes out hunting with his mother, the younger brother stays at home, and then the older brother comes back and refuses to give the younger boy any food:

38)

Vaure,	vokurure,		koi	akari	/	
vau	-re	vo-	kuru	-re	koi	
go.out	-NF	3plO-	hit	-NF	also	
					then	
					-PSNV	
nikol	mem	na	akari	tin	omuan	tin.
nikol	me	-m	na	aka	-ri	tin
first	SPEC	-sgm	sgmArt	then	-PSNV	only
						3sgPOSS-
						self
						only

Going out, they (the mother and oldest boy) killed [fish], and again the older boy did the same thing; [ate] by himself.

<i>Oina</i>	/	ngoane.
oina	/	ngoa
other.MED.sgm	/	stay
		-IMPF

He (the other one) just stayed.

Voula		leim	fin.
vo-	u	lei	fin
3plO-	eat	-m	3sgmFOC
		exist	
		-sgm	

He didn't eat them [the fish].

Kini	hauvele	/	<i>oina</i>
kini	hau	-vele	oina
ACT	go.ashore	-SUCC	other.MED.sgm

volaire		/	ta	hi	lome.
vo-	lai	-re	ta	hi	lo-
3plO-	disallow	-NF	just	do/say	3sgS-
					me
					HAB

When he came ashore, he (the other one) disallowed [the fish] [to the younger boy]. co 010-014

As a further example, consider the following abridged excerpt, from a story about a group of people who steal food from another village, and have a trick played on them in retaliation. **Oiva** is used to switch activation between the participants, the two groups of people. In the final sentence, note the use of **oiva** to switch activation from one man to another.

(The people who the story is about went to another village and stole some food.)

39)	Oiva			le	ga	eveage,					
	oiva			le	ga	e-	e-	vea	-ge		
	other.MED.pl			day(n)	sgnArt	3sgnO-	SBD-	emerge	-ANT		
	voekakomeon				taman	losiv	va	otinav.			
	vo-	e-	kako	-meon	taman	losi	-v	va	otina	-v	
	3plO-	SBD-	look.out	-SURP	but	basket	-pl	plArt	be.empty	-pl	

They (the other ones) (i.e. the owners of the stolen food) next day looked out but the baskets were empty.

"Sala!	Ami	ta	/	ui	ga	eum			hin?"
sala	ami	ta	/	ui	ga	e-	u	-m	hin
hey!	who(m)	just	/	food(n)	sgnArt	3sgnO-	eat	-sgm	3sgmEFOC

"Hey! Who ate our food?"

Mangoae				foiga³.
ma-	ngoa	-c		foiga
3plS-	stay	-NOMZR		PN.MED.sgn

That was their way.

Akari	fi,		siane	mangoare	/ lalu	eine.			
aka	-ri	fi	sia -ne	ma- ngoa	-re / lalu	e-	i	-ne	
then	-PSNV	3sgnFOC	do -IMPF	3plS- stay	-NF / stealing	3sgnO-	do	-IMPF	

It was like that, they lived by stealing.

Akari		sianun		ta	fi	aka,
aka	-ri	sia -nun		ta	fi	aka
then	-PSNV	do -DUR		just	3sgnFOC	then

oiva	/	mina	/	na'nug	roa	amalugu.
oiva	/	mina	/	na'nug	roa	a- ma- lugu
other.MED.pl	/	um	/	thought(m)	one.sgm	3sgmO- 3plS- think

It went on like that, then they (the others) (i.e. the owners of the stolen food), had a thought.

("Hey, let's do something." They took suta shells and mangrove crabs and other crabs and things like that that bite people. They took them, they brought them to their houses, and after they had eaten, everyone put some of these things in their food baskets. They put them in, then they slept.)

³ **Mangoae foiga** 'that was their way' is a refrain throughout this story, used as a way marking episode boundaries. This may explain why **oia** is not used to shift activation in this sentence. The whole text from which this excerpt was taken appears in the Appendix.

Iru	voemege				iru	voemege				iru
iru	vo-	e-	me	-ge	iru	vo-	e-	me	-ge	iru
sleep	3plO-	SBD-	HAB	-ANT	sleep	3plO-	SBD-	HAB-ANT		sleep
voemege					oiva	/				"Bai!"
vo-	e-	me	-ge		oiva	/				bai
3plO-	SBD-	HAB	-ANT		other.MED.pl	/				let's.go

They slept and slept and slept, then they (the others) said "Let's go!"

(They went to steal.)

Roa	kini	/	tail	ga	enam	/	losi		
roa	kini	/	tail	ga	e-	nam	/	losi	
one.sgm	ACT	/	house(n)	sgnArt	3sgnO-	to	/	basket(n)	
ga	ena		otau	/	eohole,				
ga	e-	na	o-	tau	/	e-	o-	ho	-le
sgnArt	3sgnO-	in	3sgPOSS-	limb(n)	/	3sgnO-	3sgS-	put.inside	-POT
mina	aohomale			"Akiki!"		hide			
mina	a-	o-	homa	-le	akiki	hide			
thing(f)	3sgmO-	3sgS-	bite	-POT	Ow!	thus			
aerele				/	oina	sou			
a-	e-	re	-le	/	oina	sou			
3sgmO-	SBD-	say	-POT	/	other.MED.sgm	rise			
falere	/	aokurule			kium.				
fale	-re	/	a-	o-	kuru	-le	kiu	-m	
stand	-NF	/	3sgmO-	3sgS-	hit	-POT	die	-sgm	

One [man] went to the house, put his hand in a basket, and something bit him. "Ow!" then when he said it, he (the other man, i.e. the house owner) got up and killed him. jn 041-052

This last use of **oina** is interesting. Usually, the **oia** pronoun is used to reactivate a previously activated participant, but here there is a use of **oia** apparently as the first mention of a participant. However, even though this is the first mention of the house owner, his existence has been implied. He is one of those people who in the previous sentence had put crabs and so on into baskets. So the use of **oina** reactivates him as an active participant, even though he is in actuality only one of the group who was active previously. Following Chafe's analysis one could say that the man is active through belonging to the "set of expectations associated with a schema". That is,

[w]hen a schema has been evoked in a narrative, some if not all of the expectations of which it is constituted presumably enter then semi-active state. From that point on, they are more accessible to recall than they would have been as inactive concepts. (1987: 29)

This is the reason that **oia** is used in the last sentence of the above extract.

8.7.3 OIA IN TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

It is important to point out that **oia** is not simply a contrastive pronoun. Its function is not to contrast one entity with another; or to pick out one entity from a group of

referents. Fillmore (1982: 54) mentions a deictic in Bakwiri, used for what he calls "serial order", generally translatable as 'the other'. This is not the function of *oia* in Lavukaleve. *Oia* is not used for listing or contrasting two or more elements. For this function, *ro* 'one' is used (see Section 4.1.2 for a discussion of *ro*), thus *ro...ro* means 'one...the other'. The gloss used here for *oia*, 'other', is not a translation but rather an attempt to capture some aspects of this rather complex pragmatic function in one English word.

Similarly, the function of *oia* is not the same as Nunggubuyu's contrastive pronoun. Nunggubuyu has a pronoun which is used as follows:

It specifies, roughly, a switch from one topic to a new one (from the preceding clause to the one containing the Contrastive pronoun). One particularly appropriate discourse frame is that consisting of two adjacent clauses involving distinct referents performing parallel activities, particularly when these activities differ in one focal feature. A gloss such as 'X, on the other hand, ...' is semantically appropriate... Another important frame is role reversal, with the same verb as in the preceding clause, but with subject and object roles reversed. (Heath 1983: 135)

Nunggubuyu's contrastive pronoun operates in the same general discourse area as Lavukaleve's *oia*, but clearly its use is different.

Lavukaleve's *foia/oia* pronoun distinction is functionally somewhat similar to a pronoun system reported for Kaulong (Ross, *forthc.*), an Oceanic language of New Britain. Kaulong has three sets of third person pronouns, one neutral, one for identical-reference and one for switch-reference. Lavukaleve's *foia/oia* distinction could be thought of as a switch-reference system, but it has important differences. It is not grammaticalised to the degree which systems described in these terms are. Switch-reference systems are usually syntactically-controlled, to the extent that the use of the switch or identical marker depends entirely on the syntactic environment of the reference, whether that is a clause or a sentence or something else. Lavukaleve's system is not grammaticalised to this extent; the environment of use of the *oia* pronoun cannot be described in morpho-syntactic terms, but rather must be described in terms of pragmatics, based on some notion of what the speaker is thinking. If one were to describe it as a switch-reference system, one would still have to rely on some notion of activation, or some other pragmatic account, to explain the environments of its use.

The third person/fourth person (or proximate/obviate) pronoun distinction in Athapaskan languages is also in a similar discourse area as *oia*, but with important differences. In Blackfoot, for instance, if there are two or more animate nouns in the same sentence, one must be cross-referenced as proximate (major third person), one as obviate (minor third person) (Frantz 1991: 11-12). The speaker can choose which is which, based on which is preferred as the more prominent participant in the discourse. In Slave (Rice 1989), the conditions for using third versus fourth person are more complicated, and depend on the syntactic role of each participant, humanness,

agentivity, degree of control and so on. But in both languages, the fourth person is used when there is already a third person referent within the same sentence. Lavukaleve's *oia* pronoun differs from this kind of system, not only in that it is not as grammaticalised, but also in that sentence boundaries are not relevant for *oia*. In addition, as I understand it, 3rd/4th person assignment is fixed throughout a section of discourse; the speaker chooses which referent is to be which and they remain that way. *Oia*, however, is often used for alternately referring to different entities. Lastly, *oia* can be used, even when no other competing participant has been mentioned, to mean something like 'that one from before (who you might have forgotten about)'. This is quite different from the fourth person function in Athapaskan languages.

8.7.4 OIA AND FOIA

While both *foia* and *oia* are demonstrative pronouns, the essential difference between them is that *oia* is used specifically for the purposes of reactivation, whereas *foia* is used for already-active entities. Most commonly, *foia* is used to refer to an entity mentioned in the same or a recent intonation unit, either resumptively or not:

- 40) Ae falere aekakomeon
 ae fale -re a- e- kako -meon
 go.up stand -NF 3sgmO- SBD- look.out -SURP
 ta tagio ru la foia fufurene.
 ta tagio ru la foia fufu -re -ne
 just snake(f) big.sgf sgfArt PN.MED.sgf lie.down -NF -IMPF

He stood up, looked around, and the big snake, it was lying there.

co 200

- 41) Hona akari akari siare mi ruia oma
 hona aka -ri aka -ri sia -re mi ria o- ma
 MOD.PROX.sgm then -PSNV then -PSNV do -NF um old.woman(f) 3sgfO- take
 foia onal kini kiure olei.
 foia o- nal kini kiu -re o- lei
 PN.MED.sgf 3sgfO- because ACT die -NF 3sgS- exist

That's why this man took an old woman and because of it she [i.e. the old woman] died. co 472

- 42) **Irure le eveage hau otail rugi.**
 iru -re le e- e- vea -ge hau o- tail rugi
 sleep -NF day(n) 3sgnO- SBD-emerge -ANT pana(f) 3sgPOSS-house(n) big.sgn

Sleeping, then next day coming, there was a big house for the pana.

Foiga laham sia.
 foiga la- ham sia
 PN.MED.sgn 3dumO- for do

It just happened for those two (m).

Foia omavel lofeu.
 foia o- ma -vel lo- feu
 PN.MED.sgf 3sgfO- take -COMPL. 3duS- go.up

Having taken it [i.e. the pana] they went up.

ja 387-389

8.7.5 MORPHO-SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF OIA

Oia is a head, not a modifier, so the following construction is impossible:

- 43) * **Marigen ali oina alem fin.**
 marigen ali oina a- le -m fin
 yesterday man(m) other.MED.sgm 1sgS- see -sgm 3sgmFOC

Yesterday I saw that man.

e1 068e/1

Compare the demonstrative **hoia** in this position:

- 44) **Marigen ali hoia alem fin.**
 marigen ali hoia a- le -m fin
 yesterday man(m) MOD.MED.sgm 1sgS- see -sgm 3sgmFOC

Yesterday I saw that man.

e1 068e/2

Oia can be modified by a relative clause, unlike **foia** (and **hoia**) (see Section 16.3):

- 45) **Kini evoge oiva**
 kini e- e- vo -ge oiva
 ACT 3sgnO- SBD- come -ANT other.MED.pl
- soiv va hoika tam enga ve.**
 soi -v va hoika tam enga ve -e
 run.away -pl plArt there.MED man(m) three go -NOMZR

It coming, then those who ran away were three men.

jn 145

It was shown above that first and second person pronouns and the demonstrative pronoun **foia** can function resumptively, in juxtaposition and agreement with an NP. This is not possible for **oia**, but it is interesting to note that **oia** itself can be the NP for which **foia** is the resumptive pronoun:

of their referent; and there is a demonstrative modifier **hoia**.

There are no third person pronouns in Lavukaleve, although **foia** and **oia** are possible candidates. Himmelmann (1996: 211-215) provides a methodology for distinguishing third person pronouns from demonstratives, but even he admits that it is difficult to apply, and certainly my data does not contain such examples as would be necessary for a rigorous distinction to be made. **Foia** and **oia** are considered demonstrative pronouns here rather than personal pronouns largely because they are marked for degrees of distance (even though only marginally in the case of **oia**). The grammatical category of distance is more usually associated with demonstratives than with personal pronouns.

8.9 LOCATIVE DEICTICS

There is a rich proliferation of locative deictics in Lavukaleve. One set of these is based on the form **ka**, with various vowel and consonant alternations making a total of nine different forms. There are also a few locative deictics not based on **ka**. The forms can be divided into sets of alternating paradigms, based on possibilities of morphological affixation, parallels with other deictic paradigms, and sets of minimally contrasting forms.

The locative deictics are as follows:

hoka	'here, proximal'
hoika	'there, medial'
heaka	'there, distal 1'
hoaka	'there, distal 2'
koka-oka	'far'
uke	'near'
aka	'then', 'thus', 'so', 'and', 'next', etc.
ika	'there, unmarked'
ka	locational emphatic
gala-igala	'there'

Koka, **oka**, **aka** and **ika** share with **hoka/hoika/heaka/hoaka** the ability to occur with the Presentative **-ri** and Predicative **-o/om/v** (see Section 8.10.3). The other locative deictics cannot take any morphology.

They all function in a similar way, as sentence-level adverbial modifiers, i.e. syntactically adjuncts. The only exception is **hoka/hoika/heaka/hoaka**, which can also occasionally occur inside an NP.

8.9.1 HOKA, HOIKA, HEAKA, HOAKA

Hoka, hoika, heaka and **hoaka** form a morphological paradigm based on changing medial vowels, which serves to mark three degrees of distance, plus a fourth, unspecified but distal category. The system is the same as that described from the **f/h/oi/a** stems above, both in terms of form and function. Presumably the historical origin of these forms is the demonstrative modifier **hoia** plus locative emphatic **ka**.

Some examples:

- 49) Mima hona Kiolen ngoa mem fin, ngai hoka.
 Mima hona Kiolen ngoa me -m fin ngai hoka
 Mima MOD.PROX.sgm Kiolen stay HAB -sgm 3sgmFOC 1sg here.PROX
This Mima (m) lives at Kiolen, me here. w1 005

- 50) "Ngane mem foina ae fale hoika leim."
 nga- ne me -m foina ae fale -l hoika lei-m
 1sgO- with SPEC-sgm PN.MED.sgm go.up stand -LOCZR there.MED exist-sgm
"My brother, he lives up there." ja 257

- 51) Vegoa heaka nun fi negore ovo.
 vego -a heaka nun fi nego-re o- vo
 east -INTR there.DIST1 from 3sgnFOC float -NF 3sgS- come
It floated from over there in the east. me 006

- 52) Gosu na fin ane nikol Banik hoaka ongoa.
 Gosu na fin a- ne nikol Banik hoaka o- ngoa
 Gosu(m)sgmArt 3sgmFOC 3sgmO- with first Banika there.DIST2 3sgS- stay
It was with Gosu that she first stayed way over there at Banika. me 047

MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC FEATURES

These locative deictics usually appear with a noun referring to a location, which states overtly the specific location to which they refer, typically immediately after it. See for example (51) and (52) above, and the following:

- 53) Aka Lavukalen hoka marai mem na
 aka Lavukale -n hoka marai me -m na
 then Russell.Is. -LOC here.PROX warrior(m) SPEC -sgm sgmArt
 olang fi Todou.
 o- langi fi Todou
 3sgPOSS- name(n) 3sgnFOC Todou(m)
So here in the Russells there was a warrior, his name was Todou. kg2 002

They can also appear before the noun:

54)	Elaveage,			sokil	na			
	e-	lavea	-ge	sokil	na			
	1pl.ex-	appear	-ANT	launch(m)sgmArt				
	emare			kini		<i>hoaka</i>		Fean.
	e-	ma	-re	kini		hoaka		Fean
	1pl.ex-	take	-NF	ACT		there.DIST2		Fean

We arrived, and a launch took us over there to Fean.

kg1 027

8.9.2 KOKA-OKA 'FAR'

These two locative deictics mean 'far'. The two forms are generational alternants. Older speakers prefer **oka**, while younger speakers prefer **koka**. Note that this initial **k-ø** generational-based alternation also exists in **kini-ini** (see Section 3.17.9). The alternate forms mean exactly the same thing; there is simply a preference for one form or the other, depending on the age of the speaker.

While the locative deictics just discussed, **hoka~hoika~heaka~hoaka**, point to a particular place which is usually further specified by a locational noun, **koka** and **oka** just give an indication of distance. **Koka-oka** can appear in any adjunct position in the sentence.

Note that **hoka** 'here' described in the previous section has a strong formal similarity to **koka~oka**. One might expect that **hoka** could be polysemous; that it could also mean 'near', in parallel with the **koka ~ oka** 'far' meanings. This, however, is not the case. **Hoka** can never mean 'near'. This meaning is expressed by **uke** 'near' (see below).

Some examples of **koka** and **oka**:

55)	Efela'koe		ga	koi	koka	fi		olei.
	e-	fela'koe	ga	koi	koka	fi	o-	lei
	1pl.exPOSS-	village(n)	sgnArt	also	far	3sgnFOC	3sgS-	exist

Our village was a long way away. mt 092

56)	"Fagi	koka	lei		heaga		enam		nun!"
	fagi	koka	lei -ø		heaga		e-	nam	nun
	island(n)	far	exist-sgn		MOD.DIST1.sgn		3sgnO-	to	from

(Where is that canoe from?) "From that island far away!" gm 091

57)	Kini	kulukulumal		vokinun		vokinun		
	kini	kulukulu	-mal	vo-	ki	-nun	vo-	ki
	ACT	pigeon	-pl	3plO-	shoot	-DUR	3plO-	shoot
	vokila			kini	oka		osia.	
	vo-	ki	-la	kini	oka	o-	sia	
	3plO-	shoot	-EXT	ACT	far	3sgS-	do	

He went shooting pigeons, on and on, and reached far away.

mn3 005

- 58) **Soi** **fi** **lome.** **Oka** **mail.**
 soi fi lo- me oka mail
 run.away 3sgnFOC 3sgS- HAB far a.bit

He runs away. Quite far away.

co 259-260

Note that there are some examples of **koka-oka** and **heaka** co-occurring in a sentence:

- 59) **Heaka** **heaka** **oka** **oka** **mev** **va**
 heaka heaka oka oka me -v va
 there.DIST1 there.DIST1 far far SPEC-pl plArt

(He sent word to the people) Everywhere, all those from faraway places

mn 003

- 60) **Velanun** **velanun** **velanun** **velanun** **ini** **oka** **heaka.**
 vela -nun vela -nun vela -nun vela -nun ini oka heaka
 go -DUR go -DUR go -DUR go -DUR ACT far there.DIST1

(He follows them) They go go far away over there.

mn 023

Note also example (56) above with the demonstrative modifier **heaga**. The co-occurrence of **koka-oka** with Distal 1 demonstratives and locative deictics suggests that they fall into a similar distance range.

8.9.3 UKE 'NEAR'

Uke 'near' belongs in the same semantic set as **koka-oka**. It is an uninflecting locative deictic:

- 61) **Lefela'koe** **ga** **uke** **tamu.**
 le- fela'koe ga uke tamu
 1duexPOSS- village(n) sgnArt near no

Our village is not close.

- Oka** **tuna** **ta** **olei.** **Lefela'koe** **ga.**
 koka tuna ta o- lei le- fela'koe ga
 far really just 3sgS- exist 1duexPOSS- village(n) sgnArt

It is far away, our village.

ja 317-318

- 62) **"Fova** **mekelein** **leiv.** **Uke** **leiv** **hova."**
 fova me- kelei -n lei -v uke lei -v hova
 PN.PROX.pl Ipl.in- near -LOC exist-pl near exist -pl MOD.PROX.pl

"They're close to us. These [ones] are close."

ja 133

8.9.4 AKA 'THEN'

The word **aka** 'then, next, so, etc.' can take the Presentative **-ri** and Predicative **-o/om/v**. **Aka** (always glossed as 'then') usually serves as a clause-introducer, with a meaning like 'and', 'so', 'thus', 'then', 'next', and so on. (See also Sections 15.4.6 and

18.1.3, where **aka** is mentioned in its capacity as a coordinating conjunction.) Strictly speaking, of course, **aka** is not a locative deictic; it does not refer to location at all. However, it is a deictic, and on formal and morphological grounds it is useful to consider it in this section.

63)	Ongoae			telako	koi	felere		koi
	o-	ngo	-e	telako	koi	fele	-re	koi
	3sgS-	stay	-NOMZR	one	also	return	-NF	also
	Losiolen		hoka	ini	foalam			fin.
	Losiole	-n	hoka	ini	foa	-la	-m	fin
	Losiole	-LOC	here.PROX	ACT	go.down	-NEG	-sgm	3sgmFOC

[Kolo] stays, and he doesn't go back down here to Losiolen.

Aka Mofe	ne	Okali	honala	ta hoka
aka Mofe	ne	Okali	honala	ta hoka
then Mofe	with	Okali	MOD.PROX.dum	just here.PROX

ngoamal	hinala	Losiolen.
ngo	-mal	hinala
stay	-du	3dumEFOC
		Losiole -n
		Losiole -LOC

Then Mofe and Okali stay here at Losiolen.

fk 020-021

64)	aira	la	raul	tuna	ta	navalia	lome.	
	aira	la	raul	tuna	ta	navalia	lo-	me
	woman(f)	sgfArt	really	really	just	fast	3sgS-	HAB

... the woman really and truly fasted.

Aka koi,	hano	mina	omi	mamea	ro,
aka koi	hano	mina	o-	mi	ma- me -a
then also	then	thing(f)	3sgfO-	make	3plS- HAB -sgf
					one.sgf

mavalav		vosu	mame.
ma-	vala -v	vo- su	ma- me
3plPOSS-	belly -pl	3plO- tie	3plS- HAB

Then too, one thing which they did before, they tied their bellies.

jo 043-044

65)	Akariom	tin	fi.
	aka	-ri	-om tin
	then	-PSNV	-m/n only
			3sgnFOC

It's just like that.

b1 054

IKA 'THERE'

The meaning of **ika** is more elusive than **aka**. It too can take Presentative **-ri** and Predicative **-o/om/v**. It seems to be yet another locative deictic, with meaning of 'there' in its very broadest sense. It seems to be an unmarked form, in that it contains absolutely no information about distance or location. All it says is that the thing or situation to which it refers had an existence in space (either physical, for things, or conceptual, for situations). It is often used with the intransitive verb **lei** 'exist' to say

that a thing had a physical existence. It is also often used to refer to a whole situation, rather than a concrete entity. **Ika** can also take the Extended suffix **-la** (see below, Section 8.10.2).

- 66) Foiga oa'vuri ika legis ana
foiga o- a'vuri ika legis a- na
PN.MED.sgn 3sgPOSS- parcel(m) there leaf(n) 3sgmO- in
- fafanem hi mamem na ika tamu fi olei.
fafanem hi ma- me -m na ika tamu fi o- lei
leaf.sp(m) do/say 3plS- HAB -sgm sgmArt there no 3sgnFOC 3sgS- exist

He tried to parcel them, but the leaf they call fafanem, there wasn't any.

- Legis munu o akari mev ta ika leiv.
legis munu o aka -ri me -v ta ika lei -v
leaf(n) leaf.sp(m) and then -PSNV SPEC -pl just there exist -pl

There were just munu leaf, and everything like that.

mt 058-059

- 67) "O! Roa ika tamu" hivel.
o roa ika tamu hi -vel
oh one.sgm there no do/say -COMPL

"Oh! There's no-one there" he said.

mn3 017

8.9.5 KA 'LOCATIVE EMPHATIC'

The word **ka** acts as an emphatic marker for locational nouns and other nominal adjuncts. It occurs immediately after a nominal adjunct or locativised verb, or the particle **hano** 'then'. It means 'right then', 'right at that place' and so on. Some examples:

- 68) Hano ka ta vala foina tunam
hano ka ta vala foina tuna -m
then LOCEMPH but how PN.MED.sgm be.really -sgm

mamina heo,
ma- mina heo
3plPOSS- thing(f) 3sgEFOC

But right then, that (fish poison[m]) was really their thing

cs2 029

- 69) Aka ana lain ka vatu roge fi lei.
aka a- na lai -n ka vatu roge fi lei
then 3sgmO- in top -LOC LOCEMPH head(n) one.sgn 3sgnFOC exist

Then right on top of it (the rock) there is one skull.

sv 005

70)	Ngiure	ae	falel		ka	ngoanun	ngoanun	ta
	ngiu	-re	ae	fale	-l	ka	ngoanun	ngoanun
	hide	-NF	go.up	stand	-LOCZR	LOCEMPH	stay -DUR	stay -DUR
	hona		bo'rea	onuvem		hona		"Tam".
	hona		bo'rea	o- nuve	-m	hona		tam
	MOD.PROX.sgm		arrow(f)	3sgfO-	own -sgm	MOD.PROX.sgm		man

They were hiding right up there, then this one who owned the arrow, [he said] "Man!" ja 242

8.9.6 GALA ~ IGALA 'THERE'

These two words are extremely rare in the corpus; there are no more than a handful of examples of each. They both are similar to *ika* 'there', discussed above, in that they seem to refer to an unspecified location; perhaps simply referring, like *ika*, to the fact that an entity has an existence in space. It is possible that *igala* and *gala* are variants of the same form. See in particular example (72) below, where both forms are used in close succession. It is also possible that *gala-igala* are themselves both variants of *ika* 'there', plus the Extended suffix *-la*, which is discussed below (Section 8.10.2).

71)	Vau	igala	keleane		ngoa	voemege		
	vau	igala	kelea	-ne	ngoa	vo-	e-	me -ge
	go.out	there	walk	-IMPF	stay	3plO-	SBD-	HAB -ANT

They go out there, they paddle all around

ja 089

72)	Vuvurane		igala	keleanun		keleanun		
	vuvura		-ne	igala	kelea	-nun	kelea	-nun
	go.all.about		-IMPF	there	walk	-DUR	walk	-DUR
	dani	ga	ekige,			elere,		
	dani	ga	e-	e-	ki	-ge	e-	le -re
	dawn(n)	sgnArt	3sgnO-	SBD-	dawn	-ANT	3sgnO-	see -NF
	malav	va	mafan			ika		
	malav	va	ma-		fan	ika		
	people	plArt	3plPOSS-		some	there		
	volufure		o'asene	gala	kini	vau	mao.	
	vo-	lufu	-re	o'as	-ne	gala	kini	vau
	3plO-	leave	-NF	bush	-PERL	there	ACT	go.out
								3plS-
								go.in

They go all about there, go on and on, then dawn comes, they see day coming, they leave some people there, the rest go out there from the bush and get in [the canoe].

jn 163

73)	Nerealav		gala	keleanun		keleanun		
	nerea	-la	-v	gala	kelea	-nun	kelea	-nun
	be.close	-EXT-pl		there	walk	-DUR	walk	-DUR
	ta	aka	kafol	roa	aole.			
	ta	aka	kafol	roa	a-	o-		le
	just	then	mangrove.crab(m)	one.sgm	3sgmO-	3sgS-		see

He went close to shore there, then he saw a mangrove crab.

co 018

74)	Feu	lugauline		gala	keleanun		keleanun	
	feu	lugauli	-ne	gala	kelea	-nun	kelea	-nun
	go.up	bush	-PERL	there	walk	-DUR	walk	-DUR
	keleanun			volu			ika	tamu.
	kelea	-nun		volu			ika	tamu
	walk	-DUR		garden(pl)			there	no

They go up through the bush, there are no gardens there.

jn 162

75)	Ara	mafotone		gala.
	ara	ma-	foto	-ne gala
	grass(n)	3plPOSS-	middle	-PERL there

(The sea swept ashore during the cyclone.) Through the middle of the grass there.

ns 043

8.10 MORPHOLOGY OF DEICTICS

There are four suffixes applicable to deictics. Three of these, the Group, Presentative and Predicative suffixes can only apply to deictics. Each suffix applies to just a subset of all deictics. The morphology is set out here, together with an indication of which deictics it can occur with. The rest of this section describes each suffix in more detail:

MORPHOLOGICAL AFFIX	ON WHICH DEICTICS
Group -sa , -ha	foia 'she, etc.' oia 'the other' hoia 'this' (also on first/second person pronouns)
Extended -la	hoka/hoika/heaka 'here/there/there far' koka~oka 'far' ika 'there' hoia 'this' (also on verbs)
Presentative -ri and Predicative -o/om/v	hoia 'this' oia 'the other' aka 'then' ika 'there' hoka/hoika/heaka 'here/there/there, far' igala 'there'

8.10.1 THE GROUP SUFFIXES **-SA** AND **-HA**

The suffixes **-sa** (glossed as GROUP) and **-ha** (GROUP.f) can appear on non-singular first and second person pronouns, as well as on **foia/hoia/oia** stems, to indicate that the referents of the word are viewed by the speaker as a unified group. They are only used with reference to humans. The **-ha** suffix marks a group consisting only of feminine

referents, and the *-sa* suffix marks a group irrespective of the gender of its members: that is, a group marked by *-sa* can consist either of only masculine referents, or of masculine and feminine referents, or of only feminine referents. The feminine Group suffix *-ha* is much less common than the non-gendered suffix *-sa*. The suffixes are optional, and indeed occur only rarely. The Group suffix *-sa* has also been found on the particle *bae-bai* 'let's go'. Some examples of the Group suffixes:

- 76) "Man tunam hin imisa fe? "
 man tuna -m hin imi -sa fe
 what(m) be.really -sgm 3sgmEFOC 2pl -GROUP even
"What's so great, you lot?" kg2 046

- 77) Aka hovasariom voemege ngai
 aka hova -sa -ri -om vo- e- me -ge ngai
 then MOD.PROX.pl -GROUP -PSNV -m/n 3plO- SBD- continue -ANT 1sg
 ini vone hau ahoi.
 ini vo- ne hau a- hoi
 ACT 3plO- with go.ashore 1sgS- go.in
These ones [this lot] went on, then I joined in with them. ao 003

- 78) Foare fovasa vela mev.
 foa -re fova -sa vela me -v
 go.down -NF PN.PROX.pl -GROUP go HAB -pl
They go down, they all go.
 Vala! Galeng magroup la kekerav tavev fiv!
 vala galeng ma- group la kekera -v tave -v fiv
 how boys 3plPOSS- group(f) sgfArt small -pl be.not -pl 3plFOC
My word! The group of boys is not small! hr2 012-013

- 79) Kavukavu. Oivasa makav Lemi Rugi,
 Dup- kavu oiva -sa ma- kavu lemi rugi
 REDUP- group other.MED.pl -GROUP 3plPOSS- group(n) eye(n) big.sgn
 Tau Sosona, Vala Rugi.
 tau sosona -ø vala rugi
 limb(n) be.long -sgn belly(n) big.sgn
They divided into groups. Those in one group: Big Eye, Long Arm and Big Belly. mn 037-038

- 80) Aka ta honariom ana
 aka ta hona -ri -om a- na
 then time(m) MOD.PROX.sgm -PSNV -m/n 3sgmO- in
 eha ini tam vona soa esia.
 e -ha ini tam vo- na soa e- sia
 1pl.ex -GROUP.f ACT number(pl) 3plO- in seven 1pl.ex- do
At that time, we [in our group] were seven in number. ao 005

Contrast this example with the following, from the same story, talking about the same group of people, a group of women who started the Mother's Union in a particular

village. In the above example, the group of women is referred to using the female group suffix **-ha**. In the next example, however, the same group of women is referred to using the other, ungendered Group suffix **-sa**:

81)	Hoikariom			esa		ini	tam
	hoika	-ri	-om	e	-sa	ini	tam
	there.MED	-PSNV	-m/n	1pl.ex	-GROUP	ACT	number
	vona	kanal	o	enga	esia.		
	vo-	na	kanal	o	enga	e-	sia
	3plO-	in	twenty	and	three	1pl.ex-	do

From there, we [our group] became 23 in number.

ao 009

8.10.2 THE EXTENDED SUFFIX -LA

The Extended suffix **-la** is added to the locative deictics **hoka/hoika/heaka** 'here/there/there, far' (but not **hoaka** 'there, far unspecified'); **koka~oka** 'far'; **ika** 'there' and the demonstrative modifier **hoia** 'this'. Added to **hoia** 'this' it creates a word meaning 'this way'. Added to **hoka/hoika/heaka**, **ika** and **koka~oka**, it creates a word meaning 'from here/there/ etc.'. In other words, it indicates that the reference of the deictic is not a single point, as it usually is, but an extended range. It only occurs on deictics used in clauses with motion predicates. The name 'extended' is taken from the literature on Inuktitut (see e.g. Denny 1982: 360), where the term exists in opposition to 'nonextended', or 'restricted', and refers to "stretches or areas of space" rather than things located on one spot.

This suffix is also used on the interrogative **ria** 'where' to express a similar meaning (see Section 17.1.4); and on verbs, to indicate that the action is carried out all over the place, or again and again, that is, iteratively or distributively. See Section 12.4.5 for a discussion of its use with verbs.

82)	Heagala			vaum.	
	heaga	-la		vau	-m
	MOD.DIST1.sgn	-EXT		go.out	-sgm

(Where is the giant?) He went out that way.

mn2 043

83)	<i>(He grabbed it fully (taking it in his arms) and they rolled around wrestling, out to the sea.)</i>					
	hano	heagala		veomal.		
	hano	heaga	-la	veo	-mal	
	then	MOD.DIST1.sgn	-EXT	arrive	-du.m	

The two went all over the place.

mn2 037

84)	Foare		umua		heakala		ae		lavea
	foa	-re	umu	-a	heaka	-la	ae		lavea
	go.down	-NF	under	-sgf	there.DIST1	-EXT	go.up		appear
	oiga		enata		ae	molev	va		mafoton
	oiga		enata		ae	molev	va	ma-	foto -n
	other.MED.sgn		that.moment		go.up	canoes	plArt	3plPOSS-	middle-LOC

She goes way down there, then she comes up, in the middle of the canoes

ja 126

With **ika** 'there' the Extended suffix produces a word usually meaning 'from there':

85)	<i>(I have left that place he took me from, I'm staying up here. I have never stepped on the ground.)</i>							
	Ikala		lolo		mola		okolin	
	ika	-la	lolo		mola	o-	koli	-n
	there	-EXT	straight		canoe(n)	3sgPOSS-	interior	-LOC
	ta		ame.					
	ta	a-	me					
	just	1sgS-	continue					

From there I came straight here in a canoe.

co 443

The word **heagala**, consisting of **heaga** 'that' plus Extended **-la**, often has an idiomatic meaning 'everywhere' (see also 82 and 83 above):

86)	Ami	inu	okala		vom		ngomele	
	ami	inu	oka	-la	vo	-m	ngo-	me -le
	who(m)	2sg	far	-EXT	come	-sgm	2sg-	continue -POT
	Australia	nun	heagala		vom		ngomele...	
	Australia	nun	heaga		-la	vo	-m	ngo- me -le
	Australia	from	MOD.DIST1.sgn		-EXT	come	-sgm	2sg- continue -POT

Whoever you are, if you come from far away, from Australia, everywhere far, if you come...

rk1 089

8.10.3 THE PRESENTATIVE SUFFIX **-RI** AND THE PREDICATIVE SUFFIXES **-OI-OM-V**

The Presentative suffix **-ri** appears on demonstratives **hoia** 'this' and **oia** 'the other' (although not on **foia** 'she'); and on the locative deictics **hoka/hoika/heaka** 'here/there/there far'; **aka** 'then, so, etc.', **ika** 'there' and **igala** 'there'. The Presentative suffix itself can be followed by the gender-marked predicative suffixes **-o** (feminine) and **-om** (masculine/neuter). These suffixes derive predicative deictics from **-ri** forms. First the meaning of the Presentative suffix will be examined; after this is a discussion of the gender-marked Predicative suffixes.

The Presentative suffix **-ri** derives a presentative form of a deictic, something like the French *voilà*. Presentatives also occur in languages closer to the Solomons, for example in Maybrat, a West Papuan Phylum language (Dol 1998). Presentatives are described by Anderson and Keenan as demonstratives "which are used to indicate an item's location or to signal its appearance in (or relative to) the observational field of the Sp[earer]"

(1985: 279). Fillmore's Sentential Demonstrative is essentially the same phenomenon as what is here described as a presentative demonstrative:

A Sentential Demonstrative ... is a demonstrative that can stand alone as a sentence, having what can be called a Presentative function. These are sentences whose meanings are something like 'Behold!' or maybe 'Look at this!'. Latin *ecce*, French *voilà*, Serbo-Croatian *evo*, are examples of Sentential Demonstratives. Often a noun or pronoun indicating the object being presented occurs in construction with a Sentential Demonstrative, as in French *Le voilà*, Serbo-Croatian *Evo ga*, both meaning 'Here he is'. (1982: 47)

This is the most common pragmatic function of Lavukaleve's Presentative suffix⁴. There are a couple of other related functions associated with this suffix. If a deictic is used on its own as a single-word utterance, as, for instance, the answer to a question *where?* or *how?*, it must appear with the Presentative suffix. For example, in showing someone how to do something, an action will be accompanied by the single-word utterance:

- 87) **Akari!**
 aka -ri
 then⁵ -PSNV
 [Do] like that!

As a single-word utterance, **aka** alone, without the Presentative suffix, would be ungrammatical.

The **-ri** form is also the form used for pointing; that is, when accompanied by a gesture, a deictic will be in the **-ri** form. So for example, in one situation, when a group of speakers was looking at pictures of fish on a poster, trying to think of the name of each one, people would point to a fish and ask each other:

- 88) **Honari?**
 hona -ri
 MOD.PROX.sgm -PSNV
 This one?

The function of enabling a demonstrative or locative deictic to be used as the sole word of a single-word utterance holds for all words on which the Presentative suffix can appear. Other functions of the Predicative suffix vary according to the word with which it appears, and are described separately below.

⁴ The term 'Presentative' is perhaps a bit unfortunate, as it is also used for, e.g. 'presentative constructions', which is a rather different phenomenon. However, I continue to use the term, following Fillmore, in order to avoid perhaps more confusion.

⁵ **Aka** means, in various contexts, 'so', 'then', 'and', 'thus', 'next' and so on. However for the sake of consistency it is invariably glossed as 'then'.

In practice, the semantic function of this suffix can be very difficult to capture. It does sometimes have an obviously Presentative meaning, and this function is the most clearly apparent one (hence the name). However there are other functions which do not seem to be Presentative, but yet which are not clearly ascribable to any other semantic realm. Part of the problem is that Presentatives are not well described in the typological literature, and their semantic variation is not well understood. More work on semantic typology in this area would possibly help to shed light on the semantics of these derived deictics in Lavukaleve.

The Predicative suffix *-o/om/v* (feminine singular, masculine/neuter singular and plural respectively) is added to a deictic which has the Presentative suffix already attached. The Predicative suffix derives deictic predicates, which agree in gender and number with any referent of the speaker's choosing. The deictic predicates thus derived are clauses in their own right.

The following table outlines the meaning differences between bare deictics, deictics with Presentative *-ri*, and deictics with the gender/number-marked Predicative suffixes (discussed below, Section 8.10.4). Note that the latter suffixes can only occur on deictics already suffixed with Presentative *-ri*:

Comparison of bare deictics, and deictics with Presentative *-ri* and Predicative *-o/om/v*

	BARE	-RI	-O/OM/V
IKA	there	there†	it's there
AKA	then/so etc.	like that	it's like that
HOKA/HOIKA/ HEAKA	here	here†	it's here
IGALA	there	there†	N/A
HOIA	that	that one	it's that one
OIA	the other	the other one	it's the other one

† See discussion to follow for pragmatic usage of this form.

The discussion will examine each deictic with *-ri* in turn, and then will move on to the gender/number-marked Predicative suffixes.

THE PRESENTATIVE SUFFIX WITH IKA 'THERE'

It was stated above (Section 8.9.4) that *ika* 'there' is a locative deictic which has a very broad, under-specified meaning, referring to the existence of something in space. The meaning change associated with the Presentative suffix on *ika* makes anaphoric reference to a specific location previously mentioned in the discourse. Compare the following examples with those given above for unsuffixed *ika*:

- 89) **Aka Kiolen heaka fi mafifi.**
 aka Kiolen -n heaka fi ma- fifi
 then Kiolen -LOC there.DIST1 3sgnFOC 3plS- sit

There at Kiolen they were.

Ikari fifire ngoanun fi aka
 ika -ri fifi -re ngoa -nun fi aka
 there -PSNV sit -NF stay -DUR 3sgnFOC then

Lavukal va vone maalia ke.
 Lavukal va vo- ne ma- alia ke
 Lavukals plArt 3plO- with 3plS- make.friends EMPH

So they were there, and they all made friends with the Lavukals.

jt2 006-007

- 90) *(They reached an island).*

Ikari Kusuvalu fi ome.
 ika -ri Kusuvalu fi o- me
 there -PSNV island.name 3sgnFOC 3sgS- continue

There at Kusuvalu, it was.

jt2 042

- 91) *(Above me, where the road ends, one saroka tree stands.)*

Ngana'nug na ana, ikari tuna fi
 nga- na'nug na a- na ika -ri tuna fi
 1sgPOSS- thought(m) sgArt 3sgmO- in there-PSNV be.really 3sgnFOC

buku na amafu fi hi lame.
 buku na a- ma- fu fi hi la- me
 conch(m) sgArt 3sgmO- 3plS- sing 3sgnFOC do/say 1sg- HAB

In my thought, it was really there that they blew the conch.

w2 026-027

THE PRESENTATIVE SUFFIX WITH AKA 'THEN', 'NEXT', 'SO', ETC.

Aka 'then', 'so', 'next', 'and', and so on, takes on an idiomatic meaning 'like that', 'in that way' when it appears with the Presentative suffix:

- 92) **Kini ro onam veore, ro**
 kini ro o- nam veo -re ro
 ACT one.sgf 3sgfO- to arrive -NF one.sgf
- onam veore, akari siala.**
 o- nam veo -re aka -ri sia -la
 3sgfO- to arrive -NF then -PSNV do -EXT

I'd go to one (office (f), as a security guard), then go to another, and keep doing like that.

co2 026

93)	Taragau	na	aoilaile			fi	kini	houla,	
	taragau	na	a-	o-	lai	-le	fi	kini	houla
	sea.eagle(m)	sgmArt	3sgmO-	3sgS-	tell	-POT	3sgnFOC	ACT	tree(f)
	fagi	roge	ena		omare		vore,		
	fagi	roge	e-	na	o-	ma	-re	vo	-re
	island(n)	one.sgn	3sgnO-	in	3sgS-	take	-NF	come	-NF
	akari		sianun		sianun		hano		
	aka	-ri	sia	-nun	sia	-nun	hano		
	then	-PSNV	do	-DUR	do	-DUR	then		

[She] told the sea eagle to go to one island, take a stick, and continue like that (i.e. taking sticks one by one)...

gm 047

94)	Mina	tevoivil	va	matongan			
	mina	tevo -vil	va	ma-	tonga	-n	
	um	table -pl	plArt	3plPOSS-	chance	-LOC	
	akari	selen	afou		mame.		
	aka	-ri	selen	a-	fou	ma-	me
	then	-PSNV	money(m)	3sgmO-	put.on	3plS-	HAB

They would put out the money on each of the tables in turn like that.

co2 067

See also the example of **aka** as a single-word utterance shown above (example 87).

THE PRESENTATIVE SUFFIX WITH HOKA/HOIKA/HEAKA 'HERE/THERE/THERE FAR'

The meaning of **-ri** with **hoka/hoika/heaka** is very difficult to discern. In many cases, **-ri** forms seem to mean very much the same as non-**ri** forms.

Note that **-ri** is not used with the fourth member of this paradigm, **hoaka** 'there, far unspecified': (see above, Section 8.9.1, for discussion of the paradigm). Compare the following suffixed examples with the examples of **hoka/hoika/heaka** shown above:

95)	"Aka	kosora	iru	meire		ga		
	aka	kosora	iru	me-	i	-re	-ø	ga
	then	today	sleep	1pl.in-	do	-FUT	-sgn	sgnArt
	inu	hoikari		inu	hokari		inu	
	inu	hoika	-ri	inu	hoka	-ri	inu	
	2sg	there.MED	-PSNV	2sg	here.PROX	-PSNV	2sg	
	heakari		akari	fi	meirure."			
	heaka	-ri	aka	-ri	fi	me-	iru	-re
	there.DIST1	-PSNV	then	-PSNV	3sgnFOC	1pl.in-	sleep	-FUT

"So today, the way we'll sleep, you there (pointing), you here (pointing), you over there (pointing), we'll sleep like that."

co 383

singular), and **-v** (plural), which can be added to a deictic which has the Presentative suffix **-ri** already attached, to derive a predicate. Thus, the demonstrative **hoina** 'this' becomes **hoinari** 'this one' with the Presentative suffix, and **hoinariom** 'it's this one (m/n)' with the masculine/neuter Predicative suffix.

Predicative deictics are common among the world's languages; for example Heeschen (1982) mentions a predicativising derivation for demonstratives in Eipo, a Papuan language spoken in the Eastern highlands of Irian Jaya. Further afield, Denny (1982) discusses a predicative derivation for Inuktitut deictics. Predicative demonstratives are also mentioned in the typological literature: discussion of a recent treatment (Diessel 1999) appears below, but first is an examination of Lavukaleve's predicative deictics.

Lavukaleve's Predicative suffixes are available to all of those deictics which can receive Presentative **-ri**, except for **igala** 'there'⁶. To begin with the pragmatic functions of the Predicative suffixes will be illustrated and discussed. After this is a discussion of the gender/number marking itself, as it is interesting and unusual in terms of gender/number marking elsewhere in Lavukaleve.

Consider the following examples of the Predicative suffixes with different deictics **hoia** 'this', **oia** 'the other', **hoka** 'here', **aka** 'then' and **ika** 'there':

The Predicative suffix(es) with **hoia**:

108) (*"Let's go cut down a sago tree" they said.*)

Ta	fi	aka	kini	nat	na
ta	fi	aka	kini	nat	na
just	3sgnFOC	then	ACT	sago.leaf(m)	sgmArt

alere			"Horiom!"		
a-	le	-re	ho	-ri	-om
3sgmO-	see	-NF	MOD.PROX.sgf	-PSNV	-m/n

Seeing a sago leaf, "It's this one [that we should cut]!"

jn 059

109)	Foiga.	Mina	atigiria	feo.	Hoiariom.		
	foiga	mina	a- tigiri-a	feo	hoia	-ri	-om
	PN.MED.sgn	thing(f)	1sgS- say -sgf	3sgfFOC	MOD.MED.sgf	-PSNV	-m/n

Okay, I said that. It's that one [that I told you].

ja 482

The Predicative suffix(es) with **oia**:

110) (*...on this facing side is a dry coconut.*)

Oiarom			feo	ngomarea		heo.
oia	-ri	-om	feo	ngo- ma	-re	-a
other.MED.sgf	-PSNV	-m/n	3sgfFOC	2sg- take	-FUT	-sgf
						3sgfEFOC

It's that one, you take it.

co 205-206

⁶ This may simply be a gap in the data: **igala** 'there' is very infrequent.

- 111) **oiariom** **omilam** **fin.**
 oia -ri -om o- mi -la -m fin
 other.MED.sgf -PSNV -m/n 3sgfO-make -NEG -sgm 3sgmFOC
...he didn't do it (the thing (f) that she told him to do) [i.e. it's that one, he didn't do it] co 207

The Predicative suffix(es) with **hoka**:

- 112) **Kolo inu hokario** **a Mofe inu**
 Kolo inu hoka -ri -o a Mofe inu
 Kolo 2sg here.PROX -PSNV -f um Mofe 2sg
hokario **Okali inu hokario.**
 hoka -ri -o Okali inu hoka -ri -o
 here.PROX -PSNV -f Okali 2sg here.PROX -PSNV -f
Kolo, you're here (pointing), um, Mofe, you're here (pointing), Okali, you're here (pointing).
fk 012

- 113) **Ama lo fi, koi fele aluri hi.**
 a- ma lo fi koi fele a- luri hi
 3sgmO- take finish 3sgnFOC also return 3sgmO- sort.out 3sgnEFOC
Having taken it [the keel], I go back and straighten it [the canoe] again.

Hoikariom hano.
 hoika -ri -om hano
 there.MED -PSNV -m/n then
It's there. Okay. cp 020-021

The Predicative suffix(es) with **aka**:

- 114) **Foiga akariom fi o'asene kelea ga**
 foiga aka -ri -om fi o'as -ne kelea ga
 PN.MED.sgn then -PSNV -m/n 3sgnFOC bush -PERL walk sgnArt
otalu la ove olei.
 o- talu la o- ve -e o- lei
 3sgPOSS- word(f) sgfArt 3sgS- go -NOMZR 3sgS- exist
That's how the story of the walk in the bush goes. [lit: okay, it's like that, the going of the walk in the bush] kg1 071

The Predicative suffix(es) with **ika**:

- 115) *(They went down to the lake, to its opening, and he left them there.)*
Ikariom vofoure.
 ika -ri -om vo- fou -re
 there -PSNV -m/n 3plO- leave -NF
It was there he left them. b1 033

There is one syntactic context in which a predicative reading for the **-o/om/v** suffixes seems at first glance problematic. The **-o/om/v** suffixes can occur on **hoia** in contexts in which it appears that **hoia** is functioning as an adnominal modifier. In many of these adnominal-looking contexts, it is easy to get a predicative reading for the demonstrative:

- 116) **lire ke. Stori horio, ko'mua horio**
 iire ke stori ho -ri -o ko'mua ho -ri -o
 yes EMPH story(f) MOD.PROX.sgf -PSNV -f story(f) MOD.PROX.sgf -PSNV -f
- tam enga Losiole me hoga etav fiv**
 tam enga Losiole -n me -ø hoga e- ta -v fiv
 man(m) three Losiole -LOC SPEC -sgn MOD.PROX.sgn 3sgnO- clear -pl 3plFOC
- aearev hiv.**
 a- ea -re -v hiv
 1sgS- talk.about -FUT -pl 3plEFOC

Yes. It's this story, it's this story, it was three men who cleared Losiolen, I'll talk about them.

- Foia ko'mua horio. lire.**
 foia ko'mua ho -ri -o iire
 PN.MED.sgf story(f) MOD.PROX.sgf -PSNV -f yes

That is this story. Yes.

jk 001-002

But in other contexts, a predicative reading seems more problematic:

- 117) **Ekua fi koi gaumen o**
 e- ku fi koi gaumen o
 3sgnO- like 3sgnFOC also government and
- mima laketei ho'bea hogariom**
 mima laketei ho'bea -ø hoga -ri -om
 way.of.life(n) life(n) good -sgn MOD.PROX.sgn -PSNV -m/n
- olou va fiv.**
 o- lou va fiv
 3sgPOSS- edge(pl) plArt 3plFOC

It was like that, they were also the end of government and religion [lit. way of life] and this good life.

jh 020

- 118) **ngalakun lafa**
 nga- laku -n lafa
 1sgPOSS- hate -LOC part(f)
- hoiariom otigirine.**
 hoia -ri -om o- tigiri -ne
 MOD.MED.sgf -PSNV -m/n 3sgfO- tell -IMPF

I (m) don't want to say that bit.

jn 109

- 119) **Aka malav hovariom ka'sov fiv.**
 aka malav hova -ri -om ka'so -v fiv
 then people(pl) MOD.PROX.pl -PSNV -m/n not.know -pl 3plFOC

So these people were ignorant!

jn 001

The italicised strings in the above examples seem on the surface to be single NPs consisting of nominal head and demonstrative modifier. There is no evidence that the **hoiariom** demonstratives are syntactically any different from bare **hoia** demonstratives in such examples. However it can be argued by analogy from the use of the predicative deictics in other contexts that these are in fact predicative deictics, just as the others are.

So for instance under this analysis the string **malav hovariom** in example (119) would not be an NP consisting of a head noun **malav** followed by attributive modifier **hovariom**, functioning as subject argument of intransitive verb **ka'so**. Rather, the structure would be as follows. **Malav** is an NP consisting solely of a head noun, which is the subject argument of the predicate **hovariom**: 'it is these people'. Thus, a more literal unidiomatic translation for the whole sentence would be 'So it's these people, they don't know [anything]'. And (117) 'It's like that, it's this good life, the government and church, they were the end of them'; and (118) 'It's that bit, I don't want to say it'.

These adnominal-looking appearances of **hovariom** are particularly frequent in the string **ta hoinariom ana** 'at that time':

120)	Aka	ikari		homelav		fiv	mev		hiv
	aka	ika	-ri	homela	-v	fiv	me	-v	hiv
	then	there	-PSNV	woman	-pl	3plFOC	SPEC	-pl	3plEFOC
	<i>ta</i>	<i>hoinariom</i>				<i>ana</i>	Red Cross	ena.	
	ta	hoina	-ri	-om	a-	na	Red Cross	e-	na
	time(m)	MOD.MED.sgm	-PSNV	-m/n	3sgmO-	in	Red.Cross(n)	3sgnO-	in

And there were women at that time in the Red Cross.

co2 008

The italicised string looks on the surface like a postpositional phrase, consisting of NP **ta hoinariom** and postposition **ana**. But here too it can be argued by analogy that **hoinariom** is a predicative demonstrative. The structure of the string is as follows. **Ta** is a head noun, the subject argument of **hoinariom**; thus, together they form a clause meaning 'it is that time'. The postposition has an ellipsed NP head (as is common); the whole string means 'it's that time, at it (there were women in the Red Cross)'. This is the usual and idiomatically correct way of expressing time frames in stories.

THE AGREEMENT SYSTEM OF THE PREDICATIVE SUFFIXES

There are two kinds of agreement which are pertinent to deictics suffixed with **-ri-om/v**. There is the inherent agreement of demonstrative stems, and the gender/number agreement of the Predicative suffixes.

Locative deictics do not have inherent agreement properties, but **hoia** 'this' and **oia** 'the other' do. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, **hoia** and **oia** stems inherently mark the categories of number, gender and distance, and predicativised demonstratives which are based on these **hoia** and **oia** stems retain these agreement properties.

The other type of agreement, the type under discussion here, which all deictic predicates may display, is shown by agreement of the Predicative suffixes as follows:

- -o Predicative (feminine singular)
- -om Predicative (masculine/neuter singular)
- -v Predicative (plural)

The masculine/neuter singular suffix is by far the most frequent of these, and the plural suffix is actually very rare.

The referent which the deictic form agrees with may be the noun associated with the deictic (if there is one), but it is by no means the case that it must be. It may be the subject, object, complement or oblique argument of a nearby clause. It may be the topic of the discourse, or the topic of a local piece of the discourse. There are absolutely no syntactic constraints on what the predicate suffix may agree with. The only constraint is the common sense one that the referent must be able to be retrieved by the hearer. Most frequently the Predicative suffix will agree with the head noun of the deictic.

Some examples of masculine/neuter singular agreement:

- 121) **Elikire,** **homela** **olere** **o**
 e- liki -re homela o- le -re o
 3sgnO- want -NF woman(f) 3sgfO- see -NF and
- hoiarium** **alikia.**
 hoia -ri -om a- liki -a
 MOD.MED.sgf -PSNV -m/n 1sgS- want -sgf
- Wanting it [marriage (n)], I (m) saw a girl and it's that one that I wanted.* ml 005

- 122) **molio** **ohomolo,** **aka** **koi** **an'kav,** **beko** **nego**
 molio o- homolo aka koi an'kav beko nego
 tree.sp(f) 3sgPOSS- fruit(f) then also pumice(m) stone(f) float
- mem** **na,**
 me -m na
 HAB -sgm sgmArt

...molio fruit and also pumice, the stone that floats, ...

- Hoinalarium** **koi lamare** **hi** **mame.**
 hoinala -ri -om koi la- ma -re hi ma- me
 MOD.MED.dum -PSNV -m/n also 3dumO- take -NF do/say 3plS- HAB
- They would also take those two.* cr2 015, 017

- 123) **Akariom** **mina** **mea** **feo.**
 aka -ri -om mina me -a feo
 then -PSNV -m/n thing(f) SPEC -sgf 3sgfFOC
- So it's this thing.*

- Aka honariom** **ana** **hi** **lamem**
 aka hona -ri -om a- na hi la- me -m
 then MOD.PROX.sgm -PSNV -m/n 3sgmO- in do/say 1sg- HAB -sgm
- It's this one I'll talk about.* rk2 003-005

Some examples of feminine singular agreement:

124)	Mina	<i>horio</i>		ta	hona	neuriae
	mina	ho	-ri -o	ta	hona	neuria -e
	thing(f)	MOD.PROX.sgf	-PSNV -f	time(m)	MOD.PROX.sgm	argue -NOMZR
	vuti		o togoloae	vuti	olei.	
	vuti	-ø	o togoloa -e	vuti	-ø	o- lei
	be.many	-sgn	and divided -NOMZR	be.many	-sgn	3sgS- exist

It's this thing - now there is much argument and division.

jh 046

125)	Foia	ko'mua	<i>horio.</i>		lire.
	foia	ko'mua	ho	-ri -o	iire
	PN.MED.sgf	story(f)	MOD.PROX.sgf	-PSNV -f	yes

That's this story. Yes.

Tam engā	<i>hovasario</i>			Okali	ne	Kolo	o	Mofe
tam engā	hova	-sa	-ri -o	Okali	ne	Kolo	o	Mofe
man three	MOD.PROX.pl	-GROUP	-PSNV -f	Okali	with	Kolo	and	Mofe
hova	Karumulun		fi	ngoane	mangoa.			
hova	Karumulu	-n	fi	ngoane	ma- ngoa			
MOD.PROX.pl	Karumulu	-LOC	3sgnFOC	stay -IMPF	3plS- stay			

These three men, these Okali, Kolo and Mofe, lived at Karumulun.

fk 002-003

An example of plural agreement:

126)	Hokariv			fi	ngai	ame,
	hoka	-ri	-v	fi	ngai	a- me
	here.PROX	-PSNV	-pl	3sgnFOC	1sg	1sgS- continue
	hokari		fi	ngai	afifi,	
	hoka	-ri	fi	ngai	a- fifi	
	here.PROX	-PSNV	3sgnFOC	1sg	1sgS- sit	
	hokari		fi	oina	offi.	
	hoka	-ri	fi	oina	o- fifi	
	here.PROX	-PSNV	3sgnFOC	other.MED.sgm	3sgS- sit	

We were here, I was like this: here I sat; here he sat.

co 369

There are some interesting observations that can be made about the use of the Predicative suffix. Firstly, although there is so much freedom with respect to the structural relationship between the gender agreement suffix and what referent it is agreeing with, it is interesting to note that there are very strong tendencies among individual speakers at particular times to use the suffix to agree with a referent in a particular syntactic relationship to it. For example, some speakers during a story show a tendency to use the gender suffix to agree with subjects in their discourse; others tend to use it to agree with places; others again tend to have it agreeing with postpositional objects. So, while it is true that speaker is completely free to use the gender suffix to agree with any referent, in fact, speakers in particular situations show a tendency to use the suffix to agree with the same kind of referent.

For example with one speaker, Abel Moran, during one story he told, 95% of his uses of the gender suffix in one story are to agree with the topic of the entire discourse, himself (it is a life story). Another speaker, Frank Koau, in one story never used the gender suffix to agree with the topic, but in 44% of cases he used it to agree with a place; and 33% of its uses are to agree with the head noun of the deictic. Raymond Kolo, however, in one story tended to prefer to have the suffix agreeing with the subject of the deictic predicate; 79% of his usages show this pattern.

As a final observation, the form of the gender agreement in the Predicative suffix is noteworthy. There is a derivational suffix **-io**, which, added to transitive verb stems, forms feminine abstract nouns (see Section 13.1.2). This is interesting in terms of gender marking in Lavukaleve. Usually in Lavukaleve, feminine gender (in the singular number) is associated with final **-a** (see Chapter 6); but these two morphemes, the feminine abstract nominaliser **-io**, and the feminine Predicative suffix **-o**, are the two places in which feminine gender is marked not by **-a** but by a form including **-o**. One could stretch the similarity further by speculating that the feminine Predicative suffix could actually be, historically if not synchronically, **-io**, with a loss of one of the */i/* vowels at the morpheme boundary between **-ri** and the feminine form **-(i)o** itself. Of course there is no way to test this hypothesis, as the Predicative feminine gender suffix can only appear following the Presentative suffix **-ri**.

8.11 DEMONSTRATIVE IDENTIFIERS

We have not quite exhausted the description of Lavukaleve's deictics yet. There is one further set of deictics: demonstrative identifiers. The term is from Diessel (1999), who distinguishes demonstrative identifiers from sentential demonstratives (or predicative demonstratives), on the grounds that demonstrative identifiers only occur in identificational sentences (e.g. *There is your sheep*) (Diessel 1999: 10-15).

Formally, demonstrative identifiers in Lavukaleve are identical to **foia** demonstrative pronouns, but with the addition of an extra syllable */hV/* after the first syllable of the pronoun. The V takes its form from the vowel of the first syllable of the pronoun. Thus **foga** 'singular proximal neuter demonstrative pronoun'; **fohoga** '3rd person singular proximal neuter demonstrative identifier'⁷. It is not clear whether this is a synchronic process, or whether it just that the paradigm is morphologically transparent. Lavukaleve's other deictic (and other) paradigms are for the most part morphologically transparent.

⁷ Note there is no paradigm corresponding to the medial pronoun paradigm. Note also that the Distal 1 and Distal 2 feminine forms of these demonstrative identifiers are identical to the Distal 1 and Distal 2 feminine **foia** demonstrative pronoun stems. It appears that the two paradigms have collapsed in these categories.

These demonstrative identifiers are very rare. They are used to make a predication about the location of an entity in space. That is, while the singular proximal neuter demonstrative pronoun **foga** means 'it, proximal neuter singular', **fohoga** means 'it is here, proximal neuter singular'. They can only occur in non-verbal clauses, functioning as non-verbal predicates, often with ellipsed subjects. They are most commonly heard in answer to the question 'where?':

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|--|--------------------------|
| 127) | Vasia? | | Fohoa |
| | vasia -a | | fohoa |
| | be.where-sgf | | 3sgfDIST2PRED |
| | <i>Where is she?</i> | | <i>She's over there.</i> |

Some more examples:

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|---------------|--|--------------|----------------|
| 128) | "O! | Fohoga | | meui" | |
| | o | fohoga | | me- | ui |
| | oh | 3sgnPROXPRED | | 1pl.in.POSS- | food(n) |
| | <i>"Oh! It's here, our food!"</i> | | | | <i>mn3 033</i> |

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|--|----------------|--|----------------|
| 129) | Ali na | | fohoana | | oka. |
| | ali na | | fohoana | | koka |
| | man(m) sgmArt | | 3sgmDIST2PRED | | far |
| | <i>The man is far away.</i> | | | | <i>e3 013a</i> |

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|--|---------------|--|---------------|--|-------------------|
| 130) | Vaunun | | vaunun | | vaunun | | vaunun |
| | vau -nun | | vau -nun | | vau -nun | | vau -nun |
| | go.out -DUR | | go.out -DUR | | go.out -DUR | | go.out -DUR |
| | vaunun | | vaunun | | vaunun | | uke siavel |
| | vau -nun | | vau -nun | | vau -nun | | uke sia -vel |
| | go.out -DUR | | go.out -DUR | | go.out -DUR | | near do -COMPL |
| | "Vasiav?" | | "Fohova" | | | | |
| | vasia -v | | fohova | | | | |
| | be.where -pl | | 3plPROXPRED | | | | |

They go out, go go go, then when they get near "Where are they?" [they said] "They're here."

ja 158

8.12 SUMMARY

In this chapter the deictics of Lavukaleve were examined. There are three types of demonstratives: a paradigm of demonstrative modifiers (**hoia**) and two paradigms of demonstrative pronouns (**foia** and **oia**), which differ in terms of the activation levels of the entities to which they refer. It was shown that there are no third person pronouns, instead the demonstrative pronouns fill this function. There are, however, first and second person pronouns.

There are also many locative deictics, most based on forms ending in **ka**. There are four

CHAPTER NINE

Overview of clause structure, predicate types and core participant marking

The aims of this chapter are twofold. The first part of this chapter describes and justifies the theoretical premises on which the analysis of the syntactic structures of Lavukaleve is founded, and outlines the grammatical terminology used in this thesis. In addition, there is a discussion of which arguments are core arguments and how they are expressed.

Secondly, the chapter provides a brief overview of clause structure, constituent order, predicate types and core participant marking, in order to enable the reader to parse sentences in the rest of the description without necessarily having read every word of the grammar. As these parts of the chapter are intended as an overview, structures are discussed briefly, with cross-references to detailed discussions of each construction type elsewhere in the thesis.

9.1 BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Basic clauses in Lavukaleve consist maximally of a predicate, which is the head of the clause, two core NPs (subject and object arguments of the predicate), and any number of adjuncts, which may be various types of nominal adjuncts, adverbs or particles. There are no verbs whose argument structure requires an adjunct.

9.2 CONSTITUENT ORDER

The predicate is typically the final constituent of the clause (see below for a definition of predicates; prototypically, it means a verb, or anything that acts like a verb). Core

NPs precede the verb; if there are two, the subject must precede the object. There is thus a fairly strict constituent order for basic Lavukaleve clauses: SOV (or, using Dixon's (1979) syntactic primitives, which are introduced below, SV/AOV).

Adjuncts may appear anywhere between these NPs and the predicate, although they may not intervene between elements of the NP. A textual example of a near-maximal clause:

1)	[Aka]	[taragau	na	ne ruia	la]	[nikol]
	aka	taragau	na	ne ruia	la	nikol
	then	sea.eagle(m)	sgmArt	with old.woman(f)	sgfArt	first
	[tail	fi]	[lovolori		hi].	
	tail	fi	lo-	volori-ø	hi	
	house(n)	3sgnFOC	3duS-	make -sgn	3sgnEFOC	

So the sea eagle and the woman built a house first.

gm 046

In example (1) above, constituents are separated with square brackets. There are two NPs; **taragau na ne ruia la**, the subject; and **tail fi**, the object (with a focus marker). The predicate is **lovolori hi** (with a focus marker), and there are two adjuncts, both particles, **aka** and **nikol**. Focus markers can occur at the end of any type of constituent; they are a ubiquitous feature of Lavukaleve syntax, and it is almost impossible to quote an example without at least one focus marker in it; indeed it would be misleading to try. For a discussion of the morpho-pragmatics of focus marking in Lavukaleve, see Chapter 11.

Most clauses in Lavukaleve, however, consist of many fewer elements than this maximal pattern implies; indeed there is no example in the corpus of a maximal clause as outlined above. The only obligatory constituent of a clause is the predicate; all other members are optional, and in particular, core NPs are often not present in clauses. Basic clauses, then, typically consist of a predicate, preceded by some adjuncts, and possibly one or more NPs. A textual example of a more typical type of clause structure:

2)	[Kini]	[ngoham]	[fo'sal]	[voakuru].	
	kini	ngo- ham	fo'sal	vo- a-	kuru
	ACT	2sg- for	fish(pl)	3plO- 1sgS-	hit

I'll go catch some fish for you.

gm 037

In this example, there is an adjunct, **kini**, followed by another adjunct, **ngoham**, followed by an object NP, **fo'sal**, followed by the predicate, **voakuru**.

It was stated above that there was a fairly strict constituent order SV/AOV. This is for the most part true; if both subject and object NPs occur before the predicate, they must occur in that order, and usually the predicate is the final element of the sentence. However it is not unknown for one of the NPs, usually the subject NP, to appear after the predicate. If this does happen, there is almost always an intonation break between the predicate and the NP. Many such constructions seem to be repair constructions, in

which the speaker, having omitted to mention the NP subject overtly, then wonders whether the hearer understood it properly, and adds it in as an afterthought.

3)	Lafi	eure			aka	mina	roru
	lafi	e-	u	-re	aka	mina	ro -ru
	water(n)	3sgnO-	eat	-NF	then	thing(f)	one.sgf -none
	otigirila				feo.	Ruia	la.
	o-	tigiri	-la	-a	feo	ruia	la
	3sgS-	tell	-NEG	-sgf	3sgfFOC	old.woman(f)	sgfArt

Drinking the water, then she didn't say anything. The old woman.

co 178 - 179

There are examples in which a core NP consisting of a demonstrative modifier appears after the predicate with no intonation break between the predicate and it. In Section 11.4.2 it is argued that these are not anomalies of constituent order, but rather are in fact examples of demonstratives functioning as focus markers.

Adjuncts, too, can appear after the predicate, usually as an afterthought. Note the intonation, indicated by the punctuation:

4)	Lo	fi.	ohan			va	vofou,
	lo	fi	o-	ha	-n	va	vo-
	finish	3sgnFOC	3sgPOSS-	rib.of.canoe	-pl	plArt	3plO-
	voakurure.					Filifilimal	vona.
	vo-	a-	kuru	-re	filifilimal	vo-	na
	3plO-	1sgS-	hit	-FUT	nails(pl)	3plO-	in

Having finished, I make the ribs, I hammer them. With nails.

cp 037 - 038

It was stated above that adjuncts can appear between any of the other constituents in a clause. All syntactic and semantic types of adjuncts can and do occur in any of the adjunct positions within a clause.

9.3 SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

9.3.1 SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

The grammatical relations of Lavukaleve will be established using the universal syntactic primitives A, S, and O of Dixon (1979, see also 1994), as defined rather more narrowly by Andrews (1985).

For Andrews, the syntactic functions of A and O ('grammatical functions' in his terminology) are defined in terms of the prototypical core arguments of prototypical Primary Transitive Verbs; verbs which take two arguments, the semantic roles of which are Agent and Patient (e.g. 'kill') (1985: 68). The syntactic function of A is "an NP in a transitive sentence receiving the treatment normally accorded to the Agent of P[rimary] T[ransitive] V[erbs]; an O is an NP in a transitive sentence receiving the treatment

normally accorded to the Patient of a PTV." (1985: 98). The syntactic function of S is that of "[an] NP in an intransitive sentence that is receiving the treatment normally accorded to the single argument of a one-argument predicate" (1985: 68).

9.3.2 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

The syntactic functions of A, S and O are unproblematic in Lavukaleve; however for the purposes of describing Lavukaleve morpho-syntax, rather than using A, S and O, it is simpler and descriptively more revealing to use the grammatical relations of subject and object. These grammatical relations are defined in terms of A, S and O. Subject is, again using Andrews' definition, "the grammatical relation, if there is one, that is associated with A and S function; object the grammatical relation, if there is one, that is associated with O function" (1985: 103).

The following section justifies the theoretical and descriptive validity of the grammatical relations of subject and object for Lavukaleve.

SUBJECTS

In almost every area of Lavukaleve, A and S pattern the same way in morphological terms, and O patterns differently. Thus, on the basis of certain morphological tests, a grammatical relation of Subject can be set up. None of Lavukaleve syntax is based on constructions which require a pivot. Conjoined clauses of the sort 'the man hit the woman and ran away' (to use a time-honoured example) are expressed by clauses joined in either subordinate-dependent or coordinate-dependent structures; in either case, arguments tend not to be shared at the morpho-syntactic level, or at least, to not be necessarily shared. That is, one could say 'him hitting the woman, the man went away'; 'him hitting the woman, she went away'; 'him coming, he hit the woman'; 'him coming, the woman hit him' and so on. In all cases, arguments are expressed by pronominal affixes, except where this is precluded by combinatorial restrictions on affixes. However, throughout most of its morphology, Lavukaleve is a nominative/accusative language. The only area of exception is in adverbial subordinate clauses, which show a split-ergative pattern, in which 1st and 2nd person subjects follow a nominative/accusative marking system and 3rd person subjects follow an ergative/absolutive marking system: see Section 16.1.

Lavukaleve has no case marking for core argument roles, but its pronominal verb prefixes are marked for grammatical relations. Compare the following:

5)	ali	na	okiu	
	ali	na	o-	kiu
	man(m)	sgmArt	3sgS-	die

the man died

- 6) **ali na mola ga eole**
 ali na mola ga e- o- le
 man(m) sgmArt canoe(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- 3sgS- see
the man saw the canoe

- 7) **aira la ali na aole**
 aira la ali na a- o- le
 woman(f) sgfArt man(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- 3sgS- see
the woman saw the man

When the NP **ali na** is in S or A function, it is marked by the subject prefix **o-**. When **ali na** is in O function, it is marked by a different, object, prefix, **a-**.

The Present Tense marker marks the number of an argument in either S or A function, and does not mark the number of an argument in O function.

- 8) **Irunu.**
 iru -nu
 sleep -PRES.sg
He is sleeping. e3 037h
- 9) **Foe na akovenu.**
 foe na a- kove -nu
 pig(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- look.for -PRES.sg
[He] is looking for the pig. e3 032j
- 10) **Malav va keleanuv.**
 malav va kelea -nuv
 people(pl) plArt walk -PRES.pl
The people are wandering around. jt2 047
- 11) **Foev va vokovenu**
 foe -v va vo- kove -nu
 pig -pl plArt 3plO- look.for -PRES.sg
[He] is looking for the pigs.

At the morphological level, then, in main clauses Lavukaleve treats NPs in A and S function alike, and those in O function differently.

Semantic roles associated with the grammatical relation of subject in Lavukaleve include agent (e.g. **kuru** 'kill'), experiencer (e.g. **le** 'see'), patient (e.g. **kiu** 'die') and possessor (e.g. **nuve** 'own').

OBJECTS

As there are no ditransitive verbs in Lavukaleve, it is no difficult matter to establish

which NPs have the grammatical relation of object. For Lavukaleve, any core syntactic function which is not an A or an S is an O; any grammatical relation which is not a subject is an object. The morphological and syntactic criteria adduced above for the justification of the subject relation work also, in converse, for the justification of an object relation.

Many languages of the world allow at least a few ditransitive verbs. Lavukaleve, however, does not. Typically ditransitive verbs such as 'give', 'show' and 'tell' are transitive verbs in Lavukaleve. They have two core arguments, and an optional postpositional argument.

For example **ne** 'give' is subcategorised for a subject and an object, which express the giver and the gift, respectively, and optionally takes a postpositional phrase to express the recipient. In the following example, the giver is 'she', expressed as the 3sgS prefix on **eonege**; the gift is 'it (the food)', expressed as the 3sgnO prefix on the same verb; and the recipient is 'her husband', expressed in the postpositional phrase 'to her husband' (**otum na ana**):

- 12) **otum** **na** **ana** **eonege** **fi**
 o- tum na a- na e- o- ne -ge fi
 3sgPOSS- husband(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- in 3sgnO- 3sgS- give-ANT 3sgnFOC
...she gave it (the food (n)) to her husband *co 410*

And a structurally similar example, but with no recipient expressed:

- 13) **Eonege** **emare** **ovai.**
 e- o- ne -ge e- ma -re o- vau -i
 3sgnO- 3sgS- give -ANT 3sgnO- take -NF 3sgPOSS- go.out -PSV
He gave it [to the boy] then, taking it, he (the boy) went down. *mn4 033*

The verb **tai** can mean 'show' or 'tell'. When it means 'show', the thing shown is expressed as object, and the recipient is expressed as an optional postpositional phrase:

- 14) **ona** **nei** **ga** **enetaire.**
 o- na nei ga e- ne- tai -re
 3sgfO- in coconut(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- 2sgS- show -FUT
... you will show the coconut to her. *co 116*

- 15) **Lofela'koe** **ga** **etailamal** **final.**
 lo- fela'koe ga e- tai -la -mal finala
 3duPOSS- village(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- show -NEG -du.m 3dumFOC
The two [boys] didn't show their village (to us). *ja 295*

But when **tai** means 'tell', the recipient is expressed as object and the message as direct speech functioning as a paratactic adjunct to the verb:

Under this analysis, overt NPs, when they appear, are an optional elaboration of the obligatory verbal affixes, and could be thought of in syntactic terms as being in an appositional relationship to the pronominal affixes.

For Lavukaleve, one would have to account for the fact that there are circumstances in which the subject affix (thus the expression of the core subject argument) is not allowed to appear, but the NP referring to the subject can. This happens for instance in coordinate-dependent clauses, where subject prefixes are incompatible with coordinate-dependent verbs (see below, Section 9.7.4 and Chapter 15 for discussion of these). If pronominal prefixes are the core arguments, and NPs are paratactic adjuncts to these, it is difficult to understand the syntactic status of NPs when there is no verbal affix.

Foley's (1991) response to a similar question in Yimas (in situations where a pronominal prefix does not occur but an NP does) is to argue that there is in fact a zero pronominal prefix there, holding the core argument slot. However I am reluctant to posit zero pronominal prefixes where there is no direct evidence for them.

A second caveat to an argument for the core status of pronominal affixes versus NPs, is as follows. The term used above, 'pronominal affixes' includes the verbal prefixes on predicates, Habitual Auxiliary prefixes, Present Tense suffixes, Imperative suffixes and the Agreement Suffix (see Section 9.7 below). However there is a problem. Whereas the pronominal prefixes only ever express subject and object, the two arguments that one would want to call core in Lavukaleve, the Agreement Suffix can agree with not only subject or object, but also oblique arguments such as postpositional objects, in focus constructions and relative clauses. One would not want to call such arguments core, simply because they can, in certain specific circumstances, be marked by the Agreement Suffix.

There is a third major problem, related to the same issue of the morphological material available to mark arguments. Although one could think of the verbal and Habitual Auxiliary prefixes as arguments (in that they mark person, gender, number and grammatical function), and possibly one could think of the Present Tense suffixes (which mark Present Tense, and number of the subject) and Imperative suffixes (which mark one of two types of Imperative mood, and number of the subject) in the same way, it is much harder to think of members of the Agreement Suffix paradigm as arguments. The Agreement Suffix forms only mark gender and number, and make no reference to other important categories of referents, such as person or grammatical function. The case for the core argument status of the Agreement Suffix would be very hard to sustain.

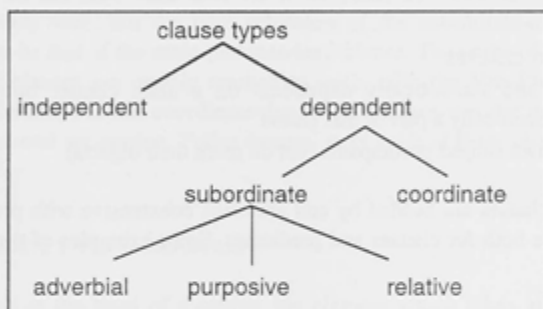
None of these problems are fatal to an analysis of verbal affixes as core arguments and NPs as paratactic adjuncts to these. However there is a certain counter-intuitiveness to such an argument; and it requires positing zero affixes in places where there is no direct

evidence for them. Perhaps a simpler and more intuitive account is that verbal affixes and NPs together express core arguments. Different combinations of these exist to express different pragmatic meanings.

Throughout this thesis, I refer to the pronominal prefixes as 'cross-referencing prefixes'. This should not be taken to mean that the NPs are syntactically prior in any way.

9.5 CLAUSE TYPES

Clauses in Lavukaleve divide into two major types: independent (main) and dependent. Dependent clauses themselves are of two types: subordinate-dependent and coordinate-dependent. The following diagram outlines types of clauses in Lavukaleve:



My terminology follows that of Foley (1986) in describing Iatmul, which (like many Papuan languages) shares with Lavukaleve certain fundamental features in its clause linking strategies. Foley argues for a distinction between main, subordinate-dependent and coordinate-dependent verbs, defining subordinate verbs in the following way:

The subordinate clause functions like a part of the main clause, and this relation of a part within the whole, or embeddedness, is how I will define subordination. Verbs of such subordinate clauses, although fully specified in Iatmul for status and for person and number of the actor, are necessarily linked to a main clause, and are therefore not independent. I will refer to such verbs of subordinate clauses as 'subordinate-dependent' and fully inflected verbs of main clauses as 'independent'. (1986: 177)

and coordinate-dependent clauses as follows:

...clauses containing [coordinate-dependent] verbs are not considered subordinate. They do not function as arguments of some main clause. They do not function as embedded parts within a whole, but are linked to a fully inflected verb in a linear string, much like beads on a necklace. Because the linking of the clauses is at the same structural level, rather than as part within whole, I regard such clauses as coordinate and verbs of such clauses as 'coordinate-dependent'. (1986: 177)

This classification is particularly revealing for Lavukaleve. The classification of Lavukaleve's clauses, with morpho-syntactic criteria, is as follows:

MAIN (INDEPENDENT) CLAUSES

- can stand on their own as a complete sentence
- mark their own core participants using pronominal affixation on the predicate
- specify their own TAM

SUBORDINATE-DEPENDENT CLAUSES

- are embedded (have a part-whole relationship with main clauses)
- function as modifiers of main clauses
- mark their own core participants (some types using a split-ergative system) on the predicate

COORDINATE-DEPENDENT CLAUSES

- are syntactically and semantically dependent on a main clause, but are not syntactically or semantically a part of that clause
- do not mark their own subject participants (but do mark their objects)

Since in Lavukaleve clauses are headed by and are often coextensive with predicates, the classification holds both for clauses and predicates. Some examples of these three types follow:

MAIN:

- 27) **Oeraule** **fi,** **ona** *gigil* *voamare.*
 o- e- erau -le fi o- na gigil vo- a- ma -re
 3sgFO-SBD- fall -POT 3sgnFOC 3sgFO- in measurements(pl) 3plO-1sgS- take -FUT
When it [the tree (f)] falls down, I will take the measurements of it. cp 005

The example above shows a main (independent) clause italicised. It stands alone as a viable syntactic unit, provides its own specification for subject, and also object, it has the Future tense marked on it, and has an adjunct, the postposition **ona**.

SUBORDINATE-DEPENDENT:

- 28) *Voevoge,* **oina** **fiata** **la** **one** **fufum.**
 vo- e- vo -ge oina fiata la o- ne fufu -m
 3plO- SBD- come -ANT other.MED.sgm thunder(f) sgfArt 3sgFO-with lie.down -sgm
Upon them coming, he lay with his gun. mn3 065

The example above contains a subordinate clause (italicised). Syntactically it is an adverbial clause, modifying the main clause **oina fiata la one fufum**. It is marked with the Anterior suffix, which indicates that the clause means 'upon V happening'. That is, it provides a temporal starting point for the action of the main verb. The subject participant 'they' is expressed on the subordinate verb by means of the prefix **vo-** (intransitive third person subjects of adverbial subordinate verbs are marked

morphologically as objects; see Section 16.1 for more on this).

COORDINATE-DEPENDENT:

29)	Aka	fiata	lelaol	lomare,		lofoure,		
	aka	fiata	lelaol	lo-	ma	-re	lo-	fou
	then	thunder(f)	two.f	3dufO-	take	-NF	3dufO-	put.on
								-re
								-NF
	koan	ka	ririgoiare	fi	olei.			
	koa	-n	ka	ririgoi	-a	-re	fi	o-
	door	-LOC	LOCEMPH	prepare	-INTR	-NF	sgnFOC	3sgS-
								exist

Then taking two guns, getting them, getting ready, he stood right in the doorway. mn3 062

The example above shows three coordinate-dependent clauses (with verbs **lomare**, **lofoure** and **ririgoiare**). Each is dependent for the interpretation of their subject reference on the final verb **olei**. As it happens, no TAM is marked on the main (independent) verb, but the time reference of the coordinate-dependent clauses is assumed to be that of the main (independent) clause. The verbs of all three coordinate-dependent clauses are overtly marked as such, with the Non-Finite suffix **-re**. The relationship between the coordinate-dependent clauses and the independent clause is one of temporal succession. Fuller discussion of each of these clause types appears in Chapter 15.

9.6 PREDICATE TYPES IN LAVUKALEVE

A predicate is the head of a clause, the element which takes arguments and which carries pronominal affixation, in appropriate clause types, for at least one core argument. The following predicate types exist in Lavukaleve:

- Simple verbs
- Serial verbs in serial verb constructions and verb compounds
- Habitual Auxiliary verbal complexes
- Predicates formed with verbal adjuncts
- Non-verbal predicates
- Deictic predicates

9.6.1 SIMPLE VERB PREDICATES

Simple verb predicates consist of a single lexical verb. The verb may be transitive or intransitive, and carries the participant marking appropriate for the clause type, and TAM specifications of the clause in which the predicate appears. In the following example, there are two simple verb predicates. The first is a transitive verb **ho**, marking its object argument by affixation, and functioning as the head of a coordinate-dependent clause (see above); and therefore not marking its subject argument by affixation. The second simple verb predicate is the intransitive verb **iru**, marking its subject argument

and functioning as the head of a main clause.

- 30) **Ohore,** **mairu.**
 o- ho -re ma- iru
 3sgfO- put.inside -NF 3plS- sleep
Putting it (f) inside, they slept. jn 049

9.6.2 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS AND VERB COMPOUNDS

Serial verb constructions function in a similar way to simple verb predicates; but structurally they consist of two or more lexical verbs which together act as a single unit in terms of taking subject arguments and TAM specifications. Serial verb constructions share their subject arguments, and if there is more than one transitive verb in the construction, these share their object arguments. Verb compounds consist of two verbs in juxtaposition functioning in every respect as a single predicate. The two constructions differ in that every transitive verb of a serial verb construction must prefix its object, whereas the entire verb compound only prefixes its object once.

Some examples of subject and object marking in serial verb constructions and verb compounds follow. See Section 14.1 for a much fuller justification and discussion of these constructions.

Serial verb constructions:

- 31) **"Oma vulama".**
 o- ma vula -ma
 3sgfO- take come -DURIMP.sg
"Bring it (f)." [i.e. you take it and come] co 109

- 32) **kokotev vona lain heaka hano ae kaegoav.**
 kokotev vo- na lai -n heaka hano ae kaegoav -v
 sharp.rocks(pl) 3plO- in top -I.LOC there.DIST1 then go.up be.on.top-pl
... they go up on top of a sharp rock. hr2 044

Verb compounds:

- 33) **kiu mev felere vosoufaleri,**
 kiu me -v fele -re vo- sou fale -ri
 die SPEC -pl return -NF 3plO- rise stand -CAUS
... [we] help the sick to stand up again [lit: stand the dying back up]. am 061

- 34) **Ngagaikoko na akevaurire.**
 nga- gaikoko na a- ke vau -ri -re
 1sgPOSS- canoe(m) 3gmArt 3sgmO- push.off go.out -CAUS-FUT
I push out my canoe. di 004

9.6.3 HABITUAL AUXILIARY VERBAL COMPLEXES

Verbal complexes consist of a lexical verb in construction with the Habitual Auxiliary (see Section 14.3 for discussion). The members of the verbal complex function as a single predicate. They share their arguments, and participant marking is shared between them, in a very particular way. The Habitual Auxiliary can only ever mark the subject (S/A), never the object, argument (with one exception, in focus constructions, see below Section 9.7.2, and Chapter 11). Note however that in subordinate constructions the Habitual Auxiliary, like intransitive verbs, uses object prefixes to cross-reference the subject argument in the third person, in what is essentially a split-ergative marking system. This is discussed in Section 16.1. The verb can only cross-reference the object, if it is transitive, never the subject. The auxiliary can use either a special subject prefix, or else the Agreement Suffix, to cross-reference the subject. The following are examples of these verbal complexes:

Intransitive:

- 35) **Vala!** Malav va foiva meo vohane ngoa mev.
 vala malav va foiva meo vo- ha -ne ngoa me -v
 how people(pl)plArt PN.MED.pl tuna(pl) 3plO- clear -IMPF stay HAB -pl
Hey! Those people are staying there catching bonito. ja 022

Transitive:

- 36) **aluluri** leme.
 a- lulu -ri le- me
 3sgmO- straight -CAUS 1plex- HAB
...we sort it out ao 013

In each of the above examples, the Habitual Auxiliary **me** immediately follows a verb, and, together with that verb, forms the predicate of the clause. There is a subject prefix or suffix on **me**, and, if the verbal complex is transitive there is an object prefix on the verb. Verbal complexes take their valency from the verb of the complex; **me** is not a verb and has no valency.

9.6.4 PREDICATES FORMED WITH VERBAL ADJUNCTS

Complex predicates formed with Verbal Adjuncts consist of two parts; the adjunct expresses the lexical meaning of the predicate and takes no morphology, and it occurs with a semantically rather empty verb, either **hai** 'do' or **sia** 'be, become, happen, do' (always glossed 'do'), which takes any appropriate verbal morphology. Verb adjuncts are a small closed class. Those which occur with **sia** are mostly loan verbs, and the construction is used mainly to enable these loan verbs to be used in Lavukaleve sentences. Some examples:

- 37) Mala'gul na hogala fi fo'for haire ove.
 mala'gula na hoga -la fi fo'for hai -re o- ve
 bird(m) sgmArt MOD.PROX.sgn -EXT 3sgnFOC fly do -NF 3sgS-go
The bird flies past. ef 083f
- 38) Feure aka feu bekoul vona va'var ohai.
 feu -re aka feu bekoul vo- na va'var o- hai
 go.up -NF then go.up stones 3plO- in talking 3sgS- do
He went up and talked to the stones [i.e. gravestones]. mt 083
- 39) lake rugi ofoton fi stop masia.
 lake rugi o- foto -n fi stop ma- sia
 road(n) big.sgn 3sgPOSS- middle -LOC 3sgnFOC stop 3plS- do
...they stopped in the middle of the big road. ef 040

Verbal adjunct constructions are discussed in Section 14.4.

9.6.5 NON-VERBAL PREDICATES

Non-verbal clauses consist of a non-verbal predicate and its subject argument. These subject arguments are different from the subjects of verbal clauses, which were defined in terms of morphological tests (i.e. cross-referencing). Non-verbal subject arguments can be defined as the other NP argument of a clause with a non-verbal predicate. The non-verbal predicate can consist of an NP, or a particle (italicised in the following examples):

- 40) "O! Fova suni ngatulav hova!"
 o fova suni nga- tulav hova
 oh PN.PROX.pl all 1sgPOSS- children (pl) MOD.PROX.pl
"Oh! These are all my children!" [lit: these ones are all these my children] jn2 038
- 41) Ta hona mina akari mea roru tamu.
 ta hona mina aka -ri me -a ro -ru tamu
 time(m) MOD.PROX.sgm thing(f) then -PSNV SPEC -sgf one.sgf -none no
But now there is nothing like that. [lit: a thing like that is not] jo 050

Occasionally, a subject may be ellipsed if it is understood:

- 42) Aka vasa fin.
 aka vasa fin
 then fence(m) 3sgmFOC
[It was] a fence. co2 083

- 43) **Bekoul tin.**
 bekoul tin
 stones(pl) only
[They were] only stones.

mn4 079

9.6.6 DEICTIC PREDICATES

Deictic predicates are derived from certain deictics by means of the Predicative suffixes **-o** (feminine singular), **-om** (masculine/neuter singular), and **-v** (plural), attached to the deictic in combination with the Presentative suffix **-ri**. The Predicative suffixes derive a predicate from an adverbial or adnominal modifier or a nominal head. Thus, the demonstrative **hoiva** 'this' becomes **hoinari** 'this one' with the Presentative suffix, and **hoinariom** 'it's this one' with the masculine/neuter singular Predicative suffix. Such predicates are restricted syntactically in that they cannot take any verbal morphology, and can only take one argument.

Some examples:

- 44) **Oivasa makav Lemi Rugi, Tau Sosona, Vala Rugi.**
 oiva -sa ma- kavu lemi rugi tau sosona vala rugi
 other.MED.pl -GROUP 3plPOSS- group eye big.sgn limb be.long belly big.sgn
Those in one group: Big Eye, Long Arm and Big Belly.

Hoivariom kavu roge.
 hoiva -ri -om kavu roge
 MOD.MED.pl -PSNV -m/n group(n)one.sgn

Those ones were one group. [lit: it was those ones, one group]

mn3 038-039

- 45) **"Fova haul hokariom."**
 fova hau -l hoka -ri -om
 PN.PROX.pl go.ashore -LOCZR here.PROX -PSNV -m/n
"They are here on the shore now".

ja 221

- 46) **Akariom tin fi.**
 aka -ri -om tin fi
 then -PSNV -m/n only 3sgnFOC
It's just like that.

b1 054

Discussion of deictic predicates is in Section 8.10.4.

9.7 CORE PARTICIPANT MARKING

Affixial participant marking is accomplished by means of:

- verbal prefixes, indicating person and number of subject and person, number and gender of object (discussed in this chapter)

- the Agreement Suffix, marking gender and number of a core argument; which core argument depends on various factors to do with focus and clause type (Chapter 10, Chapter 11)
- prefixes on the Habitual Auxiliary, marking person and number of subject (Section 14.3)
- Present Tense agreement, indicating number of the subject (Section 12.2.2).
- Imperative suffixes, indicating one of two types of Imperative mood, and number of subject (Section 12.4.2).

The focus markers also have a role in participant marking; but as they always cross-reference to the same argument which the Agreement Suffix marks, their role may be subsumed under that of the Agreement Suffix for the purposes of this discussion. Clauses have a different kind of participant marking system depending on whether they are focus constructions or not (focus constructions account for about 1/3 of all clauses).

The paradigms of affixes which are used to accomplish participant marking appear here:

VERBAL SUBJECT PREFIXES

	SG	DU	PL
1EXCL	a-	le-	e-
1INCL			me-
2	ngo-, ne-	mele-	
3	o-	lo-	ma-

The difference between the two forms given for 2nd singular is that **ne-** is used when it is the second prefix on a predicate (i.e. if an object prefix is present). The **ngo-** prefix is used otherwise. Compare example (14) with the following:

- 47) **Ria ngomam hin?**
 ria ngo- ma -m hin
 where 2sg- take -sgm 3sgmEFOC

Where did you take it (m) [from]?

co 021

VERBAL OBJECT PREFIXES

	SG	DU	PL
1 EXCL	nga-	le-	e-
1 INCL			me-
2	ngo-	mele-	
3 MASC	a-	la-	vo-
3 FEM	o-	lo-	
3 NEUT	e-	le-	

Note that the 1st person dual and plural prefixes, 3rd person feminine singular and dual, and the 2nd person prefixes (apart from **ne-**), do not distinguish subject and object.

THE AGREEMENT SUFFIX

	SG	DU	PL
MASC	-m	-mal	-v
FEM	-a	-aol	
NEUT	-ø	-gel	

Note that strictly speaking the Agreement Suffix is not one suffix but a whole paradigm of number/gender-marked forms, but I use the term as shorthand.

HABITUAL AUXILIARY SUBJECT PREFIXES

	SG	DU	PL
1 EXCL	la-	le-	
1 INCL		me-	
2	ngo-	mele-	
3	lo-		ma-

The Habitual Auxiliary subject prefixes are the same as verbal subject prefixes (except for **ne-**), but with an initial **l-** before vowel-initial forms.

PRESENT TENSE SUBJECT AGREEMENT

SINGULAR SUBJECT	-nu-ø
DUAL SUBJECT	-nu-l
PLURAL SUBJECT	-nu-v

The Present tense marker is **-nu**, and the following material marks subject agreement. Note that **/l/** and **/v/** are pervasive in Lavukaleve as markers of the dual and plural

categories respectively.

IMPERATIVE SUFFIXES

	PUNCTUAL IMPERATIVE
SINGULAR SUBJECT	-va
DUAL SUBJECT	-ila
PLURAL SUBJECT	-iva

	DURATIVE IMPERATIVE
SINGULAR SUBJECT	-ma
DUAL SUBJECT	-mela
PLURAL SUBJECT	-ba

The verbal pronominal prefixes, Habitual Auxiliary prefixes, Present Tense suffixes and Imperative suffixes are referred to as cross-referencing affixes throughout this thesis. Further, the names 'cross-referencing affixes' versus 'Agreement Suffix' suggest that these two sets of affixes have different basic functions. This is partly true; the appearance or otherwise of the Agreement Suffix is controlled almost entirely by pragmatic-syntactic factors; it is a necessary element of Sentence-Final focus constructions, relative clauses and stative/resultative intransitive predicates for instance. The appearance of the cross-referencing affixes, however, is not circumscribed in this way; rather, they are the default way of referring to an argument by means of verbal morphology.

A further major difference between them is that the verbal pronominal cross-referencing prefixes mark person, whereas the Agreement Suffix does not. This is an important distinction to make; the cross-referencing prefixes are much more like pronominal arguments themselves (see above, Section 9.4.2), whereas the Agreement Suffix is much more like a marker of agreement with an argument; hence its name.

9.7.1 AFFIXIAL PARTICIPANT MARKING IN SIMPLE VERBAL NON-FOCUS CLAUSES

There is a general principle of participant marking in simple verbal predicates in Lavukaleve that each core participant can be marked by affixation a maximum of once per predicate. From this general principle follow many of the structural rules of participant marking in Lavukaleve. These rules are described briefly here and discussed in more detail in the chapters concerning each construction type.

Participant marking by affixation in simple verbal non-focus clauses depends in part on the transitivity of the predicate. Transitive predicates may mark both their core arguments with prefixes; the first prefix position marks the object argument, the second prefix position marks the subject argument:

- 48) *Leta velanun velanun ta mina oavea.*
 leta vela -nun vela -nun ta mina o- a- vea
 but go -DUR go -DUR but thing(f) 3sgfO- 1sgS- know

But things went on, and now I know something.

jo 048

Intransitive verbs mark their subject with a cross-referencing prefix if the predicate is to be interpreted with an active meaning, or the Agreement Suffix if the predicate is to have a stative/resultative meaning (see Section 10.5):

- 49) **felere** **kini** **mae.**
 fele -re kini ma- ae
 return -NF ACT 3plS- go.up
...they went back up [to Yandina]. co2 089

- 50) **Aeloge,** **aka** **ngai** **ikari** **lom.**
 a- e- lo -ge aka ngai ika -ri lo -m
 3sgmO- SBD- finish -ANT then 1sg there -PSNV finish -sgm
It (that time (m)) finishing, then I (m) was finished there. co2 077

9.7.2 AFFIXIAL PARTICIPANT MARKING IN SIMPLE VERBAL FOCUS CLAUSES

There are three types of focus, corresponding to three types of focus constructions: argument focus, sentence focus and predicate focus (see Chapter 11 for a detailed account of these types). Each is marked morphologically by a focus marker, and Sentence-Final focus constructions also have the verbal Agreement Suffix agreeing with a constituent of the clause. The Agreement Suffix agrees with the object argument of a transitive predicate focus clause, the subject argument of a transitive sentence focus clause, or the subject argument of an intransitive clause. The constraint that each core argument can be expressed by affix a maximum of once per predicate means that, if one argument in a focus clause is marked by the Agreement Suffix, it cannot also be marked by a prefix; and further, if the other argument is expressed affixially it must be expressed by a prefix.

Object agreement (predicate focus):

- 51) **Aka** **mina** **hano** **marigoiria** **feo.**
 aka mina hano ma- ririgoi -ri -a feo
 then thing(f) then 3plS- prepare -CAUS -sgf 3sgfFOC
They prepared (everything). co2 062

Intransitive subject agreement (sentence focus):

- 52) **Ena** **hururea** **finu.**
 e- na huru -re -a finu
 3sgnO- in go.inside -NF -sgf 2sgFOC
You (f) will go inside it. co2 100

Transitive subject agreement (sentence focus):

- 53) **Lafi** **ga** **vula** **lome** **ga** **evealav** **fiv**
 lafi ga vula lo- me -ø ga e- vea -la -v fiv
 water(n) sgnArt come 3sgS- HAB-sgn sgnArt 3sgnO- know -NEG -pl 3plFOC
How the water came, [they] didn't know. co2 109

9.7.3 SUMMARY: BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PARTICIPANT MARKING

The following principles hold for participant marking on simple verbal predicates:

1. each participant can be marked by affix only once per predicate
2. objects must be referred to by an affix on the predicate, subjects do not have to be
3. on intransitive verbal predicates, a cross-referencing prefix is used if the predicate is to be interpreted as active; the Agreement Suffix is used if the predicate is to be interpreted as stative/resultative
4. in a Sentence-Final focus construction, the Agreement Suffix always cross-references one core argument, and, if the predicate is transitive, a prefix cross-references the other

9.7.4 PARTICIPANT MARKING IN NON-SIMPLE VERBAL PREDICATES

Sections 9.7.1 and 9.7.2 describe the basic participant marking systems. There are adjustments to the basic system to be found in non-simple predicate types, as described below. For detailed discussion the reader is advised to consult the chapters mentioned.

In verbal complexes (which consist of a verb plus the Habitual Auxiliary), the Habitual Auxiliary marks subject, and the verb, if transitive, marks the object (see above and Section 14.3). In the following example, the object is marked by affixation on verb, and the subject is marked by affixation on Habitual Auxiliary; a focus marker (with default, i.e. 3rd singular neuter, agreement) intervenes between verb and Habitual Auxiliary:

54)	Aka	ta	ana	war	la	loham	orem	
	aka	ta	a-	na	war	la	lo	-ham o- re -m
	then	time(m)	3sgmO-	in	war(f)	sgfArt	finish	-PURP 3sgS- say -sgm
	ana	fi	minamina	la	suni okeuri	fi	mame	
	a-	na fi	Dup-	mina	la	suni o-	keuri fi	ma- me
	3sgmO-	in	3sgnFOC	REDUP-	thing(f)sgfArt	all	3sgfO-	carry 3sgnFOC 3pIS-HAB
	<i>When the war was said to be finished, they loaded everything up.</i>							<i>co2 040</i>

Also, see Section 14.3.1 for discussion of one situation in verbal complexes where a single participant is cross-referenced in two different places in one predicate, in violation of the first principle given above.

In serial verb constructions (see above and Section 14.1), all transitive members of the serial verb construction mark their object, which must be shared by each transitive verb; but the subject can be marked only once, on the final verb of the construction. In the following example, the object is marked by affixation on every transitive verb, and the subject is only marked, in the form of the Imperative suffix, once:

58)	Aka	aram	ena		foa	falela		fongai.
	aka	aram	e-	na	foa	fale	-la	-a fongai
	then	ground(n)	3sgnO-	in	go.down	stand	-NEG	-sgf 1sgFOC

I (f) have never stepped down on the ground.

co 442

The next example shows a habitual verbal complex, also negated, and also in a focus construction. The focus construction requires the subject to be indicated with the Agreement Suffix on the last element of the predicate (as per Principle 4); in this case, the Habitual Auxiliary. The other argument, the object, is marked by affixation on the first element of the predicate, the lexical verb:

59)	Aveala			merev			fome	tome
	a-	vea	-la	me	-re	-v	fome	tome
	3sgmO-	know	-NEG	HAB	-FUT	-pl	1pl.inFOC	hole(m)
	na	kini	si	oire			ga-	
	na	kini	si	o-	i	-re	-ø	ga
	sgmArt	ACT	cover	3sgSO-	do	-NF	-sgn	sgnArt

We can't know, [the time (m)] when the hole was shut.

co2 094

In the next example, the predicate consists of a serial verb construction **eo hai** 'go.around do' acting together as the verbal part of a verbal complex with the Habitual Auxiliary. As both verbs are intransitive, their shared subjects are not marked on them; rather, the subject of the entire predicate is expressed once (as per Principle 1), on the Habitual Auxiliary:

60)	Eo	hai	lame		ofisavil	vone.
	eo	hai	la-	me	ofisavil	vo- ne
	go.around	do/say	1sg-	HAB	offices(pl)	3plO- with

I would go round with the offices (i.e. go round wherever there were offices, checking them).

co2 023

The next example is not so much a complex predicate as a series of chained and embedded predicates. **Negore** is a coordinate-dependent clause, dependent on the verb **vofoirene**. Because **negore** 'float' is coordinate-dependent and intransitive, it receives no participant marking (see above, this Section). **Voieleile** 'when they were' is subordinate-dependent; its main clause is also that of the verb **vofoirene**. **Voieleile** is intransitive, and is, in this construction, involved in the type of subordination (with the Potential **-le**) that requires intransitive subjects to be marked as objects (see above, this Section). **Vofoirene** 'holding them', the main verb on which all these verbs ultimately depend, is transitive, and thus must mark its object by affixation (as per Principle 2), but it does not mark its subject by affixation (see Section 12.3.1).

61)	Kini	ehaule		koi	homelav	o	tulav	o
	kini	e- hau	-le	koi	homela -v	o	tulav	o
	ACT	1pl.ex- go.ashore	-POT	also	woman -pl	and	children(pl)	and
	mina	la	aore	koi	negore	voeleile		
	mina	la	ao -re	koi	nego -re	vo-	e-	lei -le
	thing(f)	sgfArt	go.in -NF	also	float -NF	3plO-	SBD-	exist -POT
	vofirene.				Molev	va	vona.	
	vo-	foi	-re	-ne	molev	va	vo-	na
	3plO-	hold	-NF	-IMPF	canoes(pl)	plArt	3plO-	in

We came ashore again; the women and children and everything got back in and when they were floating again [the men] held them. In the canoes.
ns 049

CHAPTER TEN

The Agreement Suffix

Throughout this thesis, much mention is made of the Agreement Suffix and its use in various constructions. It was stated in Chapter 9 that there are two transitive and intransitive affixial participant marking patterns for basic Lavukaleve clauses. That is, an intransitive clause may mark its subject participant with either a prefix or a suffix on the predicate, and a transitive clause may mark its subject and object participants on the predicate with either two prefixes, or a prefix and a suffix. In the latter case, subject and object may be marked by either prefix or suffix, as long as each argument is marked once and only once.

The Agreement Suffix is used as the marker of an argument of a predicate in certain grammatical environments. These environments are as follows: the Agreement Suffix is used on the final predicate of a relative clause to mark the head of the relative clause construction; it is used to mark a certain argument in focus constructions (the choice of argument is a matter of some importance, see below); and it is used to mark the sole argument of a stative or resultative intransitive predicate when not in a focus construction. The Agreement Suffix is also used on adjectives, to express agreement of the adjective with its head noun.

Rather than discussing the Agreement Suffix *per se*, in this chapter the kinds of constructions the Agreement Suffix occurs in are discussed. The functions of the Agreement Suffix are by no means pragmatically unconnected, and the aim here is to bring together all of these uses of the Agreement Suffix in one place, to show the pragmatic functions of this ubiquitous and important suffix in Lavukaleve morphology.

Firstly, the formal features of the Agreement Suffix will be examined. Then the

singular object **solo la** 'the mountain'. In the third example, there is no overt marking on the verb for the singular neuter object **fagi ga** 'the island'. However, by comparison with the other sentences, one could say there is a zero morpheme there (as the gloss indicates).

The second reason for positing a zero morpheme here is that when sentence-final focus markers such as those in the above sentences occur after a verb, the verb must appear with the Agreement Suffix. This is one of the rules of Lavukaleve (see Chapter 11, and the discussion below). If one says that there is no 3rd singular neuter Agreement Suffix, then one is forced to change the rule of the verb morphology in focus constructions to make an exception for 3rd singular neuter arguments. This is a descriptively unappealing analysis.

The third reason for positing a zero morpheme is that in Lavukaleve, it is obligatory for all transitive predicates to mark their objects. (This rule was first stated in Section 9.7). Objects may be marked cross-referenced with a prefix from the object prefix paradigm, or with the Agreement Suffix. If one said that 3rd singular neuter objects are not cross-referenced with the Agreement Suffix, then one would be forced to amend the rule that all transitive predicates obligatorily cross-reference their objects, to make an exception for 3rd singular neuter objects under circumstances where they would be expected to be marked by the Agreement Suffix (of course, in constructions involving object prefixes, they still are marked). This again is descriptively unappealing.

Of course, on some level, the 3rd singular neuter Agreement Suffix is just not there. But in terms of the description of the language, positing a zero in this position simplifies the analysis and allows more powerful generalisations of processes in Lavukaleve which probably do have some claim to linguistic reality. For this reason, the 3sgn Agreement Suffix is considered to be of the form $-\emptyset$.

Note, however, that it is only posited and glossed in example sentences in circumstances in which it is certain that another form of the Agreement Suffix would appear. That is, it is always posited (and glossed) when it is the object of a transitive predicate, or in a sentence-final focus construction; because the rules of Lavukaleve morpho-syntax mean that any other form of the Agreement Suffix would appear in those circumstances. But when a 3rd singular neuter argument is subject of a verb, it is not always certain if the Agreement Suffix would occur or not, because subject marking is, in many constructions, not obligatory. In such circumstances, the 3rd singular neuter Agreement Suffix is not posited and glossed in example sentences.

10.2 THE AGREEMENT SUFFIX IN RELATIVE CLAUSES

The Agreement Suffix is used obligatorily on the final predicate of a relative clause to cross-reference the head of a relative clause construction. Relative clause constructions (which are discussed in more detail in Section 16.3) in Lavukaleve are internally-

headed. That is, the head functions syntactically as part of the relative clause. The relative clause contains at least one verb, the final one of which is marked with the verbal Agreement Suffix, plus any full NPs associated with the verb, any adjuncts, and finally the definite article. Relative clauses can contain quite complex internal structures, involving subordinate clauses and clause chains for instance (see for example (6) below, which has a relative clause containing a clause chaining construction). The final verb in the relative clause receives the Agreement Suffix. The Agreement Suffix and the definite article agree in number and gender with the head. For example:

4) *(Then an island formed)*

Lafa	ona	falere	omea	la	ona.
lafa	o-	na	fale -re	o-	me -a
part(f)	3sgfO-	in	stand -NF	3sgS-	continue -sgf
				sgfArt	3sgfO-
					in

In the place where she was standing.

gm 042-043

5)

Mina	onal	suluverav	volugui	ga
mina	o-	nal	suluverav	vo-
thing(f)	3sgfO-	because	chieves(pl)	3plO-
				lugu -i
				think -NOMZR
				sgnArt

laura	man	sulum	na	atigiri	atigiri
laura	man	sulum	na	a-	tigiri a-
great	what(m)	chief(m)	sgmArt	3sgmO-	tell 3sgmO-
					tell

lomem	na	fin.
lo-	me -m	na
3sgS-	HAB -sgm	sgmArt
		3sgmFOC

Because it was important to respect the chiefs, and what the chiefs said.

jh 016

6) *(The giant saw the fish(m).)*

Aleire	olufum	na.
a-	lei -re	o-
3sgmO-	hang -NF	3sgS-
		leave -sgm
		sgmArt

The one that he had left hanging.

mn2 031

7)

ofeil	aham	hide	ola	ga
o-	feil	a-	ham	hide
3sgPOSS-	bow(n)	3sgmO-	for	thus
				3sgS-
				cut -sgn
				sgnArt

aka obo'reaol	le'laol	feol	lomare
aka o-	bo'rea -ol	le'laol	feol
then 3sgPOSS-	arrow -duf	two.f	3dufFOC
			3dufo-
			take -NF

lone	fi	vau	lome.
lo-	ne	fi	vau
3dufo-	with	3sgnFOC	go.out
			3sgS-
			lo-
			me
			HAB

...he took his bow that (his mother) had made for him and his two arrows and with them he went out.

co 037-038

Relative clauses are the only construction types in Lavukaleve in which a verb with the Agreement Suffix is followed immediately by the definite article. In all other construction types, if a verb is followed by the definite article, the verb must have been

nominalised, with the Nominaliser suffix (described in Section 13.1). Only in relative clauses can a non-nominalised verb be followed immediately by the definite article. Note that relative clauses are nominal modifiers; in this sense, the use of the Agreement Suffix on relative clauses exactly parallels its use on adjectives (see below), marking the agreement of the dependent constituent on which it appears with the head of that constituent.

Note also that in relative clauses and focus constructions, the Agreement Suffix on a predicate can index an argument in subject, object or postpositional object function. In all other construction types, the Agreement Suffix on predicates only indexes subjects or objects. In relative clauses, the Agreement Suffix always indexes the head, and as the head may be in the syntactic roles of subject, object or postpositional object, the Agreement Suffix in relative clauses may in fact index arguments in the syntactic role of object of postposition.

10.3 THE AGREEMENT SUFFIX IN FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS

The Agreement Suffix is used to cross-reference a particular argument of a focus construction. It is shown in Chapter 11 that there are two syntactic types of focus constructions in Lavukaleve, shown by different agreement patterns of the Agreement Suffix and focus markers. The Agreement Suffix and the focus marker always agree with the same entity, and thus always agree with each other. The two syntactic types of focus, named for the position of the focus marker in the construction, are Sentence-Internal focus constructions and Sentence-Final focus constructions. The former is the construction used to express argument focus; it is not of concern here, as it does not involve the Agreement Suffix.

Sentence-Final focus constructions with simple verbal or complex predicates do involve the Agreement Suffix. They consist of a sentence-final focus marker, in construction with a predicate marked with the Agreement Suffix, and they can be used to express either sentence focus or predicate focus. Which one of these two types of focus is intended is shown by the agreement of the Agreement Suffix and focus marker. The Agreement Suffix and focus marker agree with the object of a transitive clause to show predicate focus; and the subject of a transitive clause, and the subject of an intransitive clause to show sentence focus.

Predicate focus (Agreement Suffix and focus marker agree with object):

8)	"Eta!	Ngai	fe	hoigala		keleanun
	eta	ngai	fe	hoiga	-la	kelea -nun
	Wow!	1sg	even	MOD.MED.sgn	-EXT	walk -DUR
	<i>amam</i>			<i>fin</i>	<i>ke.</i>	
	a-	ma	-m	fin	ke	
	1sgS-	take	-sgm	3sgmFOC	EMPH	

"Well! I just went around there a bit and took it [the fish (m)]."

co 022

- 9) (
- I go up to pull the canoe out from the bush.*
-)

Malav	fiv		aveirev			hiv.
malav	fiv		a- vei -re	-v		hiv
people(pl)	3plFOC		1sgS- call -FUT	-pl		3plEFOC

I will call some people [to help me].

cp 029

Sentence focus (Agreement Suffix and focus marker agree with subject):

- 10)
- Aka siare ta hona malav mev**
-
- aka sia -re ta hona malav me -v
-
- then do -NF time(m) MOD.PROX.sgm people(pl) SPEC -pl

maku		evea		mev	fiv¹
ma-	kua	e-	vea	me	-v fiv
3plPOSS-	tribe(n)	3sgnO-	know	HAB	-pl 3plFOC

maval		evea		mev	fiv.
ma-	vala	e-	vea	me -v	fiv
3plPOSS-	clan(n)	3sgnO-	know	HAB -pl	3plFOC

That's why these people of today know their clan and tribe.

jh 043

- 11)
- Tasi ga otinau fi ofoina**
-
- tasi ga o- tinau fi o- foi -na
-
- sea(n) sgnArt 3sgPOSS- body(n) 3sgnFOC 3sgS- hold -DUR

efoum		hin
e-	fou -m	hin
3sgnO-	make -sgm	3sgmEFOC

The sea is his and he made it.

pr 028

- 12)
- alailav fiv.**
-
- a- lai -la -v fiv
-
- 3sgmO- tell -NEG -pl 3plFOC

...they didn't tell him

jn2 054

The morpho-syntactic distinction between Predicate Focus and Sentence Focus cannot be expressed in intransitive clauses; the Agreement Suffix and focus marker agree with the subject in both cases, thus Sentence focus is expressed:

- 13)
- Taataul vona malav mev fiv vov hiv.**
-
- taataul vo- na malav me -v fiv vo -v hiv
-
- different.islands(pl) 3plO- in people(pl) SPEC-pl 3plFOC come -pl 3plEFOC

They were people from all different islands who came.

jt2 003

In negative clauses (for example (12) above), the Agreement Suffix is used to cross-reference the subject (S/A) of the negated verb. That is, negative clauses obligatorily

¹ The predicate here is a complex predicate consisting of a verb plus the Habitual Auxiliary. Participant marking is shared between the elements of the predicate, with the auxiliary taking the Agreement Suffix. This kind of predicate is discussed in Section 14.3.

It seems, then, that these sentences are focus constructions without the focus marker. Constructions involving the Agreement Suffix on the verb, without any grammatical environment to account for it, can be seen themselves as the equivalent of focus constructions proper, at least in casual speech.

10.3.1 OMISSION OF THE AGREEMENT SUFFIX IN SENTENCE-FINAL FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS

While the Agreement Suffix is an integral part of Sentence-Final focus constructions, it occasionally happens that in an otherwise normal Sentence-Final focus construction the Agreement Suffix is omitted. This only occurs with the plural Agreement Suffix, and only in casual speech. For example:

- 18) **Aka mataliovil va ta hatafare lo hiv.**
 aka ma- talio -vil va ta hatafa -re lo hiv
 then 3plPOSS- cable -PL plArt just snap -NF finish 3plEFOC
Then their ropes snapped. sv 027

- 19) **Foiga sevokal enga ama hiv.**
 foiga sevo -kal enga a- ma hiv
 PN.MED.sgn vow -PL three 1sgS- take 3plEFOC
Those were the three vows I took. am 047

- 20) **Aka homelav vutiv koi fo'foira hori**
 aka homela -v vuti -v koi fo'foira ho -ri
 then woman -pl be.many -pl also work(f) MOD.PROX.sgf -PSNV
ona hau hoila fiv.
 o- na hau hoi -la fiv
 3sgFO- in go.ashore go.in -NEG 3plFOC
So lots of women, too, they don't join this work. emk 016

The fact that this only happens with the plural Agreement Suffix may suggest that it could be a phonologically-determined phenomenon, but there are no other examples in the language of word-final /v/ being omitted.

Native speakers produce these sentences, but they correct them if I produce them, and when transcribing such sentences produced by other native speakers they often accept them only reluctantly, preferring to restore the Agreement Suffix on the verb. Note that the absence of the Agreement Suffix on transitive predicate focus sentences leads to the anomalous situation that the verb is not cross-referenced for its object, which all transitive verbs in Lavukaleve must be.

10.4 THE AGREEMENT SUFFIX WITH ADJECTIVES

The Agreement Suffix occurs obligatorily on all regular adjectives in an NP to agree in

number and gender with the head noun of the NP. For example:

- 21) **Hano. Foe na alolege ta hano**
 hano foe na a- lo- le -ge ta hano
 then pig(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- 3duS- see -ANT but then
- mitakeumal nurav va hano*
 mitakeu -mal nura -v va hano
 dog -pl wild -pl plArt then
- aure tutuk ga malori.**
 a- u -re tutuku ga ma- lo -ri -ø
 3sgmO- eat -NF middle.of.body(n) sgmArt 3plS- finish -CAUS -sgn
- okay. They saw the pig, but the wild dogs had eaten the torso.* hrl 030
- 22) **Homelav vutiv fiv**
 homela -v vuti -v fiv
 woman -pl be.many -pl 3plFOC
- kavuv iloilov vona hau hoi mev.*
 kavu -v iloilo -v vo- na hau hoi me -v
 group -pl different -pl 3plO- in go.ashore go.in HAB -pl
- They are many women, who join the different groups.* emk 008
- 23) **man ho'beam na, foina sulum na,**
 man ho'bea -m na foina sulum na
 what(m) good -sgm sgmArt PN.MED.sgm chief(m) sgmArt
- ...whatever was good, that one [was for] the chief.* ch 007

Note that the plural suffix on the nouns in example (22) is not the Agreement Suffix; it is one of many suffixes used to create plural noun forms. See Section 5.6.2 for a discussion of plural suffixes in nouns. The segment /v/ is pervasive as a marker of plurality throughout the language.

If there is more than one adjective in an NP, each one has its own Agreement Suffix. That is, the Agreement Suffix is the property of an individual adjective, rather than a whole modifier phrase:

- 24) **Ali rua folufolum keaki mem roa alem fin.**
 ali rua folufolu -m keaki me -m roa a- le -m fin
 man(m) big.sgm fat -sgm hungry SPEC -sgm one.sgm 1sgS- see -sgm 3sgmFOC
- I saw a big fat hungry man.* e1 023e

In the above example, there are three adjectives in one NP. The first adjective in the sequence, **rua** 'big', is an irregular adjective with its own inflectional paradigm, so it does not take the Agreement Suffix (see Section 3.3). But the second adjective, **folufolum** 'fat', has the Agreement Suffix, as does the third. The expression of 'hungry' is actually formed by a complex phrase involving **keaki**, plus Specifier adjective **mea** (see Section 4.1.2), which carries the Agreement Suffix.

10.5 THE AGREEMENT SUFFIX WITH STATIVE /RESULTATIVE CLAUSES

The Agreement Suffix is used on independent intransitive predicates to cross-reference the subject in a stative or resultative clause. Subjects of intransitive predicates in independent active clauses (where 'active' means non-stative/resultative) are cross-referenced by subject prefixes from the verbal subject prefix paradigm.

The Agreement Suffix is used on all types of predicates in focus constructions; in such cases, the presence of the Agreement Suffix can be accounted for by the presence of the focus marker. The following section concerns the use of the Agreement Suffix on independent intransitive predicates which are not in focus constructions.

The terms 'state' and 'event' are used as *a priori* notions here. The terms 'stative' refers to something which is conceptualised as a state. The term 'resultative' refers to something which is conceptualised as an event which leads to a state: in Nedjalkov's (1988: 6) terms, "the resultative expresses both a state and the preceding action it has resulted from". In describing this use of the Agreement Suffix, I use these two terms because they are common in linguistics, but in Lavukaleve there is no justification for separating the two functions. They are treated as one phenomenon. Lavukaleve grammatically encodes stativeness, and does not take into account whether or not the state implies a previous event.

To begin with, consider the following examples of the Agreement Suffix marking the subjects of stative (examples (25), (26) and (27)) and resultative (examples (28), (29) and (30)) intransitive predicates:

- 25) **Inu ngobuk tavem.**
 inu ngo- buku tave -m
 2sg 2sg- conch(m) be.not -sgm
It's not your conch. v1 013
- 26) **Lalasilir o neano ta vutiv hiv.**
 lalasilir o neano ta vuti -v hiv
 cruelty and ill-treatment just be.many -pl 3plEFOC
Cruelty and ill-treatment abound. jh 033
- 27) **Asure avalanun feiriav.**
 a- su -re a- vala -nun feiria -v
 3sgmO- tie -NF 3sgmO- pull -DUR be.tired -pl
They tied it and pulled it and pulled it [until they were] tired. sv 008

- 28) **Vaurire,** **ngoane** **ngo** **voemege,** **sulum**
 vau -ri -re ngoa -ne ngoa vo- e- me -ge sulum
 go.out -CAUS -NF stay -IMPF stay 3p(O)- SBD- HAB -ANT chief(m)

na **kini** **vau** **laveam.**
 na kini vau lavea -m
 sgmArt ACT go.out appear -sgm

Going out, they waited, then the chief arrived.

jn 010

- 29) **kui** **na** **foam.**
 kui na foa -m
 sun(m) sgmArt go.down -sgm

...the sun has gone down.

mn4 007

- 30) **Taragau** **na** **rikairikai** **aelakoge** **ta**
 taragau na Dup- rikai a- e- lako -ge ta
 sea.eagle(m) sgmArt REDUP- quickly 3sgmO- SBD- cry -ANT just

ovo'vou **na** **vau** **houla** **ro** **ogean** **hano**
 o- vo'vou na vau houla ro o- ge -n hano
 3sgPOSS- boy(m) sgmArt go.out tree(f) one.sgf 3sgPOSS- bottom -LOC then

ngium.
 ngiu -m
 hide -sgm

The sea eagle is crying without stopping, and the boy goes out and is hiding in the bottom of the tree.

gm 106

The terms stative and resultative refer to a property of a contextualised clause, not of an individual lexical item. Thus, most predicates can appear in either stative/resultative or active configurations.

In the following two pairs, compare the use of the Agreement Suffix to mark the subject, with the use of the verbal subject prefixes:

- 31) **Hano** **melei** **tuaol** **la** **kiuaol.**
 hano me- lei tu -aol la kiu -aol
 then lduin- exist spouse -du.f dufArt die -du.f

Your two wives are dead.

ja 477

- 32) **Honariom** **ana** **koi** **ngakalem** **okiu.**
 hona -ri -om a- na koi nga- kalem o- kiu
 MOD.PROX.sgm -PSNV -m/n 3sgmO- in also 1sgPOSS- father(m) 3sgS- die

In this year, also, my father died.

am 009

In (31), **kiu** 'die' is used with the Agreement Suffix to refer to a state which the two wives are in. In (32), it is looking at the event as one of the things that happened in the year rather than looking at the state that the father was in.

- 33) **Vulanun ta aka tulakom na hano lifare eraum.**
 vula -nun ta aka tulakom na hano lifa -re erau -m
 come -DUR just then small.one sgmArt then stumble -NF fall/jump -sgm
Coming, the small one then stumbled and fell. mt 064

- 34) **gaikoko na ana aige oke foare, aerau.**
 gaikoko na a- na aige o- ke foa -re a- erau
 canoe(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- in anchor(f) 3sgfO- drop go.down -NF 1sgS- fall/jump
...I drop the anchor from the canoe. I jump out. di 008

In (33), **erau** emphasises a state resulting from the previous action of stumbling; the boy stumbled then was fallen. In (34) **erau** refers to jumping out as one in a series of actions.

Almost all intransitive predicates can occur in either stative/resultative or active contexts. For most events it is usually possible to think of a stative, or more particularly resultative, reading under which they could be conceptualised. For some events, it is difficult to think of them in an active context, for example **tave** 'be not' or **raravu** 'be red'. However most intransitive predicates in Lavukaleve typically occur in one configuration, but can also occur in the other.

Most uses (about two thirds) of the Agreement Suffix on intransitive predicates are stative; the rest are resultative. Selection of stative or resultative meaning depends largely on the semantics of the predicate type. In particular, motion predicates with the Agreement Suffix have a resultative rather than stative meaning, as do predicates expressing meteorological phenomena. For example, consider the following motion predicates with the Agreement Suffix. When motion predicates are used with the Agreement Suffix they refer to the attainment of a location:

- 35) **Mina otua onam fele voham**
 mina o- tua na o- nam fele vo- ham
 um 3sgPOSS- wife(f) 3sgfO- to return 3plO- for
ona'nug na huluim.
 o- na'nug na hului -m
 3sgPOSS- thought(m) sgmArt go.round -sgm
His thoughts had changed, to come back to his wife. [i.e. he had changed his mind and decided to return to his wife] gm 073

- 36) **laketei koisove ini ini hau hoi.**
 laketei koisove -ø ini ini hau hoi -ø
 life(n) young -sgn ACT ACT go.ashore go.in -sgn
At this time, here, a new life has come in jh 023-024

- 37) **Fo'sal na ngomam na ane**
fo'sal na ngo- ma -m na a- ne
fish(m) sgmArt 2sg- take-sgm sgmArt 3sgmO- with
- kikiuala vaum.**
Dup- kiu -a -la vau -m
REDUP-die -INTR -EXT go.out -sgm
- He fought with the fish you took, he's gone out.* mn2 044
- 38) **Lea na ana rolon ka hano hurum.**
lea na a- na rolo -n ka hano huru -m
cave(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- in go.inside -LOC LOCEMPH then go.inside -sgm
- He was right inside the cave.* mn3 027
- 39) **Ngai nageare kium nganu ga hano ngamemela**
ngai nagea -re kiu -m nga- nu ga hano nga- memela
1sg fear -NF die -sgm 1sgPOSS- hair(n) sgmArt then 1sgPOSS- body.hair(f)
- soua ke.**
sou -a ke
rise -sgf EMPH
- I was scared to death, and my hair, and the hairs on my body were standing on end.* w2 022
- The Agreement Suffix is very often used with intransitive predicates referring to meteorological phenomena. These are typically resultative uses, referring to the state resulting from an action/event:
- 40) **Ngoa loemege hano koro ga fau.**
ngoa lo- e- me -ge hano koro ga fau -ø
stay 3sgfO- SBD-HAB -ANT then darkness(n) sgmArt happen -sgn
- She stays on, and darkness comes.* jn2 013
- 41) **Aka ta ana el lefelem na le ga**
aka ta a- na el le- fele -m na le ga
then time(m) 3sgmO- in 1duex 1duex- return -sgm sgmArt day(n) sgmArt
- airia ke.**
airia -ø ke
open -sgn EMPH
- Then when we came back, dawn came.* mt 046
- 42) **Ini kui na aere kini gatan siam.**
ini kui na ae -re kini gata -n sia -m
ACT sun(m) sgmArt go.up -NF ACT top.of.head -LOC do -sgm
- The sun went up; it reached overhead.* kg2 020

There is one verb **lako** 'cry, make characteristic sound', which sometimes appears with the Agreement Suffix. In some of these cases a stative/resultative reading is not obvious:

- 43) **Afu** **lemege** **ta nau** **na** **otara**
 a- fu le- me -ge ta nau na o- tara
 3sgmO- sing 1plex- HAB -ANT just earthquake(m) sgmArt 3sgPOSS- rumble(f)

la **lako** **ke.**
 la lako -a ke
 sgfArt cry -sgf EMPH

We were singing when the earthquake rumbled.

ns 012

- 44) (*Inside there he slept, washed, cooked and ate his food, then waited for the time.*)

Le'laol **lakoal** **koi.**
 le'laol lako -aol koi
 two.f cry -du.f also

Two (o'clock) sounded again.

Felere **mavoe** **bagatumanl** **va.**
 fele -re ma- vo -e bagatum -aul va
 return -NF 3plPOSS- come -PSV male.giant -pl plArt

The giants came back.

mn3 050

- 45) **Lai voemege** **lai voemege** **lai**
 lai vo- e- me -ge lai vo- e- me -ge lai
 paddle 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT paddle 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT paddle

voemege **killimar** **na lakom.**
 vo- e- me -ge killimar na lako -m
 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT flock.of.white.seagulls(m) sgmArt cry -sgm

They paddled and paddled and paddled, then the flock of seagulls cried.

"E! Laiba! **Ukeare** **lore** **fi** **melei".**
 e lai -ba ukea -re lo -re fi me- lei
 hey! paddle -DURIMP.pl come.close -NF finish -NF 3sgnFOC 1pl.in-exist

"Hey! Paddle! We're close now!"

jn 021-022

While a stative/resultative meaning is not obvious in such examples, it is quite possible that this is the kind of meaning the speaker was intending. If 'crying out' is conceptualised as a bodily state in the same way that 'being seated' is, then a stative/resultative reading for these examples follows easily.

The fact that this verb **lako** 'cry' is the only one with which stative/resultative meanings are not clear could be something to do with the meaning of the verb itself. Significantly however, this is the only intransitive verb with which a stative/resultative meaning is not obvious when it is used with the Agreement Suffix. All other cases are far more clearly semantically driven.

The semantics of Lavukaleve's system of participant marking of intransitive predicates are similar to the semantics of active/agentive participant marking systems described by Mithun (1991). In Guaraní, Lakhota, Central Pomo, Caddo and Mohawk the subjects of intransitive verbs are marked either in the same way as transitive subjects or in the same

way as transitive objects, depending on the semantics of the verb; Mithun analyses these as an active/agentive alignment system. However even though semantically the use of the prefix versus the Agreement Suffix in Lavukaleve's independent non-focus intransitive predicates is similar to the active/agentive participant marking systems described by Mithun, formally the system in Lavukaleve is not an alignment system; it is not the case that there are two kinds of intransitive subjects, one marked like objects, one marked like transitive subjects, as in Mithun's languages. Rather, there are two participant marking systems available: one uses the same system as used by transitive verbs; one uses the system used in focus marking, in marking the heads of relative clauses, and in marking adjectives to agree with their head nouns. The choice between the systems in intransitive predicates is based on a semantic distinction between stative/resultative and active clauses.

10.6 CONCLUSIONS

The Agreement Suffix is an important part of relative clause constructions, focus constructions, adjectives and stative/resultative clauses. There is a semantic or pragmatic connection between these uses.

Schachter (1973) suggests that there is a semantic link between focus constructions and relative clauses, involving foregrounding:

...just as the focus construction reflects the assignment of special communicative prominence to one part of an underlying sentence, so, I would suggest, does the relative construction. In the case of the focus construction, greater prominence is assigned to that part of the underlying sentence which is identified as relatively new information in the resultant construction, i.e. the focused constituent. In the case of the relative construction, greater prominence is assigned to that part of the underlying sentence which determines the function of the resultant construction, i.e. the head noun. While the basis for the foregrounding is quite different in the two cases, the foregrounding itself – the divisions of a sentence into a more prominent part and a less prominent part – is essentially the same. (Schachter 1973: 44)

This approach shows a possible functional account of the use of the Agreement Suffix in both relative clauses and focus constructions in Lavukaleve. There is also a common functional link between relative clauses and adjectives in that both relative clauses and adjectives function to modify nouns (Schachter also makes this link overt (1973: 42-43)).

Further, the use of the Agreement Suffix on relative clauses and adjectives can be related to its use on stative/resultative predicates. This relationship does not lie in the concept of foregrounding; in fact Hopper and Thompson (1980, especially p. 285) show that stative clauses tend to be backgrounded, not foregrounded. Rather, the relationship lies more in the functional and in some cases formal overlap between adjectives and

stative verbs in Lavukaleve, as indeed in many languages (see Section 3.3).

It is important to note that, as far as the rest of Lavukaleve morpho-syntax is concerned, the Agreement Suffix is completely different in its nature from the verbal subject and object prefixes, which also occur on predicates to mark participants. The Agreement Suffix is used in pragmatically constrained environments. It never indicates the syntactic function of the argument with which it agrees, although other features of the construction in which it occurs may mean that one can tell what the syntactic function of the argument it agrees with is. It does not indicate focus alone, but, with a focus marker, it indicates particular kinds of focus, depending on its agreement.

*Language is the most massive
and inclusive art we know,
a mountainous and anonymous
work of unconscious generations*
Edward Sapir *Language*

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Focus constructions

11.1 INTRODUCTION

There are three focus markers in Lavukaleve, functioning in a grammaticalised focus system, which is a very prominent part of the language. Syntactically the focus markers are independent words which occur in construction with the constituent immediately to their left. This is often an NP, but can also be an adjunct, a dependent clause, a predicate and its object or an entire sentence.

There are two constructions in which the focus markers take part: a Sentence-Final focus construction, in which the focus marker is in construction with a predicate plus its object or a sentence, and appears at the end of the sentence; and a Sentence-Internal focus construction, in which the focus marker is in construction with a non-predicating constituent, and appears sentence-internally. The focus marker expresses focus on the constituent with which it is in construction. So Sentence-Final focus markers express focus on either a sentence or a predicate plus its object; and Sentence-Internal focus markers express focus on an argument, an adjunct, a non-main verb, and the first part of a complex predicate. Constructions involving focus markers are extremely common in Lavukaleve; focus markers occur in approximately 35% of all sentences in the corpus.

This chapter describes the morphological and syntactic features of the focus markers, the syntactic constructions which they occur in, and the pragmatic functions of these constructions. Section 11.2 describes the forms and syntax of the focus markers themselves. The major part of the chapter (Section 11.3) describes the constructions in which the focus markers occur. Section 11.3.2 describes in detail Sentence-Final focus constructions. Section 11.3.3 describes Sentence-Internal focus constructions. Section 11.6 brings up some important issues. Section 11.5 discusses those situations in which

there is more than one focus marker in one sentence. Section 11.6.1 describes those situations in which more than one focus marker occurs within one sentence. Section 11.6.2 shows that the focus markers are not copulas, although they share certain functions which copulas have in some languages. Section 11.6.4 notes the functional similarity between Lavukaleve focus constructions and English accent prosody. While the beginning of Section 11.2 gives a brief outline of the difference between each of the three focus markers, Section 11.7 describes each of them in detail. Section 11.8 is a brief summary of the main features of the focus system in Lavukaleve.

Throughout this chapter I use the term 'construction' in the sense of the correspondence between a morpho-syntactic structure and its pragmatic/semantic functions. So 'focus constructions' are those constructions which have a particular morpho-syntactic structure, and express a particular pragmatic meaning.

11.2 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF THE FOCUS MARKERS

The focus markers are independent words which form their own word class. The three focus markers each form a paradigm of suppletive forms marked for person, gender and number. The three different focus markers are **meo**, **heo** and **feo** (cited throughout in their 3rd person singular feminine form). Each one is used for a different sentence type. **Meo** is used in polar questions. **Heo** is used in certain syntactic environments such as information questions, or where there is a demonstrative pronoun **foia** in the clause, or as the second focus marker in a focus-echo construction. **Heo** can also be used to express strong emphasis; this use of **heo** rather than **feo** or **meo** is not obligatory (unlike the others), but a pragmatic choice made by a speaker for a certain effect. The third focus marker, **feo**, is the unmarked one; it has the widest distribution and the least constraints on its use. It is used in all situations where grammatical focus is to be expressed, apart from those using **heo** or **meo**. In this sense, **feo** can be viewed as the default focus marker.

11.2.1 PARADIGMS OF THE FOCUS MARKERS

These three paradigms are identical but for the initial consonant:

The **feo** focus marker:

	SG	DU	PL
1 EXCL	fongai	foel	foe
1 INCL		fomel	fome
2	finu	fimil	fimi
3 MASC	fin	final(a)	fiv
3 FEM	feo	feol	
3 NEUT	fi	figel	

The **heo** focus marker:

	SG	DU	PL
1 EXCL	hongai	hoel	hoe
1 INCL		homel	home
2	hinu	himil	himi
3 MASC	hin	hinal(a)	hiv
3 FEM	heo	heol	
3 NEUT	hi	higel	

The **meo** focus marker:

	SG	DU	PL
1 EXCL	mongai	moel	moe
1 INCL		momel	mome
2	minu	mimil	mimi
3 MASC	min	minal(a)	miv
3 FEM	meo	meol	
3 NEUT	mi	migel	

The forms given with final **-a** in brackets alternate freely with the variants without a final **-a**.

The first and second person forms of these paradigms show close formal similarity with the free pronouns, consisting of C(o) plus the pronoun form. There is also a slightly less strong formal relationship with the demonstratives. See Sections 8.4.1, 8.5 and 8.7.1 for the paradigms. Note also that, as well as having a formal relationship with demonstratives, the focus markers have a certain functional overlap with them in some contexts; this is discussed in Section 11.4.2.

11.2.2 SYNTACTIC STATUS

The focus markers occur following and in construction with predicates plus their objects, sentences, and non-predicating constituents. In the first example below, a focus marker is in construction with the second NP of a non-verbal clause, in the second with a temporal adjunct, in the third with a non-main verb (in this case a coordinate-dependent verb in a clause chain) and in the fourth with an intransitive predicate. Throughout this chapter the focussed constituents are italicised in the Lavukaleve; and in the English translation the focussed element is in bold; the rest of this chapter justifies the claims implicit in this.

- 1) **U i** **ga** *solokal* *enga* *fiv*.
 ui ga solo -kal enga fiv
 food(n) sgnArt mountain -pl three 3plFOC

There were three heaps of food. [lit. the food was three heaps]

mt 034

11 - FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS

- 2) "E! Kaikal! Inu kusukui ne ra lale mem?"
 e kaikal inu kusukui ne ra la- le me -m
 hey! cockatoo(m) 2sg rat(m) with coconut.crab(m) 3dumO- see HAB -sgm
 "Kosora fi love."
 kosora fi lo- ve
 recently 3sgnFOC 3duS- go
 "Hey, cockatoo! Have you seen a rat with a crab?" "They left a minute ago." mn4 083-084
- 3) Airal nala neuriare fi love.
 airal nala neuria -re fi lo- ve
 men.du(m) mduArt argue -NF 3sgnFOC 3duS- go
 Two men argued then went. e3 031e
- 4) Aka Mofe ne Okali honala ta hoka
 aka Mofe ne Okali honala ta hoka
 then Mofe(m)with Okali(m) MOD.PROX.dum just here.PROX
 ngoamal finala Losiolen.
 ngoa -mal finala Losiole -n
 stay -du.m 3dumFOC Losiole -LOC
 So these two Mofe and Okali stayed here in Losiolen. e3 018b

11.2.3 WHAT DO THE FOCUS MARKERS AGREE WITH?

If the focus marker is in construction with (and, therefore, expresses focus on) a sentence, it agrees with one of the core arguments in that sentence; determination of which argument, if there is more than one, depends on factors to be explained at length below. If it is in construction with a simple verb or complex predicate plus object in transitive sentences) it agrees with the object in transitive sentences. If it is in construction with an argument, it agrees with that argument in person, gender and number. If it is in construction with an adjunct, a particle, a non-main verb or the first part of a complex predicate, it shows default agreement; that is, it appears in its 3sg neuter form. Examples of some of these agreement patterns follow:

Intransitive verbal clause (agreement with sole argument):

- 5) "Hm. Ra inu luluilam finu ke!" ore.
 hm ra inu lului -la -m finu ke o- re
 hm coconut.crab(m) 2sg wipe.bum-NEG -sgm 2sgFOC EMPH 3sgS- say
 "Hmm, Crab, you didn't wipe your bum!" he said. mn4 058

Transitive sentence, agreement with object:

- 6) Mina loveneria feo koi.
 mina lo- veneri -a feo koi
 thing(f) 3duS- ask.for -sgf 3sgfFOC also
 The two (boys) asked for something. ja 451

Transitive sentence, agreement with subject:

- 7) **Foina** **kini** **alem** **hin** **Kusuvau**¹.
foina kini a- le -m hin Kusuvau
PN.MED.sgm ACT 3sgmO- see -sgm 3sgmEFOC island.name

He had gone and seen him at Kusuvau.

jt2 051

Non-verbal clause, agreement with subject:

- 8) **Ngai** **teacher** **fongai**.
ngai teacher fongai
1sg teacher 1sgFOC

I'm a teacher.

e3 024f

Non-verbal clause, agreement with complement:

- 9) **Foina** **olang** **hi**.
foina o- langi hi
PN.MED.sgm 3sgPOSS- name(n) 3sgnEFOC

That was its name.

rk2 036

Note that when the focus marker is agreeing with a first or second person pronoun, the speaker has a choice of whether the focus marker should agree in person and number, or just gender and number, with that pronoun. That is, a speaker can use either the corresponding first or second person focus marker, or they can use a third person focus marker, to agree with a first or second person pronoun. For example:

- 10) **Ngai** **feo**.
ngai feo
1sg 3sgfFOC

It's me (f).

- 11) **Ngai** **fongai**.
ngai fongai
1sg 1sgFOC

It's me [i.e. I'm me]

So speakers can say **ngai fongai** as in example (11), but there is a tendency to prefer not to use personal pronoun-focus marker sequences. Thus, speakers tend to prefer **ngai feo** rather than **ngai fongai**. Similarly, speakers prefer **inu feo** (2sg 3sgfFOC) over **inu finu** (2sg 2sgFOC). There is certainly no syntactic constraint on any of these combinations. The choice of using a focus marker to agree with a first or second person pronoun in person and number rather than number and gender does not have any implications for the focus system to be described. Focus relations are unchanged.

The next section discusses the syntactic constructions in which the focus markers appear,

¹ Both subject and object are 3rd person masculine singular, but the fact that the verb prefix is an object prefix means that the verb suffix and focus marker are in agreement with the other argument, the subject.

and shows that the different constructions in which the focus markers occur, and the agreement patterns which they display, correlate with different types of focus.

11.3 THE TWO TYPES OF FOCUS CONSTRUCTION

11.3.1 INTRODUCTION

There are two syntactic construction types in which a focus marker can occur: Sentence-Final and Sentence-Internal focus constructions. Both construction types are a vehicle by which a speaker can mark a particular proposition as being focussed in a particular way. The discussion that follows has as its theoretical basis Lambrecht's (1994) theory of information structure (see also Lambrecht 1987, Lambrecht and Michaelis 1998 among others), as a useful and revealing way to understand the forms and functions of those constructions involving focus markers in Lavukaleve.

I employ Lambrecht's definition of focus as a starting point towards understanding what focus means in Lavukaleve, but exactly what pragmatic situations focus constructions are used for should become clear through the data itself. Even without an a priori definition of what focus is, it is clear that there is an overt focus marking system in Lavukaleve. The particular pragmatic functions expressed by this system emerge from the analysis of the various constructions involved. Saeed (1984: 19) makes a similar observation for Somali, another language with a grammatical focus system.

Lambrecht's idea of focus is a refinement of the traditional view of focus as new information. Under his analysis, focus does not function to mark a constituent as new: for one thing, it is not constituents alone that convey new information, but rather, the conveying of information (old or new) comes about via the establishment of relations between elements of the proposition (1994: 46-50). Indeed, focus functions "not to mark a constituent as new but to signal a focus relation between an element of a proposition and the proposition as a whole" (p. 210). (Note that "a focus relation is the pragmatic relation between a denotatum and a proposition" (p. 210)). And further,

I do not define the focus of a sentence as 'the new information' ... Rather I claim that the focus is to be understood as a formal *scope indicator*, i.e. as a grammatical signal indicating the scope of the assertion expressed by a sentence or proposition. The focus indicates which portions of the sentence are asserted and which portions are pragmatically presupposed. (1987: 374)

Further, the focus of a sentence

is seen as the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion DIFFER from each other. The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the UNPREDICTABLE or pragmatically NON-

RECOVERABLE element in an utterance. The focus is what makes an utterance into an assertion". (p. 207, his emphasis)²

Focus occurs over a domain: "[t]he syntactic domain in a sentence which expresses the focus component of the pragmatically structured proposition" (p. 214). This focus domain is phrasal, not lexical, because it is the relationship between propositions, not the mere appearance of lexical items, which serves to convey focus. Thus, focus domains are always either predicates, arguments, or whole sentences.

Accordingly, there are for Lambrecht three types of focus: predicate focus, argument focus and sentence focus. Predicate focus is "the unmarked subject - predicate (topic-comment) sentence type ... in which the predicate is the focus and in which the subject (plus any other topical elements) is in the presupposition" (p. 222). Argument focus is where the "focus identifies the missing argument in a presupposed open proposition" (p. 222). ('Argument' includes any non-predicating expression, including adjuncts.) This is focus of the 'identification type' of the traditional literature. Sentence focus is where "the focus extends over both the subject and the predicate (minus any topical non-subject elements)". This is equivalent to the 'event-reporting' or 'presentational type' of focus in the literature (p. 222).

If one prefers a more semantic definition of focus which works well for the kinds of pragmatic functions that focus constructions are used for in Lavukaleve, Dik's (1989: 277) definition is useful. For Dik, focal information is "that information which is relatively the most important or salient in the given communication setting, and considered by [the speaker] to be most essential for [the addressee] to incorporate into his pragmatic

² Lambrecht's ideas on focus are not uncontroversial. Dryer (1996) argues that Lambrecht's definition of focus is flawed because, among other things, the definition relies on a notion of pragmatic presupposition which does not distinguish between two possible types of pragmatic presupposition: that involving shared beliefs between speaker and hearer, and that involving shared mental representations by speaker and hearer. Dryer argues convincingly that these must be distinguished. Also, Lambrecht's definition says that the presupposition part of a proposition is non-focal. Dryer's main intention is to show that, contrary to wide belief, non-focus is not the same thing as presupposition.

In a later paper, Lambrecht and Michaelis (1998) distinguish between three types of pragmatic presupposition: knowledge presupposition, consciousness presupposition and topicality presupposition, which "correspond to different kinds of assumptions a speaker may have concerning the addressee's state of mind at the time of an utterance" (1998: 494). Nevertheless the definition of focus used in this later paper retains the ambiguity discussed by Dryer. However a minor adjustment to Lambrecht's definition, replacing 'presupposition' with 'activation', would, I think, solve Dryer's problem with the definition.

In any case, for the purposes of the current discussion, it does not actually matter that Lambrecht's definition of focus is theoretically flawed in this respect. My central argument is that Lavukaleve has overt morpho-syntactic expression of different types of focus; it has three different focus constructions, and these three constructions correspond closely to Lambrecht's three focus types. In Lavukaleve, what is and what is not in focus is clearly marked by the focus construction type used.

information". This definition is criticised for its vagueness by Dryer (1996: 518), but it still gives a useful idea of what focus means for Lavukaleve.

It is important to point out that focus is not always contrastive; contrast is just one of the attributes that renders an element particularly noteworthy and thus likely to be focussed. Lambrecht denies the existence of contrastive focus as a grammatically identifiable subcategory of focus, and indeed in Lavukaleve it is not a separately grammatically marked type of focus; however, one of the functions of focus in Lavukaleve is to express contrast.

Lambrecht's three-way analysis works very neatly for Lavukaleve. The two focus construction types, Sentence-Final and Sentence-Internal focus constructions, differ syntactically in what constituents they are in construction with and what agreement they show; and they differ pragmatically in what type of focus they express. Sentence-Internal focus constructions are used to express argument focus; Sentence-Final focus constructions are used to express either predicate³ focus or sentence focus. Focus markers are used in Lavukaleve precisely to show, by means of their agreement, the scope over which focus is asserted.

As an initial illustration, consider the following examples. Example (12) shows no grammatically marked focus (see Section 11.6.1). The two examples after this show the Sentence-Internal focus construction. Both express focus on a particular argument: the object in (13) and the subject in (14). In these two examples, there are actually two focus markers; the second functions as an echo of the first. For the moment, the second of each should be ignored, it is immaterial to the present discussion (see Section 11.5.1 for an explanation of them).

(no grammatically marked focus)

12)	Ali	na	aira	la	oole		
	ali	na	aira	la	o-	o-	le
	man(m)	sgmArt	woman(f)	sgfArt	3sgFO-	3sgS-	see

The man saw the woman.

³ Lambrecht's term 'predicate focus' gives rise to an unfortunate terminological confusion. In his term 'predicate focus', 'predicate' refers to a verb plus its object. Elsewhere in this thesis, the term 'predicate' refers to a simple verb or a complex constituent functioning as a verb. It does not include the verb's object. I want to retain Lambrecht's term, for transparency, but to avoid confusion, I will always say what kind of predicate I am referring to when I use the term. In the phrase 'predicate focus', 'predicate' always refers to Lambrecht's sense, of verb plus object. Otherwise, I will always specify which sense I mean the term in.

(argument focus: answers 'What did the woman eat?')

13)	[Aira	la] _{SUBJ}	[fo'sal	fin] _{OBJ}	oum		hin.
	aira	la	fo'sal	fin	o-	u	-m hin
	woman(f)	sgfArt	fish(m)	3sgmFOC	3sgS-	eat	-sgm 3sgmEFOC

The woman ate a fish.

e3 021c/1

(argument focus: answers 'Who ate the fish?')

14)	[Aira	la	feo] _{SUBJ}	[fo'sal	na] _{OBJ}	aua		heo.
	aira	la	feo	fo'sal	na	a-	u -a heo	
	woman(f)	sgfArt	3sgfFOC	fish(m)	sgmArt	3sgmO-	eat -sgf 3sgfEFOC	

The woman ate the fish⁴.

e3 021d

Examples (15) and (16) show the Sentence-Final focus construction. Example (15) has the focus marker agreeing with the object argument, and expresses focus on the predicate (the verb plus object). Example (16) has the focus marker agreeing with the subject argument, and expresses focus on the whole sentence.

(predicate focus: answers 'What did the man do?')

15)	[Ali	na] _{SUBJ}	[[aira	la] _{OBJ}	olea		feo.] _{PRED}
	ali	na	aira	la	o-	le -a	feo
	man(m)	sgmArt	woman(f)	sgfArt	3sgS-	see -sgf	3sgfFOC

The man saw the woman.

e3 021b/1

(sentence focus: answers 'What had happened?') (repeated from above, (7))

16)	Foina	kini	alem		hin		Kusuvau.
	foina	kini	a-	le -m	hin		Kusuvau
	PN.MED.sgm	ACT	3sgmO-	see -sgm	3sgmEFOC		island.name

He had gone and seen him at Kusuvau.

jt2 051

The following table shows in summary form the two main focus construction types to be described in Lavukaleve. Sentence-Final focus constructions are the constructions involved in what is traditionally termed wide focus; or in the terms used here, from Lambrecht, sentence and predicate focus. Sentence-Internal focus constructions are the constructions involved in narrow focus; that is, so-called argument focus. The table summarises the information to be explained in the rest of the chapter.

⁴ The presence/absence of the definite article in this near-minimal pair is immaterial here.

CATEGORY	APPLICABLE TO	AGREEMENT OF FOCUS MARKER	FOCUS DOMAIN	FOCUS TYPE EXPRESSED
SENTENCE-FINAL	transitive predicates (verb or Habitual Auxiliary) in main clauses	with subject of clause	whole main clause	sentence focus
		with object of clause	verb plus object	predicate focus
	two-NP non-verbal clauses	with first NP of clause	whole clause	sentence focus
		with second NP of clause	second NP	predicate focus
	intransitive predicates (verb or Habitual Auxiliary) in main clauses	with subject (sole argument) of clause	whole main clause	sentence focus
SENTENCE-INTERNAL	non-main verbs, the first part of a complex predicate and non-predicating material	with head noun if it is an NP, otherwise default agreement (3rd person singular neuter)	the constituent which precedes the focus marker	argument focus

11.3.2 SENTENCE-FINAL FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS

In Sentence-Final focus constructions, the focus marker appears as the last element of a sentence; this sentence may be verbal or non-verbal.

Verbal Sentence-Final focus constructions take the form of a transitive or intransitive clause, with whatever that entails, followed by a focus marker. The one specific requirement is that the predicate (verb or Habitual Auxiliary) of a verbal Sentence-Final focus construction must appear with the Agreement Suffix (see Chapter 10), agreeing with the focus marker. Rarely, a plural Agreement Suffix may be omitted. This is not completely ungrammatical, but it is not considered good Lavukaleve (see Section 10.3.1). For non-verbal Sentence-Final focus constructions, it is the same except that as there is no verb or Habitual Auxiliary, there is no Agreement Suffix.

The role of the focus marker in Sentence-Final focus constructions is to mark the construction as having focus. These construction types can involve one of two types of focus; either focus on the predicate or focus on the whole sentence. It is the agreement of the focus marker that indicates which kind of focus is intended.

It is easiest to see the difference between sentence focus and predicate focus in transitive sentences, so transitive focus constructions will be discussed first.

Sentence-Final focus constructions in Lavukaleve in which the focus marker agrees with the object NP (or complement of a non-verbal clause) involve predicate focus. The focus domain extends from the focus marker at the end of the sentence to the object NP which appears before the verb; for the purposes of focus marking this domain of verb plus object is called a predicate here, following Lambrecht. (Recall that Lavukaleve has fixed constituent order of S(O)V.) Predicate focus is the most usual, frequent, and pragmatically unmarked type of grammatically marked focus.

For sentence focus, the focus marker agrees with the subject NP, the first core element of a sentence. Thus the signal is that the focus extends from the focus marker at the end of the sentence through to the beginning of the sentence. The focus domain is the sentence. Sentence focus is much less frequent, and is pragmatically much more marked, than predicate focus.

The subjects and objects of such sentences do not have to be expressed by full NPs; it is the verb agreement which shows the scope of focus, and even if the overt NPs are ellipsed, the verb agreement still tracks the scope intended.

PREDICATE FOCUS IN TRANSITIVE SENTENCES

The following examples show predicate focus sentences with the focus marker agreeing with the object argument. In the first example, an older brother is jealous of his younger brother, who has gone away and come back with a beautiful young wife. In this sentence, he asks how the younger boy came to get this lovely wife:

- 17) (*"Hey! Where did you get this woman from?"*)
 "Eta! Ngai fe mina keleanun aama feo ke!"
 eta ngai fe mina kelea -nun a- ma -a feo ke
 Wow! 1sg even thing(f) walk -DUR 1sgS- take -sgf 3sgfFOC EMPH
"Well! I was just walking around and I took her!" co 148

The focus is not just on the woman, but rather on the whole act of taking the woman; thus, it is on not just the object but the on verb as well as the object.

In the next example from the same story, the older brother has gone out and got his own wife, after following his younger brother's directions. However he followed the directions rather poorly, and ended up with an old ugly wife instead, who he mistreats. In this sentence, his mother is criticising him for mistreating his wife, saying in effect that he only has himself to blame:

- 18) ("Why are you being so horrible to her, you're the one who wanted her!")

Olikire			ngomaa			feo	ke!
o-	liki	-re	ngo-	ma	-a	feo	ke
3sgfO-	want	-NF	2sg-	take	-sgf	3sgfFOC	EMPH

You wanted her, you took her!

co 274

Again, focus is on the whole acting of taking the woman, not just on the woman herself. The same situation obtains in the next example.

Later in the same story, the younger brother finds out his older brother tried to have sex with his, the younger brother's, wife while he was away. He wants to kill his older brother, but his wife dissuades him, suggesting instead they go back to live with her parents, and thus get away entirely from the elder brother. The younger brother won't do this; as he explains, it would be humiliating to take her back, after having stolen her in the first place:

- 19)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|--|-------------|--------------|--|-----------------|--|-------------|
| Olang | ngai | | kini | akari | | amaa | | finu |
| olang | ngai | | kini | aka -ri | | a- ma -a | | finu |
| because | 1sg | | ACT | then -PSNV | | 1sgS- take -sgf | | 2sgFOC |

koi	ngoma	vela		merem		fongai⁵
koi	ngo- ma	ve -la		me -re -m		fongai
also	2sg- take	go -NEG		HAB -FUT -sgm		1sgFOC

Because I (m) took you (f), so I can't take you back.

co 404

In the next example from later in the same story, the younger brother has indeed killed his older brother out of jealousy. His young wife has been told by her now-dead mother, in a dream, to leave her husband and go and live with her relatives. She refuses, however, saying her place is with her husband, no matter what he may do to her, and that whatever he says, she must obey him. Note the object NP in this case is a relative clause, the head of which is **man** 'what (m)', so the focus marker takes masculine agreement. There is no overt NP referring to the subject:

- 20)
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---------------------|--|------------|---------------------|--|-----------|
| aka | ngatum | | man | olikirem | | na |
| aka | nga- tum | | man | o- liki -re -m | | na |
| then | 1sgPOSS- husband(m) | | what(m) | 3sgS- want -NF -sgm | | sgmArt |
- | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|--|-------------|
| ta | amirem | | hin. |
| ta | a- mi -re -m | | hin |
| just | 1sgS- do -FUT -sgm | | 3sgmEFOC |

... I will do what my husband wants.

co 445

The speaker uses the focus construction to indicate that she will obey her husband; the focus is not just on the object 'what my husband wants', but rather on the whole

⁵ The second clause here is a negative focus construction, with subject agreement: see examples (30) - (33) and accompanying discussion.

verb+object constituent; she expresses focus on the whole event of doing what her husband wants.

The next example is taken from a story about a giant who tricks two boys into letting him steal their pig. He offers to butcher it for them, and as he cuts it up, he throws away each bit of meat into the river, saying it is not fit for eating, until there is no more edible meat left. The two boys don't realise that the giant has previously tied a bag in the river downstream, and thus all the discarded bits of pig meat are being collected safely in his bag, while they themselves end up with nothing. In the sentence below, the giant has thrown away all the flesh, and only the intestines are left. The speaker expresses this with focus on giving the bad bits:

- 21) **Sianun** **sianun** **sianun kini**
 sia -nun sia -nun sia -nun kini
 do -DUR do -DUR do -DUR ACT
- nalo* *ga* *ta* *lana* *one* *hi.*
 nalo ga ta la- na o- ne -ø hi
 intestines(n) sgnArt just 3dumO- in 3sgS- give -sgn 3sgnEFOC

It went on and on and on, then he just gave the intestines [the inedible bits] to them [the two boys]. mn4 046

In the next example, predicate focus appears on the questioned element in this content question:

- 22) **O!** **Man** **ngona** **onem** **hin?**
 o man ngo- na o- ne -m hin
 oh what(m) 2sg- in 3sgS- give -sgm 3sgmEFOC

Oh! What did she give to you? [lit: she gave what to you?]

co 120

These types of sentence are very common. They all have focus on the whole predicate (verb plus object), not just on the object. If speakers wish to focus on an object argument, they use a Sentence-Internal focus construction (described in Section 11.3.3), with a focus marker in construction with the object, as in the following example. In this example, the focus marker occurs immediately after the object, not after the verb, and the verb does not have the Agreement Suffix agreeing with the object:

- 23) **Maki** **fin** **ata** **lome.**
 maki fin a- ta lo- me
 nut.pudding(m) 3sgmFOC 3sgmO- pound 3sgS- HAB

She was making nut pudding.

co 052

SENTENCE FOCUS IN TRANSITIVE SENTENCES

The next set of examples show transitive sentences with focus marker agreement with the subject NP; these express sentence focus. Focus on a whole sentence is highly marked,

and generally only used when the whole sentence contains unexpected or surprising information, or is presentational. The following example is the opening sentence to a story about the origins of the village Losiolen. The sentence focus is accounted for by the presentational context.

- 24) **Iire ke. Stori horio, ko'mua horio**
 iire ke stori ho -ri -o ko'mua ho -ri -o
 yes EMPH story(f) MOD.PROX.sgf -PSNV -f story(f) MOD.PROX.sgf -PSNV -f
- tam enga Losiole me hoga etav fiv**
 tam enga Losiole me -ø hoga e- ta -v fiv
 man(m) three Losiole(n) SPEC -sgn MOD.PROX.sgn 3sgnO- clear -pl 3plFOC
- Yes. This story, three men cleared this Losiolen* fk 001

Sentence focus is also used in situations where something happens counter to expectations. In the next sentence the speaker has just been startled by an arrow landing next to her with no warning, and then is further surprised to see the addressee, who had sneaked up behind her. She asks the question, expressing surprise that the man in front of her might own the arrow, although it is clear that she had no expectation of who the owner is (so this isn't contrastive focus):

- 25) **"Tumai, inu ta mina onuvem hin?"**
 tumai inu ta mina o- nuve -m hin
 really?! 2sg just thing(f) 3sgfO-own -sgm 3sgmEFOC
- "True? Are you (m) the owner of the thing?"* ja 250

In the following example the speaker is talking about the olden days, when people used to obey their chiefs, and contrasting that with the perceived disobedience in villages now. He uses sentence focus in this sentence for a strong statement, that those people then obeyed the chiefs' word, which makes an explicit contrast with the people of today. The speaker is talking to an audience of younger people, and he is perhaps slightly defensively making a strong point, using the marked sentence focus construction, to achieve this.

- 26) **Matalu ofi mev fiv.**
 ma- talu o- fi me -v fiv
 3plPOSS- word(f) 3sgfO- hear HAB -pl 3plFOC
- They would obey their word.* v2 004

The next example also is not unexpected or exciting but rather contrastive. The people today know their clan, not like the people before who didn't know what clan they belonged to. This is seen as a crucial difference between olden days, when only chiefs knew what clan people belonged to, and now; because knowing what clan you belong to means, among other things, that you have the knowledge to fight about land ownership.

- 27) Aka siare ta hona malav mev
 aka sia -re ta hona malav me -v
 then do -NF time(m) MOD.PROX.sgm people(pl) SPEC -pl
- maku eua mev fiv,
 ma- kua e- vea me -v fiv
 3plPOSS- tribe(n) 3sgnO-know HAB -pl 3plFOC
- maval eua mev fiv.
 ma- vala e- vea me -v fiv
 3plPOSS- clan(n) 3sgnO- know HAB -pl 3plFOC
- That's why people know their clan and they know their tribe.* jh 043

Examples like the sentence above bring up one important issue. It was said earlier that sentence focus is focus over an entire sentence, from the first element, the subject NP, through to the verb. But often adjuncts come before the subject NP in a sentence, and in this case it is not completely clear whether the focus extends over them, as part of the sentence, or whether the focus starts at the subject. The analysis offered here, that focus marker agreement indicates scope, suggests that adjuncts before the subject do not form part of the scope of focus, and that the focus does indeed only start at the subject. It does suggest however that adjuncts between the subject and the verb are within the scope of focus. This is a very difficult matter to test, and it needs to be investigated more thoroughly.

Note that sentence focus is pragmatically marked. This means that such sentences are heard in texts, but out of context sentences in elicitation are usually rejected by speakers:

- 28) Ali na aira la olea feo
 ali na aira la o- le -a feo
 man(m) sgmArt woman(f) sgfArt 3sgS- see -sgf 3sgfFOC
- The man saw the woman.* e3 021b/1
- 29) *Ali na aira la olem fin.
 ali na aira la o- le -m fin
 man(m) sgmArt woman(f) sgfArt 3sgfO- see -sgm 3sgmFOC e3 021b/2

Sentence focus is incompatible with out-of-context elicited examples because it is so pragmatically marked; it exists to express particular pragmatic meanings, which in general do not come up in non-contextualised speech. In out-of-context sentences a more marked focus construction is unexpected, and therefore difficult to interpret, and thus speakers usually assume such a construction is a mistake in focus marker/verb agreement.

The next four examples are negative Sentence-Final focus constructions, in which the focus marker always shows subject agreement (i.e. sentence focus) in Lavukaleve. This represents a grammaticalisation of the pragmatic functions of the focus marker in negative constructions. In negative focussed sentences, the focus marker is no longer signalling a pragmatic choice of focus marking; instead the focus marker has become obligatory, and the pragmatic function is lost:

- 30) *Ali na aira la olelam fin.*
 ali na aira la o- le -la -m fin
 man(m) sgmArt woman(f) sgfArt 3sgfO- see -NEG -sgm 3sgmFOC
The man didn't see the woman. e3 021b/3
- 31) *Leta mina roru olelav fiv.*
 leta mina ro -ru o- le -la -v fiv
 but thing(f) one.sgf -none 3sgfO- see -NEG -pl 3plFOC
But they saw nothing. me 021
- 32) *"Tamu. Ngaulam fin.*
 tamu nga- u -la -m fin
 no 1sgO- eat -NEG -sgm 3sgmFOC
"No. He didn't eat me." mn2 058
- 33) *Aka Hanggere na ona fo'foira oilam fin.*
 aka Hanggere na o- na fo'foira o- i -la -m fin
 then Hanggere(m) sgmArt 3sgfO- in work(f) 3sgfO- do -NEG -sgm 3sgmFOC
And Hanggere did not do work with her either. me 054

The language does not provide a special mechanism to express a focussed subject or object with a negative Sentence-Final focus construction. For example, (30) above, *The man didn't see the woman*, using subject agreement, would also be used as the way to express *It was the woman that the man didn't see*. That is, there is no grammatical construction for expressing focus on an object in a negative sentence focus construction. Similarly, there is no grammatical construction for expressing focus on a subject in a negative sentence focus construction (*It was the man who didn't see the woman*).

So far the discussion has been confined to focus constructions with transitive sentences. It has been shown that object agreement in Sentence-Final focus constructions correlates with predicate focus, and subject agreement in Sentence-Final focus constructions correlates with sentence focus. Intransitive and single-NP non-verbal sentence-final focus constructions have more limited agreement possibilities, and thus it is impossible to make so many distinctions in them.

INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Intransitive clause constructions always show agreement with the subject. Thus, in the terms in which transitive clauses have been analysed, intransitive Sentence-Final focus constructions all show sentence focus. It is not possible for such sentences to show predicate focus, as there is no object NP for the focus marker to agree with. Some examples:

- 34) *(The husband had killed the other man already. The woman, not knowing this, cooked the food to give to the man)*

Aka oia	ige	latenam	fin	hide.
aka oia	ige	latena	-m fin	hide
then other.MED.sgf	maybe	be.alive	-sgm 3sgmFOC	thus

And she [thought] he was alive.

co 417

- 35) *(The old man had been killed by enemies. He had gone to another island, and his friends got suspicious when he didn't return)*

O. Tutum	honari	felelam	fin.
o tutu -m	hona	-ri fele -la -m	fin
oh grandparent-sgm	MOD.PROX.sgm	-PSNV return -NEG -sgm	3sgmFOC

Oh. This old man hasn't returned.

jt2 045

- 36) *(There are many women who don't join the Mother's Union)*

Olang	mafan	akari	malav
olang	ma- fan	aka -ri	malav
because	3plPOSS-some	then -PSNV	people(pl)

vomire	vofoui	ena	halekov	fiv.
vo- mi -re vo- fou -i	e- na haleko	-v	fiv	
3plO- make -NF 3plO- put.on	-NOMZR 3sgnO- in be.unwilling	-pl	3plFOC	

Because some of them are unwilling to care for or love people. [lit: some of them are unwilling for caring for or loving people]

emk 017

NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Non-verbal clauses function in this respect similarly to verbal clauses. The focus marker in non-verbal Sentence-Final focus constructions can in theory agree with either of the two NPs that may be present, although in practice it is very difficult to find an example showing the focus marker agreeing with one NP but not the other, because the complement in almost all cases is the item of equation or identification with the subject, and thus they both have the same agreement properties. Therefore, sentence focus and predicate focus are distinguished in two-NP non-verbal clauses, but in practice often the difference cannot be seen. There are some examples however which are clear:

Agreement with subject:

- 37) *E ngotulav tin foe.*
 e ngo-tulav tin foe
 1pl.ex 2sg-children(pl) only 1pl.exFOC

We're just your children.

mt 102

- 38) *Inu kofa finu.*
 inu kofa finu
 2sg naked 2sgFOC

You're naked.

e3 024e

Agreement with complement:

- 39) **foiga malangiov hiv.**
 foiga ma- langiov hiv
 PN.MED.sgn 3plPOSS- names(pl) 3plEFOC

... that was *their* names.

jn2 018

Negation is not usually expressed in a focus-marked non-verbal clause. To negate a non-verbal clause, there are two frequently used strategies. Speakers usually either change the construction and use a verb with a negative meaning in the focus marker clause (thus, not using a non-verbal clause) (e.g. 40), or use a non-verbal clause with the negative particle **tamu** 'NEG', but no focus marker (e.g. 41). The focus marker does not normally co-occur with the negative particle.

- 40) **Hori ko'mua tave feo**
 ho -ri ko'mua tave -a feo
 MOD.PROX.sgf -PSNV story(f) be.not -sgf 3sgFOC

This one is not a history

eg 001

- 41) **Aka roaru koi ngane tamu.**
 aka roa -ru koi nga- ne tamu
 then one.sgm -none also 1sgO- with no

There was no-one with me.

co2 044

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

There is, then, a Sentence-Final focus construction in Lavukaleve which allows two different focus structures. These focus structures are signalled by agreement of the focus marker. It is not simply the case that the focus marker agrees with what it is focussing on, but rather it works by signalling the extent of the focus through the sentence. The appearance of the focus marker signals that focus is an issue in the sentence. The agreement which the focus marker displays tells the hearer what the domain of the focus is. Thus, Lavukaleve marks the distinction between these two types of focus grammatically.

In predicate focus, agreement extends from the focus marker at the end of the sentence to the object argument, which occurs before the verb. Basic constituent order in Lavukaleve is S(O)V. In sentence focus, agreement extends throughout the entire sentence from the focus marker at the end through to the first element of the sentence, the subject. Ellipsed NPs do not matter for the scope of focus; the focus construction utilises obligatory verbal and focus marker morphology to express scope, and it does not in fact matter whether or not the actual NP arguments are there for the scope to obtain. It is not clear to what extent adjuncts are included in Sentence-Final focus constructions.

Predicate focus is the most common, unmarked focus type in Lavukaleve. This is what one would expect from Lambrecht's definition. A focussed predicate is what would in

other terms have been called the comment of a topic-comment structure: "when the focus is marked on the object ... this is a grammatical signal that the unmarked relation between presupposition and assertion obtains" (Lambrecht 1987: 374). In Lavukaleve, Sentence-Final focus constructions in which the focus marker agrees with the object are predicate focus constructions. They are the unmarked Sentence-Final focus construction type; both in pragmatic terms and in terms of distribution.

Sentence focus is a pragmatically (and distributionally) very highly marked focus construction. In Lavukaleve it is used for situations involving very strong, often contrastive focus. All negative Sentence-Final focus constructions take this form too. Lambrecht points out that sentence-focus constructions are usually used for presentational sentences involving all-new information. 'Presentational', refers to structures that "are used to introduce an NP referent, or the concept associated with some NP, into the universe of discourse" (1987: 375). Such sentences have also been referred to as *thetic* (e.g. Lambrecht 1987. Note though, that Sasse (1987) expresses unease at such a correlation of *thetic* utterances with sentences involving focus on the entire statement.)

For Lambrecht, "[Sentence focus] structures express propositions in which the assertion extends over the entire proposition, they exhibit a certain "all-new" character which distinguishes them from [predicate focus] structures" (1987: 379). This all-newness of presentational, sentence focus structures also, in many languages, becomes associated with situations involving unexpected or surprising information: "The less the cognitive status of the NP referent warrants the use of the [sentence focus] structure, the more the construction will give rise to the implicature that the piece of information expressed in the [sentence focus] structure is of special importance" (1987: 379). These types of pragmatic functions are indeed present in Lavukaleve sentence-focus constructions.

It is possible, and indeed common, in Lavukaleve to express focus on a particular argument. In this case, the focus marker is still involved, but instead of a Sentence-Final focus construction, a Sentence-Internal focus construction must be used. The next section describes these.

11.3.3 SENTENCE-INTERNAL FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS

In Sentence-Internal focus constructions the focus marker is in construction with a non-predicating constituent. That is, the focus marker follows it and, if applicable, agrees in person/gender/number with it. The non-predicating constituents can be arguments or adjuncts. I follow Lambrecht in using the term 'argument focus' to label this focus type. It will be shown below that the same construction type that serves to convey focus on an argument or an adjunct can also be used to convey focus on a non-main verb or the first

part of a complex predicate⁶.

This argument focus construction type is similar to what is commonly referred to as narrow focus, as opposed to the wide focus of the sentence focus and predicate focus constructions discussed above.

If the focussed constituent is an NP, the focus marker agrees in person, gender and number with it. If the focussed constituent is not an NP, the focus marker receives default agreement, that is, it appears in its 3rd person singular neuter form.

It is easiest to see argument focus operating with NP arguments. The following examples compare Sentence-Internal focus sentences with their non-focus marked counterparts. The minimal/near-minimal pairs are elicited; they are useful to make the structures immediately apparent. Textual examples will be discussed after this.

The first two examples are near-minimal pairs, the first has no grammatically marked argument focus, the second has argument focus shown by the focus marker after the object:

- 42) **Ngai sa volikire alei**
 ngai sa vo- liki -re lei
 1sg bananas(pl) 3plO- want -NF 1sgS- exist
I want bananas. e2 013

- 43) **Ngai totonga feo olikire alei.**
 ngai totonga feo o- liki -re a- lei
 1sg money(f) 3sgfFOC 3sgfO- want -NF 1sgS- exist
I want money. e3 010e

The next three examples show the difference between a focussed NP and a non-focussed NP. Many of the examples to follow actually contain two focus markers in one sentence. This is an extremely common construction type in Lavukaleve. This type of sentence, the focus-echo construction, is discussed in more detail in Section 11.5.1 below. The second focus marker must always be the **heo** focus marker, and it must always agree with the first focus marker. At this point, only the first, italicised focus markers are relevant.

Example (44) is a basic Sentence-Final focus construction, showing predicate focus (see above). (45) and (46) show argument focus; (45) (repeated from 13) has a focussed object, (46) a focussed subject. The second shows focus on the fish, and the third on the woman.

⁶ Lambrecht uses the term "argument" in this context to refer to NPs and adjuncts, including adverbials. Thus I extend Lambrecht's perhaps already-overextended term. This is perhaps an unfortunate use of a well-established term; but I prefer to avoid introducing a new term and possibly further confusion.

- 44) **Aira la fo'sal na oum fin.**
 aira la fo'sal na o- u -m fin
 woman(f) sgfArt fish(m) sgmArt 3sgS-eat-sgm 3sgmFOC
The woman ate the fish. (answers: "What did the woman do?") e3 021c/2
- 45) **Aira la fo'sal fin oum hin.**
 aira la fo'sal fin o- u -m hin
 woman(f) sgfArt fish(m) 3sgmFOC 3sgS- eat -sgm 3sgmEFOC
The woman ate a fish. (answers: "What did the woman eat?") e3 021c/1
- 46) **Aira la feo fo'sal na aua heo.**
 aira la feo fo'sal na a- u -a heo
 woman(f) sgfArt 3sgfFOC fish(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- eat -sgf 3sgfEFOC
The woman ate the fish. (answers: "Who ate the fish?") e3 021d

The following examples show some of the possibilities of what can be a focussed constituent under argument focus. Note that argument focus is often, but by no means always, contrastive. Example (48) is contrastive; it was the fourth canoe, as opposed to the third, which was mentioned last. However, there are many non-contrastive examples of argument focus: (47) contains no idea of contrast; there is no other entity which the speaker or addressee could have in mind. Similarly (49), (51) and (54) contain no idea of contrast.

- NPs: NPs in Sentence-Internal focus constructions have almost all of the structural possibilities of other NPs. They can be modified, they can contain the definite article, they can consist of personal pronouns or demonstrative modifiers, and they can be in any syntactic function within the clause. They cannot, however, consist of demonstrative pronouns, either from the **foia** or the **oia** paradigms. These examples contain, respectively, a modified indefinite NP in S function; a definite NP in S function; an NP in O function; an NP which is a demonstrative modifier; an NP which is a personal pronoun, and an NP which is the subject of a non-verbal clause.

- 47) **Aka sulum ovovol le'laol feol ika leiaol.**
 aka sulum o- vovo -l le'laol feol ika lei -aol
 then chief(m) 3sgPOSS- daughter-du two.f 3dufFOC there exist-du.f
Two daughters of the chief lived there. ja 234
- 48) **Aka nuta ga fi soire hau me.**
 aka nuta -ø ga fi soi -re hau me -ø
 then fourth -sgn sgnArt 3sgnFOC run.away -NF go.ashore HAB -sgn
Then the fourth [canoe] runs away to shore. ja 105

- 49) **EI tail rugi fi elikire le- lei**
 el tail rugi fi e- liki -re le- lei
 Iduex house(n) big.sgn 3sgnFOC 3sgnO- want -NF Iduex-exist
We two want a big house. ja 402

- 50) **"Le honala minal memeo vona?"**
 le honala minala me- meo vo- na
 but MOD.PROX.dum 3dumQFOC 1pl.inPOSS- tuna(pl) 3plO- in
"Was it these two at our bonito fishing?" [i.e. was it these two who were there when we were fishing for bonito?] ja 430

- 51) **E foe, soire kini hau hiv**
 e foe soi -re kini hau -v hiv
 1pl.ex 1pl.exFOC run.away -NF ACT go.ashore -pl 3plEFOC
We ran ashore. ja 083

- 52) **Vo'vou lelemal final ovo'vou hinal.**
 vo'vou -l lelemal finala o- vo'vou -l hinala
 boy -du two 3dumFOC 3sgPOSS- boy -du 3dumEFOC
Two boys were [the whale's] sons. ja 001

- Postpositional phrases can be involved in Sentence-Internal focus constructions. The focus marker receives default agreement:

- 53) **Oeloge, aigure, suma na**
 o- e- lo -ge a- igu -re suma na
 3sgfO- SBD- finish -ANT 3sgmO- drop -NF taro(m) sgmArt
okuim na, aka fofo tula ona fi
 o- kui -m na aka fofo tula -a o- na fi
 3sgS- burn -sgm sgmArt then basin(f) small -sgf 3sgfO- in 3sgnFOC
mina maki na aoho.
 mina maki na a- o- ho
 um nut.pudding(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- 3sgS- put.inside
Finished, she took it out, and she cooked taro, then into a small basin, um, she put the nut pudding. co 058

- 54) **Felere le movele ga ena fi,**
 fele -re le movele ga e- na fi
 return -NF day(n) day.after.tomorrow sgnArt 3sgnO- in 3sgnFOC
melevoe aka foiga vo fi melengoare.
 mele- vo -re aka foiga vo fi mele- ngoa-re
 2du- come-FUT then PN.MED.sgn come 3sgnFOC 2du- stay -FUT
Go back, then on the day after tomorrow, you two come back, then you two stay. ja 324

- Other locational/temporal adjuncts can be involved in Sentence-Internal focus constructions:

- 55) **ngai koi ika fi alei tasin ka**
 ngai koi ika fi a- lei tasi -n ka
 1sg also there 3sgnFOC 1sgS- exist sea -LOC LOCEMPH

... I'll be right there in the sea

ja 334

- An adverb or particle:

- 56) **Two o'clock ku mail fi felere evo.**
 Two o'clock ku mail fi fele -re e- vo
 Two o'clock like a.bit 3sgnFOC return -NF 1pl.ex-come

At almost two o'clock we came back.

mt 032

- A non-main verb. The non-main verbs in question are subordinate-dependent verbs marked with the Anterior suffix **-ge**, the Potential **-le**, the Surprise **-meon**, or coordinate-dependent verbs marked with the Non-Finite **-re**, Completive **-vel** or Successive **-vele**. This kind of construction is similar in nature to a focussed NP or PP or other adjunct. These are Sentence-Internal focus constructions in which the constituent focussed on is a non-main verb. These non-main clauses could be seen as adjuncts to the main clause.

- 57) **negore iutiare fi malei mola ga ena.**
 nego -re iutia -re fi ma- lei mola ga e- na
 float -NF look.on -NF 3sgnFOC 3plS- exist canoe(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- in

...they float, staring at the canoe.

ja 035

- 58) **EI mi tail ga ehanae**
 el mi tail ga e- hana e
 1duex um house(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- open -NOMZR

elikire fi lelei.
 e- liki -re fi le- lei
 3sgnO- want -NF 3sgnFOC 1duex- exist

We two - um - we want to open the house.

ja 412

- 59) **Kini aehauge fi,**
 kini a- e- hau -ge fi
 ACT 3sgmO- SBD- go.ashore -ANT 3sgnFOC

ane ngaerial va vokuire.
 a- ne nga- erial va vo- kui -re
 3sgmO- with 1sgPOSS- coconut.crabs(pl) plArt 3plO- burn -NF

Upon him coming ashore, I cook my coconut crabs with him.

w2 053

terms, such constructions make sense.

11.4 TWO RARE PHENOMENA

The basic morpho-syntactic features of the focus system have been outlined above, and further important issues to do with focus marking are discussed further below. But first, there are two phenomena to do with the focus system, both of them rare, which should first be mentioned. The first is that occasionally a Sentence-Final focus construction, rather than a Sentence-Internal focus construction, can be used to express focus on a postpositional phrase. The second is that there are some instances in the corpus in which a demonstrative modifier occurs in the position in which a focus marker would be expected, in a Sentence-Final focus construction.

11.4.1 ANOTHER WAY OF EXPRESSING ARGUMENT FOCUS OF PPs

It was shown above that in Sentence-Final focus constructions the focus marker always agrees with the subject or object; and they express sentence or predicate focus accordingly. For expressing focus on an adjunct, a Sentence-Internal focus construction is almost always used. However there are extremely rare examples (three in the entire corpus) of a Sentence-Final focus construction, where the focus marker agrees not with the subject or object but with a postpositional phrase, and expresses argument focus on that postpositional phrase:

- 63) *Foiva vone fo'foira oaiv hiv. Hoivari.*
 foiva vo- ne fo'foira o- a- i -v hiv hoiva -ri
 PN.MED.pl 3plO- with work(f) 3sgfO- 1sgS- do -pl 3plEFOC MOD.MED.pl -PSNV
I worked with them. Those ones. co2 020

- 64) *Aka homelav enga fiv vone elei.*
 aka homela -v enga fiv vo- ne e- lei
 then woman -pl three 3plFOC 3plO- with 1pl.ex- exist

Vone kelea lame hiv⁷.
 vo- ne kelea la- me hiv
 3plO- with walk 1sg- HAB 3plEFOC

We had three women with us. I would go around with them.

co2 027-028

These constructions are accepted by speakers, but are definitely not the preferred way of expressing focus on a postpositional phrase.

11.4.2 DEMONSTRATIVES INSTEAD OF FOCUS MARKERS IN SENTENCE-FINAL FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS

There are a handful of examples in the corpus in which a demonstrative modifier (that is,

⁷ The plural Agreement Suffix has been omitted from *lame* as occasionally happens (see Section 10.3.1).

a demonstrative from the **hoia** paradigm) occurs in sentence-final position, after a verb which has one of its core arguments marked with the Agreement Suffix, with the Agreement Suffix and the demonstrative agreeing with the same referent, and with no intonation break between verb and demonstrative:

- 65) **Volere,** "Ami **okiv** **hova?**"
 vo- le -re ami o- ki -v hova
 3plO- see -NF who(m) 3sgS- shoot -pl MOD.PROX.pl
Seeing them, "Who killed these?" mn2 007
- 66) **Fova** **mekelein** **leiv.** **Uke leiv** **hova.**
 fova me- kelei-n lei -v uke lei -v hova
 PN.PROX.pl 1plin- near -LOC exist -pl near exist -pl MOD.PROX.pl
They're close to us. Close to us. ja 143

At first sight these appear to be examples of an NP appearing after the verb, in contradiction to the constituent-order generalisation made in Section 9.2 that constituent order is SV/AOV. However, a better analysis is possible.

Firstly, the only NPs which can appear in this position are demonstrative modifiers. No other NP types can do this. Secondly, the verb of such clauses always involves the Agreement Suffix. Thirdly, the demonstrative and Agreement Suffix always agree. These points suggest that the demonstrative in such constructions is in fact functioning as a focus marker, in a Sentence-Final focus construction. There is some deep overlap between focus markers and deictics, as evidenced by the relationship between **f-** and **h-** stems in both demonstratives and focus markers (see Section 11.7.1), and in these constructions it seems that the demonstrative is functioning as a focus marker.

Note that in both of the above examples, the **hoia** demonstrative modifier is used. There are no examples of a demonstrative pronoun (that is, a demonstrative from the **foia** or **oia** paradigms) in this function. This may be an accidental gap in the data, as these constructions are extremely uncommon, or it may be that it is only possible for **hoia** to do this.

11.5 MORE THAN ONE FOCUS MARKER IN ONE SENTENCE

It is very common in Lavukaleve for more than one focus marker to occur in one sentence. There are two types of construction which need to be discussed in this respect. Firstly, there are focus-echo constructions, in which there are two agreeing focus markers, one focussing on an argument, and the other at the end of the sentence. The second type, true multiple-focus sentences, contain more than one constituent in argument focus.

11.5.1 FOCUS-ECHO CONSTRUCTIONS

In the focus-echo construction there are two agreeing focus markers. The second focus marker must always agree with the first in gender and number, but not necessarily person. The first is a Sentence-Internal focus marker, expressing focus on an NP argument, and the second is a Sentence-Final focus marker. The verb appears with the Agreement Suffix. The following pair of examples is repeated from above (45 and 46) (in these two examples, italics only indicate the focus markers, not the domain of focus):

- 67) *Aira* *la* *fo'sal* *fin* *oum* *hin.*
 aira la fo'sal fin o- u -m hin
 woman(f) sgfArt fish(m) 3sgmFOC 3sgS- eat -sgm 3sgmEFOC
The woman ate a fish. e3 021c/1

- 68) *Aira* *la* *feo* *fo'sal* *na* *aua* *heo.*
 aira la feo fo'sal na a- u -a heo
 woman(f) sgfArt 3sgfFOC fish(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- eat -sgf 3sgfEFOC
The woman ate the fish. e3 021d

The first focus marker in each sentence expresses argument focus. To explain the second focus marker in (67) one could say the second focus marker is agreeing with the object NP, thus it is expressing predicate focus, and in (68) it is agreeing with the subject NP, thus expressing sentence focus. There are major flaws with this line of argumentation however.

Firstly, the shape of the second focus marker is entirely constrained. It must be from the *heo* paradigm (see below, Section 11.7.1) and it must agree with the same entity that the first focus marker agrees with. So, if the first focus marker agrees with the object NP, so must the second focus marker; it cannot agree with the subject NP:

- 69) * *Aira* *la* *fo'sal* *fin* *oum* *heo.*
 aira la fo'sal fin o- u -m heo
 woman(f) sgfArt fish(m) 3sgmFOC 3sgfO- eat -sgm 3sgfEFOC

That the agreement of the second focus marker is completely prescribed by the first focus marker indicates that the second focus marker in these constructions has a different function from the sentence-final focus markers of single-focus marker sentences. It cannot distinguish between sentence or predicate focus, as the speaker cannot choose which NP it should agree with.

There is a second flaw with that analysis. It is contradictory to say, for instance, that one sentence can have both argument focus and sentence focus. Sentence focus is used to show that the whole of the sentence is an assertion; all of it is equally focussed information, the fact that the whole thing is of interest is what is being marked by the sentence focus construction. However to say that argument focus can occur within a sentence-focus-marked sentence is to say that actually one of the arguments is specifically

focussed on, at the same time as saying that the whole sentence is equally focussed. A similar problem obtains with saying that a sentence can have both argument and predicate focus.

A better analysis is that the role of the second focus marker is to provide extra strong focus on the focussed argument. This is supported by the fact that the second focus marker expresses further agreement with the focussed argument; and also that its form is the **heo** emphatic focus marker. The second focus marker is a reiteration, or an echo of the first. This occurs most commonly in Lavukaleve when there is argument focus on an NP, rather than other types of non-predicating constituents.

Note that example (51) above shows that the second focus marker in a focus-echo construction agreeing in gender and number but not person with the first focus marker. This occurs if the first focus marker is a first or second person form; in such situations the second focus marker may be a third person form.

11.5.2 MULTIPLE-FOCUS SENTENCES

In Lavukaleve it is possible to have more than one instance of argument focus in a single sentence. One common type of multiple-focus sentence is lists. Each element of a list can occur with its own focus marker. This type of multiple-focus is not problematic; one can easily understand the pragmatic motivation behind focussing separately each item of a list:

70) (They took everything and put it inside the huge hole)

Erufulain	feo,	o	bolol	fi,	o	motoka	feo,
erufulain	feo	o	bolol	fi	o	motoka	feo
plane(f)	3sgfFOC	and	cartridge(n)	3sgnFOC	and	car(f)	3sgfFOC
o	minamina	mate	ofin		ofin		na
o	Dup-	mina	mate	o-	fina	o-	fina
and	REDUP-	thing(f)	war(f)	3sgPOSS-	belongings(m)	3sgPOSS-	belongings
							sgmArt
mi	tome	na	ana	fi	olei.		
mi	tome	na	a-	na	fi	o-	lei
um	hole(m)	sgmArt	3sgmO-	in	3sgnFOC	3sgS-	exist

Planes, cartridges, cars, everything to do with the war, everything to do with it, um was inside the hole. co2 091

- 71) *(Some strangers had stolen food out of the people's food baskets. One of the group had an idea to fill up their food baskets with biting animals, so if the strangers came again, they would put their hands inside the baskets to steal the food, and instead get bitten by animals)*

<i>Sut</i>	<i>fiv</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>kafol</i>	<i>fin</i>	<i>o</i>		
sut	fiv	o	kafol	fin	o		
giant.clams(pl)	3plFOC	and	mangrove.crab(m)	3sgmFOC	and		
<i>ra</i>	<i>fiv</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>malav</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>mem</i>	
ra	fiv	o	man	malav	vo- u	me	-m
coconut.crabs(pl)	3plFOC	and	what(m)	people(pl)	3plO- eat	HAB	-sgm
<i>you</i>	<i>mem</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>mina</i>	<i>omama.</i>			
vo- u	me -m	na	mina	o- ma- ma			
3plO- eat	HAB -sgm	sgmArt	thing(f)	3sgfO- 3plS-			take

Suta shells and mangrove crabs and coconut crabs and whatever bites people, they took it [lit: the thing]. jn 047

The next example is similar; the two focussed elements, 'held hands' and 'made a line', can be thought of as two events in a list of events that occurred at that time:

- 72) *(During a big cyclone the speaker and some friends got washed into the river and were in danger of drowning.)*

<i>Aka</i>	<i>mafan</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>etau</i>		
aka	ma- fan	e	e- tau		
then	3plPOSS- some	1pl.ex	1pl.exPOSS-	hands(pl)	
<i>vofoire</i>		<i>fi</i>			
vo- foi	-re	fi			
3plO- hold	-NF	3sgnFOC			
<i>laen</i>	<i>ofoure</i>	<i>fi</i>	<i>songi</i>	<i>leme.</i>	
laen	o- fou	-re fi	songi	le- me	
line(f)	3sgfO- put.on	-NF 3sgnFOC	swim	1pl.ex- HAB	

Then some of us held hands and made a line and we were swimming.

ef 024

A slightly different kind of situation occurs in the following examples:

- 73) *Malaita o Goae mafot ena fi*
 Malaita o Goae ma- foto e- na fi
 Malaita and Isabel 3plPOSS- middle(n) 3sgnO- in 3sgnFOC
- igalari fi, navigol honari ovo.*
 igala -ri fi navigol hona -ri o- vo
 there -PSNV sgnFOC cyclone(m) MOD.PROX.sgm -PSNV 3sgS- come

In between Malaita and Isabel, it was there that the cyclone came from

rk2 019

- 74) *Hoigari tin fi lafa telako heo,*
 hoiga -ri tin fi lafa telako heo
 MOD.MED.sgn -PSNV only 3sgnFOC part(f) one(f) 3sgfEFOC
- ngai ngana'nug ana raul tuna*
 ngai nga- na'nug a- na raul tuna
 1sg 1sgPOSS- thought(m) 3sgmO- in really really
- oesiage, oea lame.*
 o- e- sia -ge o- ea la- me
 3sgfO- SBD- do -ANT 3sgfO- talk.about 1sg- HAB

Just that, that is just one part of my thought, which I think about a lot, [that's why] I talked about it. rk2 085

Here both focussed elements have the same real-world referent; the second mention of each is a rewording of the first, and, like the first, it is focussed.

In other contexts however it seems that more than one element of the sentence is newsworthy in its own right; more than one element is the asserted part of the sentence. In the following example, for instance, people have been worried about the disappearance of an old man, who they fear has been murdered. In the example, they find his canoe floating. From this they guess that he must be near. It is significant that he is near; and the existence of the canoe in itself is also significant:

- 75) *"Nerel aemege fi mola fi heagari"*
 nerel a- e- me -ge fi mola fi heaga -ri
 nearby 3sgmO- SBD-continue -ANT 3sgnFOC canoe(n) 3sgnFOC MOD.DIST1.sgn -PSNV
- hivel kinimola ga ena aekoeloge ta*
 hi -vel kini mola ga e- na a- e- koelo -ge ta
 do/say-COMPL ACT canoe(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- in 3sgmO-SBD- look.inside -ANT just
- ruima la hano kiu.*
 ruima la hano kiu -a
 old.man(f) sgfArt then die -sgf

"Him being nearby, his canoe is there" he said, then upon him looking inside the canoe, the old man was dead. jr2 052

In the next, longer, example, the first focus marker is part of the idiomatic expression *akari fi* 'it's like that'; the second and third appear with the significant bits of information which the sentence conveys: pointing out an island, and pointing out the fact that these two magical old women live there. The third sentence of the example points out two further significant facts: that one lives at one end, and that there is a coconut tree there:

76)	"Iruraine	lekala		ho		va'var haivele
	iruraine	le-	kala	ho		va'var hai -vele
	every.day	1duexPOSS-	mother(f)	MOD.PROX.sgf		talking do -SUCC

vala koi	va'var	haivele	ta	akari	fi
vala koi	va'var	hai -vele	ta	aka -ri	fi
how also	talking	do -SUCC	just	then -PSNV	3sgnFOC

fagi	heagari		ena		fi
fagi	heaga	-ri	e-	na	fi
island(n)	MOD.DIST1.sgn	-PSNV	3sgnO-	in	3sgnFOC

airaol	le'laol	ruiaol		feol	leiaol⁸
airaol	le'laol	ruia	-ol	feol	lei -aol
2women(du.f)	two.f	old.woman	-duf	3dufFOC	exist -du.f

"Every day our mother is always talking and talking like that about that island there, two old women live there.

Aka	longoae		ga		akari	fi
aka	lo- ngoa -e		ga		aka -ri	fi
then	3duS- stay	-NOMZR	sgnArt		then -PSNV	3sgnFOC
ngoa	lomel		ro	oka	mail ro	uke mail.
ngoa	lo- me -l		ro	koka	mail ro	uke mail
stay	3sgS- HAB -du		one.sgf	far	a.bit one.sgf	near a.bit

The way they live, like that, one lives far away a bit, and one lives a bit closer.

Aka ro	koran	hoaka	ngoa mea	la
aka ro	kora -n	hoaka	ngoa me -a	la
then one.sgf	edge -LOC	there.DIST2	stay HAB -sgf	sgfArt

onam	fi	kua	tetelako		fi	lei.
o-	nam fi	kua	Dup-	telako	fi	lei -ø
3sgfO-	to 3sgnFOC	coconut.tree(n)	REDUP-	one	3sgnFOC	exist -sgn

Then one of them, at the end of the island where she lives, there's one coconut tree
co 033-035

The next examples are similar, in that they each convey more than one newsworthy element per sentence, as shown by the multiple focus marking in each:

⁸ In this sentence, *airaol le'laol* and *ruiaol* are both NPs. *Ruiaol* is a more specific rendition of *airaol le'laol*, a correction by the speaker.

message-transaction is restricted in a fashion — say 'one unit per proposition' " (p. 202, his emphasis). Pawley and Syder (1977; 1983) make a similar point with their "one-clause-at-a-time" hypothesis. Du Bois (1987: 826), on this topic, formulates a "One New Argument constraint", which says that speakers prefer to introduce a maximum of one new argument per clause. He explains this in terms of a processing limitation: "New (previously inactive) information appears to be more difficult to process, and hence most subject to constraint" (Du Bois 1987: 846).

However languages with focus marked by accent prosody generally tend to allow more than one focussed item per sentence, but still only one per intonation unit. Chafe's (1987: 31-32; 1994) proposal of a "one new concept at a time constraint", specifies that only one piece of new information occurs within one intonation unit, not within one clause or proposition or sentence. English, for instance, does allow more than one focussed element marked by pitch accent per sentence, but only one per intonation unit (Chafe 1994: 108-119).

The issue revolves around what a language takes as the relevant domain for the purposes of focus marking. For English, the relevant domain over which focus marking by prosody can apply is the intonation unit; whereas the domain over which grammatical focus marking by clefts can apply is the sentence. For Lavukaleve, the relevant domain over which grammatical focus marking can apply is not one sentence; there is no constraint that only one element can be focussed per sentence. Instead, the rule seems to be that only one core NP, plus any number of adjuncts, can receive argument focus per sentence.

This is not a unique feature of Lavukaleve. Some other languages which have grammaticalised focus marking allow more than instance of focus per sentence. For instance Yukagir marks focus of a core argument by suffixation on the verb and the relevant NP (Fortescue 1996). It also marks focus on adjuncts by postposing the adjunct. It is possible to have focus on both a core argument and an adjunct in the same sentence, using both the suffixation and postposing methods. It is not, however, possible, to focus on two core arguments in one sentence, or, as I understand it, on two adjuncts in one sentence. Yukagir is slightly different from Lavukaleve in that it uses two entirely different strategies to mark different kinds of focus in one sentence, but nonetheless the pragmatic fact of multiple-focus marking is comparable to Lavukaleve.

Roviana, an Oceanic language spoken on islands adjacent to the Russells, marks focus using a special set of focal pronouns (Corston 1996). These have not been described in detail, and it is not completely certain from the description that they are indeed marking focus rather than, say, emphasis, but there are examples in Corston's work of more than one of these being used, with different reference, within a single sentence. If they are focus pronouns then they are an example from a language close to Lavukaleve of multiple-focus marking in one sentence.

11.6 FURTHER DISCUSSION

11.6.1 NO MARKED FOCUS

Not all Lavukaleve sentences have marked focus; in fact only about a third do. Under Lambrecht's analysis, all sentences convey information; they all have information structure, and thus they all have focus. This is certainly true for Lavukaleve, as for all languages. The above analysis has suggested that there are two types of sentences in Lavukaleve: those with grammatical focus constructions, and those without. By this, however, it should not be understood that those sentences which do not employ a focus construction do not have focus. Rather, in those sentences which do not employ focus constructions, speakers are still conveying information about something; they are still dividing their speech into presupposition and assertion; but they are not making this distinction grammatically overt in the way a focus construction does. In other languages with grammatically marked focus systems, for example Somali (Saeed 1984), the focus system is likewise not used in every single sentence of the language.

If one thinks for a moment of focus constructions like Lavukaleve's, or Somali's, as operating in a broadly similar functional domain as, for example, cleft constructions in English (although Lavukaleve's focus system and English clefts are very different types of phenomena; see next section), then one can more easily understand why they are not used for every sentence. In English, every sentence has information structure, but only some have cleft constructions to make overt this information structure. In Lavukaleve, an equivalent situation obtains, although the proportion of sentences with focus constructions is far higher, corresponding to their considerably wider syntactic possibilities, than clefts in English.

11.6.2 DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN FOCUS MARKERS AND COPULAS

Sentence-Internal focus constructions share many similarities with cleft constructions in other languages. Functionally, they often serve to express the same kinds of pragmatic meanings as cleft constructions with copulas do in languages that have them (see e.g. Stenson (1981) on Irish). They serve to mark focus on a particular argument, and, especially when the Sentence-Internal focus marker occurs in construction with a constituent at the start of the sentence, one could interpret the Sentence-Internal focus constituent as a copula clause, at the front of, and in construction with, the main clause. However Lavukaleve focus markers cannot be analysed as copulas.

The focus marker is not obligatory in non-verbal predications. All the examples given above could equally well appear without the focus marker. The distribution of focus markers in non-verbal clauses is identical to their distribution in verbal clauses. In both cases, it is pragmatic factors of focus marking which determine whether these words will appear in a clause or not; whether the clause is verbal or non-verbal is irrelevant. Rather, non-verbal clauses, like verbal clauses, may or may not be grammatically marked for

focus, and thus can appear with or without the focus marker, on those grounds alone.

There are two further major syntactic objections to treating the focus markers as copulas. The first is that normally, the constituent which the focus marker is in construction with does not move to the front of the sentence. Instead it stays in its place within the clause. The focus marker appears immediately after it. Consider the following example:

- 80) **Aira la umalau o uvikola fiv onorev hiv.**
 aira la umalau o uvikola fiv o- nore -v hiv
 woman(f) sgfArt kumara(m) and cassava(m) 3plFOC 3sgS- plant -pl 3plEFOC
The woman planted kumara and cassava. e2 014b

It is possible to say **umalau o uvikola fiv, aira la onorev hiv**, but usually people don't. They leave the focussed constituent in place in the clause. The fact that these focussed constituents are not extracted makes a cleft analysis problematic.

There is a further problem with analysing Lavukaleve focus markers as copulas, even if one does not argue that sentences like these are clefts. If one argues that the Sentence-Internal focus marker is a copula, then one would be forced to say that in Lavukaleve it is possible to intersperse a main clause with an embedded copula clause. That is, in the above example (80), one would have to say that **umalau o uvikola fiv** is a copula clause, embedded in the sentence **aira la onorev hiv**. These objections make very unattractive the analysis that clauses with Sentence-Internal focus markers are copula clauses.

11.6.3 FOCUS SYSTEM VERSUS ALIGNMENT SYSTEM

It is possible to be misled by the agreement patterns of the Agreement Suffix on the verb and the focus marker into thinking that they form part of a syntactic alignment system. Consider for example, that in positive clauses the verbal Agreement Suffix and focus marker generally agree with O of a transitive clause and S of an intransitive clause; and that the verbal Agreement Suffix and focus marker agree with A/S in negative clauses. This phenomenon might suggest that the verbal Agreement Suffix and focus marker are actually forming part of a split-ergative agreement system determined on purely syntactic principles. There are a number of reasons why this analysis would be unsatisfactory. Firstly, not all positive clauses have the verbal Agreement Suffix and focus marker agreeing with O; sometimes they agree with A. So one would have to find syntactic reasons why in these cases agreement was with A, not O. One could argue that the split-ergative system was based on partially syntactic and partially pragmatic principles; and this kind of system does occur (rarely) in the languages of the world (see e.g. Dixon 1994: 211). But such an analysis would fail to account for the pragmatic function of the focus marker in the sentences in which it occurs; and it would miss the generalisation that the agreement of the focus marker (and verbal Agreement Suffix) can be predicted without

exception by knowing which part of a sentence is being focussed on.⁹

11.6.4 A TYPOLOGICAL NOTE

Lambrecht and Polinsky (1997) propose some typological universals with respect to the grammatical encoding of sentence focus. They argue that there is a formal, paradigmatic relationship between predicate focus and sentence focus constructions in languages: "[sentence focus] constructions have the form they do because they are to be minimally distinct from corresponding [predicate focus] constructions within a given language" (Lambrecht and Polinsky 1997: 191).

As a corollary of this, as sentence focus involves lack of a topic-comment structure, it is important that the subject of a sentence focus construction must be marked in such a way that it cannot be interpreted as a topic; thus, "[sentence focus] marking crucially involves DETOPICALIZATION of the nominal constituents involved" (p. 191). This detopicalisation can be accomplished in one of two ways: either by cancelling formal properties typically associated with topic arguments; or by coding the subject of a sentence focus construction formally in a way typically associated with focus arguments. This leads to their Principle of Subject-Object Neutralisation, which says that subjects of sentence focus constructions are grammatically coded with properties typically associated with objects; and their Principle of Topic Cancellation, which says that the subject of a sentence focus sentence cannot be coded in a similar formal way to topics.

In English, sentence focus is marked formally by a prosodic accent on the subject NP. This marking type, they say, comes about through paradigmatic opposition to predicate focus marking in English, in which the prosodic accent is on the object: "the position of the accent on the subject noun in the [sentence focus] construction is the result purely of a formal requirement: the need to indicate a paradigmatic contrast" (p. 195). They present a typology of formal marking of sentence focus, as opposed to predicate focus: sentence focus marking in a given language may involve prosodic inversion, that is, giving the sentence focus subject the prosodic accent usually associated with an object (or predicate); changes to linear order; making the subject a single constituent within the predicate (syntactic inversion); making the subject a non-topic; giving it non-nominative case marking; or giving the verb impersonal agreement. Lavukaleve does not fit with any of these formal marking strategies, but even though the material it uses to mark sentence focus versus predicate focus is not covered in Lambrecht and Polinsky's typology, the system it uses to mark the opposition between sentence focus and predicate focus is exactly parallel to those used in many other languages.

That is, focus marker agreement in sentence focus and predicate focus constructions in

⁹ Note that a split-ergative system does exist elsewhere in Lavukaleve. In subordinate adverbial clauses first and second person subjects follow a nominative/accusative participant marking system, and third person subjects follow an ergative/absolute marking system: see Section 16.1.

Lavukaleve works exactly like accent prosody in English. In English predicate focus constructions, there is an accent on the object. In Lavukaleve predicate focus constructions, the focus marker agrees with the object. In English sentence focus constructions, there is an accent on the subject, because sentence focus marking is in paradigmatic opposition to predicate focus marking. In Lavukaleve sentence focus constructions, the focus marker agrees with the subject. In both languages, sentence focus marking operates in paradigmatic opposition to predicate focus marking.

11.7 THE THREE FOCUS MARKERS FEO, HEO AND MEO

The three focus markers are associated with different sentence types. In the next sections the three focus markers will be discussed and exemplified. All three of the focus markers are used in the constructions described above, expressing predicate, sentence and argument focus.

THE MEO FOCUS MARKER

Meo is used only in polar questions. It agrees in person, number and gender with the questioned element:

(Sentence focus)

- 81) *Lamulam na alelam minu?*
 lamulam na a- le -la -m minu
 storm(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- see -NEG -sgm 2sgQFOC

Don't you see the storm?

es1 007

- 82) *"Valai mina roaru kiulam min?"*
 vala mina roa -ru kiu -la -m min
 how thing(f) one.sgm -none die -NEG -sgm 3sgmQFOC

"How now? Did no-one die?"

ns 097

(Predicate focus)

- 83) *Foe roa makururem min?*
 foe roa ma- kuru -re -m min
 pig(m) one.sgm 3pIS- hit -FUT -sgm 3sgmQFOC

Will they kill a pig?

el 047d

- 84) *Sterry min?*
 Sterry min
 Sterry(m) 3sgmQFOC

Is it Sterry?

el 033e

(Argument focus)

85)	" Ta! <i>Imil</i>	<i>minal</i>		hoka	leimal ".
	ta imil	minala		hoka	lei -mal
	just 2du	3dumQFOC		here.PROX	exist -du.m

"Hey! Are you two here?!"

mn4 093

THE **HEO** FOCUS MARKER

There are two uses of **heo**. One is automatic on the choice of certain syntactic elements; the other is to express strong emphasis. There are some syntactic environments which require the use of **heo**. These environments are: content questions, the second focus marker of a focus-echo construction, focus clauses which contain a **foia** demonstrative pronoun, and focus clauses in which a constituent is emphasised using the emphatic particle **ta**. In these environments, if any focus marker is used it must be **heo** rather than **meo** or **feo**. In other environments, **heo** may be used to express strong emphasis. This is particularly the case with contrastive emphasis, which is almost always expressed using **heo**. For this pragmatic purpose, **feo** may be always used instead of **heo**, but if it is, the strong emphasis reading associated with **heo** will be lost.

- Content questions

Heo contrasts with **meo** in that while they are both used to form questions, **meo** is only used in polar questions and **heo** is only used in content questions. Compare the two focus markers in the example below, which is taken from natural conversation. The speaker was trying to make out the identity of a dark figure approaching the house one night:

86)	<i>Ami hin?</i>	<i>Buga minu?</i>
	ami hin	Buga minu
	who(m) 3sgmEFOC	Buga 2sgQFOC

Who is it? Is that you, Buga?

e1 033j

Some textual examples:

87)	Kamu na	aosege		ta,	hano	leaev	galeng
	kamu na	a- o- se -ge	ta	hano	leaev	galeng	
	shit(m) sgmArt	3sgmO- 3sgS- defecate	-ANT	just	then	men(pl)	boys(pl)
	va aka mare	"Man hin	ana		vea	lome?	
	va aka ma- re	man hin	a-	na	vea	lo- me	
	plArt then 3plS-	say what(m) 3sgmEFOC	3sgmO-	in	emerge	3sgS-	HAB

She shitted, then the boys said "What [place] did it come out from?"

hr2 032

- 88) Hai! Le vala hi vokuru mame tam?
 hai le vala hi vo- kuru ma- me tam
 do but how 3sgnEFOC 3plO- hit 3plS- HAB man

Hey! But how are they killing them [the fish], man?

co 015

- 89) Elahave hin ovum.
 elahave hin o- vu -m
 how.much(m) 3sgmEFOC 3sgS-dig -sgm

How much did he dig?

mt 057

- **Heo** as the second focus marker of a focus-echo construction

Heo is also used as the second focus marker in a construction described above (Section 11.5.1) as a focus-echo construction. Constructions of this type are argument focus constructions, with the added feature that as well as having a focus marker in construction with the focussed argument, inside the sentence, they also have a second focus marker, agreeing with the same argument, at the end of the sentence. It was suggested above that this kind of construction expresses particularly strong argument focus.

In (90), the **feo** focus marker (in this case **fi**) is used to focus on the adjunct **kosora** 'today' and the **heo** focus marker (**hi**) is the second focus marker, agreeing with the first:

- 90) "Kosora fi melele hi.
 kosora fi mele- le hi
 today 3sgnFOC 2du- day(n) 3sgnEFOC

"Today is your day. (Today I'm going to eat you two!")

mn4 095-096

In the following example, **feo** is used to express focus on the subject NP **malav vutiv** and **heo** is the second focus marker, agreeing with the first:

- 91) Aka malav vutiv fiv vo hiv
 aka malav vuti -v fiv vo hiv
 then people(pl) be.many -pl 3plFOC come 3plEFOC
 le hoigari ena¹⁰.
 le hoiga -ri e- na
 day(n) MOD.MED.sgn -PSNV 3sgnO- in

So, there were many people that came, on that day.

ef 005

¹⁰ The plural Agreement Suffix has been omitted from **vo** 'come', as occasionally happens (see Section 10.3.1).

Further examples:

92)	Aka	gao	lelagel	figel	hokala	
	aka	gao	lelagel	figel	hoka	-la
	then	war.canoen	two.n	3dunFOC	here.PROX	-EXT
	vela	megel		higel.		
	vela	me	-gel	higel		
	go	HAB	-dun	3dunEFOC		

Two war canoes used to go from here.

kg2 004

93)	Mina	hano	loea	feo	ikari	mea	heo.
	mina	hano	loea	feo	ika -ri	me -a	heo
	um	then	tree.sp(f)	3sgfFOC	there -PSNV	SPEC -sgf	3sgfEFOC

Before, there was a loea tree in that place.

ns 035

Note that the first focus marker of this construction type can be any of the three focus markers as appropriate. The second, however, must always be **heo**. In the following example, the first focus marker is the **heo** form because the clause is an information question. The second focus marker is **heo** because, as the second focus marker of a focus-echo construction, it has to be:

94)	Melena	ami	hin	akari	siam	hin?
	mele- na	ami	hin	aka -ri	sia -m	hin
	2du- in	who(m)	3sgmEFOC	then -PSNV	do -sgm	3sgmEFOC

Which one of you two did this? [lit: Who of you two did this?]

co 366

- With an emphasised constituent

In focus clauses which have a constituent emphasised by the use of the particle **ta** 'just, only', **heo** must normally be used. **Ta** 'just' always immediately follows the constituent which it emphasises:

95)	Ngai	ta	anuvem		hin	(*fin).
	ngai	ta	a- nuve	-m	hin	fin
	1sg	just	3sgmO- own	-sgm	3sgmEFOC	3sgmFOC

Only I (m) own it (m).

e3 019d

In the above example, although both participants are 3rd singular masculine, one can tell that **ngai** is the subject and 'it' is the object because of the context; the sentence means 'I own it', not 'it owns me'. The focus marker and the object marker agree with the same referent, which must be the subject because the verbal prefix cross-references the object.

96)	Ngai ta	buku	hoina	anuvea	heo	(*feo).
	ngai ta	buku	hoina	a- nuve -a	heo	feo
	1sg	just	conch(m)	MOD.MED.sgm	3sgmO- own -sgf	3sgfEFOC

Only I (f) own that conch.

e3 019e

- 110) *Foiva hano soiv hiv*
 foiva hano soi -v hiv
 PN.MED.pl then run.away -pl 3plEFOC
They then ran away... jn 147
- 111) *foiva ngomarev hiv.*
 foiva ngo-ma -re -v hiv
 PN.MED.pl 2sg-take -FUT -pl 3plEFOC
... you will take them. eg 013
- 112) *Foiga Lavukale emi leme hi.*
 foiga Lavukale e- mi le- me hi
 PN.MED.sgn Russell.Is. 3sgnO- make 1plex- HAB 3sgnEFOC
That [is what] we did in the Russells. kg1 001a

The previous examples all show **foia** demonstrative pronouns in subject or object function. **Foia** demonstratives in postpositional phrases are uncommon, but there are examples of these in Sentence-Final focus constructions in the corpus (Section 11.4.1 explains that Sentence-Final focus constructions expressing focus on postpositional phrases are very rare). The following example shows a **foia** demonstrative pronoun in a postpositional phrase, in a clause with a Sentence-Final focus construction. The focus marker is from the **heo**, not **feo** paradigm:

- 113) *Foia ane kelea lamem hin.*
 foia a- ne kelea la- me -m hin
 PN.MED.sgm 3sgmO-with walk 1sg- HAB -sgm 3sgmEFOC
I would go round with him. co2 082

It is perhaps significant that in argument focus constructions while it is possible to focus on an NP, this NP cannot consist of a demonstrative pronoun from the **foia** paradigm. So the question whether a **foia** demonstrative pronoun in argument focus would occur with a **feo** or **heo** copula does not arise.

Unlike the demonstrative pronoun **foia**, personal pronouns do not affect the form of the focus marker; see for example (37) and (38) above. Neither do demonstrative pronouns from the **oia** paradigm:

- 114) *Oiarom feo ngomarea heo.*
 oia -ri -om feo ngo- ma -re -a heo
 other.MED.sgf -PSNV -m/n 3sgfFOC 2sg- take -FUT -sgf 3sgfEFOC
You take that one. co 206

Demonstrative modifiers (from the **hoia** paradigm) also do not affect the form of the focus marker. In the following example, a **hoia** demonstrative is the subject of a Sentence-Final focus construction with a **feo** focus marker:

115)	Aka	hoia	fe	koi	aira	sikala	feo.
	aka	hoia	fe	koi	aira	sikala	-a feo
	then	MOD.MED.sgf	even	also	woman(f)	be.bad	-sgf 3sgfFOC

And that one is also an ugly woman.

co 077

Incidentally, **hoia** demonstratives can co-occur with the **heo** focus markers: see for example (96) above.

If the focus marker is marking a Sentence-Internal focus construction, the presence of a **foia** demonstrative pronoun does not affect the form of the focus marker. In the following example, the focus marker, which is in an argument focus construction focussing on the first part of the complex predicate **ovu lome** is unaffected by the presence of the subject **foina**:

116)	Oina	vere,	foina	ovu	fi	lome.
	oina	ve -re	foina	o- vu	fi	lo- me
	other.MED.sgm	go -NF	PN.MED.sgm	3sgfO- dig	3sgnFOC	3sgS- HAB

He went, he dug.

mt 055

Note that there are no restrictions on the use of the demonstrative pronoun **foia** with the **meo** focus marker. This phenomenon only affects the **feo** and **heo** focus markers.

This phenomenon is one that deserves some attention. Deictics and focus markers can co-occur; however the way in which they can co-occur is tightly constrained. That is, h-stem deictics (in other words, demonstrative modifiers from the **hoia** paradigm) and f-stem focus markers (from the **feo** paradigm) can co-occur, and f-stem deictics (demonstrative pronouns from the **foia** paradigm) and h-stem focus markers (from the **heo** paradigm) can co-occur, but an f-stem deictic (**foia**) can't co-occur with an f-stem focus marker (**feo**). If a focus clause contains a **foia** pronoun, the **feo** focus marker cannot be used; instead **heo** must be used.

This phenomenon is an obligatory syntactic phenomenon, not a stylistic or pragmatic choice which speakers can make. Because it is automatic on the choice of a focus construction which contains a demonstrative pronoun, it is not a pragmatic variable that speakers can manipulate. For this reason, it is best seen as a kind of agreement phenomenon; one could think of it as alliterative discord. Alliterative concord is a type of agreement system whereby the head, on which agreement depends, contains material which is identical to the material showing agreement on other word classes. Corbett (1991: 117) says, with reference to Swahili gender agreement:

1. the noun itself includes a form which is identical to the gender agreement marker and which clearly indicates the gender of the nouns;
2. the same gender agreement marker is used for different agreement targets.

In Lavukaleve, the situation is similar to this. One could think of the deictic as the head,

the form of which determines the agreement of the focus marker. An f-stem deictic head (pronoun **foia**) requires an h-stem focus marker (**heo**). An h-stem deictic head (**hoia**) allows an f-stem focus marker (**feo**). This is alliterative discord in the sense that the agreement markers, f and h, occur on both of the word classes concerned; as markers of agreement. Concord implies identity; these markers however, agree, as it were, by disagreeing. This, then, is alliterative discord.

There is also an interaction between f and h within the focus markers; recall that if there are two focus markers in construction with each other (i.e. in focus-echo constructions), the first may be either **feo** or **heo**, but the second must be **heo**, not **feo**. The interaction between f/h stems in focus markers is somewhat different from the f/h interaction between deictics and focus markers. With focus markers, the interaction between f- and h-stems is due to a cumulative effect of a combination between emphasis and focus, and arises as a corollary of the respective functions of the f-stem and h-stem focus markers.

THE FEO FOCUS MARKER

Feo is the "elsewhere" focus marker; that is, it is used in all contexts where a focus marker is needed but the conditions are not appropriate for **meo** or **heo**. It is used in statements, not in questions, and in clauses in which there is no **foia** demonstrative pronoun, and where there is no strong emphasis. Examples have occurred frequently throughout this chapter, and more need not be repeated here.

11.8 SUMMARY

There are three focus markers in Lavukaleve, which are used in different constructions. The constituent with which the focus marker is in construction is the focussed constituent. Many different types of constituents can be focussed: a predicate plus its object, a sentence, an NP or an adjunct, including nominal adjuncts, adverbs, particles, non-main verbs and the first part of complex predicates.

When predicates and sentences are focussed, the focus marker is the final element of the sentence; thus, these constructions are called Sentence-Final focus constructions. The agreement of the focus marker determines the domain of focus, thus sentence focus and predicate focus are distinguished by the agreement shown on the focus marker.

When arguments are focussed, the focus marker appears immediately after the argument, sentence-internally; thus the constructions are called Sentence-Internal focus constructions.

As a point of embarkation, Lambrecht's definition of focus was used; he regards focus as a scope indicator, related to phenomena of assertion and presupposition. Lavukaleve's use of focus differs in some respects from many other languages, for example in its

frequent focus-marking of dependent clauses, but it was pointed out that since Lavukaleve so clearly marks what is and what is not focussed, it is no difficult matter to determine what is focussed in Lavukaleve; and thus an understanding of the pragmatics of focus marking in Lavukaleve can be arrived at empirically.

It was also shown how Lavukaleve's focus marking system grammaticalises Lambrecht's three-way division of focus into sentence, predicate and argument focus in an extremely clear way; in fact, Lavukaleve is a better exemplar of his three-way division than English or the other languages he uses.

Some aspects of Lavukaleve's focus marking system are highly unusual. For instance it is unusual for a focus marker to show agreement, and to be so heavily grammaticalised as Lavukaleve's obviously is. Further, it is impossible to describe the basic morpho-syntax of Lavukaleve without having recourse to information structure. This is not uncommon in languages; what is uncommon is the extent to which the categories of information structure pervade Lavukaleve's grammar.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Tense, aspect and mood

12.1 INTRODUCTION

All morphological categories of tense, aspect and mood (TAM) are marked by suffixes on verbs (see Chapter 14 for discussion of how these suffixes operate in complex predicates). There are two Tense categories: Present and Future; there are two Aspect categories: Imperfective and Durative; and there are six Mood categories: Admonitive, Durative Imperative, Punctual Imperative, Hortative, Abilitative and Extended.

TAM is not an obligatorily marked category; even when semantically appropriate, there is no obligation for speakers to use it. Most TAM suffixes are incompatible with most other verbal morphology.

Further, most of these affixes cannot combine with each other. The following table sets out the TAM suffixes, and their combinatorial possibilities with other verbal morphology:

Combinatorial Possibilities of TAM morphology

	Prefixes			Suffixes				
	Object	Subject	SBD	CAUS	NEG	NF	other TAM	AGR
TENSE								
Future	yes	yes	x	yes	x	x	x	yes
Present	yes	x†	x	x	x	x	x	x
ASPECT								
Durative	yes	x	x	x	x	yes	x	x
Imperfective	yes	yes††	x	yes	x	yes	x	x
MOOD								
Punctual Imperative	yes	x	x	yes	x	x	x	x
Durative Imperative	yes	x	x	yes	x	x	x	x
Hortative	yes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Extended	yes	x	x	x	x	x	x	yes††
Admonitive	yes	yes	yes	x	x	x	x	x
Abilitative	yes	yes	yes ††	x	x	x	x	x

'Yes' means the affixes can co-occur on one verb. An x means they cannot.

† Number of subject is marked in the Present Tense suffix.

†† Rare.

The table makes clear that object cross-referencing is compatible with all TAM morphology, but subject cross-referencing is much less so. Generally only one TAM category can be marked per verb.

TAM is not the complex and elaborated area that it is in some East Papuan Phylum languages, for instance Yele (Henderson 1995) or Motuna (Onishi 1994). In both of these languages, there are highly elaborated TAM categories, expressed by extremely complex agglutinative verbal morphology. Lavukaleve's system, by contrast, is relatively simple, with few contrasts and simple morphological means of expressing them.

12.2 TENSE

There are two morphologically marked tense categories in Lavukaleve: the Present Tense and the Future Tense. The Present Tense morphology contains information about the number (sg/du/pl) of the subject, whereas the Future Tense marker just marks Future Tense. Neither the Present Tense nor the Future Tense markers are obligatory in contexts in which they are semantically appropriate, and in fact in many verb forms they

- 4) **Aka** **daine** **kini** **afeule,**
 aka raine kini a- e- feu -le
 then tomorrow ACT 3sgmO- SBD- go.up -POT

foiga **anelaire.**
 foiga a- ne- lai -re
 PN.MED.sgn 3sgmO- 2sgS- tell -FUT

Then tomorrow if he comes, you should tell him.

mn2 011

- 5) **Iru** **fi** **oire** **mene** **hoka** **metailan.**
 iru fi o- i -re me- ne hoka me- tail -n
 sleep 3sgnFOC 3sgS- do -FUT 1pl.in. with here.PROX 1pl.in.POSS- house -LOC

He'd better sleep with us two here in our house.

mn2 012

The Future tense marker is also found much more rarely expressing irrealis rather than future time meaning:

- 6) **Aka** **kini** **tataveuarea** **la** **oesiale,**
 aka kini tataveua -re -a la o- e- sia -le
 then ACT be.missing -NF -sgf sgfArt 3sgfO- SBD- do -POT

ovea **mame.**
 o- vea ma- me
 3sgfO- know 3plS- HAB

If anything was missing, they would have known it.

co2 064

The Future Tense suffix can occur in positive main clauses which have future time reference. It can co-occur with the Causative suffix (which it follows), and the Agreement Suffix (which it precedes). Tense-marked verbs cannot receive Aspect or Mood suffixation, but note that the Future Tense suffix can be used with the Habitual Auxiliary (see Section 14.3). As tense marking does not occur on negated verbs, to express a negative future clause, the Habitual Auxiliary with the Future Tense suffix must be used in construction with a negated verb:

- 7) **"O** **kosora** **mefo'sal** **rovoru** **vokurula** **merev** **fome"**
 o kosora me- fo'sal rovo -ru vo- kuru -la me -re -v fome
 oh today 1pl.in- fish(pl) one.pl -none 3pl.O- hit -NEG HAB -FUT -pl 1pl.inFOC

"Oh, today we won't catch any fish"

cs2 033

There is a morpheme formally identical to the Future Tense marker, which marks coordinate-dependent verbs which form a sequence with the following clause. It can be easily distinguished from the Future Tense marker on morphological and semantic grounds. A verb marked by the Non-Finite suffix cannot receive subject cross-referencing, can receive certain Aspect marking, and has no constraints on time reference. Conversely, a Future Tense marked verb can easily occur with subject cross-referencing (as shown in the above examples), cannot receive Aspect marking (as mentioned above) and can only have future time reference. The Non-Finite suffix is discussed in Section 15.4.4.

In passing, it may be mentioned that there is a third, rare, circumstance in which a suffix of the form **-re** can appear, on an independent predicate but with no future time reading.

- 8) (*Chiefs don't work for the good of the village any more.*)

Mamuan		minaoae		eliki		mev	siare.
ma-	muan	minaoa	-e	e-	liki	me	-v sia-re
3plPOSS-	self	be.rich	-NOMZR	3sgnO-	want	SPEC-pl	do -NF

Because they want riches for themselves.

jh 040

These situations are the ones in which the **-re**-marked predicate can have the Imperfective Aspect or Durative suffix as well. For example:

- 9)
- | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------|------------------|-----|-------|--|
| Janet | kimita | otat | | fufurene. | | | |
| Janet | kimita | o- | tat | fufu | -re | -ne | |
| Janet(f) | pandanus(f) | 3sgfO- | on.top | lie.down | -RE | -IMPF | |

Janet is lying on a mat.

e1 003g

This kind of morphological combination of the **-re** plus the Imperfective Aspect marker is semantically similar to a simple Present Tense suffix:

- 10)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------|----------------|----------|--|
| Janet | kimita | otat | | fufunu. | | |
| Janet | kimita | o- | tat | fufu | -nu | |
| Janet(f) | pandanus(f) | 3sgfO- | on.top | lie.down | -PRES.sg | |

Janet is lying on a mat.

e1 003e

These sentences were both produced spontaneously by native speakers; but native speakers find it difficult to say what the meaning difference between them is.

It is difficult to know how to understand these sentences with independent non-future predicates with the **-re** suffix. It is not clear whether they are aberrant examples of the Future suffix, aberrant examples of the Non-Finite suffix, or something else entirely. However, although such sentences are perfectly acceptable to speakers, they are very rare in the corpus.

12.22 THE PRESENT TENSE

The Present Tense marks an event as being ongoing at the time of speech. The morpheme marking the Present Tense also marks number¹ of the subject (S/A):

¹ This is not the Agreement Suffix: the Agreement Suffix has gendered dual forms **-mal--aol--gel**, and marked singular forms also. The segment /l/ is a pervasive feature of dual forms throughout Lavukaleve; and similarly /v/ is ubiquitous in plural forms.

Singular	-nu
Dual	-nul
Plural	-nuv

A rare variant of this suffix is **-no --nol --nov**. These two forms of the suffix reflect variant pronunciations. They mean the same thing.

The Present Tense suffix is not obligatory, and in fact cannot be used on a verb which has any other morphology apart from object marking.

The Present Tense suffix is actually quite rare in texts, but it is extremely common in conversation. Texts in my corpus are mostly about events in the past, or habitual events using habitual aspectual morphology. When the Present Tense marker does come up it is usually in the context of quoted speech, or for vivid impact, using the so-called "historical present" (Chung and Timberlake 1985: 213), which is a common phenomenon cross-linguistically.

In natural conversation, however, the Present Tense marker is extremely common, particularly in interchanges like example (14) below, where someone asks the whereabouts of a woman, and is answered with what the woman is doing: She's sleeping, she's making pudding, she's swimming, and so on.

Some examples of this tense marker in use:

- 11) **Mina** ogera oakige
 mina o- gera o- a- ki -ge
 thing(f) 3sgPOSS- feeling(f) 3sgfO- 1sgS- feel -ANT
- God oveio** o "God ngaveinu" hide are.
 God o- ve -io o God nga- vei -nu hide a- re
 God 3sgS- go -NOMZR.f and God 1sgO- call -PRES.sg thus 1sgS- say
- I felt God's call, and I said "God is calling me".* am 023
- 12) **Felenu?**
 fele -nu
 return -PRES.sg
- Are you going back?* co 227
- 13) **Ukeanu?**
 ukea -nu
 come.close -PRES.sg
- Is it coming close?* gm 097
- 14) **Vasia?** **Irunu**
 vasia -a iru -nu
 be.where-sgf sleep -PRES.sg
- Where is she? She's sleeping.* e3 037w/1

Another answer to the question asked in the last example could be **irua** (sleep-sgf) 'she's asleep'. This is a stative verb, using the Agreement Suffix (see Section 10.5), rather than a Present Tense-marked verb.

Note that the fact that the Present Tense suffix contains subject number marking has an interesting result. In Lavukaleve, information about an argument of a verb can only be cross-referenced once (if at all) per verb. So the fact that the number of the subject is cross-referenced by the tense suffix means that information about the subject cannot be marked elsewhere on a Present Tense-marked verb, for example by a prefix or by the Agreement Suffix.

Morphological Present Tense marking is relatively rare. It is far more common in Lavukaleve for present time reference to be marked phrasally than morphologically. The usual way to do this is to use a clause chain involving one or more lexical verbs plus the verb **lei** 'exist', particularly with non-punctual verbs (see Chapter 15 for a discussion of clause chains). The next two (elicited) examples contrast a present-time reference sentence and a past time reference sentence respectively.

- 15) **Kimita ona fifire fi olei.**
 kimita o- na fifi -re fi o- lei
 pandanus(f) 3sgfO- in sit -NF 3sgnFOC 3sgS- exist

He is sitting on a mat (now).

el 011e

- 16) **Marigen kimita ona fi ofifi.**
 marigen kimita o- na fi o- fifi
 yesterday pandanus(f) 3sgfO-in 3sgnFOC 3sgS- sit

Yesterday he sat on a mat.

el 011f

In the first sentence, present time reference is indicated by the verbal complex **fifire olei** (with a focus marker marking focus on the lexical verb **fifi**). The lexical verb is marked with the Non-Finite suffix; a literal translation of this sentence would be 'Sitting on the mat he is'. Contrast this with the second sentence, in which past time reference is shown by the particle **marigen** 'yesterday', and the predicate is a simple verb.

Following are textual examples to further illustrate clause chains with coordinate-dependent lexical verbs and the finite verb **lei** 'exist' with present time reference:

- 17) "O! Ngai fe mina ngane mem kini
 o ngai fe mina nga- ne me -m kini
 oh 1sg even um 1sgO- with SPEC -sgm ACT
- hoka vore mina oma la**
 hoka vo -re mina o- ma -a la
 here.PROX come -NF thing(f) 3sgS- take-sgf sgfArt
- oku mea ona hide fi vore alei".**
 o- ku me -a o- na hide fi vo -re a- lei
 3sgfO- like SPEC -sgf 3sgfO- in thus 3sgnFOC come-NF 1sgS- exist
- "Oh! My brother came here, I am come [lit. coming, I exist] to get what my brother got". co 165*
- 18) Ngotua la omare kini feula ngolei.
 ngo-tua la o- ma -re kini feu -la ngo- lei
 2sg- wife(f) sgfArt 3sgfO-take -NF ACT go.up -NEG 2sg- exist
- You aren't taking your wife up! [i.e. you haven't brought your wife up [with you]] co 254*
- 19) "E! Laiba! Ukeare lore fi melei".
 e lai -ba ukea -re lo -re fi me- lei
 hey! paddle-DURIMP.pl come.close -NF finish -NF 3sgnFOC 1pl.in-exist
- "Hey! Paddle! We're close now!" jn 022*
- 20) Oia fe nei ga eveare fi olei.
 oia fe nei ga e- vea -re fi o- lei
 other.MED.sgf even coconut(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- know -NF 3sgnFOC 3sgS- exist
- That other woman knows about the coconut. co 117*
- 21) Iire. Lafi elikire fi alei".
 iire lafi e- liki -re fi a- lei
 yes water(n) 3sgnO- want-NF 3sgnFOC 1sgS- exist
- "Yes. I want water". co 195*

12.3 ASPECT

There are two aspectual categories marked morphologically in Lavukaleve. There is an Imperfective Aspect, marked by suffix **-ne**, and a Durative Aspect, marked by the suffixes **-nun** ~ **-na**.

Aspect marking is not obligatory, and it cannot co-occur with Tense, Mood or most other verbal morphology. No Aspectual category can occur on negated verbs, or verbs marked with any other suffix. Because Aspect-marked verbs cannot receive the Agreement Suffix (see Chapter 10), they cannot occur in certain types of focus constructions (see Chapter 11), or relative clauses (see Section 16.3). Aspect-marked verbs can occur with object and, rarely, subject cross-referencing prefixes.

12.3.1 THE IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT SUFFIX -NE

The Imperfective Aspect marker **-ne** is used for events or states which have no necessary endpoint, and which tend to be extended through time. It means that the action is still going on at the time of reference. It contains no reference to the time with respect to the speech event (i.e. tense). The following elicited pair of sentences (each one frequently heard in conversation) makes transparent the semantic difference between the Imperfective and the Present Tense suffixes. Example (22) is repeated from above (14):

- 22) **Vasia?** **Irunu**
 vasia -a iru -nu
 be.where -sgf sleep -PRES.sg
Where is she? She's sleeping. e3 037h/1

- 23) **Vasia?** **Irone.**
 vasia -a iru -ne
 be.where -sgf sleep -IMPF
Where is she? She's still sleeping. e3 037h/2

The Imperfective Aspect suffix can co-occur with the Non-Finite suffix (but not the Future Tense suffix, which is formally identical to the Non-Finite suffix: see above for an explanation of the difference). An Imperfective-marked verb can receive object and (rarely) subject cross-referencing prefixes. There is no other morphology with which the Imperfective suffix can co-occur.

The following examples of the Imperfective Aspect suffix are taken from texts:

- 24) **Otua** **lomuan** **beko** **la** **otat** **falere**
 o- tua lo- muan beko la o- tat fale -re
 3sgPOSS- wife(f) 3sgfO- self stone(f) sgfArt 3sgfO- on.top stand -NF
kakone **otum** **na** **aham.**
 kako -ne o- tum na a- ham
 look.out -IMPF 3sgPOSS- husband(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- for
His wife stood alone on top of the stone, looking out for her husband. gm 021

- 25) **Levo** **la** **ofure** **rongeane.**
 levo la o- fu -re ronge -ne
 flute(f) sgfArt 3sgfO- sing -NF play -IMPF
They were playing blowing the flute.

- Hoigari** **ena** **ta** **vonam** **kini** **olavea.**
 hoiga -ri e- na ta vo- nam kini o- lavea
 MOD.MED.sgn -PSNV 3sgnO- in just 3pIO- to ACT 3sgS- appear
Then she showed herself to them. jn2 041-042

26)	Ekelagurire	foiva	soire	kini	
	e- kelaguri -re	foiva	soi -re	kini	
	3sgnO- set.fire.to -NF	PN.MED.pl	run.away -NF	ACT	
	makala	one	lugaulin	ka	ngiurene.
	ma- kala	o- ne	lugauli-n	ka	ngiu-re -ne
	3plPOSS- mother(f)	3sgfO- with	bush -LOC	LOCEMPH	hide -NF -IMPF

Setting fire to it, they ran away, and went and waited for their mother [who was] hiding in the bush. jn2 114

One idiomatic expression always involves the use of Imperfective **-ne**. The noun **laku** 'hate' is used, with a Locative suffix, and a Possessive prefix to express the experiencer, as a kind of paratactic adjunct to a main clause with verb suffixed with **-ne**:

27)	olakun	ololoirine	o	siane.
	o- laku -n	o- loloiri -ne	o	sia -ne
	3sgPOSS- hate -LOC	3sgfO- talk.about -IMPF	and	do -IMPF

... he didn't want to talk about her or do anything. [lit: in his hate was talking about her and doing anything] co 251

This construction is also discussed in Section 17.2.7.

12.3.2 THE DURATIVE ASPECT SUFFIXES **-NUN** AND **-NA**

The Durative Aspect indicates that an action is extended through a very long length of time. Typically a verb plus Durative suffix is repeated, often ten or more times, to indicate that things went on in the same way, or the same thing kept happening, for a very long time. This is a very common stylistic device in narratives. The two suffixes **-nun** and **-na** differ in that **-na** is a rare form used exclusively by old people, whereas **-nun** is used primarily by younger people. They mean the same thing. It is certainly always possible to use either in all contexts which I have explored. I have never heard the suffix **-na** in conversation, but it is not uncommon in narrative monologues by old people.

Verbs marked with either of the Durative suffixes can appear with the Non-Finite suffix, object cross-referencing prefixes, and no other verbal morphology.

28)	Ikari	fo'foira	oinun	oinun	oinun
	ika -ri	fo'foira	o- i -nun	o- i -nun	o- i -nun
	there -PSNV	work(f)	3sgfO- do -DUR	3sgfO-do -DUR	3sgfO- do -DUR
	fi	aka	ikari	lore,	
	fi	aka	ika -ri	lo -re	
	3sgnFOC	then	there -PSNV	finish -NF	
	mate	ga	ukeare	lo	ke.
	mate	ga	ukea -re	lo	ke
	war(n)	sgnArt	come.close -NF	finish	EMPH

I continued working there, then finished, and the war was nearly over.

co2 046

12.4 MOOD

There are six morphologically marked categories of mood in Lavukaleve: Admonitive **-n**; Punctual Imperative **-va--ila--iva**; Durative Imperative **-ma--mela--ba**; Hortative **-me**; Abilitative **-nen--nan**; and Extended **-la**.

Mood is not an obligatory category in contexts in which it is semantically appropriate; and the presence of Mood marking is incompatible with much other verbal morphology. The verbs on which these mood suffixes occur cannot mark any categories of Tense, Aspect or other Moods. Neither can they be negated; and because they cannot have the Agreement Suffix (see Chapter 10) they cannot occur in most types of focus constructions (see Chapter 11) or relative clauses (see Section 16.3). All Mood-marked verbs can, if transitive, appear with an object cross-referencing prefix, but some (the Imperatives, the Hortative and the Extended) cannot occur with subject cross-referencing prefixes. The Admonitive and Abilitative can cross-reference their subjects with prefixes.

Other clause types expressing mood-like categories include Purposive and Potential clauses. These categories are marked by suffixes on verbs, but, unlike the Mood suffixes, verbs with such suffixes form subordinate clauses. These are discussed in Chapter 16.

12.4.1 THE ADMONITIVE

There is a cluster of related meanings associated with the Admonitive suffix **-n**. The core meaning, in terms of frequency at least, is the one which the suffix has been named for: it is used to warn against something, telling the hearer to avoid something bad happening. It sometimes contains an implied command to not do something. The suffix is also used for a negative imperative; telling the hearer not to do something, with no implication of avoiding anything bad that might follow from ignoring the command. The suffix is also used to indicate that something bad might happen, without any implied command to avoid it, or not do something. This is a deleterious possibility usage (in the words of Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 211)). The suffix can, more rarely, be used as an irrealis marker; to mean that something may happen, whether good or bad, again with no implication that the speaker should do or not do anything to avoid it. Lastly, the suffix may be used as an exhortative, asking that something, usually good, should happen. This use is restricted to prayer.

These meanings, for the sake of clarity, can be schematised as follows:

- Don't! (negative imperative)
(No implication of trying to avoid something bad)

- Avoid something bad! (admonitive)
(Warning, sometimes an implied negative imperative)
- Something bad might happen! (deleterious possibility)
(Pointing it out, with no implication of commanding the hearer to avoid it)
- Something might happen! (irrealis)
(No indication of whether the something is good or bad, and no implication that the hearer should avoid it)
- May something happen! (exhortative)
(Asking that something, usually good, may happen. Used in prayer.)

This is a large semantic range for one morpheme, but one can clearly see the semantic connections between each of the meanings. The final use, the exhortative, is perhaps surprising given the first few meanings; but it can be understood in terms of a slight alteration of the irrealis meaning of 'something might happen' to wanting something to happen.

Bybee et al. (1994: 211) talk of an admonitive modality, which involves the speaker issuing a warning to the addressee. They mention Alyawarra and Slave as two languages in which a deleterious possibility marker is the same as an admonitive marker. This is certainly the situation in Lavukaleve. Clearly at some level these meanings are all closely related.

The following examples show the meanings of the suffix *-n* more clearly. Note that for the sake of consistency, this suffix is universally glossed ADMONitive, irrespective of its actual meaning in the context.

NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE

The negative imperative use of the suffix commands the hearer not to carry out the action of the verb. There is no necessary implication that bad results will follow if the hearer ignores the command. The admonitive in the negative imperative meaning is often accompanied by *sevo*, a particle meaning 'tabu/holy', which can also be used by itself to tell someone to stop doing whatever it is they are doing.

- 34) "Sevo. Oma onekole oeraun."
 sevo o- ma o- ne- ko -le o- erau -n
 tabu/holy 3sgfO- take 3sgfO-2sgS- throw -POT 3sgS- fall -ADMON

"Careful! Don't throw [the coconut] down."

co 103

- 35) "Sevo onelufun"
 sevo o- ne- lufu -n
 tabu/holy 3sgFO- 2sgS- leave -ADMON
"Don't leave it". co 225
- 36) **Onefoin!**
 o- ne- foi -n
 3sgFO- 2sgS- hold -ADMON
Don't touch! e1 003n
- 37) **Sevo meirun kosora fi koro ofau.**
 sevo me- iru -n kosora fi koro o- fau
 tabu/holy 2pl- sleep -ADMON soon 3sgnFOC darkness(n) 3sgS- happen
Don't go to sleep yet; it's still early. e1 042g

ADMONITIVE AND DELETERIOUS POSSIBILITY

The following examples each have two instances of the suffix **-n**. In each case, the first instance is a warning not to do something (admonitive), and in the second instance the suffix is marking the fact that something bad might happen as a result of ignoring the warning (deleterious possibility).

- 38) **Sevo kua ga ena umu ngofifin.**
 sevo kua ga e- na umu ngo- fifi -n
 tabu/holy coconut.tree(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- in under 2sg- sit -ADMON
Don't sit under the coconut tree.
- Erau nei ngokurun.**
 erau nei ngo- kuru -n
 fall coconut(n) 2sg- hit -ADMON
A coconut might fall and hit you (which would be bad). e1 042e-f
- 39) **Sevo hoika ngoven, kokoroko la ngokin.**
 sevo hoika ngo- ve -n kokoroko la ngo- ki -n
 tabu/holy there.MED 2sg- go-ADMON chicken(f) sgfArt 2sg- shoot -ADMON
Don't go there; the chicken might peck you (which would be bad). e1 042h

IRREALIS

These examples show the suffix indicating that something may happen; the event is not necessarily good or bad:

- 40) **"Vulaba! Ui rugi hoga ele memen".**
 vula -ba ui rugi hoga e- le me- me -n
 come -DURIMP.pl food(n) big.sgn MOD.PROX.sgn 3sgnO- see 2pl- HAB-ADMON
"Come! So you can see the big feast." mn 004

- 41) **ali** **ele** **elikivele** **ikari** **ae**
 ali e- le e- liki -vele ika -ri ae
 man(m) 3sgnO- see 3sgnO-want -SUCC there -PSNV go.up
ele **laemen**
 e- le la- e- me -n
 3sgnO- see 3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ADMON
Anyone who wants to see it can go up and look there. s2 072
- 42) **fo'sal** **va** **kiuvele** **aka** **nego voemen** **hide.**
 fo'sal va kiu -vele aka nego vo- e- me -n hide
 fish(pl) plArt die -SUCC then float 3plO- SBD- HAB -ADMON thus
... when the fish die, they may float. cs2 025
- 43) **Ngaseri** **voemen** **o**
 nga- seri vo- e- me -n o
 1sgO- be.surprised.by 3plO- SBD- HAB-ADMON and
ngaliki **voemen**
 nga- liki vo- e- me -n
 1sgO- want 3plO- SBD- HAB -ADMON
They may be surprised by me and they may want me. v2 025

EXHORTATIVE

This meaning is found only in the prayer services. It is used to mark exhortations to God. It may be that examples of this meaning are only found in the prayer services simply because this is the only context in which exhortations normally occur.

- 44) **Lod** **mene** **ngoa** **laemen.**
 Lod me- ne ngoa la- e- me -n
 Lord 2pl- with stay 3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ADMON
May the Lord be with you pr 108
- 45) **Ena** **hini** **ngolatleu** **lemen**
 e- na hini ngo- lateleu le- me -n
 1pl.ex- in INT 2sg- be.merciful 1pl.ex-HAB -ADMON
e **ngoveneri** **fi** **leme.**
 e ngo- veneri fi le- me
 1pl.ex 2sg- ask.for 3sgnFOC 1pl.ex- HAB
Have mercy on us, we pray you. pr 007

12.4.2 THE IMPERATIVES

There are two Imperative paradigms, each one with three members, marked for number (singular, dual and plural). These Imperatives have 2nd person reference. Similar command-type morphology for 1st inclusive reference is the Hortative **-me** (discussed below, Section 12.4.3). Note also the 3rd singular exhortative form, one of the uses of

the Admonitive suffix **-n** (discussed above, Section 12.4.1), which also falls into a similar semantic area. The Imperative forms discussed in this section are all positive; the negative imperative is expressed by the Admonitive suffix **-n** (see above, Section 12.4.1).

The Imperatives can co-occur with subject prefixes, rarely, and they can have overt NPs expressing the subject (usually **inu** '2nd singular'). But usually, as the examples show, there is no overt mention of the subject, as its reference is assumed.

The two Imperatives differ in their meanings. The Punctual Imperative (glossed PCTIMP) is so-named because it is used with verbs whose action can be carried out to completion instantaneously. The Durative Imperative (glossed DURIMP) is used on the type of verbs that would be expected to take some time to carry out to completion. This Durative Imperative is also used as the command form for verbs which have no necessary endpoint. The addressee is expected to begin, but not complete, the action instantly. The forms of the Imperatives are:

	PUNCTUAL IMPERATIVE
SG	-va
DU	-ila
PL	-iva

	DURATIVE IMPERATIVE
SG	-ma
DU	-mela
PL	-ba

Because of the aspectual nature of the difference between these, some verbs are usually found only with Punctual Imperatives, and some only with Durative Imperatives. However, for many verbs there is a certain overlap; either Imperative can be used, with difference illocutionary force resulting from the choice.

For example, **ngo** 'stay' usually only takes the Durative Imperative:

- 46) **Ngoama!**
 ngo -ma
 stay -DURIMP.sg
You stay!

This is a command, but it cannot, because of the nature of the verb, be carried out to completion immediately. On the other hand, a verb like **fo** 'put something down', will normally take the Punctual Imperative:

- 47) **Foava!**
 fo -va
 go.down -PCTIMP.sg
Drop it!

The action is instantaneous, and the speaker expects the command to be carried out instantly.

The distinction between Lavukaleve's two Imperatives is primarily one of aspect. Superficially similar systems occur in other languages, but these are clearly distinct from Lavukaleve's system. For instance in Yele (Henderson 1995), an East Papuan Phylum language, and, further afield, Kewapi (Yarapea 1993) and Hua (Haiman 1980), there are two Imperatives, an immediate and a deferred or future Imperative. The former is used for actions which the speaker wants to be carried out immediately, the latter for actions which should be carried out later on. Thus it is not the lexical semantics of the verb that is important, but rather how soon the speaker wants the result to occur.

As further exemplification of Lavukaleve's Imperatives, consider also the following pair of examples. The first, Durative Imperative, is used on the verb 'go out'; going to the island of Isabel takes a considerable amount of time, and the addressee is expected to start, but not complete, the action instantly. The second sentence uses the Punctual Imperative to command the hearer to start the canoe engine; the hearer is expected to start and complete the action instantly:

- 48) **Vauma** **Isabel** **onam!**
 vau -ma Isabel o- nam
 go.out -DURIMP.sg Isabel(f) 3sgfO- to
Go to Isabel! e1 002p

- 49) **Engine la** **ovaliriva.**
 engine la o- valiri -va
 engine(f) sgfArt 3sgfO- turn -PCTIMP.sg
Start the engine! e3 035e

On the other hand, contrast the different meaning which the two Imperatives take when suffixed to the same verb stem:

- 50) **Iruma!**
 iru -ma
 sleep -DURIMP.sg
Sleep! e1 057a/1

- 51) **Iruva!**
 iru -va
 sleep -PCTIMP.sg
Shut your eyes! e1 057/2

When the Durative Imperative is attached to the verb 'sleep', it is taken to mean that the hearer should do something which cannot be completed instantaneously, but should nonetheless be started now; thus, 'sleep!'. When the Punctual Imperative is attached to the verb 'sleep', it is taken to mean that the hearer should do something they can complete instantly; thus, 'shut your eyes!' is the interpretation people would assume.

Sometimes much the same event can be interpreted as Punctual or Durative. Compare the following uses of Imperatives with the verb **huru** 'go inside'. In the first example, the action is presumably thought of as capable of instantaneous completion, and the Punctual Imperative is used. In the second example, the Durative Imperative used implies that the action is thought of as necessarily taking some time:

- 52) **Kini huruva!**
 kini huru -va
 ACT go.inside -PCTIMP.sg
Go inside! e1 076g
- 53) **Huruma!**
 huru -ma
 go.inside -DURIMP.sg
Go inside! co 095

Further examples of both Imperatives follow:

- 54) **"Kini vauila" hide ore.**
 kini vau -ila hide o- re
 ACT go.out -PCTIMP.du thus 3sgS- say
"You two come down" she says. ja 260
- 55) **Ngotau efouva efoa.**
 ngo-tau e- fou -va e- foa
 2sg- limb(n) 3sgnO- put.on -PCTIMP.sg 3sgnO- take.down
Put your hand down [in the sea]. mn 075
- 56) **"Melefo'sal vokui voumela" hide ore.**
 mele- fo'sal vo- kui -i vo- u -mela hide o- re
 2du- fish(pl) 3plO- burn -NOMZR 3plO- eat -DURIMP.du thus 3sgS- say
"You two eat your cooked fish" he says. gm 084
- 57) **"Ngoane ngoaba" hivel.**
 ngoa -ne ngoa -ba hi -vel
 stay -IMPF stay -DURIMP.pl do/say -COMPL
"You lot just keep staying here" she said. jn2 051

12.4.3 THE HORTATIVE

The Hortative suffix **-me** is quite rare. The Hortative means 'let's'; it indicates a suggestion on the part of the speaker that the addressee(s) and the speaker do something. It can not be used to mean 'let him/them do it'; there is no 3rd person Hortative form in Lavukaleve.

The Hortative is used to include the speaker and either a single addressee or a group of addressees; no distinction is made morphologically between singular, dual or plural

addressees:

- 58) "Bai feleme!" hide ore.
 bae fele -me hide o- re
 let's.go return -HORT thus 3sgS- say
"Let's go back!" he said. jn 083
- 59) Oile ta'rai siame
 o- o- i -le ta'rai sia -me
 3sgfO- 3sgS- do -POT prayer(n) do -HORT
Let us pray pr 110
- 60) "E! Tulav! Baisa filangene vaume".
 e tulav bai -sa filange -ne vau -me
 hey! children(pl) let's.go! -GROUP weathercoast -PERL go.out -HORT
"Hey kids! Let's go out along the weather coast". hr2 004
- 61) Bae velame hoaka.
 bae vela -me hoaka
 let's.go go -HORT there.DIST2
Let's go there. e1 055e

The Hortative often occurs with the idiomatic expression **oile** 'let's (lit: if it does it)' (discussed in Section 16.1.6), as in example (59). It also frequently occurs with the particle **bai-bae** which means 'let's go', 'let's do it', as in examples (58), (60) and (61).

12.4.4 THE ABILITATIVE

The Abilitative **-nen--nan** (glossed ABIL) is suffixed to a verb to express ability: either in terms of physical or social capacity, or in terms of permission. The Abilitative covers the same semantic domain as Bybee et al.'s (1994: 179) term "root possibility", an agent-oriented modality (in their terms), which "reports on general enabling conditions and is not restricted to the internal condition of ability, but also reports on general external conditions, such as social or physical conditions". In addition, it covers Bybee et al.'s "permission" category, a speaker-oriented modality in which a speaker grants permission for an addressee to perform an action. It is common cross-linguistically, as Bybee et al. point out, for grammaticalised permission modality to develop from root possibility modality.

A verb suffixed with the Abilitative **-nen--nan** can receive subject and object prefixes, but no further suffixes. That is, a verb marked with the Abilitative is incompatible with Tense, Aspect or further Mood marking, negation, or subordination.

The two forms **-nen** and **-nan** are in free variation. The former, **-nen**, is much more common than the latter, but both are acceptable in all contexts. There are no obvious

social or geographical factors determining the distribution of the two suffixes.

General physical enabling conditions:

- 62) **Kui ana omakole onemanen**
 kui a- na o- ma- ko -le o- ne- ma -nen
 sun(m) 3sgmO- in 3sgfO- 3plS- throw -POT 3sgfO- 2sgS- take -ABIL

When they put it out in the sun you will be able to take it.

gm 051

Permission:

- 63) **"Ui rugi daine mere."**
 ui rugi raine me -re -ø
 food(n) big.sgn tomorrow continue -FUT -sgn

"There will be a big feast tomorrow."

"Valai! Ngai avonen."
 vala ngai a- vo -nen
 how 1sg 1sgS- come -ABIL

"What? Can I come?"

mn 010-011

Social enabling conditions:

- 64) **O hano emenen kilekile kosora**
 o hano e- me -nen kilekile kosora
 and then 1pl.ex- continue -ABIL axe(f) today
mea inu ona ngoekurunen ke.²
 me -a inu o- na ngo- e- kuru -nen ke
 SPEC-sgf 2sg 3sgfO-in 2sg- 1pl.ex-hit -ABIL EMPH

Before, we could kill you with an axe.

Aka siare ta hona mina akari
 aka sia-re ta hona mina aka -ri
 then do -NF time(m) MOD.PROX.sgm thing(f) then -PSNV

mea tamu Christianity hano sia.
 me -a tamu Christianity hano sia
 SPEC-sgf no Christianity then do

Now things are not like that, now we have Christianity.

rk1 092, 094

Physical enabling conditions have only been found in elicitation:

- 65) **Mola ga ngomuan enefonon?**
 mola ga ngo-muan e- ne- fo -nen
 canoe(n) sgnArt 2sg-self 3sgnO- 2sg-lift -ABIL

Can you lift a canoe by yourself?

e1 042a

² The arguments in this sentence are rather confused. Presumably 'we' is the subject, 'you' is the object and 'axe' is a postpositional object, which has become separated from its postposition **ona**. Postpositional objects appearing separate from their postpositions are not attested elsewhere in the corpus.

12.4.5 THE EXTENDED

The Extended suffix is added to verbs to mean that the action is carried out all over the place, or again and again. It is often used to refer to fishing activities, or hunting, where the activity is carried out by moving around, largely at random and over a large area, looking for fish or animals.

The verbs on which the Extended suffix occurs can have no other suffixes, and cannot take a subject prefix; they can only take an object prefix. There is a formally identical suffix *-la* which occurs on deictics, which changes the reference of the deictic from referring to a single point, to referring to an extended range. See Section 8.10.2 for an account of this suffix on deictics. This is the reason for the name Extended for this suffix, rather than Distributed, which is perhaps more common for verbal affixes with this function.

Some examples of the use of the Extended suffix:

- 66) Ta vo'vou roa fo'sal vokila
 ta vo'vou roa fo'sal vo- ki -la
 just boy(m) one.sgm fish(pl) 3plO- throw -EXT
- kini ofeu lanam.
 kini o- feu la- nam
 ACT 3sgS- go.up 3dumO- to

Then one boy was spearing fish all about, and went up to the two.

mn2 003

- 67) ane filofiloiala vau tasin hano
 a- ne filofiloia -la vau tasi -n hano
 3sgmO- with wrestle -EXT go.out sea -LOC then

(He grabbed the fish, tackling it in his arms) and wrestled around with it, out to the sea...

mn2 037

- 68) Avala avala avala
 a- va -la a- va -la a- va -la
 3sgmO- pull -EXT 3sgmO- pull-EXT 3sgmO- pull -EXT
- lolo vau Negea ohain.
 loolo vau Negea o- hai -n
 straight go.out Negea 3sgPOSS- point -LOC

He fished and fished and fished until he reached Negea Point.

s1 005

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Word-level derivation: word class changing and valency changing

Nominalisation is a common and productive process in Lavukaleve. There are two different kinds of nominalisation: the very productive suffix *-i ~ -e*, which, added to verb stems, derives an abstract noun; and the less productive *-io*, with a similar function.

Other word class changing phenomena are rare; there is a Locativiser suffix added to verbs; adjectives can, rarely, be changed into verbs with the addition of the Causative suffix; and there is a suffix that is attached to intransitive verbs to form adverbs.

There are a number of valency changing processes. The one valency increasing process is the Causative construction, and there are three valency decreasing constructions: a construction involving an Intransiviser suffix *-a*; an Impersonal construction, and a Reciprocal construction. There is in addition one construction which could be described as valency rearranging, in which subjects of certain verbs are marked using prefixes from the Possessive, not subject, prefix paradigm.

Note that as well as word-level derivation there is also phrasal-level word-class changing in Lavukaleve. It was shown in Section 4.1.2 that the word *mea* 'SPECifier', normally an adjective, has a non-adjectival use in which it can occur in construction with a particle or a nominal adjunct to derive an NP or nominal modifier phrase. See the above-mentioned chapter for discussion of this.

This chapter discusses in turn each of the word class changing and valency changing constructions in Lavukaleve. The first section deals with nominalisations. The discussion continues in the second section with other word class changing phenomena. The third section deals with valency changing constructions. The final section discusses the valency

rearranging Possessor-subject construction.

13.1 NOMINALISATION

13.1.1 THE NEUTER ABSTRACT NOMINALISER -E~-I

There are three methods by which verbs can be nominalised. Most common is the use of the suffix **-e~-i** (glossed NOMZR). This is a very productive suffix, which can be added to transitive or intransitive verbs.

This suffix is one of the few morphemes in Lavukaleve which is subject to a phonological rule. Its form undergoes vowel harmony with the height of the previous vowel of the verb to which it is suffixed:

verb ends in	form of Nominaliser suffix
-a, -o, -e	-e
-u, i	-i

Note that the rule of reduction of identical vowels at morpheme boundaries, which is a general feature of the language (discussed in Section 2.9.3), comes into operation with nominalised verbs which end in **-e** and **-i**. This rule means that in practice one cannot hear the suffix when it is attached to a verb stem ending in /e/ or /i/. However, there is no zero nominalisation in Lavukaleve, and all verbs ending in /a/, /u/ and /o/ must use this suffix in order to become nouns; so it is no difficult matter to say that on verb stems ending in /e/ and /i/ the Nominaliser suffix is obligatorily used, then lost due to morphophonemic processes. Some of the verbs in the table below illustrate this.

The Nominaliser suffix derives an abstract neuter noun from any transitive or intransitive verb. Semantically, this is action/state nominalisation; that is, it is the kind of nominalisation in which the derived noun expresses the name of the action or state expressed by the verb (Comrie and Thompson 1985: 349).

For example, compare the following verbs with their corresponding derived nouns:

VERB	DERIVED NOUN
lo 'finish'	loe 'end'
ve 'go'	ve 'going, way'
honia 'know'	honiae 'knowledge'
iru 'sleep' (verb)	irui 'sleep' (noun)
i 'do'	i 'deed'

The fact that all nouns derived with this suffix are neuter is an example of morphological gender assignment; but there is also a semantic association that many underived abstract

nouns are of neuter gender. See Section 6.1 for a discussion of the principles of gender assignment.

A verb suffixed with the Nominaliser suffix may carry with it any of the arguments and adjuncts normally available to that verb, and carries cross-references for these arguments with subject and/or object prefixes, as the principles of participant marking outlined in Section 9.7 dictate.

Derived nouns have the following nominal features: they function as the heads of NPs, and can thus appear with the definite article, they serve as arguments of verbs or postpositions, and they may take the Locative suffix. The question of whether or not they can take Possessive prefixes is a slightly complicated one, which requires some discussion.

Nouns index possessors using a set of prefixes from the Possessive paradigm. This nominal Possessive prefix paradigm is formally identical to the verbal subject prefix paradigm except for one form. The 1st singular Possessive prefix is **nga-**, whereas the 1st singular subject prefix is **a-**. Thus for most derived nouns appearing with a pronominal prefix, one cannot tell whether the prefix is a Possessive or a subject prefix, as theoretically it could be either. Some examples will make these points clear. Compare the prefixes referring to 1st person singular with those referring to 3rd person plural:

- 1) **nga-** **gaikoko**
 1sgPOSS- canoe
 my canoe

- 2) **a-** **vo** **-e**
 1sgS- come -NOMZR
 my beginning

- 3) **a-** **vau**
 1sgS- go.out
 I went out

- 4) **ma-** **gaikoko**
 3plPOSS- canoe
 their canoe

- 5) **ma-** **vo** **-e**
 3plS- come -NOMZR
 their beginning

- 6) **ma-** **vau**
 3plS- go.out
 they went out

So derived nouns take subject prefixes, not Possessive prefixes. This leads to a further point. The fact that a verb complete with subject and object prefix indexing can be nominalised shows that the nominalising process happens after the verb has been indexed

for these arguments. That is, the bare verb stem is not nominalised; instead, the verb with its arguments, which may be cross-referenced with prefixes, is nominalised. The following examples illustrate this point:

- 7) **Aka namu ehae fi aeare hi.**
 aka namu e- ha e- fi a- ea -re -ø hi
 then place(n) 3sgnO- clear -NOMZR 3sgnFOC 1sgS- talk.about -FUT -sgn 3sgnEFOC
I'll talk about clearing a garden. jb 002

- 8) **Leta aka oinala lotokae o lolaurae**
 leta aka oinala lo- toka -e o lo- laura -e
 but then other.MED.mdu 3duS- be.strong -NOMZR and 3duS- great -NOMZR
vona fi, kini mima hoga otoka ke,
 vo- na fi kini mima hoga o- toka ke
 3plO- in 3sgnFOC ACT way.of.life(n) MOD.PROX.sgn 3sgS- be.strong EMPH
But through the strength and the power of those two, the church became strong. rk1 021

- 9) **o si'kul ena koi tulav vona**
 o si'kul e- na koi tulav vo- na
 and school(n) 3sgnO-in also children(pl) 3plO- in
honiae ekoe,
 honia e- ko e-
 know -NOMZR 3sgnO- throw -NOMZR
...and (we work) in school also, teaching the children, [lit: throwing knowledge to the children]
am 062

The following tables set out the nominal morphology and other nominal characteristics of the derived nouns, and also the verbal morphology and other verbal characteristics of them.

NOMINAL FEATURES OF DERIVED NOUNS

have gender	yes (obligatorily neuter)
have number	yes (obligatorily singular)
have person	yes (obligatorily 3rd person)
function as arguments	yes
take Locative/Periative/Folk suffixes	yes
take definite article	yes
take number suffixes	no
take possessive prefixes	no

12)	Ta	hoinariom		ana	vo'vou	roa	ana	
	ta	hoina	-ri	-om	a-	na	vo'vou	roa a- na
	time(m)	MOD.MED.sgm	-PSNV	-m/n	3sgmO-	in	boy(m)	one.sgm 3sgmO- in
	hano mina	uruala irui		ga	aokuruge			
	hano mina	uruala iru	-i	ga	a-	o-	kuru -ge	
	then um	properly sleep	-NOMZR	sgnArt 3sgmO-	3sgS-		kill -ANT	

At that time, sleeping [i.e. sleepiness] was really killing one boy.

mt 036

A clausal complement of the verb **liki** 'want' is expressed using a verb nominalised with suffix **-i--e**. There are no complement clauses in Lavukaleve; the object of verbs like **liki** are nominalisations.

13)	Vore		alere		asure		
	vo	-re	a-	le	-re	a-	su -re
	come	-NF	3sgmO-	see	-NF	3sgmO-	tie -NF
	avalae		emaliki.				
	a-	vala	e-	e-	ma-	liki	
	3sgmO-	pull	-NOMZR	3sgnO-	3plS-	want	

They came, saw it, tied it up and wanted to pull it out.

sv 007

14)	Tamu!	Ngai	ngabo'rea		la	
	tamu	ngai	nga-	bo'rea	la	
	no	1sg	1sgPOSS-	arrow(f)	sgfArt	
	omae		elikire		ta	alei.
	o-	ma	e-	liki	-re	ta a- lei
	3sgfO-	take	-NOMZR	3sgnO- want	-NF	just 1sgS- exist

No! I want to take my arrow.

ja 246

13.1.2 THE FEMININE ABSTRACT NOMINALISER -IO

The Feminine Abstract Nominaliser suffix **-io** is an unproductive derivational suffix which attaches to transitive verb stems to form feminine nouns.

Examples of feminine nouns derived with this suffix from transitive verbs:

houio	'waiting'	cf. hou 'wait'
laurario	'praise'	cf. laurari 'praise'
likio	'desire'	cf. liki 'want'
lulurio	'rule'	cf. luluri 'straighten'
luguio	'thought'	cf. lugu 'think'
sevorio	'blessing'	cf. sevori 'bless'
toio	'help'	cf. toi 'help'
veio	'call'	cf. vei 'call'
laketeirio	'savedness' (i.e. state of having been saved)	cf. laketeiri 'save'

This Nominaliser suffix **-io** in almost all cases attaches to stems ending in **-i**. The general morpho-phonemic rule of vowel cluster simplification when identical vowels come together at morpheme boundaries (see Section 2.9.3) comes into play in these cases. However words such as **houio** < **hou** 'wait' and **luguio** < **lugu** 'think' show that the form of the suffix is actually **-io**, not **-o**.

The transitive verb to which **-io** attaches is often a derived verb form, with the Causative suffix **-ri** (discussed below).

These resulting feminine nouns derived with this Nominaliser suffix **-io** are abstract nouns. There is no obvious semantic difference between words derived with the Feminine Abstract Nominaliser **-io** and with the Neuter Abstract Nominaliser **-e~i**. However, the main difference between the two is that nominalisations in **-io** do not take arguments or adjuncts, whereas nominalisations in **-i~e** do.

A further difference between the two nominalisers is that nouns derived with **-io** may take dual and plural number suffixation; whereas nouns derived with **-i~e** may not. Thus: **laurario**, **laurariol**, **laurariovil** 'praise (sg/du/pl)'; **liki**, **likiol**, **likiovil** 'desire (sg/du/pl)'; **mifouio**, **mifouiol**, **mifouiovil** 'love (sg/du/pl)'. All nominalisations with **-io** derive their dual and plural suffix forms in the same way, suffixing **-l** for dual and **-vil** for plural. (See Chapter 5 for more on the principles of dual and plural suffixation.) Note that such forms have only occurred in elicitation, and not in natural speech. For some of them, e.g. 'love, dual' it is doubtful whether they really have a place in normal spoken language. However it is nonetheless significant that these nominalisations in **-io** allow dual and plural forms, even if only in principle, whereas the nominalisations in **-i~e** never do, even in principle.

Another important difference between the **-io** and **-i~e** nominalisers is that the latter is extremely productive, whereas the former is not. It may also be significant that almost all of the examples of **-io** in the corpus are to be found exclusively in the translated prayer services. This could be for a number of reasons, possibly related to stylistic phenomena.

In three examples, **-io** is added to an adjective or intransitive verb to derive a feminine form of that word. Normally one would expect the feminine singular Agreement Suffix **-a** in this situation, but there are three examples of **-io**. Presumably this is a carry-over phenomenon from the Feminine Abstract Nominaliser **-io**. The words are:

furifurio	adjective (f)	'low'	furifuri	adjective	'low'
kuraio	adjective (f)	'big'	kurai	adjective	'big'
sasavalio	intransitive verb with feminine subject	'be unwilling (f)'	sasavali	intransitive verb	'be unwilling'

13.2 OTHER WORD CLASS CHANGING PHENOMENA

These include the Locativiser, attached to intransitive verbs to derive adverbs; verbalisation with Causative **-ri**; and derivation of adverbs from intransitive verbs with suffix **-ril**.

13.2.1 LOCATISER

The Locativiser suffix **-l** generally attaches to intransitive verbs of motion, for example **vea** 'go out'; **vea** 'emerge'; **hau** 'go ashore'; **feu** 'go up'; **fale** 'stand up'; **foa** 'go down'. The suffix creates an adverbial adjunct which can take no further morphological inflection. The word thus derived means 'in the location of the direction specified by the verb'. Thus **vea** 'go out', **veal** 'outside'. **Feu** 'go up', **feul** 'upwards'; **hau** 'go ashore', **haul** 'shorewards'. Examples of this suffix:

- 15) **Vea falere veal fi vea**
 vea fale -re vea -l fi vea
 emerge stand -NF emerge -LOCZR 3sgnFOC emerge
- falere suni lafa telakon.**
 fale -re suni lafa telako -n
 stand -NF all part(f) one -LOC

We came out and stood outside, we went and stood in one place.

ns 016

- 16) **Aka foiga vaure, felere kini haul**
 aka foiga vau -re fele -re kini hau -l
 then PN.MED.sgn go.out -NF return -NF ACT go.ashore -LOCZR

After that they went back out then they came ashore.

me 037

- 17) **Ae erufulain otam ga enam ke foal**
 ae erufulain o- tama ga e- nam ke foa -l
 go.up plane(f) 3sgPOSS- field(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- to EMPH go.down -LOCZR
- ka fi ofoare.**
 ka fi o- foa -re
 LOCEMPH 3sgnFOC 3sgS- go.down -FUT

He goes down to the lower side of the airfield.

s2 070

- 18) **Olang feul ka lake sil**
 olang feu -l ka lake si -l
 because go.up -LOCZR LOCEMPH road(n) cover -LOCZR
- saroka ro feu leia.**
 saroka ro feu lei -a
 banyan.tree(f) one.sgf go.up exist -sgf

Because right above me, where the road ends, one banyan tree stands up there.

w2 026

As the above example shows, the Locativiser also attaches to a verb **si** 'cover', which is a transitive verb not referring to motion. **Si** 'cover' is anomalous in its use of the

Locativiser. Apart from it being the only transitive and non-motion verb which can appear with the Locativiser, its semantics do not really fit with the others when they have the Locativiser, and also, as the above example shows, it takes an object argument (*lake* 'road' in this case) but has no object prefix. This is not possible for any other construction in Lavukaleve. The Locativiser is not very productive, and no other transitive verbs have been found occurring with it.

13.2.2 VERBALISATION

Very rarely, verbs can be derived from adjectives with the Causative suffix *-ri* (which is discussed in its more common valency changing function below, Section 13.3.1). This process is extremely restricted in the language. In fact, the only examples in my corpus are from the translated prayer service, and even then only with three adjectives: *laura* 'great', *sevo* 'tabu/holy' and *kivua* 'precious'. These words, when suffixed with the Causative suffix, can function as full transitive verbs. The semantics of these derived verbs are not always predictable from the meanings of the adjectives, however. Thus *laura* 'great' corresponds to *laurari* 'make great' but *sevo* 'holy' corresponds to *severi* 'bless' (i.e. 'make holy'); and *kivua* 'precious' corresponds to *kivuari* 'praise' (i.e. 'make precious').

The following examples show each of these three words first as an adjective, and second as a verb suffixed with the Causative suffix:

- 19)

ngolatleurae		<i>laura</i>		<i>ga</i>
ngo-lateleura	e-	<i>laura</i>	-ø	<i>ga</i>
2sg-be.merciful		-NOMZR great	-sgn	sgnArt

ena		evail	vofoima	
e-	na	evail	vo-	foi
3sgnO-	in	safely	3plO-	hold
				-ma
				-DURIMP.sg

...and by your great mercy keep us safe pr 192

20)

le suni	makivuv		vona	sisiafoa
le suni	ma-	kivu-v	vo-	na
but all	3plPOSS-	sin -pl	3plO-	in
				clean -INTR

na'nug	lulum		ana	<i>ngolaurari</i>
na'nug	lulu	-m	a-	na
thought(m)	be.straight	-sgm	3sgmO-	in
				2sg- <i>laura</i> -ri
				great -CAUS

voemen.				
vo-	e-	me	-n	
3plO-	SBD-	HAB	-ADMON	

...that they may be made clean from all their sins, and serve you [lit. make you great] with a quiet mind. pr 012

- 21) **Mama alaurari o ovo'vou, o**
 mama a- laura -ri o o- vo'vou o
 father(m) 3sgmO- great -CAUS and 3sgPOSS- boy(m) and
- onana sevoa,**
 o- nana sevo -a
 3sgPOSS- shadow(f) tabu/holy -sgf
- Glory be to the father [i.e. Make great the father], the son and the holy spirit.* pr 018
- 22) **Lod ngomalav va volaketeirima,**
 Lod ngo- malav va vo- laketei -ri -ma
 Lord(m) 2sg- people(pl) plArt 3plO- live -CAUS -DURIMP.sg
- o ngotinauv vosevorima**
 o ngo- tinau -v vo- sevo -ri -ma
 and 2sg- in-group -pl 3plO- tabu/holy -CAUS -DURIMP.sg
- Lord save your people, and bless [lit. make holy] those who are yours* pr 068
- 23) **ngorav kivua ga ena ngolaketeiriv va**
 ngo-ravu kivua -ø ga e- na ngo- laketei -ri -v va
 2sg- blood(n) precious -sgn sgnArt 3sgnO- in 2sg- live -CAUS -pl plArt
- (...we pray you to help your servants) whom you saved with your dear blood* pr 066
- 24) **le linga o logologoae**
 le linga o Dup- logoa -e
 but song(m) and REDUP- be.happy -NOMZR
- vona amekivuari.**
 vo- na a- me- kivua -ri
 3plO- in 3sgmO- 1pl.in- precious -CAUS
- ...let us praise him [lit. make him precious] with songs of happiness.* pr 023

This is certainly not a productive process in the language. Probably the existence of these three adjectives used as verbs is brought about by the exigencies of translating English religious language into Lavukaleve, a task which calls for a certain amount of ingenuity, requiring extension not only of existing Lavukaleve concepts, but also of common ways of expressing ideas.

13.2.3 DERIVED ADVERBIAL ADJUNCTS WITH -RIL

A suffix **-ril** is added to intransitive verbs to derive adverbial adjuncts meaning 'more X'. For example:

ae 'go up', aeril 'go up more':

- 25) **Ikari** **negore** **ngoanun** **ngoanun** **ngoanun**
 ika -ri nego -re ngoa -nun ngoa -nun ngoa -nun
 there -PSNV float -NF stay -DUR stay -DUR stay -DUR
- ovui** **aeril** **voesiage** **kariala** **songire**
 o- vui æ -ril vo- e- sia -ge kariala songi -re
 3sgPOSS- wind(pl) go.up -MORE 3plO-SBD- do -ANT easily swim -NF
- ohai.**
 o- hau -i
 3sgPOSS- go.ashore -PSV

He kept on floating then he breathed a bit better [lit. his breath went up more], then he swam slowly to shore. sl 034

kurai 'be big', kurairil 'be bigger':

- 26) **Aka masivaul nun,masivaul** **nun, hogariom.**
 aka masiv -aul nun masiv -aul nun hoga -ri -om
 then year -pl four year -pl four MOD.PROX.sgn -PSNV -m/n
- Volorire,** **koi si'kul** **kurairil** **me,** **roge**
 vo- lo -ri -re koi si'kul kurai -ril me -ø roge
 3plO- finish -CAUS -NF also school(n) be.big-MORE SPEC-sgn one.sgn
- ena** **ave.**
 e- na a- ve
 3sgnO- in 1sgS- go

So four years, having finished the four years, then I went to a bigger school. am 011

vilu 'exceed', viluril 'exceed more' (infelicitous in English):

- 27) **Aka ngavo'vou inu porofet ana viluril**
 aka nga- vo'vou inu porofet a- na vilu -ril
 then 1sgPOSS- boy(m) 2sg prophet(m) 3sgmO- in exceed -MORE
- merem** **finu:**
 me -re -m finu
 HAB -FUT -sgm 2sgFOC

And you, my child, shall be called the prophet of the most high pr 087

The derived adverbial adjunct can also mean 'almost X, a bit of X':

lilihioa 'make a cross', lilihoiaril 'make a bit of a cross':

- 28) **Ngotau lilihoiaril vofouva.**
 ngo-tau lilihioa -ril vo- fou -va
 2sg- limb(pl) make.a.cross -MORE 3plO- put.on -PCTIMP.sg
- Cross your legs a bit.* e3 033c

veo 'arrive', veoril 'almost arrive':

- 29) **E hau Mane veoril ta esia.**
 e hau Mane veo -ril ta e- sia
 1pl.ex go.ashore Mane arrive -MORE just 1pl.ex- do

We almost reached Mane. e3 032f

The suffix can also be added to deictic **koka** 'far'; **kokaril** 'a bit far'.

- 30) Ta kokaril aesiale ta fi.
 ta koka -ril a- e- sia -le ta fi
 just far -MORE 3sgmO- SBD- do -POT just 3sgnFOC

I just waited a little while.

co 381

13.3 VALENCY CHANGING

13.3.1 THE CAUSATIVE SUFFIX -RI

The Causative suffix **-ri** is most commonly used on intransitive verbs, although very rarely, verbs can be derived from adjectives with this suffix (see Section 13.2.2 above). It changes the valency of intransitive verbs, such that the subject (S) of the intransitive verb corresponds semantically to the object of the causativised verb; and a new subject (A) is introduced to the causativised verb. This subject is the semantic agent of the derived verb. The Causative suffix can occur on any semantically suitable intransitive verb stem, including both stative verbs (example 32) and active verbs (example 34 and others). Unlike most other verbal morphology, the Causative suffix can co-occur with TAM and other verbal morphology; it is the only such stem-forming affix in Lavukaleve. It is by far the most productive of the word-class changing affixes.

Compare the following non-Causative and Causative examples:

kiu 'die' vs. kiuri 'kill':

- 31) Akurure maum. Amauge, okiu.
 a- kuru -re ma- u -m a- ma- u -ge o- kiu
 3sgmO- hit -NF 3plS- eat -sgm 3sgmO- 3plS- eat -ANT 3sgS- die

Killing him they ate him. Upon them eating him, he died.

mn3 036-037

- 32) Hano esa engine okiurire.
 hano e -sa engine o- kiu -ri -re
 then 1pl.ex -GROUP engine(f) 3sgfO- die -CAUS -NF

ngoa fi leme hoin.
 ngoa fi le- me hoi -n
 stay 3sgnFOC 1pl.ex- HAB deep.sea -LOC

Then we stopped [lit. killed] the engine and floated in the deep sea.

mt 096

huru 'go inside' vs. hururi 'put inside':

- 33) "Ngai ahurure" hide ore.
 ngai a- huru -re hide o- re
 1sg 1sgS- go.inside -FUT thus 3sgS- say

"I will go inside" he said.

kg2 029

- 34) **oehurule,** **ama** **foa**
 o- e- huru -le a- ma foa
 3sgfO- SBD- go.inside -POT 3sgmO- take go.down

amahururile,
 a- ma- huru -ri -le
 3sgmO- 3plS- go.inside -CAUS -POT

...[it] can go inside, they can take [the poison], put it down inside,

cs2 036

fifi 'sit' vs. **fifiri** 'sit something':

- 35) **Todou hona kini itaogen heaka fifire**
 Todou hona kini itao -n heaka fifi -re
 Todou(m) MOD.PROX.sgm ACT different.place -LOC there.DIST1 sit -NF

But Todou was sitting over there in a different place,...

kg2 017

- 36) **lake ga ekore ena eafifiri,**
 lake ga e- ko -re e- na e- a- fifi -ri
 fire(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- throw -NF 3sgnO- in 3sgnO- 1sgS- sit -CAUS

sosopen ga.
 sosopen ga
 pot(n) sgnArt

I make a fire and I sit it down on it, the pot.

di 018

The Causative suffix can also appear on some transitive verb stems. There is no change in the valency of such verbs when they have the Causative suffix. There are examples of only seven such stems in the data; this is certainly not a productive phenomenon. In fact, there are no obvious differences between the uses of such transitive verb stems when they have the Causative suffix and when they do not. Two of the seven stems, **fei** 'scrape' and **foi** 'hold', are always partially reduplicated when they appear with the Causative suffix.

The seven stems are:

- fei ~ fefeiri** 'scrape'
foi ~ fofoiri 'hold'
si ~ siri 'cover'
kikia ~ kikiari 'ask'
numa ~ numari 'choose'
foa ~ foari 'take down'
sisiafo ~ sisiafori 'clean'

In fact, the appearance of the Causative suffix in these already transitive stems could be a lexical phenomenon; the Causative suffix has perhaps been partially lexicalised in some stems. Indirect support for this suggestion comes from the fact that many transitive verbs end in the sequence /ri/. For example: **fusuri** 'buy'; **hasisiri** 'sharpen'; **hokiri** 'fold'; **keuri** 'carry'; **lagari** 'choose'; **savuri** 'cover'; **sisimiri** 'shift'. Presumably the Causative suffix has become fused onto the verb stem of some verbs, so that now stem

and erstwhile suffix are inseparable.

13.3.2 THE INTRANSITIVE SUFFIX -A

There is a suffix **-a** which appears on transitive verbs and intransitivises them. It can also appear on intransitive verbs to give them an iterative or intensified meaning. This suffix is quite rare; it occurs on only a handful of verbs in the corpus. It is not clear how productive it is.

When the Intransitiver suffix is used on transitive verbs, there are two possibilities. Either the subject (A) of the transitive verb corresponds in semantic role to the sole argument of the intransitivised verb (S), or the object (O) argument does. Both of these situations occur, but not, it seems, on a single verb stem. Rather, some verb stems have an A/S correspondence pattern when they are transitive, and some have an O/S pattern. There are so few examples that it is worthwhile showing them all here:

VERB STEM	GLOSS	INTRANSITIVISED STEM	GLOSS	ARGUMENT CORRESPONDENCE PATTERN
tuguri	exchange	tuguria	exchange	A/S
lilihoiri	make a cross	lilihoiria ¹	make a cross	A/S
limagoiri	pass	limagoiria	pass	A/S
keuri	carry	keuria	be carried	O/S
savuri	cover	savuria	be covered	O/S
visiri	prod	visiria	be prodded	O/S
sisiafo	clean	sisiafoa	be cleaned	O/S
koroi	chop	koroia	be chopped	O/S
tairi	divide	tairia	be divided	O/S

There are two examples of the suffix **-a** used on transitive verb stems with no change in the valency of those stems. **Lugu** 'think' is a very common verb, and in one example it is found as **lugua**, with no observable syntactic or semantic difference from **lugu**. Similarly **kove** 'look for' is found once as **kovea**, again with no observable syntactic or semantic difference from **kove**.

When the suffix **-a** is added to intransitive verb stems, it does not affect the valency of the verb, but it has certain semantic effects. For action verbs, it gives the verb an iterative meaning, indicating that the action of the verb is repeated over and over. For example compare, **hului** 'turn' with **huluia** 'go all round, turn round'; **kelago** 'go over' with **kelagoa** 'go from side to side'.

¹ Note there is also **lilihola** 'make a cross', an intransitive verb.

Verbs referring to states undergo a slightly different semantic change when they suffix *-a*. The semantic effect is not iterativeness, but rather the meaning of the verb seems to be intensified. For example, compare **mutate** 'be heavy' with **mutatea** 'be really heavy'; **raravu** 'be red' with **raravua** 'be red all over'. One stative verb **kele** 'be white' becomes **kelea** 'become white', and **kiu** 'die' becomes **kiua** 'fight'.

One further intransitive verb **ririgoi** 'prepare' has, as far as can be ascertained, the same meaning when it is suffixed with *-a*.

The suffix *-a*, although it has different uses on transitive versus intransitive verbs, seems to have a common functional core. On transitive verbs its function is to reduce the syntactic transitivity of the verb on which it appears. Its function with intransitive verbs, at least in its iterative use, is to reduce the semantic transitivity of the verb, in Hopper and Thompson's (1980) terms. In its intensifying use however this seems not to be the case.

13.3.3 IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Impersonal constructions involve transitive verbs which have no object cross-referencing. They are in fact the only construction type in the language in which a transitive verb fails to receive object indexing; and it is by this feature that they can be distinguished from all other construction types. Impersonal constructions are a unique morphological pattern which is sufficient to demonstrate constructionhood. In particular, there are verbs which are otherwise solely transitive (i.e. not ambitransitive) which in this one function appear with a single argument. The patient, which one would expect to be the object, is expressed as a subject, and the agent, which one would expect to be the subject, is not expressed. The construction is used to avoid mentioning an agent of a verb. The agents of verbs in such constructions are almost always magical beings. There is no cultural or linguistic restriction on talking about magical beings, but often people prefer not to spell such things out in so many words. The Impersonal construction provides a mechanism for talking about such things without having to be explicit.

These Impersonal constructions are valency reducing constructions, in that a normally transitive verb is morphologically intransitive. One would not want to say that the verbs involved are ambitransitive, because there is always a strongly implied notion of an agent as well as a patient. There are ambitransitive verbs in the language, but these are not examples of them (see Section 3.2.3 for a discussion of ambitransitive verbs). Rather, one could think of these constructions as being pragmatically similar to passive constructions. They are not passives, because there is no overt morphology to signal the construction (cf. Dixon 1994: 146), and because if one was to include the agent in the construction, one would end up with a normal transitive clause; the Impersonal construction would cease to exist.

Importantly, these Impersonal constructions are used specifically to hint that there is an unstated agent involved in the action. A speaker could omit the overt NP and subject

indexing referring to the agent. This is common for when an agent is well-known or uninteresting. Recall that in many constructions in Lavukaleve it is only obligatory to index objects; subject indexing may be freely omitted, and very often is. But the pragmatic force of an Impersonal construction is different from simple omission; it flags the existence of the subject by its very absence. The following examples compare normal transitive and Impersonal uses of certain verbs.

Normal transitive use of **vu** 'dig':

- 37) **Namu ga mina feu vage tetelakom na avure.**
 namu ga mina feu vage Dup- telako -m na a- vu -re
 place(n) sgnArt um go.up mound(m) REDUP-one -sgm sgmArt 3sgmO- dig -NF
They go up to the garden and go dig one mound ja 444

Impersonal use of **vu** 'dig'. In this example, a magical whale is helping her two sons make a garden. The boys only have to do a little bit of digging, then, by magic, the whole garden has been dug:

- 38) **Alovuge hano suni vure lo.**
 a- lo- vu -ge hano suni vu -re lo
 3sgmO- 3duS- dig -ANT then all dig -NF finish
They dig it, then all [of the mounds] are dug. ja 445

Normal transitive **si** 'cover':

- 39) **Halere namu va vosire volori hi.**
 hale -re namu va vo- si -re volori -ø hi
 break -NF places(pl) plArt 3plO- cover -NF make -sgn 3sgnEFOC
It broke, it covered every place. ns 116

Impersonal **si** 'cover':

- 40) **aka tome na si lome ga**
 aka tome na si lo- me -ø ga
 then hole(m) sgmArt cover 3sgS- HAB -sgn sgnArt
ta eveae tamu.
 ta e- vea -e tamu
 just 3sgnO- know -NOMZR no
...but how the hole was shut we didn't know. co2 093

Transitive **ala** 'open':

- 41) **Oina kini koa ga ealare, ohuru.**
 oina kini koa ga e- ala -re o- huru
 other.MED.sgm ACT door(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- open -NF 3sgS- go.inside
That one opened the door and went inside. mn3 049

Impersonal **ala** 'open':

- 42) **efo'foira** **omalav** **e** **evole** **fi,**
 e- fo'foira o- malav e e- vo -le fi
 1pl.exPOSS- work(f) 3sgPOSS- people(pl) 1pl.ex 1pl.ex- come -POT 3sgnFOC
- foiga** **minamina** **la** **suní ala** **lome.**
 foiga Dup- mina la suni ala lo- me
 PN.MED.sgn REDUP- thing(f) sgfArt all open 3sgS- HAB

...when we, our workers, came, everything would open.

co2 015

Transitive **ko** 'throw':

- 43) **Ta** **ana** **hola** **na** **akore** **lore.**
 ta a- na hola na a- ko -re lo -re
 time(m) 3sgmO- in poison(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- throw -NF finish -NF

(They would return.) When they have finished throwing the poison.

cs2 049

Impersonal **ko** 'throw':

- 44) **Kiv** **va** **piru** **la** **ona** **fi** **kore** **malei.**
 ki -v va piru la o- na fi ko -re ma- lei
 clothes -pl plArt cable(f) sgfArt 3sgfO- in 3sgnFOC throw -NF 3plS- exist

The clothes are hung [lit. thrown] on the clothesline.

el 079t

13.3.4 RECIPROCAL DERIVATIONS

Reciprocal derivations are detransitivised constructions involving a verbal suffix **-ria**, which, when suffixed to a transitive verb, reduces the surface valency of the verb to one, and indicates that the dual or plural agent and patient of the verb are acting on each other. Verbs suffixed with **-ria** are reduplicated, unless their stem is longer than two syllables, in which case reduplication is not obligatory for them. Principles of reduplication are discussed in Section 2.9.1.

For example, compare the reciprocal verb **nunumaria** 'choose each other' with transitive **numa** 'choose':

- 45) **Felere,** **hano** **nunumariav** **laveaham.**
 fele -re hano Dup- numa -ria -v lavea -ham
 return -NF then REDUP- choose -RECIP -pl marriage -PURP

They went back, then they [all] chose each other for marriage.

ja 321

- 46) **Anuma** **feo.**
 a- numa -a feo
 1sgS- choose -sgf 3sgfFOC

I choose it.

e2 008b

Similarly, compare the reciprocal verb **totoiria** 'help each other' with **toi** 'help':

- 47) **Hano.Hano natu me ga ena**
 hano hano natu me -ø ga e- na
 then then old.ways(n) SPEC -sgn sgnArt 3sgnO- in
akari fi, Lavukal hano totoiria mame.
 aka-ri fi Lavukale hano Dup- toi -ria ma- me
 then -PSNV 3sgnFOC Lavukals then REDUP- help -RECIP 3plS- HAB

Before. Before, it was like that in the old ways, Lavukals would help each other. ch 040

- 48) **Lod etoi leon siama.**
 Lod e- toi leon sia -ma
 Lord(m) 1pl.ex- help quickly do -DURIMP.sg

Lord help us quickly. pr 016

13.3.5 REFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTIONS: NOT VALENCY CHANGING

It is worth mentioning here that unlike reciprocal constructions, reflexive constructions do not involve valency changing at all. Reflexive constructions are formed using the word **muan** 'self'. **Muan** is described in Section 3.1.5, where it is explained that it forms its own word class. It is obligatorily prefixed with a Possessive prefix, and it can also be preceded by an NP referring to the same entity as the Possessive prefix. This NP controls verbal cross-referencing; **muan** is not a noun, so it does not function as an argument, and therefore does not control verbal cross-referencing.

This word **muan** 'self' is also used non-reflexively to emphasize a particular actor, or to stress that an actor did the event by themselves.

An example of **muan** 'self' used in a purely reflexive sense follows. Note the 1st singular subject and 1st singular object prefixes (on the Habitual Auxiliary and the main verb **le** 'see' respectively):

- 49) **Nana ona ngamuan ngale fi lame.**
 nana o- na nga- muan nga- le fi la- me
 shadow(f) 3sgFO- in 1sgPOSS- self 1sgO- see 3sgnFOC 1sg- HAB

I see myself in a mirror. el 012s

Reflexive constructions like this tend, however, to be avoided by speakers. Rather than having the same actor as both subject and object, constructions such as the following are generally preferred:

- 50) **Ngai koroia uia ona.**
 ngai koroi -a uia o- na
 1sg chop -INTR knife(f) 3sgFO- in

I cut [myself] on a knife. el 012q

The same word **muan** 'self' is also used, more commonly than in reflexive uses, in senses such as the following. In the first example, it puts emphasis on the subject acting alone, by themselves:

- 51) **Lemuan tuna ngoa memal foel.**
 le- muan tuna ngoa me -mal foel
 1duexPOSS- self be.really stay HAB -du.m 1duexFOC

We two (m) live completely alone.

ja 316

- 52) **Koi aram omuan tave fi koi.**
 koi aram o- muan tave -ø fi koi
 also sand(n) 3sgPOSS- self be.not -sgn 3sgnFOC also

Also, they didn't use sand by itself. (They also used molio fruit and pumice stone.)

cs2 013

13.4 POSSESSOR-SUBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS

There is an unproductive construction in Lavukaleve involving only four intransitive verbs **feu** 'go up'; **hau** 'go in, go shorewards'; **vau** 'go out, go seawards' and **vo** 'come'. In this construction, the subjects of these verbs are indexed using prefixes from the Possessive prefix paradigm, not from the subject prefix paradigm². There is a stress shift rule which moves the stress of the verb from the verb stem to the Possessive prefix. The verbs also receive a special suffix **-i~-e**. The verbs marked in this way function as normal simple predicates; the construction does not change the syntactic function of the verbs themselves. The construction is a stylistic variant of the regular forms. These verbs can, and normally do, also appear in their regular form, indexing their subjects with subject prefixes. Some examples of Possessor-subject constructions:

- 53) **Aesege, urial**
 a- e- see -ge urial
 3sgmO- SBD- be.full -ANT coconut.crabs

vomare ngavai.

vo- ma -re nga- vau -i
 3plO- take -NF 1sgPOSS- go.out -PSV

It [the bag] is full, so taking the coconut crabs I go down.

w2 051

- 54) **lakokosorire lamavel o vai.**
 la- kokosori -re la- ma -vel o- vau -i
 3dumO- carry.on.head -NF 3dumO- take -COMPL 3sgPOSS- go.out -PSV

...carrying them, having taken them she goes out.

ja 157

² Note that all but one of the prefixes in the Possessive prefix paradigm are identical to the prefixes of the subject prefix paradigm. The only form which differs is the 1sg form. The 1sg subject prefix is **a-**, whereas the 1sg Possessive prefix is **nga-**.

- 55) **Hano oinala hamus ga ena lofei.**
 hano oinala hamusi ga e- na lo- feu -i
 then other.MED.mdu evening(n) sgnArt 3sgnO-in 3duPOSS- go.up -PSV

So those two, in the night they went up.
 hr1 027

The suffix which the verbs in this construction receive is subject to a morphophonemic rule (this is mentioned in Section 2.9.3). For the verbs ending in /u/, the final /u/ is lost and a suffix -i is added. For the verb ending in /o/, a suffix -e is added. Thus:

VERB	POSSESSOR-SUBJECT FORM
feu 'go up'	fei
hau 'go ashore'	hai
vau 'go out'	vai
vo 'come'	voe

This suffix has strong formal parallels with the Nominaliser suffix **-e--i**. However the suffixes are clearly distinguishable. While it is true that the Nominaliser suffix takes the form **-i** after a high vowel (/u/ and /i/) and **-e** elsewhere, which this Possessor-subject construction suffix could also be analysed as doing, the Nominaliser suffix does not cause loss of a final /u/ of a verb stem. For example, compare the verb **vau** 'go out' in examples (53) and (54) above, with its form in the following example:

- 56) **Orou lo, foiga, oma vau hi.**
 o- rou lo foiga o- ma vau -i hi
 3sgfO- smoke finish PN.MED.sgn 3sgfO-take go.out -NOMZR 3sgnEFOC

Having smoked it, you take it out. eg 031

In the above example, **vau** takes the Nominaliser suffix, the form of which is **-i**. It does not lose its final /u/ vowel in the Possessor-subject construction.

There are other differences between the Nominaliser suffix and the Possessor-subject suffix. Nominalised verbs receive subject prefixes to mark their subjects, as was discussed in Section 13.1.1. Compare the next pair of examples: the first has two Possessor-subject verbs, **levoe** and **ngavoe**. The 1sg Possessor-subject form **ngavoe** (with a 1sg Possessive prefix) appears in the first example, and the 1sg nominalised verb **avoe** (with a 1sg subject prefix) in the second example:

- 57) **Kini leveo foiga ngai aore,**
 kini le- vo -e foiga ngai ao -re
 ACT 1duexPOSS- come-PSV PN.MED.sgn 1sg go.in -NF
- hanogai sakasaka olure ngavoe ke.**
 hano ngai Dup- saka o- lu -re nga- vo -e ke
 then 1sg REDUP- fast 3sgfO-pick.up -NF 1sgPOSS- come -PSV EMPH

We two come, okay, I go in, then picking fast [with my paddles], I come. w1 054

- 58) **Masiv hoinariom avoe ena,**
 masiv hoina -ri -om a- vo -e e- na
 year(m) MOD.MED.sgm -PSNV -m/n 1sgS-come -NOMZR 3sgnO- in

I began in that year...[lit: my beginning was in that year]

am 077

The further fundamental difference between verbs suffixed with the Nominaliser suffix and these Possessor-subject verbs is that the former function as arguments: even though they can take their own arguments, nominalised verbs function as the arguments of other verbs. However Possessor-subject verbs function as argument-taking predicates, and not as arguments of other verbs.

In the following example, the Possessor-subject verb is clearly the sole predicate of the clause, and takes as its subject argument the NP **tulav va** 'the children':

- 59) **Tulav va mafei.**
 tulav va ma- feu -i
 children(pl) plArt 3plPOSS- go.up -PSV

Then the kids go up.

hr2 057

In the next example, the verb is the main verb of a clause chaining construction, with a whole series of coordinate-dependent verbs preceding it:

- 60) **Vaure laire laevauge ae**
 vau -re lai -re la- e- vau -ge ae
 go.out -NF paddle -NF 3dumO- SBD- go.out -ANT go.up
lakosorire lamare ovai.
 la- kokosori -re la- ma -re o- vau -i
 3dumO- carry.on.head -NF 3dumO- take -NF 3sgPOSS-go.out -PSV

They go out, paddle out, then [their mother] goes up and carries the two out.

ja 061

Clearly the Possessor-subject construction is not a nominalising construction, even though the suffix used to mark it does have formal similarities with the Nominaliser suffix **-e-i**.

The Possessor-subject construction does not differ substantially in meaning from the normal construction which these verbs appear in. Compare the following regular examples with their Possessor-subject counterparts (57) and (59) respectively:

- 61) **Lore, felere avo ngafela'koen hoka.**
 lo -re fele -re a- vo nga- felakoe -n hoka
 finish -NF return -NF 1sgS- come 1sgPOSS- village -LOC here.PROX

Having finished, I came back here to my village.

am 017

62)	"O	ho'bea	fi"	hide	
	o	ho'bea	fi	hide	
	oh	good	3sgnFOC	thus	
	loerege			lomare	<i>mafeu.</i>
	lo-	e-	re -ge	lo-	ma -re ma- feu
	3dufO-	SBD-	say-ANT	3dufO-	take -NF 3plS- go.up

"Oh all right" the two girls say, then they take the two girls and go up.

ja 465

There is however a strong stylistic connotation associated with the construction. It is very much a feature of the casual young people's conversational style. It is the kind of thing commonly heard yelled across the village: "**Vulama!**" "**Ngavoe!**" ("Come!" "I'm coming!"). The Possessor-subject construction is a stylistic variant, employed mainly by younger people.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Complex predicates

There are four kinds of complex predicates in Lavukaleve: serial verb constructions, verb compounds, verbal complexes using the Habitual Auxiliary, and predicates formed with verbal adjuncts. Serial verb constructions are common, although Lavukaleve is not such a heavily serialising language as many Papuan languages; or indeed many of the Austronesian languages of Oceania. If serial verb constructions are not a major feature of Lavukaleve syntax, verb compounds are even less so; there are only three verb compounds in the language. They probably represent lexicalised serial verb constructions. The Habitual Auxiliary is an aspectual auxiliary which forms what is here called a verbal complex: a predicate type that consists of a verbal head plus the Habitual Auxiliary. Complex predicates formed with verbal adjuncts consist of two parts; the adjunct expresses the lexical meaning of the predicate, and it occurs with a semantically rather empty verb, which may be either **hai** 'do' or **sia** 'be, become, happen, do'.

14.1 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

14.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Serial verb constructions consist of two or, rarely, three verbs in juxtaposition, functioning as a single predicate, with no morphology to mark their relationship with each other. Each of the verbs receives its own stress, and thus is a separate phonological word, but the construction as a whole is expressed in one intonational unit. Verbs of a serial verb construction share their subjects and (if more than one member is transitive) objects. They also share adjuncts. They share all their morphology except object marking; all transitive verbs cross-reference their own objects. However, all other categories that can be marked on verbs (e.g. subject marking, TAM, polarity, valency changing, and other morphology) are marked only once on the predicate, and have

The next sections deal in more detail with these features.

14.1.2 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS ARE SINGLE PREDICATES

The criterial feature of serial verb constructions is that they consist of two or three verbs functioning together as a single predicate. This can be seen easily in Lavukaleve: serial verb constructions participate in all the same constructions which simple predicates do. Example (3) showed two serial verb constructions in the role of the coordinate-dependent predicates of a clause-chaining construction. Further examples of serial verb constructions serving as a single predicate in various complex constructions appear below.

In the following example, **ma ve** 'take go' is the complex lexical head of a complex predicate involving the Habitual Auxiliary (see Section 14.3 for a discussion of Habitual Auxiliary constructions). The entire predicate is in a focus construction as well.

- 5) **Olang ngai kini akari amaa**
 olang ngai kini aka -ri a- ma -a
 because 1sg ACT then -PSNV 1sgS- take -sgf
- finu koi ngoma vela merem fongai.**
 finu koi ngo- ma ve-la me -re -m fongai
 2sgFOC also 2sg- take go-NEG HAB -FUT -sgm 1sgFOC
- Because I took you (f) away, I (m) can't take you back again.* co 404

In the following example, **iu kako** 'look up and out' is marked with the Completive suffix **-vel**, and is the coordinate-dependent predicate of a clause chaining construction.

- 6) **iu kakovel laole.**
 iu kako -vel la- o- le
 look.up look.out -COMPL 3dumO- 3sgS- see
- ...having looked up and out he saw the two [boys].* mn4 092

In the next example, **feu houla la okoroige** is a serial verb construction, functioning as a subordinate adverbial clause with main clause **ovai**.

- 7) **Feu houla la okoroige, ta hano katelea**
 feu houla la o- o- koroï -ge ta hano katelea
 go.up stick(f) sgfArt 3sgFO- 3sgS- chop -ANT just then crocodile(f)
- la lioire ovoi.**
 la lioï -re o- vau -i
 sgfArt run -NF 3sgPOSS- go.out -PSV
- He went up, chopped a stick, then the crocodile ran down [seaward].* hr2 025

14.1.3 SHARING ARGUMENTS AND ADJUNCTS

All members of serial verb constructions share their subject arguments. If more than one member is transitive, they also share their object arguments. Examples of all four transitivity combinations (transitive-intransitive, intransitive-intransitive, intransitive-transitive and transitive-transitive) were shown above (examples (1), (2), (3) and (4)).

As has been evident from some of the above examples, subjects and objects differ in the ways in which they are cross-referenced in serial verb constructions. A subject argument can only be cross-referenced once per predicate (although it does not have to be), on the last verb of the predicate, whereas an object argument must be cross-referenced on every transitive verb of the predicate. This is because of the principle of cross-referencing in Lavukaleve that every transitive verb must cross-reference its object argument (see Section 9.7). However, even though each transitive member of a serial verb construction must have its own object cross-reference, the cross-referencing material all refers to the same argument. It is not the case that each transitive verb of a serial verb construction chooses its own object argument, but rather there is a morphological constraint that each transitive verb must be indexed for an object argument. See below (Section 14.2 on verb compounds) where there is, unproductively, a lifting of this constraint.

The fact that only transitive verbs receive object cross-referencing in a serial verb construction shows that intransitive verbs do not share the object arguments of the transitive verbs. Rather, only transitive verbs share their object arguments in a serial verb construction, but all verbs share their subject arguments.

Unlike object cross-referencing, subject cross-referencing is not obligatory; and in some constructions its presence may be proscribed. The examples of coordinate-dependent constructions above illustrate this proscription. The next two examples show shared subjects cross-referenced once, on the final verb of the predicate. The cross-referencing may be of any kind allowed by simple predicates; that is either a prefix or the Agreement Suffix.

8)	rongea	ngoa	voemege		feu	olavea.
	rongea	ngoa	vo-	e- me	-ge	feu o- lavea
	play	stay	3plO-	SBD-HAB	-ANT	go.up 3sgS- appear

...they were still playing and she went up and appeared [to them].

jn2 063

9)	keker	ena		hau	hoim.
	keker	e-	na	hau	hoi -m
	dry.place(n)	3sgnO-	in	go.ashore	go.in -sgm

...he reaches the reef.

co 240

In the following example there is a three-verb serial verb construction, with object arguments cross-referenced on every transitive verb:

- 10) **Oile nato ro ole okoroi oume.**
 o- o- i -le nato ro o- le o- koroi o- u -me
 3sgfO-3sgS- do -POT sago.palm(f) one.sgf 3sgfO- see 3sgfO-chop 3sgfO-eat -HORT
Let's go find and cut down a sago tree and eat it. [lit: if it does it, let's find, cut down and eat a sago tree] jn 058

All verbs of serial verb constructions share all of their adjuncts. Adjuncts may consist of postpositional phrases, locative-marked nouns, and other temporal and spatial words. The adjunct may precede the entire serial verb construction, or may appear between the verbs of the serial verb construction:

- 11) **kini laham fo'sal**
 kini la- ham fo'sal
 ACT 3dumO- for fish(pl)
vokuruv vo lana vonere
 vo- kuru -v vo la- na vo- ne -re
 3plO- hit -pl come 3dumO- in 3plO- give -NF
...they would go and kill fish for them (m), and give it to them... gm 078
- 12) **Aka fela'koe vau siare,**
 aka fela'koe -n vau sia -re
 then village -LOC go.out do -NF
Then we went out to the village, ... ef 030
- 13) **katelea amare sagore vau tasin oerau.**
 katelea a- ma -re sago -re vau tasi-n o- erau
 crocodile(f) 3sgmO- take -NF jump -NF go.out sea-LOC 3sgS- jump/fall
...the crocodile took it (m), jumped, and dived out into the sea. v1 021

14.1.4 SHARING MORPHOLOGY

It has been shown above that subject cross-referencing is shared among members of a serial verb construction, while object cross-referencing is not shared, but must be marked on each transitive verb of a serial verb construction. The Causative suffix appears on an individual verb, and has scope only over that verb. This can be seen in example (20) below. All other verbal morphology, including TAM, negation, and subordinate adverbial clause-marking suffixes, is marked once only in the serial verb construction, on the final verb, and has scope over the whole predicate. Examples of the Non-Finite, Imperative and Completive suffixes only occurring on the last member of the serial verb construction have occurred above (see (1), (3), (4), (6)). Examples of other sorts of morphology follow:

Negation:

14)	Aka	aram	ena	foa	falela		fongai.
	aka	aram	e-	na	foa	fale	-la -a fongai
	then	ground(n)	3sgnO-	in	go.down	stand	-NEG -sgf 1sgFOC

I (f) have never stepped down on the ground.

co 442

Durative aspect:

15)	Vau	keleanun.
	vau	kelea -nun
	go.out	walk -DUR

[He] went on walking out.

co 017

There is one exception to this generalisation that morphology appears on the final verb of a serial verb construction. The Negative suffix **-la** occurs on the first verb of a serial verb construction in which **lei** 'exist' is the last verb. Compare the position of the Negative suffix in the following sentences with (14) above.

16)	"Laila	leimal		final"	hide	mare.
	lai	-la	lei	-mal	finala	hide ma- re
	paddle	-NEG	exist	-du.m	3dumFOC	thus 3plS- say

"They two (the two boys) were not paddling" they said.

ja 053

17)	Fela'koe	ofoton		sula	leiv	fiv.	
	fela'koe	o-	foto	-n	su	-la	lei -v
	village	3sgPOSS-	middle	-LOC	wash	-NEG	exist -pl 3plFOC

They did not wash in the middle of the village.

ch 022

18)	na'nug	alugula		leiv	fiv
	na'nug	a-	lugu	-la	lei -v
	thought(m)	3sgmO-	think	-NEG	exist -pl 3plFOC

...they would not think a thought...

cs2 032

It is not clear whether the different position of the Negative suffix indicates that it has scope only over the first verb, not both, as in serial verb constructions with other verbs. In fact it is not completely clear what the scope of negation in such examples is. It depends on what the verb translated as 'exist' really means. If for example one thinks of (16) as meaning the two boys existed (that is, their existence was real) but they did not paddle, then the negation has scope only over paddling, not over existing. However perhaps one could think of the sentence as meaning that the existing refers to the paddling, in which case the existence of the paddling, and thus the whole serial verb construction, is negated.

The scope of morphology in serial verb constructions is not negotiable: in all serial verb constructions without **lei** 'exist', non-participant marking verbal morphology appears on the final verb and obligatorily has scope over the whole serial verb construction. It is only with serial verb constructions with **lei** as the second member that the Negative

suffix appears on the first not the last verb, and is not possible for the Negative suffix to appear on the last, **lei** verb. Note that the Negative suffix is the only non-participant verbal morphology found on serial verb constructions with **lei** in the corpus. It is not known whether other non-participant verbal morphology would appear on the first or last verb of serial verb constructions with **lei**.

14.1.5 WHAT CAN INTERVENE BETWEEN VERBS OF A SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION

Both core NPs and adjuncts can intervene between verbs of a serial verb construction. Example (11) above shows a postpositional phrase between the two verbs of a serial verb construction. Example (4) above shows the particle **kini** intervening between the verbs of a serial verb construction. In the following example, the NP **ngai**, referring to the object of the second verb, directly precedes its verb and thus intervenes between the two verbs of the serial verb construction:

19)	Kini	<i>foa</i>		<i>ngai</i>			<i>emare</i>	
	kini	foa		nga-	ui	.	e-	ma
	ACT	go.down		1sgPOSS-	food(n)		3sgnO-	take
								-re
								-NF
	lore,			aunio	ohourenun,			
	lo	-re		aunio	o-	hou	-re	-nun
	finish	-NF		evening(f)	3sgfO-	wait.for	-NF	-DUR
	aunion			felere		ae.		
	aunio	-n		fele	-re	a-	ae	
	evening	-LOC		return	-NF	1sgS-	go.up	

I went down and ate my food, I waited for the evening, then in the evening I went back up.w2 008

14.1.6 SEMANTIC TYPES OF SERIALISING VERBS

The overwhelming majority of serial verb constructions with an intransitive verb involve one of the following motion verbs:

- foa** 'go down'
- feu** 'go up, go inland'
- ae** 'go up, climb'
- hau** 'go ashore'
- vau** 'go seawards, go out'
- ve** 'go'
- vo** 'come'

Also occurring less commonly are other motion verbs **sou** 'rise', **oio** 'surround', **fongo** 'reach', **huru** 'go inside'; aspectual verbs **lei** 'exist', **lo** 'finish', and also **lai** 'paddle', **i** 'do' and **sia** 'be, become, happen, do'. These verbs provide directional, aspectual or manner specification for the other verb in the serial verb construction.

The transitive verbs which take part in serial verb constructions are much more diverse semantically, even though actual occurrence of transitive verbs in serial verb constructions is far less frequent. Some of the more commonly occurring transitive verbs include the following:

ma 'take'
 ke 'drop'
 li 'build'
 fei 'scrape'
 fou 'make'
 lufu 'leave'
 tuguri 'change'
 vala 'pull'
 sive 'follow'
 ko 'throw'

The verbs which may occur in serial verb constructions are not restricted, and can be any verb of the language.

With respect to the order of different verb types in serial verb constructions, a motion verb usually, but not always, precedes the other verb; which may be another motion verb, or may be a verb of a different semantic type. The verbs *lei* 'exist', *lo* 'finish', *i* 'do' and *sia* 'be, become, happen, do' are always the second verb of the serial verb construction in which they occur. Note however the following example, in which *lo* occurs both as the first and second verb of a serial verb construction:

20) (*I finish cutting the canoe.*)

Aka	<i>alori</i>		<i>lo</i>	fi,	han	fiv,		
aka	a-	lo	-ri	lo	fi	ha	-n	fiv
then	3sgmO-	finish	-CAUS	finish	3sgnFOC	rib.of.canoe-PL		3plFOC
vona	gigil		vomane		asiare.			
vo-	na	gigil	vo-	ma	-ne	a-	sia	-re
3plO-	in	measurements(pl)	3plO-	take	-IMPF	1sgS-	do	-FUT

Having finished finishing it, I will take the measurements for the ribs.

cp 033

14.1.7 LAVUKALEVE'S SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Compared to many grammatical topics, there is a vast literature on the typology of serial verb constructions. Durie's (1997) account of serialising languages divides languages into four types, under two parameters. The parameters are whether the verbs of the verb sequence are contiguous, and whether they are incorporating: that is, whether the components form a single morphological word. This account clarifies the relationship between serial verb constructions and verb compounds. In Lavukaleve, serial verb constructions are non-contiguous (see above, where it was shown that NPs and adjuncts can intervene between verbs of a serial verb construction) and non-incorporating (the

verbs do not form a single phonological or morphological word). Lavukaleve's verb compounds (to be discussed below, Section 14.2) are, however, both contiguous and incorporating; the verbs involved do form a single morphological and phonological word.

Foley and Van Valin (1984), Foley and Olson (1985) and Crowley (1987), among others, consider the distinction between core and nuclear layer serialisation. In Crowley's terms "the two kinds of serialisation differ basically in that while core layer serialisation allows some degree of independence to the two verbs in the choice of nominal arguments associated with each, this is not the case with nuclear layer serialisation" (1987: 58); and further, "[in core layer serialisation] each verb independently chooses its own noun phrase arguments" (1987: 41).

In Lavukaleve, all verbs of a serial verb construction must share their subject arguments as well as all adjuncts and all morphological categories, and transitive verbs must share their object arguments. They cannot independently choose their arguments. For this reason, Lavukaleve's serial verb constructions can be classified as nuclear layer serialisation. Note that there is a tendency pointed out by Crowley (1987: 42) that SOV languages (of which Lavukaleve is one) "tend to prefer nuclear juncture between verbs when they have serial constructions, and for SVO languages to prefer core juncture". Lavukaleve, then, accords with this general tendency.

14.2 VERB COMPOUNDS

There are only three verb compounds in Lavukaleve; they are probably lexicalised serial verb constructions. A verb compound consists of two phonological words but only one grammatical word.

On the surface, verb compounds differ from serial verb constructions only in their participant marking system, but this difference points to very different fundamental structures. Verb compounds consist of two lexical verbs, but, whereas in serial verb constructions the subject is marked only once, on the final member of the serial verb construction, and the object is cross-referenced separately on each transitive verb, verb compounds display the participant marking which would be expected on a simple predicate. That is, subject and object are marked once only across the predicate, and subjects can be cross-referenced either by a prefix (thus on the first verb of the predicate) or by a suffix (thus on the second verb). They cannot be marked by a suffix on the first verb or a prefix on the second verb. The verb roots must be contiguous.

The three verb compounds in Lavukaleve are **ke vau-ri** 'push sth out' [push put out], **ke feu-ri** 'push sth up [push put up]', and **sou fale-ri** 'stand sth up' [rise stand sth up]. The first two are the most common way of talking about maneuvering canoes onto and off beaches. They involve the transitive verb **ke** 'push', followed by a causativised intransitive verb; **vau** 'go out seawards' and **feu** 'go up inland'. The third, **sou faleri**, is

not as frequently used as the first two. An example:

- 21) **kiu mev felere vosoufaleri,**
 kiu me -v fele -re vo- sou fale -ri
 die SPEC -pl return -NF 3plO- rise stand -CAUS
- [We] help the sick to stand up again [lit: stand the dying back up].* am 061

This compound consists of two verbs, intransitive **sou** 'rise, go up' and derived transitive **fale** 'stand up'. The two verbs, as always in verb compounds, have their own stress, and thus are two phonological words. There is no subject cross-reference in this example. The Causative suffix appears at the end of the verb sequence, but the obligatory object indexing which appears with all transitive verbs, whether they are causativised intransitives or base transitives, appears on the first verb, not on the verb with the Causative suffix. In all other sequences of transitive verbs in Lavukaleve, each one must be indexed for its object. The fact that this derived transitive verb is not shows that it is crucially different from serial verb constructions, and indeed from all other verbs. The explanation is simple, however; verb compounds treat both verbs as one, and they cross-reference their arguments accordingly. Further examples follow.

In the next example, both verbs are transitive (**ke** is base transitive, **vau** is derived transitive), and both subject and object are cross-referenced at the beginning of the predicate:

- 22) **aunio nun vau mola ga**
 aunio -n nun vau mola ga
 evening -LOC from go.out canoe(n) sgnArt
- emakevauri. Binabina la.**
 e- ma- ke vau -ri binabina la
 3sgnO- 3plS- push.off go.out -CAUS war.canoe(f) sgfArt
- ...in the evening they pushed out their canoe. The war canoe.* jn 009

In the following example, the subject is cross-referenced at the beginning of the predicate, and the object at the end. Thus, even though both verbs are transitive, object cross-referencing occurs only once:

- 23) **malav va ta hano molev va okevauriv.**
 malav va ta hano molev va o- ke vau -ri -v
 people(pl) plArt just then canoes(pl)plArt 3sgS- push.off go.out -CAUS -pl
- ...it [the sea during a cyclone] pushes the canoe and the people out.* ja 224

Thus, it is clear that the verb sequences discussed in this section are not the same as serial verb constructions, because of the participant marking system.

Note that **sou** and **fale** can also occur intransitively, without any Causative suffix:

24)	<i>Sou</i>	<i>falere</i>		<i>oki'kile</i>			<i>omane</i>		
	sou	fale	-re	o-	ki'kile		o-	ma	-ne
	rise	stand	-NF	3sgPOSS-	headhunting.axe(f)		3sgfO-	take	-IMPF
	<i>ovulita</i>			<i>okokosorire</i>		<i>omare</i>		<i>velavel</i>	<i>fi.</i>
	o-	vulita	o-	kokosori	-re	o-	ma	-re	vela-vel
	3sgPOSS-	shield(f)		3sgfO-carry.on.head	-NF	3sgfO-take	-NF	go	-COMPL 3sgnFOC
	<i>He stood up and carried his axe and his shield; he took them and went...</i>								<i>kg2 026</i>

In such cases, it is impossible to tell if the sequence of verbs is a verb compound, or if it is a serial verb construction. The criterial difference between the two is in the participant marking, particularly the object marking. If both members of the sequence are intransitive, there is nothing on which a decision can be based. Put differently, in such cases there is no distinction between serial verb constructions and verb compounds. In this description, unless the sequence is definitely a verb compound, the two verbs are always written separately.

It is probable that verb compounds represent a lexicalisation of serial verb constructions. However unlike verb compounds in many languages, these compounds have predictable semantics; their meanings are readily derivable from their individual components. There are only three of these verb compounds, and two of these occur relatively commonly. From that alone a claim for lexicalisation could be justified.

14.3 THE HABITUAL AUXILIARY

The Habitual Auxiliary, which forms another kind of complex predicate, is extremely frequent in Lavukaleve discourse. It is used to express events which are habitual, characteristic or typical. It is also used for events which take some time to carry out. The Habitual Auxiliary is very frequently used in narratives about what the ancestors used to do, and also in procedural texts explaining how people make or do things.

The Habitual Auxiliary is the sole member of its word class, and indeed is the only auxiliary in the language. There is also an intransitive verb **me** 'continue'; it is discussed below, Section 14.3.3, by way of comparison with the formally identical Habitual Auxiliary. The Habitual Auxiliary always occurs in construction with and following another verb; the verb + auxiliary constituent is called a verbal complex. The Habitual Auxiliary **me** never occurs without a verb, and it does not have valency, but, with its verb, takes arguments according to that verb's valency. It does however take certain verbal morphology, including the subordinate adverbial suffixes Anterior **-ge**, Potential **-le**, the Admonitive **-n**, the Future **-re** (in certain constrained circumstances) and the Agreement Suffix.

The members of the verbal complex share their arguments, and participant marking is shared between them, in a very particular way. The Habitual Auxiliary can only ever cross-reference the subject (S/A), never the object argument (with one exception,

prefix or the Agreement Suffix to cross-reference this subject (though the prefix paradigm used is slightly different to that of verbs). And also as with verbs, there are important semantic differences between a verbal complex with the Habitual Auxiliary when it receives prefixes to cross-reference its subject versus one when it uses the Agreement Suffix for this purpose, as is discussed in detail in Chapter 10. The same kinds of semantic distinctions are apparent when the Agreement Suffix is used on a verbal complex involving a Habitual Auxiliary. The following section discusses the prefixing of the Habitual Auxiliary. The section after that discusses the semantic and syntactic differences of the Habitual Auxiliary when it cross-references its subject using the Agreement Suffix.

Prefixed forms and suffixed forms of the Habitual Auxiliary are discussed separately here simply for the purposes of exposition, because the prefixed forms are morphologically a little complex and take some space to explain. But the reader should bear in mind that the major semantic and syntactic differences between prefixed forms and forms marked with the Agreement Suffix are the same as the differences between verbs when prefixed and verbs when appearing with the Agreement Suffix; the differences follow on from the fundamental distinction in Lavukaleve between cross-referencing with prefixes versus cross-referencing with the Agreement Suffix; and as such, these differences are not unique to the Habitual Auxiliary at all, but rather are just another reflection of a fundamental feature of Lavukaleve morpho-syntax.

14.3.1 THE HABITUAL AUXILIARY'S SUBJECT PREFIXES

The Habitual Auxiliary has its own unique set of subject prefixes with which it cross-references the subject of the verbal complex in which it appears. The paradigm is as follows:

HABITUAL AUXILIARY SUBJECT PREFIXES

	SG	DU	PL
1EXCL	la-	le-	
1INCL		me-	
2	ngo-	mele-	
3	lo-		ma-

(In subordinate adverbial constructions the Habitual Auxiliary, like intransitive verbs, takes object prefixes to cross-reference its subject in the third person and adds a special subordinate *e-* prefix in the normal subject prefix slot; see Section 16.1).

The Habitual Auxiliary subject prefixes are based on the subject prefixes used on verbs, with the addition of initial // in all those forms which are vowel-initial in the verbal

subject prefixes¹. Some examples of this system of subject prefixing:

- 28) **Hamusin** **fo'foira** **oeivele,**
 hamus -n fo'foira o- e- i -vele
 evening -LOC work(f) 3sgfO- SBD- do -SUCC
- laran** **fi** **iru** **lame.**
 lar -n fi iru la- me
 daylight -LOC 3sgnFOC sleep 1sg- HAB
- After I had worked at night, I'd sleep in the day.* co2 034
- 29) **"Vala** **siare** **lako** **ngome?"**
 vala sia -re lako ngo- me
 how do -NF cry 2sg- HAB
- "Why are you crying?"* gm 094
- 30) **le** **eveale** **koi** **vela** **lomel**
 le e- e- vea -le koi vela lo- me-l
 day(n) 3sgnO- SBD- emerge -POT also go 3duS- HAB-du
- ...when day came the two [boys] went again.* ja 012

The last example shows a further morphological point: that Habitual Auxiliaries with third person dual subjects frequently suffix a dual suffix **-l** to their form. This is not obligatory, but it is nevertheless quite common. Note that this dual suffix does not occur with 1st and 2nd person dual subjects. Dual marking is pervasive in Lavukaleve, and its most common manifestation is */l/*, or some form containing */l/*. Note that this dual suffix is not the Agreement Suffix. The Agreement Suffix dual forms are marked for gender: **-mal** (masculine); **-aol** (feminine) and **-gel** (neuter).

Occasionally when a Habitual Auxiliary with a subject prefix occurs in a Sentence-Final focus construction, the argument of the verbal complex which the focus marker agrees with is cross-referenced by the Agreement Suffix on the Habitual Auxiliary, and the Habitual Auxiliary also retains its subject prefixing. This leads to the anomalous situation of an argument being cross-referenced twice within the same predicate. The following are examples of this situation. Note that 'stern of a boat' is plural in Lavukaleve. The object argument 'stern' is cross-referenced by the prefix on the verb **ma** 'take', and also by the Agreement Suffix on the Habitual Auxiliary and the focus marker; thus it is cross-referenced twice within one predicate.

¹ This addition of */l/* to vowel-initial forms is not a general phonological rule of the language; there is no restriction on vowel-initial words in Lavukaleve. Rather, it is simply a feature peculiar to the Habitual Auxiliary subject prefix paradigm.

34)	Aka	ta	hoinariom				ana
	aka	ta	hoina	-ri	-om	a-	na
	then	time(m)	MOD.MED.sgm	-PSNV	-m/n	3sgmO-	in
	ngai		draeva	amem		fin.	
	ngai		draeva	a-	me	-m	fin
	1sg		drive	1sgS-	HAB	-sgm	3sgmFOC

Then at that time I (m) was still a driver.

co2 042

There are semantic reasons why a speaker might choose to use the subject prefix, not just abandon it and use the Agreement Suffix to cross-reference the subject. It has been explained elsewhere at length (Chapter 10) that there are semantic differences in the choice between cross-referencing arguments with prefixes versus with the Agreement Suffix. In single-word verb predicates if one wants to use a focus construction requiring one argument to be cross-referenced by the Agreement Suffix, one has no choice but to abandon all other cross-referencing of that argument elsewhere in the predicate. With the Habitual Auxiliary, however, one can choose to retain subject prefixing on the auxiliary, and one must retain object prefixing on the verb, if it is present; and thus these anomalous situations arise.

Predicates formed by verbal complexes have similar morpho-syntactic possibilities to single-verb predicates. They can be nominalised:

35)	Aka	homelav	va	vula	mame		ga
	aka	homela -v	va	vula	ma-	me	-ø
	then	woman -pl	plArt	come	3plS-	HAB	-sgn
	ena,	mina	sevi	vona	fi	vula	mame.
	e-	na mina	sevi	vo-	na	fi	vula
	3sgnO-	in um	eight	3plO-	in	3sgnFOC	come
							3plS-HAB

Then, with the women's coming [i.e. the way the women would come], they would come at 8 o'clock.

co2 009

A serial verb construction can function as part of a verbal complex, where it is itself a complex predicate, acting as one constituent within a larger complex predicate. In the following example, **huru fufu** is a serial verb construction, forming the lexical head of the verbal complex involving **lome** (with the focus marker intervening between lexical head and auxiliary):

36)	Hano.	Oina	[[huru	fufu]	fi	lome].
	hano	oina	huru	fufu	fi	lo-
	then	other.MED.sgm	go.inside	lie.down	3sgnFOC	3sgS-
						HAB

Okay. He went inside and lay down.

co 336

Verbal complexes can function as the final predicate of a clause chaining construction (see Chapter 15):

37)	Oelakole			fi,	felere		vula	mame.	
	o-	e-	lako -le	fi	fele	-re	vula	ma-	me
	3sgfO-	SBD-	cry -POT	3sgnFOC	return	-NF	come	3plS-	HAB

When [the 12 o'clock bell (f)] sounded, they would come back.

co2 060

Verbal complexes using the Habitual Auxiliary can occur in subordinate adverbial clauses just as simple predicates can. A full discussion of this construction type appears in Section 16.1.

14.3.2 THE HABITUAL AUXILIARY WITH THE AGREEMENT SUFFIX

The Agreement Suffix is discussed fully in Chapter 10. Briefly, it is a paradigm of suffixes added to verbs and nominal modifiers to agree with a (usually core) participant for various syntactic and pragmatic functions. When added to intransitive predicates, it gives a stative/resultative meaning. It is also used in relative clauses and Sentence-Final focus constructions. In verbal complexes with the Habitual Auxiliary it is suffixed to the Habitual Auxiliary. This combination of habitual, characteristic meanings from the Habitual Auxiliary, and stative/resultative meanings from the suffix, often indicates that the entity cross-referenced by the Agreement Suffix is a habitual agent.

Semantically, verbs in this construction have subjects who habitually carry out the action (examples (26), (38), (39) or to actions which involve a process continuing over some extent of time (examples (27) and (29)). In example (27), for instance, the woman who is the subject of the habitual-agent construction is waiting for her husband for hours by the shore, listening for the sound of his canoe. Some further examples:

38)	Malav	sasavaliv		fo'foira	hori		olugu	mev.	
	malav	sasavali	-v	fo'foira	ho	-ri	o-	lugu	me -v
	people(pl)	be.willing	-pl	work(f)	MOD.PROX.sgf	-PSNV	3sgfO-	think	HAB-pl

(The Mother's Unions requires a certain type of people.) Willing people who take this work seriously.

emk 022

39)	vovao		mev,		lafa		ona		
	vo-	vao	me -v		lafa		o-		na
	3plO-	feed	HAB -pl		part(f)		3sgfO-		in

mangoarea				ole		mev		hiv
ma-	ngoa	-re	-a	o-	le	me	-v	hiv
3plS-	stay	-NF	-sgf	3sgfO-	see	HAB	-pl	3plEFOC

kavu	ena		hi	lame		ga.
kavu	e-	na	hi	la-	me	ga
group(n)	3sgnO-	in	do/say	1sg-	HAB	sgnArt

...they always feed them, and also they always look after the area they live in.

emk 024

40)	malav	fagine		ngoa		mev		
	malav	fagi		-ne ngoa		me	-v	
	people(pl)	island		-PERL stay		HAB	-pl	
	elere	"O!	Ami	hin		ika	leim?"	hivel.
	e-	le -re	o	ami	hin	ika	lei -m	hi -vel
	3sgnO-	see -NF	oh	who(m)	3sgmEFOC	there	exist-sgm	do/say -COMPL

...all the people living around in the islands saw it [the fire (n)], and they said "Oh! Who is there?" mn2 051-052

No words, not even the focus marker, can intervene between the verb and **me** with the Agreement Suffix. There are good reasons however why one would not want to say that the **me** word is suffixed to the verb. The element is phonologically an independent word; it can be said in isolation.

It is a different morphological word too. One observation in this regard relies on parallelism with the prefixed forms of the Habitual Auxiliary. One would not want to say that the **me** which is prefixed for its subject is different in its fundamental syntactic nature from the **me** which receives the Agreement Suffix. All verbs are capable of receiving either prefixes or the Agreement Suffix for participant marking, and the Habitual Auxiliary, although it is not a verb, is no different in this respect. The **me** which receives a prefix for subject is definitely a separate word from the verb which it follows; and thus, the simplest analysis, without evidence to the contrary, is that the **me** which receives the Agreement Suffix is too.

There is a further reason for saying that **me** with the Agreement Suffix is a separate word from the verb, to do with participant marking. In these constructions, regardless of the transitivity of the verb, the suffix on **me** agrees with the subject (S/A). If the verb is transitive, it takes an object prefix. It is ungrammatical for an intransitive verb to take the subject prefix and **me** to be unmarked; or for the transitive verb to take subject marking and **me** to take object marking. If the verb and **me** were morphologically one word, one would expect, judging from all other participant marking rules in the language, that participant marking would be flexible in this respect; one would expect subject or object to be marked at either end of the word, as it can be in any verb. The fact that there is no flexibility here suggests that this is not one morphological word. Rather, the rule is that the verb, if transitive, must mark its object. This is in fact a fixed rule throughout the language; see Section 9.7 for discussion. For these reasons, **me** is regarded as a separate word, both on the phonological and morphological levels, in these (as indeed in all other) constructions.

The word **me**, suffixed with the Future Tense marker **-re**, plus the Agreement Suffix, is used with negated verbs to express negative habitual-state meanings³. The resulting construction differs from the construction discussed above only in that the auxiliary **me** is always suffixed with the Future Tense marker **-re** in these constructions, and the

³ There are also four positive examples of this construction in a corpus of around 5000 sentences.

verbs in question have the Negative suffix **-la**.

- 41) "O! Tamu. Omala mere⁴ foe."
 o tamu o- ma -la me -re foe
 oh no 3sgFO- take -NEG HAB -FUT 1pl.exFOC
"Oh! No. We won't take her." mn 086
- 42) Etokaire koi evalare leta faite ga evala
 e- tokai-re koi e- vala -re leta faite -ø ga e- vala
 3sgnO- poke -NF also 3sgnO- pull -NF but be.hard -sgn sgnArt 3sgnO- pull
 elufula merem finu.
 e- lufu -la me -re -m finu
 3sgnO- leave -NEG HAB -FUT-sgm 2sgFOC
He poked it, then he tried to pull it, but it was hard to pull it out, you (m) can't do it. sl 024
- 43) Mina laita roru ngona
 mina laita -a ro -ru ngo- na
 thing(f) secret/sacred -sgf one.sgf -none 2sg- in
 ngiula merera feo.
 ngiu -la me -re -a feo
 hide -NEG HAB -FUT -sgf 3sgfFOC
Nothing secret can hide from you. e3 037b
- 44) Uia tamu oemele nei ga
 uia tamu o- e- me -le nei ga
 knife(f) no 3sgFO- SBD- continue-POT coconut(n) sgnArt
 ekoroila merem finu.
 e- koroi -la me -re -m finu
 3sgnO- chop -NEG HAB -FUT -sgm 2sgFOC
If you don't have a knife you (m) can't cut a coconut. e1 035e
- 45) "Tamu. Ngai vela merera fongai.
 tamu ngai ve -la me -re -a fongai
 no 1sg go -NEG HAB -FUT -sgf 1sgFOC
"No. I (f) can't go." co 437

In such cases the meaning of the verbal complex construction as a whole is that the entity referred to by the Agreement Suffix on the Habitual Auxiliary cannot, does not, or will not carry out the action referred to by the verb. Many of these constructions are negative generic statements referring to impossibility.

Note that even though the Future Tense marker **-re** is obligatorily used in such constructions, these constructions do not necessarily have future time reference. Its appearance might be due to an irrealis reading of the Future tense marker. See Section 12.2.1 for discussion of other uses of suffix **-re** which may be relevant here. Note also

⁴ The Agreement Suffix has been omitted here, as occasionally happens (see Section 10.3.1).

of one as a verb and one as an auxiliary, is intended to highlight the combinatorial possibilities of each, and their syntactic functions.

Me 'continue' can of course also occur in other complex constructions which are open to verbs. In the following example, **me** is the main verb of its clause; **ngosiveham** is a purposive adverbial clause subordinate to the **me** clause. The **me** clause is focus-marked.

49)	Hoigari		inu	ngorar		fi		el
	hoiga	-ri	inu	ngo-	rara	fi		el
	MOD.MED.sgn	-PSNV	2sg	2sg-	side	3sgnFOC		1duex
	fe	ngosiveham		tin	memal		foel.	
	fe	ngo-	sive	-ham	tin	me	-mal	foel
	even	2sg-	follow	-PURP	only	continue	-du.m	1duexFOC

That's your affair [lit. your side]; we two just kept following you.

mt 116

The following two examples show **me** 'continue' as the verb of a subordinate adverbial clause, marked with Anterior suffix and the correct split-ergative participant-marking system appropriate to subordinate adverbial constructions (see Section 16.1 for a discussion of these constructions):

50)	Oho'vul		ana			fain	
	o-	ho'vulu	a-		na	fain	
	3sgPOSS-	ear(m)	3sgmO-		in	inside	
	aemege			fi	lohau.		
	a-	e-	me	-ge	fi	lo-	hau
	3sgmO-	SBD-	continue	-ANT	3sgnFOC	3duS-	go.ashore

Upon him [the rat] going inside his [the dog's] ear, then the two go ashore

s2 054

51)	Ehoure		amege		kini	hano	koi				
	e-	hou	-re	a-	me	-ge	kini	hano	koi		
	3sgnO-	wait.for	-NF	1sgS-	continue	-ANT	ACT	then	also		
	ta	fi	afeure		hivel	fi	alai.				
	ta	fi	a-	feu	-re	hi	-vel	fi	a-	lai	
	just	3sgnFOC	3sgmO-	go.up	-FUT	do/say	-COMPL	3sgnFOC	3sgmO-	1sgS-	tell

I keep waiting, and then I say okay, now I will go up, I tell him.

w2 055

Note that there is yet another word **me**; it is an adjective, with a rather complex set of meanings to do with specifying the nominal head as one with which speakers are all familiar. This adjective **me** (cited throughout this thesis in its feminine singular form **mea**) is discussed in Section 4.1.2.

14.4 VERBAL ADJUNCT CONSTRUCTIONS

Verbal adjunct constructions involve a non-predicating element expressing the lexical

meaning of the construction, in conjunction with a semantically fairly empty verb, which enables the element to function as a predicate by providing the necessary morphology.

There are only two verbs in Lavukaleve which take part in such constructions: **hai** 'do' and **sia** 'be, become, happen, do'. The lexical elements involved are of a number of types, different for each verb. Both verbs can also act as simple predicates; they do not always occur in these verbal adjunct constructions.

Verbal adjunct constructions are extremely common in Papuan languages, particularly those of the highlands of mainland PNG (Foley 1986: 119). Lavukaleve differs from many of these languages in that, while it does have verbal adjunct constructions, they are not a pervasive feature of Lavukaleve grammar; and in fact there are only two verbs, and very few adjuncts, that take part in the constructions.

The verb plus adjunct is treated here as a complex predicate because the adjunct of these constructions is tightly bound to the verb: while the verb is the predicating element, in that it controls number of arguments and takes the morphology, the adjunct is closely bound to the verb, and the two elements function as a single constituent. It is not however an argument of the verb, and is never cross-referenced on the verb.

14.4.1 HAI 'DO'

Hai 'do' is an ambitransitive verb, which, in its intransitive function, can act as the verb of a verbal adjunct construction. The lexical elements it can occur with in this construction are very few, and consist only of the class of verbal adjuncts: **fo'for** 'fly, 'prepare'; **va'var** 'talking'; **so'sor** 'fast' and **ko'kor** 'tight'. These words are presumably old reduplications, although there is no evidence in the language today of ***for**, ***var**, ***sor** or ***kor**.

See Section 3.16 for criteria distinguishing verb adjuncts from other word classes. Some examples:

- 52) **Kini lake ga emare ove koi fo'for haire.**
 kini lake ga e- ma -re o- ve koi fo'for hai -re
 ACT fire(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- take -NF 3sgS- go also fly do -NF
He takes the fire, then flies away. gm 082

- 53) **Oraore oraore kini gonu na**
 o- rao -re o- rao -re kini gonu na
 3sgfO- surround -NF 3sgfO- surround -NF ACT turtle(m) sgmArt
omi ga oloen ko'kor hai ke.
 o- mi ga o- lo -e -n ko'kor hai ke
 3sgPOSS- special.thing(n) sgnArt 3sgS-finish -NOMZR -LOC tight do EMPH
It went round and round, the turtle's thing went completely tight at the end. s1 014

54)	ta	kusukui na	so'sor	haire		lolo	kini
	ta	kusukui na	so'sor	hai	-re	lolo	kini
	just	rat(m)	sgmArt fast	do	-NF	straight	ACT

mitakeu	oho'vul		ana	hurum.
mitakeu	o-	ho'vulu	a- na	huru -m
dog(m)	3sgPOSS-	ear(m)	3sgmO- in	go.inside -sgm

...the rat goes quickly, and goes inside the dog's ear.

s2 053

55)	Aevole		fi	vau	ana	va'var
	a-	vo -le	fi	vau	a- na	va'var
	3sgmO-	SBD- come-POT	3sgnFOC	go.out	3sgmO- in	talking
	haivele	fi,	akuru	anekiurire.		
	hai -vele	fi	a- kuru	a- ne- kiu -ri -re		
	do -SUCC	3sgnFOC	3sgmO- hit	3sgmO- 2sgS- die -CAUS -FUT		

When he comes, you go down and when you talk to him, then you kill him.

gm 101

56)	Fo'for	lehai			feleham.
	fo'for	le-	hau -i	-i	fele -ham
	ready	1duexPOSS-	go.ashore	-PSV	return -PURP

We got ready to go back.

w1 039

It is interesting that **fo'for** has two separate meanings; 'fly' (as in example (52) above), and 'get ready' (as in example (56) above). It is difficult to see a semantic connection between them.

A word of the same form as the verb adjunct **va'var** also exists in Lavukaleve; there is a word **va'var** 'talking', which is a neuter noun. These are clearly two different syntactic possibilities of **va'var**. Compare the following two examples with (55) above:

57)	Aka	foiga		Hoikari		hano	ngai
	aka	foiga		hoika -ri		hano	ngai
	then	PN.MED.sgn		there.MED -PSNV		then	1sg
	ngava'var		olou		siav		
	nga-	va'var	o-	lou	sia -v		
	1sgPOSS-	talking(n)	3sgPOSS-	edge(pl)	do -pl		
	mola	ehoa		ova'var		ena.	
	mola	e- hoa	-e	o-	va'var	e- na	
	canoe(n)	3sgnO- poke.through	-NOMZR	3sgPOSS-	talking(n)	3sgnO- in	

Okay, there now, my talking is at its end, my talking about canoe-making. [i.e. my story about canoe making does its edges]

cp 043

58)	Redio	ova'var		ga	lagariala	fi.
	redio	o-	va'var	ga	lagariala -p	fi
	radio(f)	3sgPOSS-	talking(n)	sgnArt	unclear -sgn	3sgnFOC

The radio talking is unclear.

e3 020j

In the first of the above pair, **va'var** appears as the head of an NP 'canoe-cutting-talk'

(talk about canoe-making), which is the object of the postposition **na** 'in'. In the second example, **va'var** is again the head of the NP, with a neuter definite article. These are clearly very different syntactic environments than those seen above for verb adjuncts. The simplest analysis is that there are two words **va'var**; one is a verb adjunct, the other a neuter noun. They have a very similar meaning.

Hai 'do' also takes part in some common collocational expressions. The normal way to express marrying (or having sex with) a woman is to say **vovo hai** (lit. 'girl do'); beheading is expressed as **sooso hai** 'neck do'; coughing is **hovir hai** 'cough do'; snoring is **ngoro hai** 'snore do'; shouting is **haikio hai** 'shout do'; fishing is **siriae hai** 'fishing do' and so on. For example:

59)	Vo'vou	hovir	chainu.		
	vo'vou	hovir	e- hai	-nu	
	boy(m)	cough(n)	3sgnO- do	-PRES.sg	

The boy is coughing. [lit: the boy is doing a cough]

e1 002g

All of these expressions involve the verb **hai**, with a noun as object, cross-referenced on **hai**. They are not verbal adjunct constructions.

14.42 **SIA** 'DO, BE, BECOME, HAPPEN'

The verb **sia** 'be, become, happen, do' can function as a simple predicate, and it can also function as the second part of a predicate in a verbal adjunct construction. It is used in complex predicates involving particles and borrowed words. When it occurs as the sole predicate of a clause it usually means 'be', 'become' or 'happen'. When it occurs as part of a complex predicate in a verbal adjunct construction it usually means something more like 'do'.

When a verb from another language is borrowed into Lavukaleve, it cannot usually be used as a predicate by itself, but rather must be used as the lexical element of a verbal adjunct construction, using **sia** as the verb. In the corpus **sia** has been found with the following words. Some of these words are clearly borrowed; others may be borrowed, but a possible source has not been found:

gohed sia	'go ahead, embark on (a project)' (from Solomon Pijin)
stat sia	'start' (from Solomon Pijin)
stop sia	'stop' (from Solomon Pijin)
vin sia	'win' (from Solomon Pijin)
draeva sia	'drive' (from Solomon Pijin)
daeva sia	'dive for shellfish' (from Solomon Pijin)
let sia	'be late' (from Solomon Pijin)
plen sia	'plane wood' (from Solomon Pijin)
nok sia	'knock' (from Solomon Pijin)

popiulet sia	'populate' (from English)
baere sia	'chat, tell a story' (cf. baere 'friend, mate' in Roviana (Austronesian, Western Province) (Waterhouse 1949); also mbaire , referring to a bond of friendship in languages of the Western Province (Hocart nd).
ta'rai sia	'pray' (cf. tarai 'pray' in Cheke Holo (Austronesian, Santa Ysabel) (White 1988))
saporau sia	'grow (as of new grass)'
sabo sia	'clear garden for planting'
mala sia	'show out, appear'
ngiungiu sia	'be secret'

Some examples:

- 60) **Aka hamus o lar vona fi draeva asia.**
 aka hamus o lar vo- na fi draeva a- sia
 then evening(n) and daylight(n) 3plO- in 3sgnFOC drive 1sgS- do
Night and day I drove. co2 033
- 61) **Veore, mina nok aesiage, hano.**
 veo -re mina nok a- e- sia -ge hano
 arrive -NF um knock 3sgmO- SBD- do -ANT then
Arriving, he knocked. mn3 019
- 62) **Aka oloen plen siae ga fi.**
 aka o- lo -e -n plen sia -e ga fi
 then 3sgS- finish -NOMZR -LOC plane do -NOMZR sgnArt 3sgnFOC
So planing is the last thing [in canoe-making]. cp 041
- 63) **voma ta'rai siaham o vosuri foia**
 vo- ma ta'rai sia -ham o vo- su -ri foia
 3plO- take prayer do -PURP and 3plO- wash -CAUS PN.MED.sgf
mafo'foira heo.
 ma- fo'foira heo
 3plPOSS- work(f) 3sgFEFOC
...to take them to church, and wash them, that's their work. emk 015

Note that the word **ta'rai** is also cross-classified as a feminine noun. It is used in the above example as a verbal adjunct, but in its noun use it functions as an argument of a predicate:

- 64) **Ta'rai oma mem**
 ta'rai o- ma me -m
 prayer(f) 3sgFO-take SPEC -sgm
He takes the prayer [service] pr 002

The verb **sia** is also used very commonly for making predicates with indigenous

particles, especially temporal and spatial particles. For example the normal way of telling time is to say, for example, **12 kilok sia** 'it is twelve o'clock'; or numbers **lamukas enga sia** 'there are three thousand' (thousand three do). A euphemistic way of expressing dying is to say **tamu sia** 'not do', i.e., 'become not'. It is also used in other constructions, as the sole member of a single predicate.

Some examples of **sia** as sole predicate, with some of its other meanings:

be:

65)	Ona	vovo	la	sia	feo.
	o-	na	vovo	la	sia -a
	3sgFO-	in	girl(f)	sgfArt	do -sgf
					3sgfFOC

The girl was [born] from it [a coconut].

co 150

happen:

66)	Hamus	sia.
	hamus	sia -ø
	evening(n)	do -sgn

Night came.

gm 062

be/do:

67)	Vala	siare	olei?
	vala	sia -re	o- lei
	how	do -NF	3sgS- exist

How is she?

gm 075

be/reach:

68)	Kini	kulukulumal	vokinun	vokinun
	kini	kulukulu -mal	vo- ki -nun	vo- ki -nun
	ACT	pigeon -pl	3plO- shoot -DUR	3plO- shoot -DUR
	vokila		kini oka	osia.
	vo-	ki	-la kini koka	o- sia
	3plO-	shoot	-EXT ACT far	3sgS- do

He went shooting pigeons, on and on, and reached far away.

mn3 005

Even though **sia** does have different meanings in different contexts, it is glossed consistently as 'do'.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Clause chaining

15.1 INTRODUCTION

Clause chaining constructions consist of a string of coordinate-dependent clauses followed by a final independent clause. This chapter describes in detail the morphology and syntax of coordinate-dependent clauses, and shows that they can be clearly distinguished from subordinate clauses and independent coordinate clauses. Clause chaining constructions in other Papuan languages are examined briefly to see how Lavukaleve's constructions compare with those already known in the literature.

15.2 INDEPENDENT, SUBORDINATE-DEPENDENT AND COORDINATE-DEPENDENT CLAUSES REVISITED

It was explained in Section 9.5 that there are two main types of clauses in Lavukaleve: independent (main) clauses and dependent clauses. There are, in turn, two types of dependent clauses: subordinate-dependent and coordinate-dependent clauses. This terminology is used by Foley (1986) in describing typical clause structures of Papuan languages. It is particularly revealing for Lavukaleve: in Lavukaleve there are clear morpho-syntactic distinctions between each of these clause types, and it is descriptively useful to consider them each separately. Main (independent) clauses were described in Chapter 9. Subordinate-dependent clauses are described in Chapter 16. This chapter is devoted to the description of the other major clause type: coordinate-dependent clauses.

Coordinate-dependent clauses are, as their name suggests, dependent on a main (independent) predicate. They share this property with subordinate clauses, but the kind of dependence which they display is very different in the two cases. It was explained in

Section 9.5 that main clauses are syntactically and morphologically independent; they can occur as single utterances on their own, and do not depend on any other clause for the expression of TAM and participant marking. The words 'main' and 'independent' are used interchangeably to name this kind of clause. Dependent clauses, on the other hand, cannot occur on their own, but rather occur in construction with another clause. They rely on this other clause for the expression of certain TAM and participant marking properties.

Subordinate-dependent clauses cross-reference their own arguments, but they can only specify their TAM properties in a very restricted way; essentially, they are only marked for their semantic relationship to their main predicate. Subordinate-dependent clauses are embedded within a main clause; they function as modifiers of particular parts of the main clause (i.e. they are relative clauses, adverbial clauses and purposive clauses); as Foley (1986) points out, they have a part-whole relationship with the main clause. Crucially, they allow subject cross-referencing, whereas coordinate-dependent clauses do not. A discussion of the difference between subordinate-dependent and coordinate-dependent clauses (and serial verb constructions) appears later on in this chapter.

Coordinate-dependent clauses are syntactically and semantically dependent on a main clause, but are not syntactically or semantically a part of that clause. Instead, they are linked to the main clause "in a linear string, much like beads on a necklace" (Foley 1986: 177). In Lavukaleve they cannot cross-reference their subject arguments. Also, they cannot mark their own TAM; they rely on the main clause for this. However they do carry morphology specifying their temporal relationship with the main clause. In fact, the only morphology (apart from the Causative suffix) available to a coordinate-dependent predicate is an object prefix, if the predicate is transitive, and a suffix marking the temporal relationship of the coordinate-dependent clause with the next clause.

Note that because coordinate-dependent clauses are marked by verbal morphology, it is not possible to have non-verbal predicates entering into clause chaining constructions. Coordinate-dependent clauses are always verbal.

15.3 OVERVIEW

As a starting point for the discussion, consider the following excerpt from a text. The story is a procedural text explaining how the speaker gathers and cooks **taalea**, a kind of shellfish. It consists of a sequence of sentences, each one involving a clause chaining construction. Coordinate-dependent predicates are italicised; the independent final predicates of the chain are underlined.

- 1) a. **gaikoko na ana aige oke foare, aerau.**
 gaikoko na a- na aige o- ke foa -re a- erau
 canoe(m) sgmArt 3sgmO-in anchor(f) 3sgfO- drop go.down -NF 1sgS- fall/jump
...dropping the anchor from the canoe, I jump out. di 008
- b. **Ngadaeva ga efoure,**
 nga- daeva ga e- fou -re
 1sgPOSS- goggles(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- put.on -NF
kemus ena taalea oahore ga
 kemus e- na taalea o- a- ho -re -ø ga
 rope(n) 3sgnO-in small.giant.clam(f) 3sgfO- 1sgS- put.inside -FUT -sgn sgnArt
emare, afoa.
 e- ma -re a- foa
 3sgnO- take -NF 1sgS- go.down
Putting on my goggles, taking a string [basket] that I will put the taalea in, I go down.
 di 009-010
- c. **Kini daeva siare taalea la**
 kini daeva sia -re taalea la
 ACT diving do -NF small.giant.clam(f) sgfArt
olere oate.
 o- le -re o- a- te
 3sgfO- see -NF 3sgfO- 1sgS- get.shellfish
I go down and see the taalea and collect it. [lit: Going diving, seeing the taalea, I collect it.]
 di 011
- d. **Ote lamege ote**
 o- te la- me -ge o- te
 3sgfO- get.shellfish 1sgS- HAB -ANT 3sgfO- get.shellfish
lamege oevutiage,
 la- me -ge o- e- vutia -ge
 1sgS- HAB -ANT 3sgfO- SBD- be.many -ANT
aore, felere laila felere avo.
 ao -re fele -re lai -la fele -re a- vo
 go.in -NF return -NF paddle-EXT return -NF 1sgS- come
I keep on getting them, then when I have a lot, I get back in [the canoe], and paddle home. [lit: With me keeping on getting them, when they are many, then going back in, returning by paddling around, I come back.]
 di 012 - 013
- e. **Vore, aka ngagaikoko akefeuire,**
 vo -re aka nga- gaikoko a- ke feu -ri -re
 come -NF then 1sgPOSS- canoe(m) 3sgmO- push.off go.up -CAUS -NF
kini afeu.
 kini a- feu
 ACT 1sgS- go.up
Coming back, then pushing my canoe up [on the beach], I go up. di 014 - 015

Sentence a. above has one coordinate-dependent predicate, consisting of the serial verb construction **ke foa** 'drop down' followed by the independent predicate **erau**

'fall/jump'. Sentence b. consists of two coordinate-dependent clauses followed by a independent clause **afoa** (the sequence **kemus ena taalea oahore ga** is a relative clause). Sentence c. is similar, consisting of two coordinate-dependent predicates followed by an independent predicate. Sentence d. interrupts the sequence of clause chaining constructions by introducing three subordinate clauses **ote lamege, ote lamege** and **oevutiage**. These subordinate clauses mark their subject arguments (albeit with the special subordinate adverbial system which, among other things, marks third person intransitive subjects as objects; see Section 16.1), and explicitly show their relationship to the independent verb **avo**, by the Anterior suffix **-ge**. The sentence continues, however, with a clause chaining construction with coordinate-dependent predicates **aore, felere** and **felere**, ending with independent clause **avo**. Sentence e. shows another clause chaining construction, with coordinate-dependent predicates **vore** and **akefeurire** (a verb compound), and independent predicate **afeu**.

Clause chaining constructions are the most common method of joining predicates in a sequence of events in a narrative in Lavukaleve. They are used to bring the action of the story forward, for what Hopper and Thompson (1980) call foregrounding; foregrounded clauses are those clauses which express action sequences which move the storyline along from event to event. As such, clause chains are not used to set a scene; this means that the fact that they cannot mark TAM does not matter. When a clause chain is used, TAM would normally already be understood. Alternatively, it can be marked with an intervening subordinate clause, as is shown above, or later after the end of the chain. TAM marking in Lavukaleve is not obligatory, and indeed is relatively infrequent; usually once a time frame has been established, speakers do not repeat the morphology which established it.

15.4 DEFINING FEATURES OF COORDINATE-DEPENDENT CLAUSES

Structurally, clause chaining constructions consist of one or more coordinate-dependent clauses, each one with its own coordinate-dependent predicate, followed by an independent (main) predicate. This order of clauses is obligatory; the coordinate-dependent clauses always precede the independent clause (though see below for an environment when a coordinate-dependent clause can follow its main clause). The independent predicate has all the structural possibilities of any independent predicate in the language. Coordinate-dependent predicates however have a number of special properties particular to them.

15.4.1 MORPHOLOGY

Coordinate-dependent predicate forms are very restricted as to the morphology which they can take. Transitive coordinate-dependent predicates must take an object prefix; but no coordinate-dependent predicate can cross-reference its subject. The Causative suffix can occur on coordinate-dependent predicates. In addition, all coordinate-

dependent predicates are obligatorily marked with one of three suffixes indicating the temporal relationship of the coordinate-dependent clause to the next clause. These suffixes are **-re** (glossed NF 'Non-Finite' for reasons explained below), **-vel** (COMPLETive) and **-vele** (SUCCessive). These three suffixes only occur on coordinate-dependent verbs. Apart from these affixes, no other morphology is available to coordinate-dependent predicates.

15.4.2 CLAUSE CHAINS WITH COMPLETIVE -VEL

The Completive suffix **-vel** refers to a fulfilled condition. It marks a clause as having been finished completely before the action of the next clause. The verb on which it is suffixed forms a coordinate-dependent predicate, with the meaning 'Having completed X, [then Y]'. The implication is that the action or event has only just been completed; and that upon its completion, then something else was enabled to happen. Note that clause chains are not used to express events far distant from each other in time, so a sentence like 'having planted the yams last year, we harvested them today', would not be expressed with a clause chain.

- 2) **hivel** **okalem** **na**
 hi -vel o- kalem na
 do/say -COMPL 3sgPOSS- father(m) sgmArt
- akurure** **akiuri**
 a- kuru -re a- o- kiu -ri
 3sgmO- hit -NF 3sgmO- 3sgS- die -CAUS
- ...having said that, then hitting his father he killed him.* gm 109
- 3) **Kini** **vau** **suni** **vomavel** **ofei**
 kini vau suni vo- ma -vel o- feu -i
 ACT go.out all 3plO- take -COMPL 3sgPOSS- go.up -PSV
- He came down and, having taken everyone, he went up [to the bush].* jn 007
- 4) **Hano** **lonaumal** **na** **afifirire** **ana**
 hano lo- naumal na a- fifi -ri -re a- na
 then 3duPOSS- god(m) sgmArt 3sgmO- sit -CAUS -NF 3sgmO- in
- va'var** **haire** **lore** **fi** **aka** **alufuvel** **lovo**
 va'var hai -re lo -re fi aka a- lufu -vel lo- vo
 talking do -NF finish -NF 3sgnFOC then 3sgmO- leave -COMPL 3duS- come
- Then the two sacrificing to their god [lit: sitting their god], and having finished talking to him, then having left him they went.* ja 341
- 5) **Hivel** **lalufuvel** **ofoa** **ke** **umu**
 hi -vel la- lufu -vel o- foa ke umu
 do/say -COMPL 3dumO- leave -COMPL 3sgS- go.down EMPH under
- She said it and left them and went down [to the bottom of the sea]. [lit: Having said (that), having left them she goes way down]* ja 039

The Completive suffix is often used with **hi** 'do/say', as a way of linking speech with resulting action:

- 6) **Le ga eveage "Ngoamela" hivel lovau.**
 le ga e- vea -ge ngoa-mela hi -vel lo- vau
 day(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- SBD- emerge -ANT stay -DURIMP.du do/say -COMPL 3duS-go.out
Upon day coming, "You two stay"; her having said that they go out. ja 494

15.4.3 CLAUSE CHAINS WITH SUCCESSIVE -VELE

The Successive suffix **-vele** is used to mark a clause as being in temporal sequence to another clause. As with the Completive suffix, the clauses are ordered iconically; the first, **-vele** clause precedes the main clause. The Successive clause means 'After X has happened, [then Y]'. It can also mean 'whenever'. Note that its meaning is very similar to that of the Completive. Some examples:

- 7) **"Vala afouham ngovo" hivele**
 vala a- fou -ham ngo- vo hi -vele
 how 3sgmO- put.on -PURP 2sg- come do/say -SUCC
fi akuru anekiurire.
 fi a- kuru a- ne- kiu -ri -re
 3sgnFOC 3sgmO- hit 3sgmO- 2sgS- die -CAUS -FUT
After you say "Why did you come?", then you will kill him. gm 103

- 8) **Efoure, foiga "Emavele velama!"**
 e- fou -re foiga e- ma -vele vela -ma
 3sgnO- put.on -NF PN.MED.sgn 3sgnO- take -SUCC go -DURIMP.sg
Putting it inside, okay, "Once you've taken the coconut, go!" co 115

- 9) **Ena felevele kini efela'koen elavea.**
 e- na fele -vele kini e- fela'koe -n e- lavea
 3sgnO- in return -SUCC ACT 1pl.exPOSS- village -LOC 1pl.ex- appear
We will go back on it to our village. [lit: having returned we will arrive at our village] mt 104

- 10) **Aka gali ga ali ele elikivele Adina**
 aka gali ga ali e- le -e e- liki -vele Adina
 then stone.canoe(n) sgnArt man(m) 3sgnO- see -NOMZR 3sgnO- want -SUCC Yandina
fi oaere.
 fi o- ae -re
 3sgnFOC 3sgS- go.up -FUT
And if anyone wants to see the stone canoe he must go up to Yandina. [lit: once a man wants to see it, he will go up...] s2 069

Verbs with the Successive suffix often seem semantically subordinate to the following clause, but syntactically such clauses pattern far more closely with Completive and Non-Finite clauses rather than with subordinate-dependent clauses.

used only in clauses which have future time reference. Most of the previous examples have past time reference, as can be seen from the translations.

Future Tense **-re** is used in full, completely independent, clauses. There are many examples, of which the following is representative, which show **-re** marking fully independent single verbs:

14)	"Ngai	lafa	ona		voasu		ka		foiga
	ngai	lafa	o-	na	vo-	a-	su	ka	foiga
	1sg	part(f)	3sgfO-	in	3plO-	1sgS-	tie	LOCEMPH	PN.MED.sgn
	avere"				ore.				
	a-	ve	-re		o-	re			
	1sgS-	go	-FUT		3sgS-	say			

"I tied them up in some place - I'll go there" he said.

mt 028

Furthermore, there are morpho-syntactic differences between **-re** the Non-Finite marker and **-re** the Future Tense marker. When Non-Finite **-re** occurs on a coordinate-dependent predicate, that predicate cannot mark its subject, as was explained above. However when Future Tense **-re** appears on independent predicates, this restriction does not hold; independent predicates can freely cross-reference their subjects. See the above example, and the following:

15)	le'usa	tatavari	mea		la	lain		onekaere.	
	le'usa	tatavari	me	-a	la	lai	-n	o-	ne-
	betel.tree(f)	split	SPEC	-sgf	sgfArt	top	-LOC	3sgfO-	2sgS-
								kae	-re
								put.up	-FUT

[When making a house] you will put up the split betel nut on top.

b2 018

16)	ohoul		va		voegu		lo,
	o-	houl	va		vo-	igu	lo
	3sgPOSS-	trees(pl)	plArt		3plO-	take.out	finish
	gagamu	la	oalaure.				
	gagamu	la	o-	a-	lau	-re	
	debris(f)	sgfArt	3sgfO-	1sgS-	sweep	-FUT	

...having removed the sticks, I will sweep the debris.

jb 010

So the Non-Finite suffix **-re** is clearly distinguishable from the Future Tense suffix **-re**, in terms of semantic and morphological criteria. In clause chain constructions, it serves as a linker, to mark each coordinate-dependent clauses as belonging to one of a series, linked to a following independent predicate. Coordinate-dependent predicates, marked with this suffix, cannot express TAM distinctions or cross-reference their subjects. These are typical features of non-finite predicates, which indeed coordinate-dependent

second canoe, of which the first was previously mentioned some time ago in the story. So the fourth clause, **leleta ga soire** 'the second one ran', has the same real-world referent as the third clause, although the NP subject used to refer to it is actually different. The independent verb **ohai** has the same subject **leleta ga** 'the second [canoe (n)]' as the fourth coordinate-dependent clause.

- 19) *Ekurure* **aka** **oinala** *sou felere* **roge**
 e- kuru -re aka oinala sou fale -re roge
 3sgnO- hit -NF then other.MED.mdu rise stand -NF one.sgn
- foiga** *soire* **leleta** **ga** *soire* **ohai.**
 foiga soi -re leleta -ø ga soi -re o- hau -i
 PN.MED.sgn run.away -NF second-sgn sgnArt run.away -NF 3sgPOSS-go.ashore -PSV
- [She] hit it [the canoe], the two boys stood up, then one of the [canoes] ran away, the second escaped to shore. [lit: [Her] killing it, then the two boys standing up, then one of the [canoes] runs away, the second ran to shore.]* ja 041-042

In the next sequence, 'two boys' are the (unstated) subject of the first verb. A full NP introduces 'their mother' as the subject of the second verb. It is not clear who is the subject of the third verb; it could be the two boys, or the two boys with their mother. The independent verb has all three as its subject (shown by the plural, not dual, subject prefix), thus suggesting on semantic grounds (although not proving conclusively) that all three were the subject of the previous, coordinate-dependent, verb.

- 20) *Vomare* **aka** **lokala** **la**
 vo- ma -re aka lo- kala la
 3plO- take -NF then 3duPOSS- mother(f) sgfArt
- lamare* **aka** *felere* **mahau.**
 la- ma -re aka fele -re ma- hau
 3dumO- take -NF then return -NF 3plS- go.ashore
- They took them, then their mother took the two boys, then they all went back to shore. [lit: [Them] taking them [the people], then their mother taking the two boys, then they all went back to shore.]* ja 045

In the next example, the (unstated) subject of the first coordinate-dependent verb **haure** 'go ashore' is **malav va** 'the people'; the second coordinate-dependent clause **aka oinala malav va vokurure** 'then the two (m) killed the people' has two full NPs, but only the object is cross-referenced, as it is a coordinate-dependent verb. The third verb **lore** 'finishing' is the same, (its subject is still 'those two'); the independent verb has a change of subject introduced by the full NP **malav va** 'the people'.

- 21) **Haure** **aka** **oinala** **malav** **va** **vokurure**
 hau -re aka oinala malav va vo- kuru -re
 go.ashore -NF then other.MED.mdu people(pl) plArt 3plO- kill -NF
- lore,** **foiga** **aka malav** **va** **mi** **nageav.**
 lo -re foiga aka malav va mi nagea -v
 finish -NF PN.MED.sgn then people(pl) plArt um fear -pl

They all went ashore, the two boys had killed all the people and the people were afraid. [lit: [Them all] going ashore, then the two boys having finished killing the people, the people were afraid.]²
 ja 211

In all the previous examples, different subjects have been marked by overt NPs. However if all protagonists are understood, subject reference can change with no signaling of new actors. In the next example, **paral nala** 'the two larrikins' is the subject of the first, second, third and fourth coordinate-dependent verbs. In the fifth coordinate-dependent clause **ae lakokosorire** 'lifting the two (m) up' 'the whale' is understood to be the subject (from previous discourse); and in the independent clause again 'the whale' is understood as the subject. Thus, even though during this clause chain the subjects are changed, there is no overt signaling of this. It is not obligatory to mark a changed subject if the identity of the participant is clear from the discourse.

- 22) **Paral** **nala** **lokilekilevil** **vomare**
 para -l nala lo- kilekile -vil vo- ma -re
 larrikin(m) -du mduArt 3duPOSS- axe -pl 3plO- take -NF
- vau** **vohoire** **laire** **laevauge**
 vau vo- hoi -re lai -re la- e- vau -ge
 go.out 3plO- put.in -NF paddle -NF 3dumO- SBD- go.out -ANT
- ae** **lakokosorire** **lamavel** **ovaj-**
 ae la- kokosori -re la- ma -vel o- vau -i
 go.up 3dumO- carry.on.head -NF 3dumO- take -COMPL 3sgPOSS- go.out -PSV

The two larrikins took their axes, put them in the canoes, paddled out, then the whale lifted them up. [lit: The two larrikins taking their axes and putting them inside [their canoe], paddling out, she [i.e. the whale] lifted the two up onto her head, and having taken them goes out.] ja 119-120

While there is no overt syntactic signalling of a new subject, the dual object marking of the last two coordinate-dependent verbs shows the hearer that the boys are now the object, which might lead to a guess that the whale is now the subject.

It was said above that coordinate-dependent clauses precede the main clause, but there are occasional examples where one of the coordinate-dependent clause in a chain actually follows the main clause. The instances in which this happen are clearly examples of afterthoughts; the coordinate-dependent clause is added after the rest of the chain as a just-remembered addition, or in order to clarify a part of the event. In each of the following examples, note the pauses (marked by slashes) after the main clause,

² An account of how it was that the people were able to be afraid after they had all been killed is beyond the scope of this thesis.

before the added coordinate-dependent clause at the end:

- 23) Vere, ta / ove ofela'koen / otua
 ve -re ta / o- ve o- fela'koe -n / o- tua
 go -NF just / 3sgS- go 3sgPOSS- village -LOC / 3sgPOSS- wife(f)

la olufure.

la o- lufu -re
 sgfArt 3sgfO- leave -NF

Going, he went to his village, leaving his wife.

gm 020

- 24) Aka kini ngaigure ta / meo voetegige,
 aka kini nga- igu -re ta / meo vo- e- tegi -ge
 then ACT 1sgO- take.out -NF just / tuna(pl) 3plO- SBD- fish.feeding -ANT

vokulaham vere ta / ove ofela'koen.

vo- kula -ham ve -re ta / o- ve o- fela'koe -n
 3plO- run.after -PURP go -NF just / 3sgS- go 3sgPOSS- village -LOC

Then he left me, bonito were feeding, he went to catch them, then he went back to his village.

Ngai ngalufure.

ngai nga- lufu -re
 1sg 1sgO- leave -NF

Leaving me.

gm 032-033

While clause chaining constructions have a fairly limited structure themselves, they do allow other sorts of clauses to intervene between elements of the clause chain. In particular, aspect-marked verbs, and subordinate clauses marking various types of TAM can intervene between elements of a clause chain. The following examples illustrate clauses intervening in chaining constructions. The first of these shows a whole clause of quoted speech intervening between coordinate-dependent and independent verbs in a chaining construction:

- 25) Houla fokoa mea ro ona
 houla foko -a me -a ro o- na
 stick(f) leaning -sgf SPEC -sgf one.sgf 3sgfO- in
 vaure, vau volere
 vau -re vau vo- le -re
 go.out -NF go.out 3plO- see -NF

Going out on a tree that was leaning over, going out and seeing them ...

"O hobeas fi. Mafoton fi
 o hobeas fi ma- foto -n fi
 oh good 3sgnFOC 3plPOSS- middle -LOC 3sgnFOC

aeraure" hide ore.
 a- erau -re hide o- re
 1sgS- fall -FUT thus 3sgS- say

"Oh, good. I'll jump between them" he said.

v2 027-029

The next example shows a relative clause (in square brackets) intervening between

coordinate-dependent verbs and the independent verb:

26)	Aka	foiga		vosure				lore	
	aka	foiga		vo-	su	-re		lo	-re
	then	PN.MED.sgn		3plO-	tie	-NF		finish	-NF
	felere		[kini	lafa	onam			ngoa	
	fele	-re	kini	lafa	o-	nam		ngoa	
	return	-NF	ACT	part(f)	3sgfO-	to		stay	
	lemea		la]	onam		esa		kini	ngoav-
	le-	me	-a	la	o-	nam	e	-sa	kini
	1pl.ex-	HAB	-sgf	sgfArt	3sgfO-	to	1pl.ex	-GROUP	ACT
								stay	-pl

So having tied them, going back to the place where we stayed, we go live there. mt 023-024

This example shows a series of aspect-marked verbs and a purposive subordinate verb intervening between coordinate-dependent and final independent verbs:

27)	Felere		aka	ngoanun		ngoanun		tonga	
	fele	-re	aka	ngoa	-nun	ngoa	-nun	tonga	
	return	-NF	then	stay	-DUR	stay	-DUR	chance(n)	
	leleta		ena	feleham		hide	koi	leolai.	
	leleta	-ø	e-	na	fele	-ham	hide	koi	le-
	second	-sgn	3sgnO-	in	return	-PURP	thus	also	1duex-
									3sgS-
									tell

Coming back [we] stayed and stayed, then he told us to go back for a second time. mt 033

15.46 CLAUSE CHAINING CONSTRUCTIONS VERSUS INDEPENDENT COORDINATED CLAUSES, SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS AND SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Clause chaining constructions were described in the previous sections as being a particular construction type involving one or more coordinate-dependent clauses, each containing a predicate marked with particular morphology, followed by an independent predicate, which finishes the sentence. This clause chaining construction type is only one of many ways in Lavukaleve in which to join verbs and clauses; it is worthwhile to look briefly at each of the other ways in turn, to show that each one is structurally easily distinguishable from clause chaining constructions.

INDEPENDENT COORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS

Two or more independent clauses can be joined by the use of a conjunction. There is a small number of conjunctions in Lavukaleve, including **aka** 'then, so'; **hano** 'then, after, finished'; **leta** 'but'; **olang** 'because'. These conjunctions are listed in Section 3.10. Of concern here is the structural differences between clauses joined using such conjunctions, and clause chains. The major difference is that all the clauses joined using conjunctions are independent; that is, they can freely stand on their own as complete utterances. In addition, they can take the full range of TAM and participant marking morphology normally available to independent predicates (and, for the most part, not

available to coordinate-dependent predicates). For example note the conjunction **aka** 'then' joining the two sentences in square brackets (each one a clause chaining construction):

28)	[Eigure				koi	mina	fofo	la
	e-		igu	-re	koi	mina	fofo	la
	3sgnO-		take.out	-NF	also	thing(f)	basin(f)	sgfArt
	ona	koi	maki	na	aoigu] ,			aka
	o-	na	koi	maki	na	a-	o-	igu
	3sgfO-	in	also	nut.pudding(m)	sgmArt	3sgmO-	3sgS-	take.out
	[sumavil	enga	va	koi	vomare,	teteka	la	
	suma	-vil	enga	va	vo-	ma	-re	teteka
	taro	-pl	three	plArt	also	3plO-	take	-NF
								basket(f)
								sgfArt
	ona		vooho,			vohore,		
	o-	na	vo-	o-	ho	vo-	ho	-re
	3sgfO-	in	3plO-	3sgS-	put.inside	3plO-	put.inside	-NF
	ana		ui		ga	eone] .		
	a-	na	ui		ga	e-	o-	ne
	3sgmO-	in	food(n)		sgnArt	3sgnO-	3sgS-	give

She took it out, put it in a basin, and took out the maki, then, she took three taros, put them in a basket, and putting them in, gave him the food. [lit: taking it out and in a basin, she took out the maki, then taking three taros, she put them in a basket, putting them in, she gave him the food.]

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Independent coordinate constructions are not common in Lavukaleve. It is certainly not the preferred way of joining clauses. Instead, speakers prefer to join clauses using clause chaining constructions or subordinate constructions.

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Clause chaining constructions are structurally very different to serial verb constructions. Serial verb constructions are a type of predicate; clause chaining constructions are a type of sentence. Clause chaining constructions consist of one or more coordinate-dependent clauses, which are dependent on a following independent clause. Serial verb constructions, however, do not have this relationship of dependence; each verb of a serial verb construction is structurally equivalent to each of the other verbs in the construction.

Serial verb constructions (discussed in Section 14.1) consist of a sequence of verbs which occupy a single predicate slot. Like in clause chaining constructions, each of the verbs must cross-reference its own object, but, unlike in clause chaining constructions, the verbs do not take any morphology to show what relationship they have to each other. A serial verb construction can mark subject arguments and TAM distinctions, but only once across the whole predicate. Coordinate-dependent verbs cannot mark subject arguments or TAM distinctions at all. Serial verb constructions can in fact act as a coordinate-dependent predicate as part of a clause chaining construction, as the

following example shows (see also many previous examples in this chapter, including (1), (22) and (25)):

29)	Foe	na	afufurire,				oina
	foe	na	a-	fufu	-ri	-re	oina
	pig(m)	sgmArt	3sgmO-	lie	-CAUS	-NF	other.MED.sgm
	koi	foa	fufure	hano	irum.		
	koi	foa	fufu	-re	hano	iru	-m
	also	go.down	lie	-NF	then	sleep	-sgm

Laying the pig down, he lay down too, and slept.

hr1 013

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Subordinate clauses are easily distinguishable from clause chaining constructions. Firstly, subordinate clauses are embedded within their main (independent) clauses, and function either as an argument or a modification of their main clause. Subordinate relative and purposive clauses bear little structural relationship to coordinate-dependent clauses, and are not considered further here.

Subordinate adverbial clauses have predicates which are specifically marked with special morphology which shows their semantic and syntactic relationship to the independent clause, by using one of the Anterior suffix **-ge**; the Potential suffix **-le** or the Surprise suffix **-meon** (see Section 16.1). They differ morphologically from coordinate-dependent clauses in that coordinate-dependent clauses can never under any circumstances cross-reference their subjects, whereas subordinate adverbial clauses can. Subordinate adverbial clauses, if intransitive, have their own system of participant marking, whereby third person subjects are cross-referenced as objects, in a split-ergative marking system, and a special prefix **e-** holds the place of the normal subject prefix.

Subordinate adverbial clauses can in fact be used to modify coordinate-dependent clauses in clause chaining constructions. For example consider the following:

30)	Ngoanun	foa	fufure		ngoanun	
	ngoanun	-nun	foa	fufu	-re	-nun
	stay	-DUR	go.down	lie	-NF	stay
	otin	elaketeige,			sou	falere, ...
	o-	tina	e-	e-	laketei	-ge
	3sgPOSS-	body(n)	3sgnO-	SBD-	live	-ANT
					rise	stand
						-NF

He stayed lying down, then, as his body became stronger, he stood up. (picked up his pig, went on and on, put down the pig, saying "Hey! This pig is really heavy! ")

[lit: He was staying lying down, as his body started to get strong, then standing up. ...] hr1 014

In this sentence fragment (the end of the sentence wasn't included because it is very long, and not to the point) the subordinate clause **otin elaketeige** 'upon his body

recovering' modifies the coordinate-dependent clause **sou falere** 'standing up'; it describes what the anterior conditions for the completion of the **sou falere** clause were. Note that the first and second coordinate-dependent predicates in this fragment, **foa fufure** 'lying down' and **sou falere** 'standing up', are serial verb constructions.

15.5 CLAUSE CHAINING IN OTHER PAPUAN LANGUAGES

One might not expect necessarily to find structural similarities between Lavukaleve and other Papuan languages; the term Papuan, after all, simply means that the language in question is from a certain region of the world and is not Austronesian. Nevertheless, constructions very similar to the one described in this chapter are very characteristic of mainland Papuan languages, and it is worthwhile to look at how Lavukaleve's clause chaining constructions compare with clause chaining constructions in other languages. Such constructions are not at all characteristic of the Oceanic languages surrounding Lavukaleve.

Lavukaleve's clause chaining constructions are similar in most respects to the well-known examples in other Papuan languages, for instance Hua (Haiman 1980) and Tauya (MacDonald 1990). Foley (1986) in his discussion of clause chaining constructions mentions the following features as typical of such constructions in Papuan languages.

Typically coordinate-dependent verbs in Papuan languages have no tense marking (Foley 1986: 196), and in fact their inflections are normally stripped down, often including only a linking morpheme to show that they are in a clause chaining construction (1986: 180). Typically, the temporal relation between the coordinate-dependent and final independent verbs is marked; thus coordinate-dependent verbs often mark whether their action is simultaneous with or sequential to the independent (final) verb (1986: 180). Often Papuan languages with clause chaining constructions have a switch-reference system, or some other tracking mechanism to show whether the actor of a coordinate-dependent verb is the same as or different to the actors of other verbs in the sequence. Final independent verbs are fully inflected verbs which contain all information regarding TAM and person marking.

In Lavukaleve the situation is quite similar. Coordinate-dependent predicates carry object marking if transitive, and carry a suffix to show their temporal relationship with the next clause. Independent predicates in Lavukaleve carry full participant marking. One place in which Lavukaleve differs from many Papuan languages is that in Lavukaleve there is no obligation for the predicates of clause chains to share their subjects, or to mark whether or not the subjects are shared, so there is no need for a switch-reference system or some other mechanism to do this. In this respect, Lavukaleve is similar to Yimas, which does not have a switch-reference system, and does not require clause chains to have the same subjects (Foley 1991: 446). Also, Lavukaleve does not have the simultaneous/sequential distinction which many languages with clause chains make.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Subordinate clauses

It was shown in Section 9.5 that there is a major division in clause types in Lavukaleve, between independent (main) and dependent clauses. Dependent clauses themselves are of two types: coordinate-dependent and subordinate-dependent. Coordinate-dependent clauses are discussed in the previous chapter, Chapter 15. Subordinate-dependent clauses, henceforth to be called simply subordinate clauses, are discussed in this chapter.

Lavukaleve has three types of subordinate clauses: adverbial clauses, purposive clauses and relative clauses. There are three different types of adverbial clauses, all marked by verbal suffixation, and by changes in participant marking of the predicate, involving a split-ergative system with 3rd person subjects following an ergative/absolute marking pattern and 1st and 2nd person subjects following a nominative/accusative marking pattern. Purposive clauses too are marked by verbal suffixation, but do not have a split-ergative marking system. Lavukaleve has internal relative clauses. That is, the argument shared between the relative clause and the main clause is syntactically a part of the relative clause, not the main clause. The following table summarises the basic morpho-syntactic information to be covered in this chapter:

SUBORDINATE CLAUSE TYPE	SUBTYPE	CROSS-REFERENCING SYSTEM	OVERT MARKER OF CLAUSE TYPE
adverbial	Anterior Potential Surprise	split-ergative split-ergative split-ergative	-ge -le -meon
purposive		as for main clauses	-ham
relative		as for main clauses but with Agreement Suffix	none

There are no complement clauses in Lavukaleve; nominalised clauses cover most of the functional domains of complementation in other languages (see Section 13.1 for a discussion of nominalisation).

The three major subordinate clause types, while they are all subordinate clauses, differ markedly in their morpho-syntactic characteristics, and in the semantic functions which they serve to express. This chapter, then, falls into three separate parts: a discussion of adverbial clauses is followed by a description of purposive clauses then relative clauses.

16.1 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses which add temporal, spatial, and other types of meanings to the main clause. There are three kinds in Lavukaleve: Potential clauses, Anterior clauses, and Surprise clauses. Adverbial clauses are marked by two means: firstly, there is a suffix on the predicate of the subordinate clause. The suffix, as well as showing that the predicate is subordinate, indicates the semantic relationship of the adverbial clause to the main clause. Secondly, these clauses are marked by a very special sort of participant marking. In this participant marking system, the surface marking of grammatical relations within the subordinate clause is altered such that in intransitive clauses the logical intransitive subject is cross-referenced using an object prefix, and an invariant prefix *e-* holds the second prefix position, the position normally reserved for cross-referencing to the subject of a transitive verb. This pattern only applies to third-person subjects; first and second person subjects are marked as in main clauses. It also only applies to intransitive predicates; transitive predicates use normal main-clause participant marking strategies.

The system of participant marking in these clause types is described in the first sections; firstly for verbs, then for the Habitual Auxiliary. This is a rather complicated area of the language, and takes quite some explanation. The actual clause types, Anterior, Potential and Surprise, are discussed only after this preliminary material has been dealt with. It is necessary to explain the participant marking first in order for the reader to be able to understand the examples of these adverbial clauses, which is the main descriptive task of this section.

As with coordinate-dependent clauses, subordinate clauses are marked by verbal morphology. This means that there are no non-verbal subordinate predicates.

16.1.1 PARTICIPANT MARKING WITH THIRD PERSON SUBJECTS IN SIMPLE VERBAL PREDICATES

Participant marking in subordinate adverbial clauses with simple verbal predicates which have third person subjects is as follows. If the subordinate verb is transitive, participant marking is normal: both subject and object are cross-referenced with the

usual prefixes (the Agreement Suffix does not co-occur with verbs of subordinate adverbial clause). Unlike in main predicates, subject cross-referencing is obligatory in subordinate predicates.

If the subordinate verb is intransitive, the logical subject of the verb is cross-referenced with a prefix from the object prefix paradigm, not with a prefix from the subject prefix paradigm. In addition, a prefix *e-* (glossed SuBorDinate) intervenes between this object prefix and the verb stem, in what is normally the subject prefix position. The paradigms for subject and object prefixes were given in Section 9.7. Note that 1st person dual and plural, 2nd person and 3rd person feminine dual and plural prefixes are identical for subject and object, so it is only the other forms that show that intransitive subjects are marked as objects in subordinate adverbial clauses.

Note also that the subordinate *e-* prefix is formally identical to the 1st plural exclusive subject and object (and Possessive) prefix. It is not clear whether this formal identity is coincidental or not.

The following examples illustrate the subordinate participant marking pattern:

- 1) Nikol mem na aerege fi aka vuli
 nikol me -m na a- e- re -ge fi aka vuli
 first SPEC-sgm sgmArt 3sgmO- SBD- say-ANT 3sgnFOC then behind
- mem na "Ba ke!" hide ore.
 me -m na ba ke hide o- re
 SPEC-sgm sgmArt go!sg EMPH thus 3sgS- say
- The older one saying [that], then the younger one said "Let's go!".* co 004
- 2) meo voetegige, vokulaham
 meo vo- e- tegi -ge vo- kula -ham
 tuna(pl) 3plO- SBD- fish.feeding-ANT 3plO- run.after -PURP
- vere ta ove ofela'koen.
 ve -re ta o- ve o- fela'koe -n
 go -NF just 3sgS-go 3sgPOSS- village -LOC
- when the bonito started feeding, he went to catch them, then he went back to his village.* gm 032
- 3) Aka le eveage lalamuon ta
 aka le e- e- vea -ge lalamu -n ta
 then day(n) 3sgnO- SBD- emerge -ANT morning -LOC just
- hano stat siam.
 hano stat sia -m
 then begin do -sgm
- But then day coming, in the morning, then it started.* ef 012

The prefix *e-* serves to signal that the verb is of this subordinate adverbial clause type, and that the prefix preceding the *e-* refers to the logical subject, not the object as its form would suggest. Compare the following transitive verbs in subordinate adverbial

clauses. They prefix their subject and object arguments as normal, except that in subordinate clauses the subject must be prefixed, unlike in main clauses:

- 4) **nalo ga eigure elolorige kivi.**
 nalo ga e- igu -re e- lo- lo -ri -ge kivi -a
 intestines(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- take.out -NF 3sgnO- 3duS- finish -CAUS -ANT be.smelly-sgn
taking it (the intestine) out (of the ground), when they had finished, the intestine really smelt.
 mn4 064

- 5) **Kemus ga elofouge kini ofoa.**
 kemus ga e- lo- fou -ge kini o- foa
 rope(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- 3duS- put -ANT ACT 3sgS- go.down
The two boys put down the rope.
 mn4 099

- 6) **Kini malav va matulav manapikal**
 kini malav va ma- tulav ma- napi -kal
 ACT people(pl) plArt 3plPOSS- children(pl) 3plPOSS- nappy -pl
vomakoge ta, taragau na kini
 vo- ma- ko -ge ta taragau na kini
 3plO- 3plS- throw -ANT just sea.eagle(m) sgmArt ACT
votogore omav
 vo- togo -re o- ma -v
 3plO- take.out -NF 3sgS- take -pl
So when the people put out their children's nappies, the sea eagle took them
 gm 060

16.12 NON-THIRD PERSON SUBJECTS

If the logical (intransitive) subject of an intransitive verb of a subordinate adverbial clause is first or second person singular, normal main clause prefixing applies. That is, the *e-* prefix seen with 3rd person subjects of subordinate clauses does not occur. In addition, for the first person, a prefix from the subject prefix paradigm, not from the object prefix paradigm is used (2nd person singular first-position prefixes are identical for subject and object).

For example, the following intransitive subordinate verbs show normal main-clause first or second person prefixing, and no subordinate *e-*:

- 7) **Ahauge fi, aka ngai**
 a- hau -ge fi aka ngai
 1sgS- go.ashore -ANT 3sgnFOC then 1sg
ngatoire ngai ngagaikoko na ngai
 nga- toi -re ngai nga- gaikoko na ngai
 1sgO- help -NF 1sg 1sgPOSS- canoe(m) sgmArt 1sg
Mima alekefeuri.
 Mima a- le- ke feu -ri
 Mima 3sgmO- 1duex- push.off go.up -CAUS
When I go ashore, then he helps me. Me and Mima push my canoe up.
 w1 019

- 8) **Vau aiguge,** **ngasivel** **ngali roa.**
 vau a- igu -ge nga- sivel ngali roa
 go.out 1sgS- go -ANT 1sgO- follow friend(m) one.sgm
When I went out, one friend followed me. kg1 007
- 9) **avege ta urio la ngaosokai ke.**
 a- ve -ge ta urio la nga- o- sokai ke
 1sgS- go -ANT just coconut.crab(f) sgfArt 1sgO- 3sgS- poke EMPH
...upon me going, the coconut crab poked me! w2 041
- 10) **Huluire akakoge "Ta man rio feo tam!"**
 hului -re a- kako -ge ta man urio feo tam
 go.round -NF 1sgS- look.out -ANT just what(m) coconut.crab(f) 3sgfFOC man(m)
I turn, and looking back, "What? It's the coconut crab! Man!" w2 045
- 11) **Huru ngovele fi, hano koi koa ga si.**
 huru ngo- ve -le fi hano koi koa ga si -ø
 go.inside 2sg- go -POT 3sgnFOC then also door(n) sgnArt cover -sgn
If you went inside, the door would shut. co2 102

It is impossible to know if this also happens with non-singular first or second person subjects. This is because of the forms of the 1st and 2nd dual inclusive and exclusive, and 1st and 2nd plural inclusive and exclusive prefixes. Firstly, they do not change for subject and object; their form is invariant. Thus the phenomenon of logical subject being marked as object is not pertinent to them. Secondly, they all end in the vowel /e/. This means that one cannot tell if they have the prefix e-, because of the morphophonemic rule which deletes one of two identical vowels at morpheme boundaries (see Section 2.9.3). So in practice one cannot tell if first and second person non-singular subjects pattern with first and second person singular or if they pattern with third person forms. A subordinate e- prefix is never put into the gloss of 1st and 2nd person non-singular forms¹.

Recall too that this participant marking system only occurs with intransitive verbs. With transitive verbs, normal participant marking prevails at all times, with 1st/2nd singular and all other person/number combinations.

In summary, then, participant marking in subordinate adverbial clauses, compared with normal participant marking, is as follows:

¹ I do however put a subordinate e- prefix into glosses after 3rd person subjects of subordinate intransitive verbs where the object prefixes end in /e/ (i.e. 3rd singular and dual neuter), under the assumption that they follow the pattern of the rest of the third person forms.

- Participant marking prefixes in main verbs:

TRANSITIVE	O-	A-	V
INTR		S-	V

- Participant marking prefixes with verbs of subordinate adverbial clauses:

TRANSITIVE	O-	A-	V
INTR (3rd person)	O(marking S)-	e-	V
INTR (1st/2nd person)		S-	V

Note that this participant marking system in subordinate clauses is a split-ergative system, with the split based on a combination of two factors: the main vs. subordinate adverbial status of the clause; and the 1st/2nd vs. 3rd person status of the subject. In main clauses the participant marking prefixes operate on a nominative/accusative basis, distinguishing A/S from O. In subordinate clauses however, the participant marking prefixes operate on the basis of a split between first/second person and third person. First and second person subordinate prefixes operate on a nominative/accusative system (distinguishing O from A/S), and third person prefixes operate on an ergative/absolute system, distinguishing A from O/S.

This is exactly the direction of split noted by Silverstein (1976) (see also Dixon (1994: 84)), who suggests that if there is a split in a marking systems based on the nature of different types of NPs, 1st and 2nd person pronouns are more likely to be marked by a nominative/accusative system than 3rd person pronouns, which in turn are more likely to be marked by an ergative/absolute system. Silverstein's (and Dixon's) discussion is actually about case-marking systems, but presumably the same principles hold for pronominal prefixing systems.

Dixon also makes certain predictions about the direction of split in the main vs. subordinate parameter. However it is more difficult to tell if Lavukaleve follows the kinds of typological generalisations made by Dixon or not. He points out that in languages with a split based on main vs. subordinate clauses, which one is more likely to be marked with a nominative/accusative system and which with an ergative/absolute system depends on the type of subordinate clause involved, and he does not discuss the semantic types which Lavukaleve's adverbial subordinate clauses express. However one possibly relevant parallel is Tsimshian, which has a nominative/accusative system for main clauses and an ergative/absolute system for subordinate clauses including examples like "'His mother was glad *when she saw him*'" (Dixon 1994: 103). The direction of this split is the same as in Lavukaleve.

16.13 THE HABITUAL AUXILIARY ME

The Habitual Auxiliary **me** has a couple of idiosyncrasies in subordinate adverbial constructions. It was shown in Section 14.3 that the Habitual Auxiliary, in construction with a lexical verb, forms what is termed a verbal complex. The Habitual Auxiliary cross-references the subject, with its own special set of subject prefixes, and the verb, if transitive, carries the object prefix.

In subordinate adverbial clauses, **me** follows the split-ergative system that verbs follow. It carries the relevant adverbial suffix (for which, see below), and its prefixes follow the same pattern as a verb would in these subordinate adverbial clause types with normal verbs, except that all those forms which would be vowel-initial for regular verbs, here start with /l/. So in these clauses, the Habitual Auxiliary cross-references its logical 3rd person subject using prefixes from the object prefix paradigm, its 1st and 2nd person subject with prefixes from the subject paradigm, but all those vowel-initial prefixes begin with /l/ when they are used with the Habitual Auxiliary. In addition, the **e-** prefix occurs in the second prefix position, with all 3rd person forms.

- 12) **kini** **vau** **laemege** **hano**
 kini vau la- e- me -ge hano
 ACT go.out 3dumO- SBD- HAB -ANT then
- lana** **le** **vea.**
 la- na le vea
 3dumO- in day(n) emerge
- ...upon those two going out, then it was daylight for them.* hrI 032
- 13) **Malav** **va** **sabo** **sia** **voemege**
 malav va sabo sia vo- e- me -ge
 people(pl) plArt clear.garden do 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT
- ta** **taman** **taragau** **na** **ove** **lake** **emaham.**
 ta taman taragau na o- ve lake e- ma -ham
 just but sea.eagle(m) sgmArt 3sgS- go fire(n) 3sgnO- take -PURP
- The people clearing their gardens, then the sea eagle goes to take some fire.* gm 081
- 14) **Hano.** **Vala** **Rugi** **eu** **laemege** **eu**
 hano vala rugi e- u la- e- me -ge e- u
 then belly(n) big.sgn 3sgnO- eat 3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ANT 3sgnO- eat
- laemege** **eu** **laemege**
 la- e- me -ge e- u la- e- me -ge
 3dumO- SBD- HAB -ANT 3sgnO- eat 3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ANT
- kavukal** **enga** **va** **hano** **lov.**
 kavu -kal enga va hano lo -v
 group -PL three plArt then finish -pl
- Okay. Big Belly ate and ate and ate, until the three heaps of food were finished.* mn 053

- 15) **Raraoane** *ngoa* *lamege* **ta**
 Dup- rao -a -ne *ngoa* la- me -ge **ta**
 REDUP- go.round -INTR -IMPF stay 1sgS- HAB -ANT **just**
- hano buku na ngana feul mafum.**
 hano buku na nga- na feu -l ma- fu -m
 then conch(m) sgmArt 1sgO- in go.up -LOCZR 3plS- sing -sgm
- As I was going around [in the bush], they blew a conch above me.* w2 018

- 16) **Aka aolai "Ae ngomele ae**
 aka a- o- lai ae *ngomele* me -le **ae**
 then 3sgmO- 3sgS- tell go.up 2sg- HAB -POT go.up
- ngomele ae mina rara hoga ehamail**
 ngo-me -le ae mina rara hoga ehamail
 2sg- HAB -POT go.up um side(n) MOD.PROX.sgn facing.side
- mina matua feo ke.**
 mina matua feo ke
 thing old.coconut(f) 3sgfFOC EMPH
- Then she told him: "If you go up, if you go up, go up, um, on this side is a dry coconut." co 205*

Examples (12) and (15) show that even though 3sgm object prefix **a-** and 1sg subject **a-** are formally identical, they act differently with respect to this participant marking. A subordinate adverbial verb with a 3rd person logical subject cross-referenced by the 3sgm object prefix also prefixes **e-** in the second position, but a subordinate adverbial verb with a 1st person singular logical subject cross-referenced by the 1sg subject prefix does not. Both have the initial /l/ as Habitual Auxiliary prefixes.

16.14 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Participant marking patterns in simple predicates and in Habitual Auxiliary complexes have been described above. The other main type of complex predicate, serial verb constructions, can also occur in subordinate clauses. Participant marking patterns are as follows. The subordinate morphology occurs on the second verb of the construction. The subject is marked once, on the second verb, and the object is marked on every transitive verb present. These morphological principles are as outlined in Section 14.1. The only difference is that the split-ergative marking pattern, and subordinate **e-** prefix obtains, as always in subordinate adverbial constructions. This then is exactly the participant marking one would expect.

Intransitive - transitive subordinate serial verb construction:

- 17) **Feu houla la okoroige, ta hano katelea**
 feu houla la o- o- koroi -ge ta hano katelea
 go.up stick(f) sgfArt 3sgfO- 3sgS- chop -ANT just then crocodile(f)
- la lioire ovoi.**
 la lioi -re o- vau -i
 sgfArt run -NF 3sgPOSS- go.out -PSV
- He went up and chopped a stick, then the crocodile ran down [seaward].* hr2 025

Intransitive - intransitive subordinate serial verb construction:

- 18) **Gaikoko na holou aefoage,**
 gaikoko na holou a- e- foa -ge
 canoe(m) sgmArt sink 3sgmO- SBD- go.down -ANT
- voesongige ta kokovan hano lolo foam.**
 vo- e- songi -ge ta kokovan hano lolo foa -m
 3plO- SBD- swim -ANT just hermit.crab(m) then straight go.down -sgm
- When the canoe sinks down, they swim, but the hermit crab goes straight down.* s2 050

Transitive - intransitive subordinate serial verb construction:

- 19) **Mema efeule eleila.**
 me- ma e- feu -le e- le -ila
 2pl- take 1plex- go.up -POT 3sgnO- see -PCTIMP.du
- If we take you two up you must see it.* ja 464

Transitive - transitive subordinate serial verb construction:

- 20) **ama aokoge aerauge,**
 a- ma a- o- ko -ge a- e- erau -ge
 3sgmO- take 3sgmO- 3sgS- throw -ANT 3sgmO- SBD- fall -ANT
- ... taking and throwing him, him falling.*
- kini vatu ga ehaire.**
 kini vatu ga e- hai -re
 ACT head(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- take.off -NF
- he cut off his head.* kg2 037-038

Participant marking in other subordinate complex predicates, namely verb compounds and verb adjunct constructions, also presents no surprises; participant marking principles remain the same except that there is a split-ergative system, and there is an e-prefix in place of the subject prefix.

The next three sections describe the three types of subordinate adverbial clauses: Anterior clauses, Potential clauses and Surprise clauses.

16.1.5 ANTERIOR CLAUSES

Anterior clauses are adverbial clauses which can be translated into English as "On Ving, (Y happened)". That is, this subordinate clause type provides a temporal starting-point for the action of the main clause. This clause structure is extremely common; it is one of the main ways (along with clause chaining constructions) of connecting events in a narrative. The verb of the subordinate clause is suffixed by -ge (glossed ANTERIOR), and the split-ergative marking pattern appears. The only other morphology available to an Anterior verb is the Causative suffix. The subordinate clause precedes the main clause. Some examples:

- 21) **Akale eveage, motokavil**
 aka le e- e- vea -ge motoka -vil
 then day(n) 3sgnO- SBD- emerge -ANT car -pl
- ena hide kini mae emaham.**
 e- na hide kini ma- ae e- ma -ham
 1pl.ex- in thus ACT 3plS- go.up 1pl.ex- take -PURP
- Then upon day coming, trucks came to us, to take us.* ef 038
- 22) **Aka e suni kini motokavil vona**
 aka e suni kini motoka -vil vo- na
 then 1pl.ex all ACT car -PL 3plO-in
- eaoge, emare mafoa Honiara.**
 e- ao -ge e- ma -re ma- foa Honiara
 1pl.ex-go.in -ANT 1pl.ex- take -NF 3plS- go.down Honiara
- Then us all getting into the trucks, taking us, they went down to Honiara.* ef 044
- 23) **Otigirire olurire,**
 o- tigiri -re o- luri -re
 3sgfO- say -NF 3sgfO- sort.out -NF
- hobea fi aerege,**
 hobea fi a- e- re -ge
 good 3sgnFOC 3sgmO- SBD- say -ANT
- kini foa Losiolen hoka foar amata.**
 kini foa Losiolen -n hoka foar a- ma- ta
 ACT go.down Losiolen -LOC here.PROX clear.path 3sgmO- 3plS- clear
- They talked about it, straightened it, upon him saying okay, they went down to Losiolen here and cleared a passage.* fk 008-009
- 24) **Amalevalorige, hano, lai ga oecom ke.**
 a- ma- levalo-ri -ge hano lai ga oeo -m ke
 3sgmO- 3plS- wake-CAUS -ANT then rain(n) sgnArt go.all.around -sgm EMPH
- Upon them waking him, then the rain soaked him.* cs1 020
- 25) **Aosavurige hano malav va**
 a- o- savuri -ge hano malav va
 3sgmO- 3sgS- cover -ANT then people(pl) plArt
- ana sosokore.**
 a- na Dup- soko -re
 3sgmO- in REDUP- laugh -NF
- Upon it soaking him the people laughed at him.* cs1 023

This construction is often used as a discourse device to indicate that things went on in the same way for some time. For example, **emege** 'it continued on, [then...]' is extremely common at the start of sentences in texts. Note that agreement here is with a dummy 3sgn subject.

- 26) *Emege*, 1905 ana, ta'rai
 e- me -ge 1905 a- na ta'rai
 3sgnO- SBD- continue -ANT 1905(m)3sgmO- in prayer(n)

tail ga emavolori ke.
 tail ga e- ma- volori ke
 house(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- 3plS- make EMPH

[Things] continuing, in 1905, they built a church.

rk1 014

- 27) *Leta emege* koi mina faitia feo koi.
 leta e- me -ge koi mina faitia -a feo koi.
 but 3sgnO- SBD- continue-ANT also thing(f) be.difficult -sgf 3sgfFOC also

But, [things] continuing, the thing was really hard.

rk1 020

An Anterior clause is also frequently used in a clause involving the conjunction *olang* 'because'. *Olang* appears clause-initially. The clause has a verb suffixed with *-ge*, and has a causal meaning. This clause type can be thought of as causally anterior to the main clause, rather than temporally anterior as in the kinds of Anterior clauses discussed above.

- 28) Ta hona mina ole lame ga,
 ta hona mina o- le la- me -ø ga
 time(m) MOD.PROX.sgm thing(f) 3sgfO- see 1sg- HAB -sgn sgnArt

olang koi kiui otailaverav
 olang koi kiu -i o- tail -verav
 because also die -NOMZR 3sgPOSS- house -pl

voesiage, mina hoiari me
 vo- e- sia -ge mina hoia -ri me -ø
 3plO- SBD- do -ANT thing(f) MOD.MED.sgf-PSNV SPEC -sgn

ta hona omila fome.
 ta hona o- mi -la fome
 time(m) MOD.PROX.sgm 3sgfO- make -NEG 1pl.inFOC

Now, as I see it, because of there being hospitals, we don't do that way now.

jo 041-042

- 29) Ta hoinariom ana olang
 ta hoina -ri -om a- na olang
 time(m) MOD.MED.sgm -PSNV -m/n 3sgmO-in because

fau hamus ve esiage, hano,
 fau hamus ve e- e- sia -ge hano
 low.tide(n) evening(n) go 3sgnO- SBD- do -ANT then

lafavil va kekeare lov,
 lafa -vil va kekea -re lo -v
 part -pl plArt dry -NF finish -pl

At that time, because of it being low tide that night, everywhere was dry.

w1 027

30)	Ta	hona	leiv	va	ta	olang
	ta	hona	lei	-v	va	ta olang
	time(m)	MOD.PROX.sgm	exist	-pl	plArt	but because
	luataul	o	minamina	oevoge,		
	luataul	o	minamina	o-	e- vo	-ge
	fishing.line(pl)	and	everything(f)	3sgfO-	SBD-	come -ANT
	ta	hona	hola	na	ana	
	ta	hona	hola	na	a- na	
	time(m)	MOD.PROX.sgm	tree.sp(m)	sgmArt	3sgmO-	in
	uruala	fo'sal	vokurure	hila	malei.	
	uruala	fo'sal	vo- kuru -re	hi -la	ma-	lei
	properly	fish(pl)	3plO- hit -NF	do/say -NEG	3plS-	exist

But those here now, because of [nylon] fishing line and everything coming, now they don't [know how to] kill with fish poison properly. cs1 027-028

16.1.6 POTENTIAL CLAUSES

Potential clauses with verbal suffix **-le** (glossed POTential) cover a number of related functions. They include hypothetical (what might be), counterfactual (what might have been), predictive, concessive conditional (even if), or hortative (let's) clauses. As well as if-clauses, they are also when-clauses; that is, temporal adverbial clauses (using the terminology of Thompson and Longacre 1985: 193). These different meanings are apparent from the context in which the clauses are uttered.

The Potential marker **-le** is a suffix added to a verb stem, forming an adverbial clause, and it requires the special subordinate subject-marking system on the verb to which it is attached, as described above. The only other morphology available to a Potential verb is the Causative suffix. Potential clauses precede their main clause. Examples of each of the related functions of this type of adverbial clause follow:

Hypothetical:

31)	Aka	daine	kini	aefeule,		
	aka	raine	kini	a-	e-	feu
	then	tomorrow	ACT	3sgmO-	SBD-	go.up -le
	foiga	anelaire.				
	foiga	a-	ne-	lai	-re	
	PN.MED.sgn	3sgmO-	2sgS-	tell	-FUT	

Then tomorrow if he comes, okay, you should tell him.

mn2 011

Counterfactual:

- 32) **Aka kini tataveuarea la oesiale,**
 aka kini tataveua -re -a la o- e- sia -le
 then ACT be.missing -NF -sgf sgfArt 3sgFO-SBD- do -POT
- ovea mame.**
 o- vea ma- me
 3sgFO- know 3plS- HAB

If [anything] was missing, they would have known it (but it never was).

co2 064

Concessive conditional:

- 33) **kini koa ga ekelei siala**
 kini koa ga e- kelei sia -la
 ACT door(n) sgnArt 3sgNO- near do -EXT
- ngomele fi koa ga oalare.**
 ngo-me -le fi koa ga o- ala -re
 2sg- HAB -POT 3sgNFOC door(n) sgnArt 3sgS- open -FUT

...even if you were not close to the door yet, the door would open².

co2 099

Predictive:

- 34) **Ngolevalale fi, kini ngoaere.**
 ngo- le- vala -le fi kini ngo- ae -re
 2sg- lduex- pull -POT 3sgNFOC ACT 2sg- go.up -FUT

If we two pull you, then you will come up.

mn4 101

Hortative clauses are slightly unusual in Lavukaleve; there is a fixed form **oile** '3sgFO-3sgS- do-POT' 'let's do it', which is different from normal Potential clauses in that the 3sg feminine prefix is fixed; no other person/number/gender prefix form can occur in this slot. The verb **i** is ambitransitive, but the fact that there is no **e-** prefix in this form suggests that this is a transitive use of **i**, and thus that the subject prefix is **o-**, the 3rd singular subject prefix. This appears to be a fixed idiomatic expression in the language, literally meaning something like 'if it does it':

- 35) **"Oile mina ro omemi."**
 o- o- i -le mina ro o- me- mi
 3sgFO- 3sgS- do -POT thing(f) one.sgf 3sgFO- 1pl.in- make

"Hey, let's do something."

jn 046

Because the form of this expression is fixed, and because the verb cannot take any NP arguments, this expression is considered not a clause but a particle-like adjunct to a main clause.

If-clauses and when-clauses are formally identical. The following sentence is ambiguous, as indeed it would be in many languages:

² This example is anomalous in having verbal morphology (in the form of Extended **-la**) on the verb of a Habitual Auxiliary verbal complex **siala ngomele**. This is the only such example in the corpus.

36)	Okove		lo	fi,	le	roge	
	o-	kove	lo	fi	le	roge	
	3sgfO-	look.for	finish	3sgnFOC	day(n)	one.sgn	
	ena	feu	oakoroile		vau	oeraure.	
	e-	na feu	o- a-	koroi-le	vau	o- erau -re	
	3sgnO-	in go.up	3sgfO-	1sgS-chop-POT	go.out	3sgS- fall -FUT	

Having found it (a particular type of tree), one day I go up and if/when I chop it, it falls down.

cp 003

The following is an example of both an if-clause and a when-clause, showing their identical form:

37)	Merele		"Iire"		aerele		foiga.
	me- re	-le	iire	a-	e-	re -le	foiga
	2pl- say	-POT	yes	3sgmO-	SBD-	say-POT	PN.MED.sgn

When you say [this], then if he says "Yes", okay.

jn2 073

16.1.7 SURPRISE CLAUSES

The verbal suffix **-meon** SURPRISE is extremely rare. It occurs on verbs of subordinate adverbial clauses, so it utilises the special subordinate participant marking system, as Potential and Anterior subordinate verbs do. No other morphology, apart from these participant marking morphemes, occurs on verbs suffixed with **-meon** (although it is likely that the Causative suffix is possible).

The suffix has a meaning related to expressing a surprising and exciting event, and is often used at the crux of a story. The suffixed verb itself does not indicate the surprise, but rather, it indicates a lead-up to the surprising event in the following clause. It tells the hearer that something surprising is about to happen. It is something like the function of the English phrase 'would you believe it'. So the first example below could be more freely translated as something like 'He threw the knife, and would you believe it, it split his mouth in two!':

38)	Uia	la	ookomeon,		ta	hokari	
	uia	la	o- o-	ko	-meon	ta	hoka -ri
	knife(f)	sgfArt	3sgfO- 3sgS-	throw	-SURP	just	here.PROX -PSNV
	atourire		oleu		ene	lulu.	
	a-	touri	-re	o-	leu	e- ne	lulu
	3sgmO-	split	-NF	3sgPOSS-	mouth(n)	3sgnO-	with be.straight

He threw the knife, and it split his mouth in two.

co 413

Purposive subordinate clauses usually belong in their own intonation unit, within the sentential intonation unit. The Purposive clause usually precedes its main clause, but not always. When the Purposive clause follows, it is always as an afterthought to the main clause, separated from the main clause by a pause. This is shown in examples (45) to (47) (pauses on level pitch are indicated in this set of examples by slashes).

- 42) *Aka avalaham / hide / lake fi koi /*
 aka a- vala -ham / hide / lake fi koi /
 then 3sgmO- pull -PURP / thus / road(n) 3sgnFOC also /
atare hi.
 a- ta -re -ø hi
 1sgS- clear -FUT -sgn 3sgnEFOC
So to pull it in this way. I make a path. cp 026
- 43) *Kini eraure / mi fo'foira oiham*
 kini erau -re / mi fo'foira o- i -ham
 ACT fall -NF / um work(f) 3sgfO- do -PURP
mavo ke.
 ma- vo ke
 3plS- come EMPH
[The Company] arrived, and they came to work. jt2 004
- 44) *Kiuham hide fi / avo.*
 kiu -ham hide fi / a- vo
 die -PURP thus 3sgnFOC / 1sgS- come
I have come like this to die. co 045
- 45) *Elole fi koi, akomorire /*
 e- e- lo -le fi koi a- komori -re /
 3sgnO- SBD- finish -POT 3sgnFOC also 3sgmO- turn.upside.down -FUT /
okatel amaham.
 o- katel a- ma -ham
 3sgPOSS- keel(m) 3sgmO- take -PURP
Having finished that too, I will turn it upside down - to make the keel. cp 019
- 46) *Hano taragau na ove koi / kiv*
 hano taragau na o- ve koi / ki -v
 then sea.eagle(m) sgmArt 3sgS- go also / clothes -pl
vomaham.
 vo- ma -ham
 3pIO- take -PURP
So the sea eagle went again - to take the clothes. gm 056
- 47) *Makalem na hano vem. Siriam.*
 ma- kalem na hano ve -m siria -ham
 3pIPOSS- father(m) sgmArt then go -sgm catch.fish -PURP
Their father [the giant] had gone. To catch fish. jn2 025

There is one example in the corpus of a different-subject Purposive clause. In this example, the subject of the Purposive clause is coreferential with the object of the independent clause:

48)	Felere	aka	ngoanun	ngoanun	tonga	leleta		ena	
	fele	-re	aka	ngo	-nun	ngo	-nun	tonga	leleta
	return	-NF	then	stay	-DUR	stay	-DUR	chance(n)	second
								-sgn	3sgnO-
									in
	<i>feleham</i>		<i>hide</i>	<i>koi</i>	<i>leolai.</i>				
	fele	-ham	hide	koi	le-	o-	lai		
	return	-PURP	thus	also	1duex-	3sgS-	tell		

We came back and stayed and stayed then he told us again to go back for a second time. mt 033

This is a problematic example because it involves a verb of speech, which are often anomalous in the world's languages. With this verb *lai* 'tell' the message told is usually expressed as direct speech functioning syntactically as a paratactic adjunct to the *lai* clause (see Section 9.3.2).

There is a postposition **ham**, an independent word meaning 'for' in a benefactive sense which is formally identical to the Purposive suffix (see Section 7.1 for examples). Presumably there is a historical relationship between these two semantically close morphemes **ham** 'for' and **-ham** Purposive.

16.3 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses are clauses which modify an NP, the head. All relative clauses in Lavukaleve are restrictive; that is, they function to restrict the reference of the head from any number of possible referents to only those described in the relative clause.

Lavukaleve's relative clauses are internal relative clauses. Keenan (1985: 163) notes that internal relative clauses are ill-attested in the languages of the world, but that all the languages in which they are known to occur have a basic constituent order of SOV. Lavukaleve certainly fits this generalisation.

In internal relative clauses the head noun, that is, the noun referring to the common argument shared by the main clause and the relative clause, functions syntactically as part of the relative clause, not as part of the main clause. In Lavukaleve, as in many languages with internal relativisation (Keenan 1985: 163), there is no overt marker of relativisation.

As there is no overt marker of relativisation, the only feature by which relative clauses can be recognised in Lavukaleve is that they consist of a clause inside an NP. Consider the following examples:

present, is presumably *mina* 'thing', which is feminine, and thus controls the feminine agreement.

The head is usually a noun, but it can be a demonstrative pronoun from the *oia* paradigm (see Section 8.7). It cannot be any other type of pronoun or demonstrative. Example (56) below shows a relative clause with the *oia* demonstrative pronoun as head.

The head of the relative clause may have any syntactic role in the relative clause, and also may be in any syntactic role with respect to its function in the main clause, although it is questionable whether it is possible to relativise on possessors (see below). That is, the head can function as S, A, O, or postpositional object in either clause.

The predicate of a relative clause must be suffixed with the Agreement Suffix, but otherwise has the full range of morphological possibilities of any predicate suffixed with the Agreement Suffix (see Chapter 10 for a discussion of the functions and morpho-syntax of the Agreement Suffix). It may also be a complex predicate; examples (56) and (60) contain respectively a verbal complex with the Habitual Auxiliary and a serial verb construction as predicates of relative clauses. Examples (62) and (63) are interesting in that the relative clauses each contain two predicates, one an independent Imperfective-marked verb, followed by another independent verb marked with the Agreement Suffix. In fact relative clauses can consist of strings of independent clauses like these, or indeed complex structures with subordinate clauses, or clause chains as in the example below:

52)	<i>Mina</i>	<i>nikol</i>	<i>ona</i>	<i>va'var</i>	<i>hai</i>		<i>elikire</i>			
	mina	nikol	o-	na	va'var	hai	-i	e-	liki	-re
	thing(f)	first	3sgfO-	in	talking	do	-NOMZR	3sgnO-	want	-NF
	<i>aleia</i>		<i>la</i>	<i>feo</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>ofo'foira.</i>				
	a-	lei	-a	la	feo	kala	o-		fo'foira	
	1sgS-	exist	-sgf	sgfArt	3sgfFOC	mother(f)	3sgPOSS-		work(f)	

The first thing I want to talk about, is mother's work. [lit: in the first thing I am wanting to talk about, [it's] mother's work]
emk 001

In the above example, the relative clause consists of a clause chaining construction (see Chapter 15). The clause *elikire* 'wanting it' has a nominalised object *va'var hai* 'to talk', which is a coordinate-dependent clause in a clause chain, of which the independent predicate is *alei* 'I am'. In complex relative clause structures like this, the principle is that the complex structure appears as it would elsewhere, but, in addition to whatever other participant marking is called for by the construction (see Section 9.7), the final verb of the clause receives the Agreement Suffix cross-referencing the head.

The main clause contains any elements which any main clause would normally contain.

Thus, there are two main features that distinguish relative clauses from other

construction types in Lavukaleve. Firstly, the relative clause appears inside an NP. Secondly, the predicate of the relative clause always has the Agreement Suffix; and it can be followed immediately by the definite article. In all other construction types, if a predicate is followed by the definite article, the predicate must appear with the Nominaliser suffix (described in Section 13.1); only in relative clauses can a non-nominalised predicate be followed immediately by the definite article. Note that the definite article is not an obligatory part of the relative clause construction; it belongs to the NP which is an argument of the verb of the relative clause. The definite article is in its normal function as in any NP (see Section 4.1.2 for a discussion of the definite article).

However if there was no definite article, there would be no means of recognising a relative clause structurally as any different from an independent clause followed by another independent clause. Consider the following example:

- 53) **Bongihehev vone, malav mima evealav,**
 bongihehev vo- ne malav mima e- vea -la -v
 heathens(pl) 3plO- with people(pl) way.of.life(n) 3sgnO- know -NEG -pl
- vone fi, kini fo'foira oine angoa.**
 vo- ne fi kini fo'foira o- i -ne a- ngoa
 3plO- with 3sgnFOC ACT work(f) 3sgFO- do -IMPF 1sgS- stay

I stayed doing work with heathens, with people who do not know the church. [lit: with people who didn't know the church I stayed doing work] am 067

In this example, the italicised part, **malav mima evealav**, could be seen as functionally a relative clause, with shared argument **malav** functioning as subject of the relative clause and postpositional object of the main clause. However there is no syntactic evidence that it is a relative clause: the sentence could translate as 'with the heathens, the people who don't know the church, with them, I stayed working'; thus, as a string of independent clauses. The only structures recognised in this description as syntactically relative clauses are those which do involve a definite article immediately following a verb.

Note that it is perhaps possible to analyse these structures as independent clauses, with the definite article functioning not as a definite article but rather as a kind of resumptive determiner; thus, example (50) could be paraphrased as 'the man ate my fish: him, I saw'. However there are a few arguments against this analysis. Firstly, resumptive pronouns do occur in Lavukaleve, but they are demonstrative pronouns from the **foia** paradigm (see Section 8.4). This is only a minor problem. Secondly, and more importantly, it is never possible to put a definite article anywhere after the head noun, apart from directly after the relative verb, which is at the end of the NP under the analysis presented here. It is certainly not possible to add another definite article after the head noun, for example (again using 50):

- 54) *Ali na ngafo'sal aum na alem fin.
 ali na nga- fo'sal a- u -m na a- le -m fin
 man(m) sgmArt 1sgPOSS- fish(m) 3sgmO- eat -sgm sgmArt 1sgS- see-sgm 3sgmFOC

This suggests that the definite article is indeed functioning in its normal definite article function, rather than as a resumptive determiner. This in turn suggests that the analysis here, that these structures are indeed relative clauses, is correct.

It was stated above that the head of the relative clause, that is, the argument shared between the relative clause and the main clause, can be in any grammatical function with respect to both the main clause and the relative clause, including any combination of S, A, O or postpositional object. It is generally not, however, possible to relativise on possessors. As a matter of fact, there is one example in the corpus of a relative clause with a possessor as head. The example is:

- 55) **Hogariom** ena fela'koe enuvev / va.
 hoga -ri -om e- na fela'koe e- nuve-v / va
 MOD.PROX.sgn -PSNV-m/n 3sgnO- in village(n) 3sgnO- own -pl / plArt
- Malosiv** voluae eham ta mavere / hamusin.
 ma- losi -v vo- lua -e e -ham ta ma- ve-re / hamus -n
 3plPOSS- basket -pl 3plO- steal -NOMZR 3sgnO-for just 3plS-go-FUT / evening -LOC
- At this [time], they will go in the evening to steal the food baskets of [the people] who own the village.*
 jn 036 - jn 037

The head is 'they (the owners of the village and baskets)', which is ellipsed, expressed only in the Possessive prefix on **losiv** 'their baskets'.

However the example is problematic for two reasons. Most importantly, as the punctuation shows, the relative clause is in its own intonation unit, followed by a sentence-final drop in pitch (indicated by the full stop). The intonation is hesitant (slashes indicate pauses on level pitch), suggesting that the sentence is perhaps not a complete or fluent example. Secondly, this is the only example of relativising on a possessor. If this is a possibility in Lavukaleve, it is a possibility rarely utilised by speakers. The area needs to be thoroughly checked with Lavukaleve speakers before any conclusions can be drawn.

The following examples show all possible combinations of the syntactic roles of shared arguments. Unlike the above construction, these relative clauses are quite frequent and well-attested as an important part of Lavukaleve grammar.

S (main clause) - A (relative clause) (note this example, as some others below, contains a focus construction; for the purposes of the relative clause, this is immaterial):

- 56) *Oina nato okoroi mem na fin*
 oina nato o- koroi me -m na fin
 other.MED.sgm sago.palm(f) 3sgfO- chop HAB -sgm sgmArt 3sgmFOC

felere soire vem hin.
 fele -re soi -re ve -m hin
 return -NF run.away -NF go -sgm 3sgmEFOC

The boy who chopped the tree runs away.

jn 070

S (main clause) - O (relative clause)

- 57) *Foe otutuk alufu ga lake*
 foe o- tutuku a- lufu -ø ga lake
 pig(m) 3sgPOSS- middle.of.body(n) 1sgS- leave -sgn sgnArt road(n)

sil heaka fi esavurire ealufu.
 si -l heaka fi e- savuri -re e- a- lufu
 cover -LOCZR there.DIST1 3sgnFOC 3sgnO- cover -NF 3sgnO- 1sgS- leave

The half of the pig that I left is over there in the middle of the road; I covered it and left it.

hr1 025

S (main clause) - S (relative clause)

- 58) *Ngamio hoka voa la vasia?*
 nga- mio hoka vo -a la vasia -a
 1sgPOSS- special.thing(f) here.PROX come -sgf sgfArt be.where -sgf

Where is my thing (arrow) that came here?

ja 249

S (main clause) - Postpositional object (relative clause)

- 59) *Nikol lafa ona fo'foira*
 nikol lafa o- na fo'foira
 first part(f) 3sgfO- in work(f)
- oaia la feo Honiara taon.*
 o- a- i -a la feo Honiara taon
 3sgfO- 1sgS- do -sgf sgfArt 3sgfFOC Honiara town(f)

The first place I did work in was Honiara town.

am 051

A (main clause) - A (relative clause)

- 60) *"Vau olufule foiga, ami hin*
 vau o- o- lufu -le foiga, ami hin
 go.out 3sgfO- 3sgS- leave -POT PN.MED.sgn who(m) 3sgmEFOC
- vau olerem na sulum*
 vau o- le -re -m na sulum
 go.out 3sgfO- see -FUT -sgm sgmArt chief(m)
- ovovo ohaire".*
 o- vovo o- hai -re
 3sgPOSS- daughter(f) 3sgfO- do -FUT

"If he goes out and leave it, and who[ever] finds it, will marry the chief's daughter."

mn 057

A(main clause) - O (relative clause):

61)	Foe	akulam			na	ngatail	
	foe	a-	kula	-m	na	nga-	tail
	pig(m)	1sgS-	run.after	-sgm	sgmArt	1sgPOSS-	house(n)
	ota'vul		ahari		ta	oi.	
	o-	ta'vul	a-	hari	ta	o-	i
	3sgPOSS-	house.post(m)	3sgmO-	break	just	3sgS-	do

The pig that I chased broke my house post.

e3 008a

A (main clause) - S (relative clause):

62)	Ali	lakone	ngoam		na	
	ali	lako	-ne ngoa	-m	na	
	man(m)	cry	-IMPF stay	-sgm	sgmArt	
	ane		mem	akuru	ta	oi.
	a-	ne	me -m	a-	kuru ta	o-
	3sgmO-	with	SPEC-sgm	3sgmO-	hit	just 3sgS-

The man who was crying had killed his brother.

e3 008d

A (main clause) - Postpositional object (relative clause):

63)	Ali	ana	sosokone		angoam	na
	ali	a-	na	Dup-	soko	-ne
	man(m)	3sgmO-	in	REDUP-	laugh	-IMPF
						1sgS-
						ngoam
						stay
						-m
						na
						-sgm
						sgmArt
	ofoe	na	olufum.			
	o-	foe na	o- lufu	-m		
	3sgPOSS-	pig(m) sgmArt	3sgS-	leave	-sgm	

The man who I laughed at had lost his pig.

e3 008e

O (main clause) - A (relative clause):

64)	Ami	ngagaikoko	asikarirem		na
	ami	nga-	gaikoko	a-	sikari
	who(m)	1sgPOSS-	canoe(m)	3sgmO-	destroy
					-NF
					-sgm
					sgmArt
	akururem			fin.	
	a-	kuru	-re -m	fin	
	1sgS-	hit	-FUT -sgm	3sgmFOC	

I will kill whoever might break my canoe.

e3 008g

O (main clause) - O (relative clause)

65)	Foiga.	Alesive			mina
	foiga	a-	le-	sive	mina
	PN.MED.sgn	3sgmO-	1duex-	follow	thing(f)
	otigiria		la	olesive.	
	o-	tigiri	-a la	o-	le-
	3sgS-	say	-sgf sgfArt	3sgfO-	1duex-
					sive
					follow

Okay, We follow him, we follow what he said.

mt 022

O (main clause) - S (relative clause)

66)	<i>Mina</i>	<i>tutula</i>		<i>tapalav</i>	<i>mamina</i>	
	mina	Dup-	tula -a	tapalav	ma-	mina
	thing(f)	REDUP-	small -sgf	white.people(pl)	3pIPOSS-	thing(f)
	<i>hau</i>	<i>ta</i>		<i>la</i>	<i>omare.</i>	
	hau	ta	-a	la	o-	ma -re
	go.shore	arrive	-sgf	sgfArt	3sgfO-	take -FUT

They will take every little thing belonging to the white men that had come ashore. hr2 047

O (main clause) - Postpositional object (relative clause)

67)	<i>iire. Hano meo maveko ho</i>	<i>namu</i>
	iire hano meo ma- beko ho	namu
	yes then tuna(pl) 3pIPOSS- stone(f) MOD.PROX.sgf	place(n)
	<i>ena nun ovo ga evealav fome.</i>	
	e- na nun o- vo -ø ga e- vea -la -v fome	
	3sgnO- in from 3sgS- come -sgn sgnArt 3sgnO- know -NEG -pl 1pl.inFOC	

Yes. We didn't know the place where this stone tuna came from. me 002

Postpositional object (main clause) - A (relative clause)

68)	<i>Aira one va'var haine angoa la</i>
	aira o- ne va'var hai -ne a- ngoa -a la
	woman(f) 3sgfO- with talking do -IMPF 1sgS- stay -sgf sgfArt
	<i>nganemem fin ohaim hin.</i>
	nga- neme -m fin o- hai -m hin
	1sgO- sibling -sgm 3sgmFOC 3sgS-do -sgm 3sgmEFOC

The girl who I talked to married my brother. e3 008f

Postpositional object (main clause) - O (relative clause)

69)	<i>Iruere, le ga eveage,</i>
	iru -re le ga e- e- vea -ge
	sleep -NF day(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- SBD- emerge -ANT
	<i>tail loliki ga ena fain fi malei.</i>
	tail lo- liki -ø ga e- na fain fi ma- lei
	house(n) 3duS- want -sgn sgnArt 3sgnO- in inside 3sgnFOC 3plS- exist

They sleep, then, day coming, they are all in the house the two wanted. ja 405

Postpositional object (main clause) - S (relative clause)

70)	<i>Fela'koen man man sia mem na</i>
	fela'koe -n man man sia me -m na
	village -LOC what(m) what(m) do HAB -sgm sgmArt
	<i>ana koi vone sangine fo'foira</i>
	a- na koi vo- ne sangine fo'foira
	3sgmO- in also 3plO- with together work(f)
	<i>oine angoa.</i>
	o- i -ne a- ngoa
	3sgfO- do -IMPF 1sgS- stay

Anything that happened in the village, I involved myself in. am 020

Postpositional object (main clause) - Postpositional object (relative clause)

71)	feunun		lafa	ona		foe	na	ali	na
	feu	-nun	lafa	o-	na	foe	na	ali	na
	go.up	-DUR	part(f)	3sgfO-	in	pig(m)	sgmArt	man(m)	sgmArt
	asea			la	onam		siare.		
	a-	o-	sea	-a	la	o-	nam	sia	-re
	3sgmO-	3sgS-	gut	-sgf	sgfArt	3sgfO-	to	do	-NF

...they went up to the place where the man had gutted the pig.

hr1 029

This last example is particularly interesting in that the predicate of the relative clause, **a-o-sea-a**, is indexed for three participants: object and subject are indexed by prefixes; and the head of the relative clause, a postpositional object, is indexed with the Agreement Suffix. This is one of the few constructions in which a predicate can be cross-referenced for three arguments.

In other construction types, the Agreement Suffix only indexes subjects or objects. In relative clauses, however, it always indexes the head, and as the head may be in the syntactic roles of subject, object or postpositional object, the Agreement Suffix in relative clauses may in fact index arguments in the syntactic role of object of postposition. The functions of the Agreement Suffix are discussed in detail in Chapter 10.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Questions and negation

This chapter takes as its starting point the semantic fields of questions and negation and looks at the kinds of constructions used to express them. The expression of questions and negation in Lavukaleve involves some use of focus constructions, as well as other syntactic strategies not involving morphologically-marked focus.

Questions are expressed in one of two main ways: either by using a specific question-word, or by just using a focus construction. Even those clauses using specific question words are frequently expressed using focus constructions.

There are various ways to negate different kinds of constituents: including the Negative verbal suffix **-la**, the particle **tamu** 'no'; the intransitive verb **tave** 'be not'; the negative imperative expressed by the Admonitive suffix; and other negative lexical items. Frequently, negative predications are expressed using a focus construction. The use of focus constructions in the areas of questions and negation is a very characteristic feature of Lavukaleve, and indeed of other languages which have grammaticalised focus structures.

The first part of this chapter discusses the syntactic structures used to express questions, and also all the interrogative lexical items in the language. It also discusses how positive and negative polar questions are answered. The second part of the chapter presents a discussion of all aspects of negation, including the role of the focus markers in negative clauses. The morphological, syntactic and pragmatic features of focus constructions are discussed in Chapter 11.

17.1 QUESTIONS

In Lavukaleve, questions are very often phrased using a focus construction. There are

also a number of question words which may be used, either in a focus construction or not. All questions are marked, not only by syntactic and lexical means, but also by a distinctive rising intonation. Questions can be divided into two functional and syntactic types: polar questions and content questions.

As was shown in Section 11.7, there are three focus markers in Lavukaleve: **feo**, the default focus marker; **meo**, the focus marker used in polar questions; and **heo**, the focus marker used, among other things, in content questions. See the above-mentioned chapter for a full discussion of the focus markers and their syntactic and semantic functions.

The sole use of the **meo** focus marker, then, is in marking focus in polar questions. Content questions usually use a question word, usually with a focus marker. If the focus marker is present, it is **heo**, and it agrees with the questioned item. The following sections discuss in turn polar questions and then content questions.

17.1.1 POLAR QUESTIONS

Polar questions are framed using a focus construction involving the **meo** focus marker, with the focus marker agreeing with the questioned element. Since questioned elements are focussed, by definition, one would expect questions to be expressed using morpho-syntactically marked focus in a language in which this is available, and this is indeed what happens in Lavukaleve. Some examples (there are many more in Section 11.7):

Questioning an NP:

- 1) *Vo'voul honalari minal?*
 vo'vou -l honala -ri minala
 boy(m) -du MOD.PROX.dum -PSNV 3dumQFOC
Is it these two boys? ja 303

Questioning an adjunct:

- 2) *Hokariom mi ngoae elikire melel?*
 hoka -ri -om mi ngoa -e e- liki -re me- lei
 here.PROX -PSNV-m/n 3sgnQFOC stay -NOMZR 3sgnO- want-NF 2pl- exist
Is it here you want to stay? b1 029

Questioning a single-verb clause:

- 3) *"Tuna mi?" hide aerege.*
 tuna -ø mi hide a- e- re -ge
 be.really -sgn 3sgnQFOC thus 3sgmO- SBD- say -ANT
"Is it really true?" he said. co 373

Questioning a larger clause:

4)	"Valai	hoka	bagatum	mem	na			
	vala	hoka	bagatum	me	-m	na		
	how	here.PROX	male.giant(m)	SPEC	-sgm	sgmArt		
	ngoulam		min?"	aerege.				
	ngo-u	-la	-m	min	a-	e-	re	-ge
	2sg-eat	-NEG	-sgm	3sgmQFOC	3sgmO-	SBD-	say	-ANT

"Wow. The giant here didn't eat you?" [one of the men] said.

mn2 057

Example (4) shows that the **meo** focus marker can be used with a negative clause. Section 17.1.2 explains how the answers to these and other questions are phrased.

Note that the focus marker does not move to the initial position in questions; rather, it remains in the position in which it would be if the sentence were not a question. There are a couple of examples in which the focus marker appears in initial position. For instance:

5)	Minu	ngakala	ona		neano	aem	na
	minu	nga-	kala	o-	na neano	ae	-m na
	2sgQFOC	1sgPOSS-	mother(f)	3sgfO-	in disparagement(m)	go.up	-sgm sgmArt
	hin	oigure		olufure	vem	na	hin?
	hin	o-	igu	-re o-	lufu	-re ve	-m na hin
	3sgmEFOC	3sgfO-	take.out	-NF 3sgfO-	leave	-NF go	-sgm sgmArt 3sgmEFOC

Was it you (m) who was cruel to my mother, putting her there and leaving her and going?

gm 102

This is not an example of movement of the focus marker, as there is no other place in the sentence where the focus marker would be expected to be. Rather, it is an example of ellipsis of the argument with which the focus marker is in construction; **inu** 'you (2sg)'. This, and another sentence structurally almost identical to it from the same story, is the only example of such ellipsis in the corpus. It is not clear whether the possibility is to do with the fact that the sentence is a question.

Incidentally, this is also one of the rare examples of a focus-echo construction using the **meo** focus marker. Note that the second (and third, in fact) focus markers agree in gender and number but not person with the first. See Section 11.5.1 for an explanation of focus-echo constructions.

17.1.2 ANSWERS TO POLAR QUESTIONS

Polar questions can be phrased both positively and negatively, as the examples above have shown. Positive answers to positive polar questions are expressed by **iire** 'yes'. Negative answers to positive questions are expressed by **tamu** 'no'. The particle comes first, in its own sentence intonation unit, then a longer sentential answer may follow. For example the answer to the question in (2) *Is it here you want to stay?* is as follows:

6)	"Tamu.	Kanifa	mail	koi".
	tamu	kanifa	mail	koi
	no	along.a.bit	a.bit	also

"No. A bit further again".

b1 030

Questions phrased positively are neutral as to whether they expect a positive or negative answer. However questions phrased negatively expect a positive answer. For example the question in (4) above *The giant here didn't eat you?* was asked when a boy reappeared in his village after a long absence. The village people had assumed he had been eaten by the giant, but seeing him they realised he must not have been, and thus asked the question knowing that it would receive a positive answer: the giant had not eaten him. The boy's answer is as follows:

7)	"Tamu.	Ngaulam		fin.
	tamu	nga- u -la	-m	fin
	no	1sgO- eat -NEG	-sgm	3sgmFOC

"No. He didn't eat me."

mn2 058

As the example shows, positive answers to negative questions are expressed with the negative particle. There are no examples in the corpus of negative answers to negative questions; that is, answers which contradict the speaker's anticipation of a positive answer. It is unclear whether these are possible or not, and, if possible, how they would be phrased.

17.1.3 CONTENT QUESTIONS USING THE **HEO** FOCUS MARKER

Content questions are those which expect a content word or words as an answer. It was shown in Section 11.7 that if a content question employs a focus construction, the focus marker used will be the **heo** focus marker. The **heo** focus marker in questions works as in focus constructions, but the element it is questioning is the element it expresses focus on, using the agreement system outlined in Chapter 11.

Argument focus (questioning a coordinate-dependent clause):

8)	"Eta	kali!	Vala	siare	hi	ngatum		na
	eta	kali	vala	sia -re	hi	nga-	tum	na
	Wow!	my.goodness!	how	do -NF	3sgnEFOC	1sgPOSS-	husband(m)	sgmArt
	vola		tuna		olei?"			
	vo	-la	tuna		o-	lei		
	come	-NEG	really		3sgS-	exist		

"Hey! Why isn't my husband coming?"

gm 023

Predicate focus (questioning a predicate):

9)	mina	mamirea			heo.
	mina	ma-	mi	-re	-a
	thing(f)	3plS-	make	-FUT	-sgf
					3sgfEFOC

... what will they do?

jn2 078

Sentence focus (questioning a sentence):

10)	"Sala!	<i>Ami</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ui</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>eum</i>		<i>hin?</i> "
	sala	ami	ta	ui	ga	e-	u -m	hin
	hey!	who(m)	just	food(n)	sgnArt	3sgnO-eat	-sgm	3sgmEFOC

"Hey! Just who ate our food?"

jn 042

Example (11) below shows a focus-echo construction using **heo** as both the first and the second focus markers. These constructions are discussed in Section 11.5.1.

17.14 CONTENT QUESTIONS USING INTERROGATIVE LEXICAL ITEMS

Content questions are often phrased in focus constructions using specific interrogative lexical items. These interrogative words belong to various word classes, and thus have different syntactic properties. The full list is as follows:

WORD	GLOSS	WORD CLASS
ami	'who?'	noun (masculine)
man	'what?'	noun (masculine)
elahave	'how much?'	noun (masculine)
elav	'how many?'	noun (plural)
vasia	'be where?'	intransitive verb
roi-doi	'which?'	own word class
vala-valai	'how?'	particle
ninam	'when?'	particle
ria-dia	'where?'	particle
riahi-diahi	'where to?'	particle

Content questions generally appear as the first word of the clause, although they can appear elsewhere in the clause. In particular the intransitive verb **vasia** 'be where' frequently appears clause-finally, as other verbs do. The following sections exemplify each of these question words.

WHO, WHAT AND HOW MUCH

The question words **ami** 'who', **man** 'what' and **elahave** 'how much' are all masculine nouns. They function as the heads of NP, and as arguments of verbs, and take masculine agreement. They cannot however be modified.

11)	" <i>Ami</i>	<i>hin</i>	<i>leim</i>		<i>hin?</i> "
	ami	hin	lei	-m	hin
	who(m)	3sgmEFOC	exist	-sgm	3sgmEFOC

"Who is it?"

co 144

- 12) "Le *ami* ta *elorem?*"
 le ami ta e- lo -ri -re -m
 but who(m) just 3sgnO- finish -CAUS -FUT -sgm
"But who will finish it?" mn 050
- 13) "Le *man* *hin* *alevele* *ngoelere?*"
 le man hin a- le -vele ngo- e- le -re
 but what(m) 3sgmEFOC 3sgmO- see -SUCC 2sg- 1pl.ex- see -FUT
When they went out "But what is it? Once we've seen it, will we see you?" me 033
- 14) *Elahave* *hin* *ovum?*
 elahave hin o- vu -m
 how.much(m) 3sgmEFOC 3sgS- dig -sgm
How much (earth) did he dig? mt 057

HOW MANY

Elav 'how many' is a plural noun. Some examples:

- 15) *Sa* *elav* *hiv* *aurev?*
 sa elav hiv a- u -re -v
 banana(pl) how.many(pl) 3plEFOC 1sgS- eat -FUT -pl
How many bananas will I eat? e1 037i
- 16) *Elav* *siav?*
 elav sia -v
 how.many(pl) do -pl
How many is that? jn2 018

BE WHERE

The word **vasia** 'be where?' is an intransitive verb. It appears either as the first word of a clause, like other interrogative words, or the last, like other verbs. It has a few differences from other intransitive verbs apart from this ability to appear as the first word of a clause. For instance, it cannot form a complex predicate with the Habitual Auxiliary, and it does not take verbal morphology apart from the Agreement Suffix.

Because it is stative in meaning, it always marks its subject with the Agreement Suffix, not with a verbal prefix (see Section 10.5). Some examples:

- 17) "Mekalem *vasiam?*"
 me- kalem vasia -m
 2pl- father(m) be.where -sgm
"Where is your (pl) father?" jn2 047

- 18) "Le mola hoiga omalav vasiav? " hini
 le mola hoiga o- malav vasia -v hini
 but canoe(n) MOD.MED.sgn 3sgPOSS- people(pl) be.where -pl INT
- fi marere ke.
 fi ma- re -re ke
 3sgnFOC 3plS- say -NF EMPH
- "Where are the people from that canoe?" they say.* ja 034
- 19) Vasiam oina ruima la?
 vasia -m oina ruima la
 be.where -sgm other.MED.sgm old.man(f) sgfArt
- Where is the old man?* mn2 041

WHICH

The word **roi-doi** 'which?' (the forms vary freely; see Section 2.10) belongs in its own word class. It functions as the head of an NP, taking the definite article, but there are two reasons for not calling it a noun. Firstly, it does not have its own gender, but takes its gender from the noun whose identity it is questioning. Secondly, it can appear with a noun immediately following it, in apposition to it, in the same NP, to mean 'which X?'. It is not possible for two nouns to be juxtaposed in this way; normally, two nouns within an NP must bear a head-dependent relationship to each other, using the possessive construction (see Section 4.2). For these reasons, although it clearly has a close relationship with nouns, **roi** is considered a word of its own word class.

Roi-doi inflects according to its own paradigm, marking number and gender of the referent which it is questioning.

	singular	dual	plural
masc	roin	roil	roi
fem	roi		
neut			

This is a bizarre agreement system in terms of the typical patterns of the language. Firstly, feminine and neuter singular are not distinguished; secondly, a masculine marker **-n** is unknown elsewhere in the language; thirdly, gender is not distinguished in the dual (although the pervasive dual /l/ is present); and fourthly, the pervasive plural /v/ is not present.

Roi-doi is always the first word of its clause. Some examples:

- 20) "Roi va malav va?" koleav.
 roi va malav va kolea -v
 which plArt people(pl) plArt wonder -pl
- "Which ones are the people?" they wonder.* ja 072

- 21) *Roil* *heol* *inu* *ngovovol* *heol?*
 roil heol inu ngo- vovo -l heol
 which.du 3dufEFOC 2sg 2sg- girl -du 3dufEFOC

Which are your two daughters?

e3 025b

- 22) *Roin* *ta* *aku* *hi* *Iuminao* *Honiara*
 roin ta a- ku hi iuminao Honiara
 which.sgm time(m) 3sgmO- like 3sgnEFOC ship.name Honiara
- vela* *lome?*
vela lo-
 go 3sgS- me HAB

About what time [lit: like which time] does the Iuminao go to Honiara?

e1 037f

HOW, WHEN, WHERE, WHERE TO

The words **vala~valai** 'how?', **ninam** 'when?', **ria~dia** 'where?', and **riahi-diahi** 'where to?' are all uninflecting particles. They usually appear at the beginning of their clause.

The particle **vala~valai** (the two forms are in free variation) is the most general question indicator, and can mean 'how?', 'why?', and so on. It is also a common greeting on its own, meaning something like 'what's up?'. In combination with **siare** (**sia** 'be, become, happen, do' plus **-re** Non-Finite), it means 'why?': In combination with **afouham** '3sgmO-make-PURP', it means 'for what?':

- 23) *Olang* *beko* *ovo'vou* *vala ta* *overe?*
 olang beko o- vo'vou vala ta o- ve -re
 because stone(n) 3sgPOSS- boy(m) how just 3sgS- go -NF

Because how could a baby stone move?

sv 013

- 24) *Vala hi* *lome?*
 vala hi lo- me
 how do/say 3sgS- HAB

What [lit: how] did he say?

e1 037e

- 25) *"Ta ruia!* *Vala?* *Vala siare* *hoka* *ngoa ngome?"*
 ta ruia vala vala sia -re hoka ngoa ngo- me
 hey old.woman(f) how how do -NF here.PROX stay 2sg- HAB

"Hey old woman! What's up? Why are you here?"

gm 028

- 26) *"Etale!* *Vala afouham* *mina* *hea*
 etale vala a- fou -ham mina hea
 wow! how 3sgmO- make -PURP thing(f) MOD.DIST1.sgf
- ruta* *la* *omare* *vela* *lome?"*
 ruta la o- ma -re vela lo- me
 lamp(f) sgf/Art 3sgfO- take -NF go 3sgS- HAB

"Hey! What is this thing taking the light away for?"

gm 066

Ninam 'when':

- 27) "Ninam koi kini ngofeure?"
 ninam koi kini ngo- feu -re
 when also ACT 2sg- go.up -FUT

"When will you come back up?"

mn2 022

- 28) ("We two want to open the new house.")
 "Hobea fi. Ninam?"
 hobea fi ninam
 good 3sgnFOC when

"All right. When?"

ja 413

Ria-dia 'where' and **riahi-diahi** 'where to' (the forms vary freely: see Section 2.10) have some formal and functional overlap. It is tempting to consider that **riahi** in fact consists of **ria** 'where' with **hi** '3sgnEFOC', but speakers explicitly deny this interpretation. Even if this is not a good synchronic analysis of **riahi**, it is a possible diachronic analysis. Note that it is not possible to say ***riahi hi**. Note also that even if **riahi** is a separate word, it is indistinguishable from the two-word sequence of **ria hi** 'where 3sgnEFOC', which also occurs.

However while their meanings are similar, they are not identical: **ria-dia** refers to static location, whereas **riahi-diahi** refers to motion towards something.

- 29) "Le inu ria ngoa mem inu?" lore.
 le inu ria ngoa me -m inu lo- re
 but 2sg where stay HAB -sgm 2sg 3duS- say

"But where do you live?" the two say.

ja 252

- 30) "Riahi ve elikire mele?" hide ore.
 diahi ve -e e- liki -re me- lei hide o- re
 whither go -NOMZR 3sgnO- want -NF 2pl- exist thus 3sgS- say

"Where do you want to go to?" he said

bl 017

17.2 NEGATION

There are a number of means by which a word or a clause can be negated. Verbs can be negated using the verbal suffix **-la**, which usually, but not necessarily, involves a focus construction. NPs can be negated using the adjective **ro** 'one', with its negative suffix **-ru** to mean 'not one'. Adjectives and whole propositions can be negated using the intransitive verb **tave** 'be not'. An entire proposition or an NP can be negated using the particle **tamu** 'not'. A negative command can be given, using the Admonitive verbal suffix **-n**. In addition there are various lexical items which have a negative meaning. The syntax and semantics of these methods of negation will be discussed. The method of expressing not wanting, while not actually a syntactically negative construction, nonetheless belongs in this semantic area, and is also discussed below.

17.2.1 THE VERBAL SUFFIX -LA

The verbal suffix **-la** (glossed NEG) is used to negate a verb. It co-occurs with little other verbal morphology: only an object prefix if the verb is transitive, the Causative suffix (which precedes it) and the Agreement Suffix (which follows it). Negative expressions involving the negative suffix **-la** are almost always expressed in focus constructions. This is a stylistic rather than obligatory syntactic matter, but nevertheless it is unusual to see a negated verb not in a focus construction.

It was explained in Chapter 11 that all verbal predications, negated or otherwise, may appear in a focus construction, with the type of focus being shown by means of which core participant is indexed with the Agreement Suffix and the focus marker. In all transitive non-negative predication types in which there is a focus marker immediately following the verb, the speaker may choose whether the Agreement Suffix and focus marker will agree with the subject or object of the verb; the choice depends on what type of focus the speaker wishes to express; either sentence focus or predicate focus. In negated clauses, however, there is no choice: the Agreement Suffix and focus marker must obligatorily agree with the subject of the verb (in positive sentences this agreement system would mark sentence focus).

Some examples will illustrate these points. The examples show a negated verb, with the Agreement Suffix, followed by a focus marker, both agreeing with the subject of the clause.

- 31) **ui eulam o sialam fin.**
 ui e- u -la -m o sia -la -m fin
 food(n) 3sgnO- eat -NEG -sgm and do -NEG -sgm 3sgmFOC
... he didn't eat or do anything. hr1 003

- 32) **Avealam fin kusukui mitakeu ho'vulun**
 a- vea -la -m fin kusukui mitakeu ho'vulu -n
 3sgmO- know -NEG -sgm 3sgmFOC rat(m) dog(m) ear -LOC
olei ga.
 o- lei -ø ga
 3sgS- exist -sgn sgnArt
He [the dog] doesn't know the rat is inside the dog's ear. s2 055

- 33) **Aka lokala la otailamal final**
 aka lo- kala la o- tai -la -mal finala
 then 3duPOSS- mother(f) sgfArt 3sgfO- show -NEG -du.m 3dumFOC
The two boys didn't show their mother (to the people). (i.e. they kept her hidden) ja 319

- 34) **ali** **roaru** **elelam** **fin**
 ali roa -ru e- le -la -m fin
 man(m) one.sgm -none 3sgnO- see -NEG -sgm 3sgmFOC
...no-one has seen it s2 008
- 35) **Koi** **malav** **rovoru** **kiulav** **fiv.**
 koi malav rovo -ru kiu -la -v fiv
 also people(pl) one.pl -none die -NEG -pl 3plFOC
Also no-one died. ns 113

NEGATION OF VARIOUS CONSTRUCTION TYPES

The negative suffix cannot co-occur with any TAM suffixes, or with verbal morphology marking subordinate clauses, the Non-Finite, Completive or Successive suffixes on clause chaining verbs, the Nominalisers, the Locatviser, the Extended or the Reciprocal suffixes (these are discussed in Chapters 12, 13, 15 and 16).

These restrictions mean that the verbs of many construction types cannot be negated directly. Instead, multi-verb constructions are used, such that verbal morphology appears on a different verb from that which the Negative suffix appears on. Alternatively, other kinds of negation apart from the Negative suffix can be used.

For example, the following construction type is commonly used for future negation. The lexical verb carries the Negative suffix, and the Habitual Auxiliary carries the Future Tense suffix:

- 36) **Ane** **mea** **la** **olevele**
 a- ne me -a la o- le -vele
 3sgmO- with SPEC -sgf sgfArt 3sgfO- see -SUCC

ofemilav **huluila** **merem** **fin.**
 o- femi -la -v hului -la me -re -m fin
 3sgfO- face -NEG -pl go.round -NEG HAB -FUT -sgm 3sgmFOC
If they see their sister, they won't turn in front of her¹. ch 016

Instead of aspectual suffixes on the verb with the Negative suffix, a phrasal construction using two verbs can be used. In the following example, the first verb carries the negative suffix and the second creates Present tense meaning:

- 37) **Kini** **minamina** **okovelam** **olei?**
 kini Dup- mina o- kove -la -m o- lei
 ACT REDUP- thing(f) 3sgfO- look.for -NEG -sgm 3sgS- exist
Isn't he going looking for something? co 425

¹ The speaker switches from plural to masculine singular agreement through this sentence: literally, it is 'If they see his sister, he won't turn in front of her'.

17.22 THE VERB **TAVE** 'BE NOT'

The intransitive verb **tave** means 'be not', and is used to create a negative proposition. A **tave** construction may be used to negate a clause.

- 38) **Vusalu tave fi okor ga.**
 vusalu tave -ø fi o- kora ga
 weak be.not -sgn 3sgnFOC 3sgPOSS- end(n) sgnArt

It's not weak, its end.

sl 016

If the clause to be negated is non-verbal, as in the above example, **tave** is the sole verb of the negative construction. However if **tave** is used to negate a verbal clause, an unusual situation occurs, in which the verb **tave** immediately follows the verb of the clause to be negated:

- 39) **Vutiv tavev fiv aka laketei ga hoka fi olei**
 vuti -v tave -v fiv aka laketei ga hoka fi o- lei
 be.many -pl be.not-pl 3plFOC then life(n) sgnArt here.PROX 3sgnFOC 3sgS- exist

There aren't many [people], but the life is still here.

rk1 078

- 40) *(One boy was really tired.)*

Olang tokam tave.
 olang toka -m tave -m
 because be.strong -sgm be.not -sgm

Because he wasn't strong.

mt 038

This construction type only occurs with two intransitive verbs, **tuna** 'be really' and **tave** 'be not', and was discussed in Section 3.2.3. It is not a serial verb construction, because the subject of a serial verb construction can be marked only once across the whole predicate, not once on each verb as here. For the same reason it cannot be any other type of complex predicate. Syntactically such sequences of verbs are considered to be two independent clauses in succession. Such constructions only occur with verbs **tave** and **tuna**; in all other cases, clauses in sequence must be overtly marked for their relationship with each other, either as subordinate-dependent or coordinate-dependent or coordinated independent clauses.

17.23 **RO-RU** 'NOT ONE'

The suffix **-ru** only appears on the adjective **ro** (cited here in its feminine singular form). **Ro** means 'one'; **ro-ru** means 'not one'. The suffixed **ro** word is used to negate a noun. It very frequently negates **mina** 'thing'; thus **mina roru** 'nothing'. A clause containing an NP negated with **ro-ru** must appear with a further clausal negator. Thus, if the clause is verbal, the verb must be negated using verbal suffix **-la**. If the clause is non-verbal, it must be negated with the negative particle **tamu** 'not'.

- 41) *Malav rovoru sigun ka vela leiv fiv.*
 malav rovo -ru sigun ka ve -la lei -v fiv
 people(pl) one.pl -none birth.hut(m) LOCEMPH go -NEG exist -pl 3plFOC
No-one can go into the birth hut. jo 036
- 42) *Leta mina roru ana namurila.*
 leta mina ro -ru a- na namuri -la
 but thing(f) one.sgf -none 3sgmO- in shake -NEG
But nothing shook in it [the boat (m)]. ns 067
- 43) *Aka koi lafa roru ona mima ga tamu.*
 aka koi lafa ro -ru o- na mima ga tamu
 then also part(f) one.sgf -none 3sgfO- in way.of.life(n) sgnArt no
And also the church was in no other place. rk1 026
- 44) *Aka kola tamu.*
 aka kola tamu
 then empty.space(m) no
There was no empty space. fk 006

The adjective **ro** is discussed in detail in Section 4.1.2.

17.2.4 TAMU 'NOT'

The particle **tamu** negates an entire clause or an NP. It appears postposed to a positive clause and negates the proposition of that clause, or, as discussed above, it provides an answer to a negative question. The difference between using a **tamu** construction and using the verbal suffix **-la** or **tave** 'be not', which have the same propositional effect, appears to be a stylistic one; in texts, particular speakers tend to favour one or the other.

- 45) *Ui eu tamu.*
 ui e- u tamu
 food(n) 3sgnO- eat no
We didn't eat. ef 036
- 46) *olang ta hoinariom ana*
 olang ta hoina -ri -om a- na
 because time(m) MOD.MED.sgm -PSNV -m/n 3sgmO- in
bangakaul tamu ke
 bangakaul tamu ke
 banks(pl) no EMPH
...because at that time there were no banks there co2 049
- 47) *Aka siare, neuriae tamu, lalasisir o neano tamu.*
 aka sia -re neuria -e tamu lalasisir o neano tamu
 then do -NF argue -NOMZR no cruelty and disparagement no
Because of that, there wasn't any argument, or cruelty or treating each other badly. jh 006

48)	Honiae		ga		esiage				
	honia	-e	ga		e-	e-	sia	-ge	
	know	-NOMZR	sgnArt		3sgnO-	SBD-	do	-ANT	
	luguio		la		tamu,		ta	hona.	
	lugu	-io	la		tamu		ta	hona	
	think	-NOMZ.f	sgfArt	no		time(m)	MOD.PROX.sgm		

Education happens, and there is no respect now.

jh 032

Tamu is also used as a negative answer to a polar question. In this case, it can provide the entire answer, or it can form part of an answer:

49)	Kini	foa	Kiolen	hain		siavel		vokikiari	"Valai
	kini	foa	Kiolen	hai	-n	sia	-vel	vo- kikia -ri	vala
	ACT	go.down	Kiolen	point	-LOC	do	-COMPL	3p(O)- ask	-CAUS how
	hokariom?"			hide		aerege.			
	hoka	-ri	-om	hide	a-	e-	re	-ge	
	here.PROX	-PSNV	-m/n	thus	3sgmO-	SBD-	say	-ANT	

They went down and when they reached Kiolen Point, he asked them "How about here?" he said.

"Tamu.	Furigen		ta		fi".
tamu	furinge-n		ta		fi
no	west -LOC		must		3sgnFOC

"No. It has to be west."

b1 020-021

17.25 THE NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE

The Admonitive verbal suffix **-n** (discussed Section 12.4.1) can be used to give a negative command; that is, to tell the hearer not to do something:

50)	Malegen	leia		la		le'laol	ona		lounagen
	malegen	lei	-a	la		le'laol	o-	na	loun -n
	left	exist	-sgf	sgfArt	two.f	3sgfO-	in	right.side	-LOC
	leia		la		oneman.				
	lei	-a	la		o-	ne-	ma	-n	
	exist	-sgf	sgfArt		3sgfO-	2sgS-	take	-ADMON	

One [old coconut (f)] is on the left - of the two - this one on the right, between two, don't take it.

co 097

51)	Sevo		ema		enekole		eraun.
	sevo	e-	ma		e-	ne-	ko -le erau -n
	tabu/holy	3sgnO-	take		3sgnO-	2sgS-	throw -POT fall -ADMON

Don't! When you take it, don't let it fall down.

co 210

17.26 OTHER NEGATIVE LEXICAL ITEMS

There are a few other negative lexical items, including the particles **vtuna** 'nothing' and **vuhu** 'nothing'. These two particles seem to have the same distribution, and the semantic difference between them is unclear.

- 52) **Kalem ne kala! Vutuna ta mele.**
 kalem ne kala vutuna ta me- lei
 father(m) with mother(f) nothing just 2pl- exist
Mother and father! [exclamation meaning Wowee!] You lot are nothing [i.e. worthless]. kg2 047
- 53) **Aka Savutum ogao ga vuhu oloolo**
 aka Savutum o- gao ga vuhu o- loolo
 then Savutum(m) 3sgPOSS- war.canoe(n) sgnArt nothing 3sgPOSS- straight
And Savutum's canoe had absolutely nothing [i.e. was empty] kg2 050
- 54) **Ngokalem ana vuhu fi ane ngome.**
 ngo-kalem a- na vuhu fi a- ne ngo- me
 2sg- father(m) 3sgmO- in nothing 3sgnFOC 3sgmO- give 2sg- HAB
You would give it free [i.e. for nothing] to your father. ch 034

17.2.7 NOT WANTING

Not wanting is usually expressed using an idiomatic expression involving the noun **laku** 'hate'. This noun always occurs with the Locative suffix, and with a Possessive prefix marking the experiencer of the not-wanting. The experiencer can also be expressed with an overt NP before **laku**, as in (55).

If the thing which is not wanted is expressed by a nominal, it follows the noun **laku**:

- 55) **Ngai ngalakun sa.**
 ngai nga- laku -n sa
 1sg 1sgPOSS- hate -LOC banana
I don't want bananas. [lit: in my hate are bananas] e1 048f

If the thing not wanted is expressed by a clause, it again follows **laku**, and the verb is always marked with the Imperfective suffix **-ne** (see Section 12.3.1):

- 56) **Ngalakun lafa hoariom otigirine.**
 nga- laku -n lafa hoia -ri -om o- tigiri -ne
 1sgPOSS- hate -LOC part(f) MOD.MED.sgf -PSNV -m/n 3sgfO-tell -IMPF
I don't want to say that bit. [lit: in my hate is telling that part] jn 078
- 57) **Olakun tuna aune.**
 o- laku -n tuna a- u -ne
 3sgPOSS- hate -LOC really 3sgmO- eat -IMPF
He really didn't want to eat it. co 174

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Discourse organisation

Most of the previous chapters have dealt with the structures and functions of sentences and their component parts. This chapter aims to show some aspects of how these sentences, once built, are actually used in Lavukaleve. The chapter is in two separate parts. The first part examines how sentences are joined together in discourse, looking at typical Lavukaleve ways of structuring discourse in narratives for textual cohesion. The kinds of methods to be discussed are not grammaticalised structures, but rather, common and idiomatic ways of choosing to structure a discourse, and as such are an important part of how the language works. The second part discusses reference tracking. Other parts of the description have shown what linguistic material is available in Lavukaleve to introduce and track referents in narratives. This section shows how these different types of linguistic material interact, and how they are used across a narrative, rather than just across a sentence. It also shows that very often participant tracking is not a priority, and instead there frequently exists a high degree of ambiguity about the identity of referents.

18.1 WAYS OF JOINING SENTENCES INTO LARGER UNITS

There are three main ways by which sentences are joined into larger discourse units in Lavukaleve. Very commonly, head/tail linkage is used, in which the final verb of one sentence is repeated as the first verb of the next sentence (Section 18.1.1). Also very common is the use of 'discourse-linkage verbs', a strategy in which generic verbs such as 'do' are used to link a sentence to the previous one (Section 18.1.2). Thirdly, conjunctions can be used to link sentences together in a temporal or causal sequence (Section 18.1.3).

- 2) a. **Velanun** **velanun** **velanun** **kini** **foe** **na**
 vela -nun vela -nun vela -nun kini foe na
 go -DUR go -DUR go -DUR ACT pig(m) sgmArt

alere, **akulare,** **hano lofoim.**
 a- le -re a- kula -re hano lo- foi -m
 3sgmO- see -NF 3sgmO- run.after -NF then 3duS- hold -sgm

They went on and on and on, then seeing the pig, chasing him, then they caught him.

- b. **Afoire,** **asure** **amare** **kini**
 a- foi -re a- su -re a- ma -re kini
 3sgmO- hold -NF 3sgmO- tie -NF 3sgmO- take -NF ACT

nganga **oraravan** **alofou.**
 nganga o- rarava -n a- lo- fou
 river(m) 3sgPOSS- side -LOC 3sgmO- 3duS- put.on

Catching him, they tied him up and took him to a river bank.

- c. **Afoire,** **hano** **kui** **na** **foam.**
 a- fou -re hano kui na foa -m
 3sgmO- put.on -NF then sun(m) sgmArt go.down -sgm

Putting him there, okay. The sun went down.

- d. **Aefoage,** **koleamal.**
 a- e- foa -ge kolea -mal
 3sgmO- SBD- go.down -ANT wonder -du.m

Upon it going down, the two weren't sure [what to do].

mn4 005-008

- 3) a. **Felere** **vau** **otum** **aham** **kakone.**
 fele -re vau o- tum a- ham kako -ne
 return -NF go.out 3sgPOSS- husband(m) 3sgmO- for look.out -IMPF

Returning, she went out to watch for her husband.

- b. **Kakonun** **aka** **felere** **kini** **ofeu.**
 kako -nun aka fele -re kini o- feu
 look.out -DUR then return -NF ACT 3sgS- go.up

She watched for him then she returned back up [to the village].

- c. **Felere** **kini** **feu** **ofufu.**
 fele -re kini feu o- fufu
 return -NF ACT go.up 3sgS- lie.down

She went back up and lay down.

- d. **Veal** **ka** **oefufuge** **oina**
 vea -l ka o- e- fufu -ge oina
 emerge -LOCZR LOCEMPH 3sgfO- SBD- lie.down -ANT other.MED.sgm

ika **ngoanun** **ngoanun** **ngoanun.**
 ika ngoa -nun ngoa -nun ngoa -nun
 there stay -DUR stay -DUR stay -DUR

She lay down outside, the other boy was still there.

co 332-335

In Lavukaleve, the repeated verb is very often expressed as an Anterior subordinate verb,

meaning something like 'upon X having happened, ...'. This occurs in sentence (3d). Consider also the following:

- 4) a. **Sia loemege fi aka le ga ovea.**
 sia lo- e- me -ge fi aka le ga o- vea
 do 3sgfO- SBD- HAB -ANT 3sgnFOC then day(n) sgnArt 3sgS- emerge
She did like that, then next day came.
- b. **Le ga eveage lalamuon lalamuon.**
 le ga e- e- vea -ge lalamu -n lalamu -n
 day(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- SBD- emerge -ANT morning -LOC morning -LOC
Upon the next day coming, then [it was] very early in the morning, really early. co 388-389
- 5) a. **"Kini foa voemen matua ve manman man**
 kini foa vo- e- me -n matua ve man man man
 ACT go.down 3plO- SBD- HAB -ADMON old.coconut(f) or what what(m)
na foa laemen." **hide ore.**
 na foa la- e- me -n hide o- re
 sgmArt go.down 3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ADMON thus 3sgS- say
"Bring it down, whatever it is, no matter if it's a dry old coconut!" he said.
- b. **Hide lain mem na aerege,**
 hide lai -n me -m na a- e- re -ge
 thus top -LOC SPEC -sgm sgmArt 3sgmO- SBD- say -ANT
omakelagurige ofoa.
 o- ma- kelago -ri -ge o- foa
 3sgfO- 3plS- go.over -CAUS -ANT 3sgS- go.down
Upon the man in the line saying that, then they sent [the message] down
- c. **Oefoage ta oina "Ho'bea fi" ore.**
 o- e- foa -ge ta oina ho'bea fi o- re
 3sgfO- SBD- go.down -ANT just other.MED.sgm good 3sgnFOC 3sgS- say
Upon it going down, the other man said "It's all right!". jn 139-141

In the above example, sentence a. ends with verb **ore** 'he said'. Sentence b. begins with this same verb, this time in a subordinate Anterior clause, with subject **laen mem na** 'the one in line'. Sentence b. ends with **ofoa** 'it went down', which is the first verb of sentence c., in Anterior form. These examples show that the repeated verb need not necessarily be the first word of the following sentence, but rather it is the verb of the first clause.

18.1.2 DISCOURSE-LINKAGE VERBS

A second strategy for joining sentences is by means of discourse-linkage verbs. The term (which I have taken from van Enk and de Vries 1997) refers to generic verbs which can be used to recapitulate a previous event, in order to link it to the next event. In Lavukaleve, verbs such as **sia** 'be, become, happen, do' (glossed 'do'), **ngoa** 'stay' and **lo** 'finish' are very frequently used for this purpose. The verb **sia** is used in this way in

the next example:

- 6) a. **Mairu irunun irunun fi aka oia**
 ma- iru iru -nun iru -nun fi aka oia
 3plS- sleep sleep -DUR sleep -DUR 3sgnFOC then other.MED.sgf
- otum anam vore, kini ane**
 o- tum a- nam vo -re kini a- ne
 3sgPOSS- husband(m) 3sgmO- to come -NF ACT 3sgmO- with
- ngoane. Irune.**
 ngoa -ne iru -ne
 stay -IMPF sleep -IMPF

They slept, it went on, then she came to her husband, and stayed with him. Sleeping.

- b. **Sia loemege fi aka le ga ovea.**
 sia lo- e- me -ge fi aka le ga o- vea
 do 3sgfO- SBD- HAB -ANT 3sgnFOC then day(n) sgnArt 3sgS- emerge

She did like that, then next day came.

co 386-388

In the next example, note the use of **lo** 'finish' to move the narrative line from one event to the next, in this story about how canoes are made:

- 7) a. **Doi rara hi, okol siarem, o**
 roi rara hi o- koli sia -re -m o
 which.sg/pl side(n) 3sgnEFOC 3sgPOSS- interior(m) do -FUT -sgm and
- roi rara hi oumu me siare.**
 roi rara hi o- umu me -ø sia -re
 which.sg/pl side(n) 3sgnEFOC 3sgPOSS- under SPEC -sgn do -FUT

Where one side is, will be its inside, and the other side is its underside.

- b. **Aka aluri lo ta, okol na**
 aka a- luri lo ta o- koli na
 then 3sgmO- sort.out finish just 3sgPOSS- interior(m) sgmArt
- ana kokova oaire**
 a- na kokova o- a- i -re
 3sgmO- in sth.written(f) 3sgfO- 1sgS- do -FUT

ovala la otaham.
 o- vala la o- ta -ham
 3sgPOSS- belly(f) sgfArt 3sgfO- pound -PURP

So having sorted it out, I draw markings for cutting its belly.

- c. **Ota lo fi, oereav ne**
 o- ta lo fi o- erea -v ne
 3sgfO- pound finish 3sgnFOC 3sgPOSS- front -pl with
- oesiav va mahou voatare.**
 o- esia -v va ma- hou vo- a- ta -re
 3sgPOSS- back.of.canoe -pl plArt 3plPOSS- cheeks(pl) 3plO- 1sgS- pound -FUT

Having cut it, I will cut the cheeks (the front and back curved bits).

d. **Hoikari lo ta okol na**
 hoika -ri lo ta o- koli na
 there.MED -PSNV finish just 3sgPOSS- interior(m) sgmArt

aiure himara ona.
 a- igu -re himara o- na
 3sgmO- take.out -FUT axe(f) 3sgfO- in

That one finished, I take out the inside with an axe.

e. **Lo ta katil amavele, okol na,**
 lo ta katil a- ma -vele o- koli na
 finish just adze(m) 3sgmO- take -SUCC 3sgPOSS- interior(m) sgmArt

asisiaforire.
 a- sisiafo -ri -re
 3sgmO- clean -CAUS -FUT

That finished, having taken an adze, I will clean the inside.

f. **Asisiafori lo fi, ohan va fiv**
 a- sisiafo -ri lo fi o- ha -n va fiv
 3sgmO- clean -CAUS finish 3sgnFOC 3sgPOSS- rib.of.canoe -pl plArt 3plFOC

voalagarire.
 vo- a- lagari -re
 3plO- 1sgS- choose -FUT

Having cleaned it, I will choose the ribs.

cp 010-015

This use of **lo** 'finish' is a particularly common device to link events in procedural texts.

In the next example, **ngoa** 'stay' is used to indicate that the events of sentence a. continued on, through to the time of the events of sentence b. **Ngoa** is very frequently used in narratives in this function.

8) a. **Ali otalai ali otalai akariom**
 ali o- talai ali o- talai aka -ri -om
 man(m) 3sgPOSS- equal.share man(m) 3sgPOSS- equal.share then -PSNV -m/n

meariare.
 mearia -re
 count -NF

(They divided the fish between them.) They counted out each man's share. [lit: one man's share, one man's share, then they counted]

b. **Ngoane ngoa voemege akari siane**
 ngoa -ne ngoa vo- e- me -ge aka -ri sia -ne
 stay -IMPF stay 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT then -PSNV do -IMPF

voemege hano lalamu la faua.
 vo- e- me -ge hano lalamu la fau -a
 3plO- SBD- continue -ANT then morning(f) sgfArt happen -sgf

Things went on, it went on like that, then morning came.

jn 104-105

- 11) a. **Feu koi "Nam lake, tutum" aerege hano.**
 feu koi nam lake tutu -m a- e- re -ge hano
 go.up also give.it! fire(n) grandparent -sgm 3sgmO- SBD- say -ANT then

He went up again. "Give me some fire, old man" he said, then...

- b. **Olakun enene koi!**
 o- laku -n enene e- ne -ne koi
 3sgPOSS- hate -LOC 3sgnO- give -IMPF also

He didn't want to give it again!

mn4 023-24

In the following examples, **aka** occurs as the first element of the second sentence:

- 12) a. **Oae foiga.**
 o- æ foiga
 3sgS- go.up PN.MED.sgn

He climbed up [the tree].

- b. **Aka aolai "Ae ngomele ae**
 aka a- o- lai æ ngo- me -le æ
 then 3sgmO- 3sgS- tell go.up 2sg- HAB -POT go.up
ngomele ae mina rara hoga ehamaïl
 ngo-me -le æ mina rara hoga ehamaïl
 2sg- HAB -POT go.up um side(n) MOD.PROX.sgn facing.side
mina matua feo ke."
 mina matua feo ke
 um old.coconut(f) 3sgfFOC EMPH

Then she told him: "You go up, up up up, on this side, is a dry coconut."

co 204-205

- 13) a. **"Aka kini houl vokoroiva!" hide mare ke.**
 aka kini houl vo- koroi -iva hide ma- re ke
 then ACT trees(pl) 3plO- chop -PCTIMP.pl thus 3plS- say EMPH

"(This is the tree we need!) So go and cut sticks!" they said.

- b. **Aka oiva airal lelemal houla airal lelemal houla**
 aka oiva airal lelemal houla airal lelemal houla
 then other.MED.pl men.du(m) two(m) tree(f) men.du(m) two(m) tree(f)
airal lelemal houla oina okoroi mem na
 airal lelemal houla oina o- koroi me -m na
 men.du(m) two(m) tree(f) other.MED.sgm 3sgfO- chop HAB-sgm sgmArt
okoroine fi ngoa lome nato la.
 o- koroi -ne fi ngoa lo- me nato la
 3sgfO- chop -IMPF 3sgnFOC stay 3sgS- HAB sago.palm(f) sgfArt

So, they were two men to a tree, two men to a tree, two men to a tree, one man was chopping away at the sago tree.

- c. **Aka kini hano falev.**
 aka kini hano fale -v
 then ACT then stand -pl

Then they all stood up.

jn 060-062

18.2 REFERENCE TRACKING

There is an array of morphological material available for marking referents in a discourse: overt NPs can be used, and there are various types of verbal participant-marking affixes depending on the predicate type. There is also the gender system, by means of which participants can be differentiated by agreement on verbs and nominal modifiers. Also important are the demonstrative pronouns, one of which is used to refer to activated referents, and the other to refer to semi-activated referents, that is, referents which have been mentioned before but are not the last referent to have been mentioned. In addition, the focus marking system as a method of making reference to a participant, and at the same time marking its role in the information structure of the sentence, is pervasive. These phenomena have all been described at length in previous chapters. The purpose of this section is to show how the interaction of all this linguistic material operates in texts to refer to and, if necessary, disambiguate participants. It also aims to show that, even though this material does exist and can be used for this purpose, very often disambiguation of participants is not a priority, and in fact, in many cases, identity of participants is understood through extra-linguistic rather than linguistic means.

18.2.1 INTRODUCING PARTICIPANTS WITH OVERT NPs

In general, participants are introduced by overt NPs, and tracked by verbal agreement affixes.

The following excerpt is taken from the beginning of a story about a boy and a married couple of giants. These two participants, the boy and the couple, are the main protagonists throughout the story. They are introduced first, in a., just by overt NPs, as the title of the story. The first real sentence of the story, sentence b., restates the NP referring to the giant couple, as the subject. The only verbs of this sentence are Durative-marked, which means it is not possible to also cross-reference their subject with verbal morphology. The next sentence, c., reintroduces the boy with an overt NP, and verbal prefixing. The boy is the subject of the following sentence, d., beginning with **feure** 'going up', and he is tracked by verbal prefixing alone. There is a change of subject with the last verb of this sentence, shown by the dual subject marker on the verb **lore** 'they two say'. From the dual number it is to be inferred that it is the giant couple who spoke. The next sentence, e., returns to singular subject marking, by which the referent can be inferred to be the boy. In the following sentence, f., there is an overt NP reintroducing the giant, **bagatum na**, as an actor, thus avoiding the ambiguity which would have otherwise arisen. He remains as the actor throughout this and the next sentence, g., but in the last sentence the subject changes to his wife, who is reintroduced with an overt NP. We only know that the NP **otua la** 'his wife' refers to the subject here, and not the object, because of gender agreement. Subject prefixes do not show gender agreement, but object prefixes do. The object prefix is masculine, while the overt NP is feminine, so the NP cannot refer to the object, therefore, by elimination, it must refer to the subject.

- 14) a. **Bagatum ne ko'mua o vo'vou roa.**
 bagatum ne ko'mua o vo'vou roa
 male.giant(m) with female.giant(f) and boy(m) one.sgm

A male giant, his wife and one boy.

- b. **Bagatum ne ko'mua la ngoanun ngoanun**
 bagatum ne ko'mua la ngoa-nun ngoa-nun
 male.giant(m) with female.giant(f) sgfArt stay -DUR stay -DUR
- ngoanun lea orolon ngoanun.**
 ngoa-nun lea o- rolo -n ngoa-nun
 stay -DUR cave(m) 3sgPOSS- inside -LOC stay -DUR

A man giant and a woman giant were living in a cave.

- c. **Ta vo'vou roa fo'sal vokila kini ofeu lanam.**
 ta vo'vou roa fo'sal vo- ki -la kini o- feu la- nam
 just boy(m) one.sgm fish(pl) 3plO-throw -EXT ACT 3sgS- go.up 3dumO- to

Then one boy was spearing fish all about, and went up to the two.

- d. **Feure, feu lanam aesiage,**
 feu -re feu la- nam a- e- sia -ge
 go.up -NF go.up 3dumO- to 3sgmO- SBD- do -ANT
- alere "O, vulama! vulama!" lore.**
 a- le -re o vula -ma vula -ma lo- re
 3sgmO- see -NF oh come -DURIMP.sg come -DURIMP.sg 3duS- say

He went up to them, they saw him, "Oh! Come! Come!" they said.

- e. **Lanam vere, lekal enga vona**
 la- nam ve -re le -kal enga vo- na
 3dumO- to go -NF day -pl three 3plO- in
- lanam irure lore, felere ovau.**
 la- nam iru -re lo -re fele -re o- vau
 3dumO- to sleep -NF finish -NF return -NF 3sgS- go.out

He went to them, and having slept three days with them, he went back out.

- f. **Aevauge, bagatum na felere vore,**
 a- e- vau -ge bagatum na fele -re vo -re
 3sgmO- SBD- go.out -ANT male.giant(m) sgfArt return -NF come -NF
- fo'sal va voole.**
 fo'sal va vo- o- le
 fish(pl) plArt 3plO- 3sgS- see

Him going back, the man giant saw the fishes (sc. which the boy had caught).

- g. **Volere, "Ami okiv hova?" aerege**
 vo- le -re ami o- ki -v hova a- e- re -ge
 3plO- see -NF who(m) 3sgS- shoot -pl MOD.PROX.pl 3sgmO- SBD- say -ANT

Seeing them, "Who killed these?" he asked.

- h. **Otua la aolai.**
 o- tua la a- o- lai
 3sgPOSS- wife(f) sgfArt 3sgmO- 3sgS- tell

His wife told him ("it was a boy who brought them up").

mn2 001-008

18.2.2 OVERT NPs AS AFTERTHOUGHT ADDITIONS

The pattern above, of referents introduced by overt NPs and then tracked primarily by verbal prefixing, is the typical way of structuring reference tracking throughout a narrative. Overt NPs are also used as last-minute additions, when the speaker suspects the audience might not understand which referent was intended. Such afterthoughts usually occur after a pause. The last NP of the following excerpt, **otum na**, is an example of an afterthought NP (the pause is shown by slashes):

15)	Oia	vau	mo'sil	savun		fale	mea	o
	oia	vau	mo'sil	savu	-n	fale	me	-a
	other.MED.sgf	go.out	high.tide	edge	-LOC	stand	HAB	-sgf
	oia	kini	hau	eraum	/	otum		na.
	oia	kini	hau	erau	-m /	o-	tum	na
	other.MED.sgm	ACT	go.ashore	fall	-sgm /	3sgPOSS-husband		sgmArt

She goes out to the sea shore, she is standing up, and he [the husband] comes ashore. co 340

In fact, overt NPs in texts are not very common, and it is particularly rare for a transitive verb to have overt NPs for both its subject and its object. There is a strict word order rule in Lavukaleve that if two NPs, subject and object, both occur in a clause, the subject NP must precede the object NP. A transitive verb with two overt NPs does occur often in elicitation, but in texts it is very rare indeed. This is probably because the discourse role of NPs is mainly, as has been seen, to introduce or reintroduce participants. Speakers do not usually introduce two participants in one clause. Therefore a subject and object NP do not usually co-occur in one clause.

18.2.3 TRACKING REFERENTS WITH THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN OIA 'THE OTHER'

Another method of tracking referents involves the use of the demonstrative pronoun **oia** 'other', which switches attention between two referents in a discourse (see discussion in Section 8.7). Consider the following. The excerpt is about two participants: two boys, and a group of people in a canoe. The two boys cut off the heads off some of the people in the canoe, then go ashore. The remaining other people also go ashore. The demonstrative pronoun **oia** (in its forms **oinala** (3rd dual masculine) and **oiva** (3rd plural)) is used for overlapping reference to each participant:

16) a. **Soire ehaug** **oinala** **oarenun**

soi	-re	e-	e-	hau	-ge	oinala	oa	-re	-nun
run.away	-NF	3sgnO-	SBD-	go.ashore	-ANT	other.MED.mdu	not.worry	-NF	-DUR

kini	malav	va	mavatuv	vohaie	
kini	malav	va	ma- vatu	-v vo- hai	-re
ACT	people(pl)	plArt	3plPOSS-head	-pl 3plO-	take.off -NF

lomol	okolin	vohoie	lohai.							
lo-	mola	o-	koli	-n	vo-	hoi	-re	lo-	hau	-i
3duPOSS-canoe(n)	3sgPOSS-	interior-LOC	3plO-	put.in	-NF	3duPOSS-go.in	-PSV			

It (the canoe) runs away to shore, then [the two boys] just go straight and cut off the people's heads, no worries at all, then [they] put them inside their canoe and go ashore.

b. **Haune hano oiva** **hau maveo.**

hau	-ne	hano	oiva	hau	ma- veo
go.ashore	-IMPF	then	other.MED.pl	go.ashore	3plS- arrive

They go ashore, they [the other people] reach the shore.

ja 130-132

Actually, the information about which participant is doing what is also contained in the gender and number of the verbal cross-referencing prefixes. The **oia** pronouns are redundant as simple markers of disambiguating participants; their true role is more in terms of monitoring activation states.

18.2.4 TRACKING REFERENTS WITH GENDER

Often referents can easily be tracked just by the gender system. In the next example, the participants are tracked by gendered verbal cross-referencing affixes, gendered demonstrative pronouns, and gendered focus markers. Note that 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns are not gender-marked, but demonstrative pronouns, which are used for 3rd person reference, are. Note also that verbal prefixes cross-referencing subjects are not marked for gender, but those marking objects are, and furthermore that the split-ergative system used in subordinate adverbial clauses means that intransitive verbs of these clauses use object prefixes to cross-reference their third person subjects and add a special **e-** prefix in the subject slot (e.g. **oerege**, **laemege** below; see Section 16.1 for discussion), thus intransitive verbs of subordinate adverbial clauses do have gender marking for their logical subjects, in the third person at least:

The *oia* pronoun can be used in this context, to show which referent was meant, either the most recently mentioned one or the previously mentioned one. However this does not always completely clarify matters, as the following extract shows. In this sentence from a story about two brothers, the speaker struggles to keep separate the two brothers, and tries to make it clear which one he is talking about each time. He does this by means of the *oia* pronoun, with the additional help of added NPs:

19)	Oina	vuli	mem	na	okala	la	
	oina	vuli	me -m	na	o-	kala	la
	other.MED.sgm	behind	SPEC -sgm	sgmArt	3sgPOSS-	mother(f)	sgfArt
	one	ofeu	aka	nikol	mem	na	aka
	o- ne	o- feū	aka	nikol	me -m	na	aka
	3sgfO- with	3sgS- go.up	then	first	SPEC -sgm	sgmArt	then
	oina	vau	fo'sal va	vokurune	vomare	kini	
	oina	vau	fo'sal va	vo- kuru -ne	vo- ma -re	kini	
	other.MED.sgm	go.out	fish(pl) plArt	3plO- hit -IMPF	3plO- take -NF	ACT	
	haure,	vomare	kini vore,	vokuire,	ta aka		
	hau -re vo- ma -re	kini vo -re	vo- kui -re	ta aka			
	go.ashore -NF	3plO- take -NF	ACT come-NF	3plO- burn -NF	just then		
	lolakun	vuli	mem	na	ana		
	lo- laku -n	vuli	me -m	na	a- na		
	3duPOSS- hate -LOC	behind	SPEC -sgm	sgmArt	3sgmO- in		
	fo'sal va	vonene.					
	fo'sal va vo- ne -ne						
	fish(pl) plArt	3plO- give -IMPF					

The other one - the younger one - went up to the bush with his mother, then the older one, that other one went out catching fish, took them ashore, brought them, cooked them, then the two of them [the mother and the older boy] didn't want to give the fish to the younger boy. co 005

18.2.6 CHOOSING NOT TO DISAMBIGUATE PARTICIPANTS

Lavukaleve offers many morpho-syntactic mechanisms for the disambiguation of participants. However, in telling stories it is often the case that speakers do not avail themselves of these. Often there is no need for overt disambiguation, because people tend already to know who did what. In traditional stories particularly, everyone knows what happened. However, even when such things are not known, there is a noticeable tendency still not to be explicit unless pressed.

As an example, the story from which the following excerpt was taken from was told to me by a friend, after she found out I had never heard the story of how her relative had been killed. When she told the story, she told it specifically to me, no other people were present, and she knew I didn't know the story, or any of the people in it. She introduces the background, that there was a man called Tagoila, and that he had a friend:

f. **Aham leo o kegu o mina la**
 a- ham leo o kegu o mina la
 3sgmO- for betel.nut(n) and leaf.for.betel.nut(f) and thing(f) sgfArt

origoirire, lelenga o fo'sal vomare ohau.
 o- ririgoi -ri -re lelenga o fo'sal vo- ma -re o- hau
 3sgfO- prepare -CAUS -NF pudding(f) and fish(pl) 3plO-take -NF 3sgS- go.ashore

He prepared betel nut, leaf and everything for him, pudding and fish, and took them ashore.

g. **Haure fi, ana mina oone.**
 hau -re fi a- na mina o- o- ne
 go.ashore -NF 3sgnFOC 3sgmO- in thing(f) 3sgfO- 3sgS- give

Coming ashore, he gave the stuff to him.

h. **Ana mina oonege, ane ngoa**
 a- na mina o- o- ne -ge a- ne ngoa
 3sgmO- in thing(f) 3sgfO- 3sgS- give -ANT 3sgmO- with stay

laemege ngoa laemege ngoa
 la- e- me -ge ngoa la- e- me -ge ngoa
 3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ANT stay 3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ANT stay

laemege hano kini koro ga fau.
 la- e- me -ge hano kini koro ga fau
 3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ANT then ACT darkness(n) sgnArt happen

Him giving the stuff to him, he stayed on and on and on, then dark came.

i. **Koro ga efauge, aunio lalamu**
 koro ga e- fau -ge aunio lalamu
 darkness(n) sgnArt 3sgnO- SBD- happen -ANT evening(f) early

ona kini ovau.
 o- na kini o- vau
 3sgfO- in ACT 3sgS- go.out

Darkness coming, in the early evening he went out (seawards).

j. **Felere "Ba! Koi ta fi" hivel.**
 fele -re ba koi ta fi hivel
 return -NF go!sg also must 3sgnFOC do/say -COMPL

Returning, "Let's go! It's time now!" [he] said.

jt2 020-025

The actor changes during the last sequence, but we do not know exactly when. We can guess that the friend is speaking in the last sentence, but it is also possible the friend was the actor in the third last and second last as well. There is nothing to tell us.

A similar situation occurs in the next sequence, about a rat and a giant, both of whom are grammatically 3rd person singular masculine:

jn 005

Ngoanun **ngoanun** **ngoanun** / **ngoanun** **ngoanun**
 ngoa -nun ngoa -nun ngoa -nun / ngoa -nun ngoa -nun
 stay -DUR stay -DUR stay -DUR / stay -DUR stay -DUR

ngoanun / **ta fi** **aka sulum na** / **hide**
 ngoa -nun / ta fi aka sulum na / hide
 stay -DUR / just 3sgnFOC then chief sgmArt / thus

aerege / "Ririgoiba!"
 a- e- re -ge / ririgoi -a -ba
 3sgmO- SBD- say -ANT / prepare -INTR -DURIMP.pl

Things were going on and on, then one time the chief said "Prepare!"

jn 006

Raine **mate emeko** / **ore.**
 raine mate e- me- ko / o- re
 tomorrow war 3sgnO- 1pl.in- throw / 3sgS- say

Tomorrow we'll fight a war," he said.

jn 007

Hide malav va voolaige "O / ho'bea fi" /
 hide malav va vo- o- lai -ge o / ho'bea fi /
 thus people plArt 3plO- 3sgS- tell -ANT oh / good 3sgnFOC /

mare ke.
 ma- re ke
 3plS- say EMPH

Upon him telling people thus, "Oh, okay" they said.

jn 008

"**Raine. Raine fi mevere**".
 raine raine fi me- ve -re
 tomorrow tomorrow 3sgnFOC 1pl.in- go -FUT

"Tomorrow. Tomorrow we'll go".

jn 009

Le ga eveage **malav va**
 le ga e- vea -ge malav va
 day sgnArt 3sgnO- SBD- emerge -ANT people plArt

makikilevil **o mavulitavil**
 ma- ki'kile -vil o ma- vulita -vil
 3plPOSS- headhunting.axe -pl and 3plPOSS- shield -pl

ohasisirire / **voririgoirire** **lore,**
 o- hasisiri -re / vo- ririgoi -ri -re lo -re
 3sgfO- sharpen -NF / 3plO- prepare -CAUS -NF finish -NF

aunio **nun vau** / **mola ga emake**
 aunio -n nun vau / mola ga e- ma- ke
 evening -LOC from go.out / canoe sgnArt 3sgnO- 3plS- push.off

vauri. Binabina la.
 vau -ri -ø binabina la
 go.out -CAUS -sgn war.canoe sgfArt

The next day, the people sharpened their axes and their shields, and having prepared, then in the evening pushed out their canoe. The war canoe.

jn 010

Vaurire, **ngoane** **ngoā voemege,** **sulum**
 vau -ri -re ngoa -ne ngoa vo- e- me -ge sulum
 go.out -CAUS -NF stay -IMPF stay 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT chief
na kini vau / laveam.
 na kini vau / lavea -m
 sgmArt ACT go.out / appear -sgm
Going out, they waited, then the chief arrived.

jn 011

Hano / vau aom.
 hano / vau ao -m
 then / go.out go.in -sgm
Okay. He went [to the shore] and got in [the canoe].

jn 012

Mave foiga.
 ma- ve foiga
 3plS- go PN.MED.sgn
They went.

jn 013

Aka / velav va.
 aka / ve -la -v va
 then / go -NEG -pl plArt
But they didn't go!

jn 014

Aige la foia.
 aige la foi -a
 anchor sgfArt hold -sgf
The anchor was still holding.

jn 015

Rurukanarene ngoa mea.
 Dup- rukana -re -ne ngoa me -a
 REDUP- be.tied -NF -IMPF stay HAB -sgf
It was still tied.

jn 016

Lai voemege lai voemege lai
 lai vo- e- me -ge lai vo- e- me -ge lai
 paddle 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT paddle 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT paddle
voemege / mame ga.
 vo- e- me -ge / ma- me -ø ga
 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT / 3plS- continue -sgn sgnArt
They paddled on and on and on and on, they continued.

jn 017

Lai voemege lai voemege lai
 lai vo- e- me -ge lai vo- e- me -ge lai
 paddle 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT paddle 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT paddle
voemege aka / mi / ami hi? / Sokopiu.
 vo- e- me -ge aka / mi / ami hi / Sokopiu
 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT then / um / who 3sgnEFOC / place.name
They paddled and paddled and paddled, then - where? - Sokopiu.

jn 025

Kilikil na o / kilimarea la lakov.
 kilikil na o / kilimarea la lako -v
 bird.sp sgnArt and / white.seagull sgfArt cry -pl
The kilikil bird and the seagull cried.

jn 026

Voelakoge / voekakomeon ta hano
 vo- e- lako -ge / vo- e- kako -meon ta hano
 3plO- SBD- cry -ANT / 3plO- SBD- look.out -SURP just then
lar.
 lar
 daylight
Them crying, they (the people) looked around, and it was daylight.

jn 027

Aka iu voekakomeon ta vogo la
 aka iu vo- e- kakɔ -meon ta vogo la
 then look.up 3plO- SBD- look.out -SURP just tree.sp sgfArt
omale.
 o- ma- le
 3sgfO- 3plS- see
They looked up and saw a vogo tree.

jn 028

Cha! Mafei.
 cha ma- feu -i
 hey! 3plPOSS- go.up -PSV
Tsha! They went up [to the bush].

jn 029

Mafei.
 ma- feu -i
 3plPOSS- go.up -PSV
They went up [to the bush].

jn 030

Mola ga elufuvel.
 mola ga e- lufu -vel
 canoe sgnArt 3sgnO- leave -COMPL
Having left the canoe.

jn 031

Feu mangoae foiga.
 feu ma- ngoa -e foiga
 go.up 3plS- stay -NOMZR PN.MED.sgn
They went up, like that.

jn 032

Ngoanun / ngoanun ngoanun ngoanun ta fi aka
 ngoa -nun / ngoa -nun ngoa -nun ngoa -nun ta fi aka
 stay -DUR / stay -DUR stay -DUR stay -DUR just 3sgnFOC then
/ Hai!
 / hai
 / hey!
Things went on, then, hey!

jn 033

Volu	voire			voula			leiv	fiv!
volu	vo-	i	-re	vo-	u	-la	lei	-v
garden	3plO-	do	-NF	3plO-	eat	-NEG	exist	-pl

They don't work in gardens!

jn 034

Noka	vuhu	ta	ngoa	mame.
noka	vuhu	ta	ngoa	ma-
just	nothing	just	stay	3plS-

They just do nothing.

jn 035

Aka	foiga.
aka	foiga
then	PN.MED.sgn

So okay.

jn 036

Ae!	Hogariom			ena		/ fela'koe
æ	hoga	-ri	-om	e-	na	/ fela'koe
hey!	MOD.PROX.sgn	-PSNV	-m/n	3sgnO-	in	/ village

enuvev / **va.**
 e- nuve -v / va
 3sgnO- own -pl / plArt

Gee! This time, those people who own the village, ...

jn 037

Malosiv		voluæ		eham	ta
ma-	losi	-v	lua	-e	e-
3plPOSS-	basket	-pl	3plO-	steal	-NOMZR 3sgnO-

mavere / **hamusin.**
 ma- ve -re / hamus -n
 3plS- go -FUT / evening -LOC

They [the Monggo] would go to steal their food. At night.

jn 038

Mave		ga	koro	ga	efauge			"Vai!
ma- ve	-ø	ga	koro	ga	e-	e-	fau	-ge
3plS- go	-NOMZR	sgnArt	darkness	sgnArt	3sgnO-	SBD-	happen	-ANT

They went when night came. "Let's go!"

jn 039

Vai!"	Mave		foiga	/ fela'koe	ga	enam.
bae	ma-	ve	foiga	/ fela'koe	ga	e-
let's.go	3plS-	go	PN.MED.sgn	/ village	sgnArt	3sgnO-

Let's go!" They went to the village.

jn 040

Ve	mai		ga	ena		/ kini ali roa	tail
ve	ma-	i	-i	ga	e-	na	/ kini ali roa
go	3plS-	do	-NOMZR	sgnArt	3sgnO-	in	/ ACT man one.sgm

roge **ena** **ali roa** **tail** **roge** **ena** /
 roge e- na ali roa tail roge e- na /
 one.sgn 3sgnO- in man one.sgm house one.sgn 3sgnO- in /

malosiv			va	/	maui		ga		emavel		/
ma-	losi	-v	va	/	ma-	ui	ga	e-	ma	-vel	/
3plPOSS-	basket	-pl	plArt	/	3plPOSS-	food	sgnArt	3sgnO-	take	-COMPL	/
felere		mave.			Mafela'koen.						
fele	-re	ma-	ve	ma-	fela'koe	-n					
return	-NF	3plS-	go	3plPOSS-	village	-LOC					

The way they went, one man to one house, one man to one house, then having taken took the food (left) in the losi baskets they went. To their village.

jn 041

Oiva		le ga		eveage,							
oiva		le ga	e-	e-	vea	-ge					
other.MED.pl	day	sgnArt	3sgnO-	SBD-	emerge	-ANT					
voekakomeon				taman losiv		va		otinav.			
vo-	e-	kako	-meon	taman	losi	-v	va	otina	-v		
3plO-	SBD-	look.out	-SURP	but	basket	-pl	plArt	be.empty	-pl		

The other ones [the owners of the stolen food] next day looked out but the baskets were empty.

jn 042

"Sala! Ami ta	/	ui ga		eum				hin?"
sala	ami ta	/	ui ga	e-	u	-m	hin	
hey!	who just	/	food	sgnArt	3sgnO-	eat	-sgm	3sgmEFOC

"Hey! Who ate our food?"

jn 043

Mangoae		foiga.
ma-	ngoa	-e foiga
3plS-	stay	-NOMZR PN.MED.sgn

That was their way.

jn 044

Akari		fi,		siane		mangoare		/	lalu
aka	-ri	fi	sia	-ne	ma-	ngoa	-re	/	lalu
then	-PSNV	3sgnFOC	do	-IMPF	3plS-	stay	-NF	/	stealing
eine.									
e-	i	-ne							
3sgnO-	do	-IMPF							

It was like that, they lived by stealing.

jn 045

Akari		sianun		ta fi		aka, oiva		/	mina	/
aka	-ri	sia	-nun	ta	fi	aka	oiva	/	mina	/
then	-PSNV	do	-DUR	just	3sgnFOC	then	other.MED.pl	/	thing	/
na'nug roa		amalugu.								
na'nug	roa	a-	ma-	lugu						
thought	one.sgm	3sgmO-	3plS-	think						

It went on like that, then the other people [the owners of the stolen food], had a thought.

jn 046

"Hai! oile				mina ro		omemi."			
hai	o-	i	-le	mina	ro	o-	me-	mi	
hey!	3sgfO-	do	-POT	thing	one.sgf	3sgfO-	1pl.in-	make	

"Hey, let's do something."

jn 047

Sut	fiv	o	/	kafol	fin	o	/	ra		
sut	fiv	o	/	kafol	fin	o	/	ra		
giant.clams	3plFOC	and	/	mangrove.crab	3sgmFOC	and	/	coconut.crab		
fiv	o	/	man	malav	vou		mem	vou	mem	
fiv	o	/	man	malav	vo-	u	me -m	vo-	u	me -m
3plFOC	and	/	what	people	3plO-	eat	HAB -sgm	3plO-	eat	HAB -sgm
na	mina	omama.								
na	mina	o-	ma-	ma						
sgmArt	thing	3sgFO-	3plS-	take						

Giant clams and mangrove crabs and cocount crabs and whatever bites people, they took them.

jn 048

Omare,			matailan		vore	/	ui	
o-	ma	-re	ma-	tail	-n	vo	-re / ui	
3sgFO-	take	-NF	3plPOSS-	house	-LOC	come	-NF / food	
eure			lore,		malosiv		vona	
e-	u	-re	lo	-re	ma-	losi	-v vo-	na
3sgnO-	eat	-NF	finish	-NF	3plPOSS-	basket	-pl 3plO-	in
mina omaho.								
mina	o-	ma-	ho					
thing	3sgFO-	3plS-	put.inside					

Taking it, they brought it to their houses, and having eaten, everyone put something in their food baskets.

jn 049

Ohore,			mairu.	
o-	ho	-re	ma-	iru
3sgFO-	put.inside	-NF	3plS-	sleep

Putting it inside, they slept.

jn 050

Iru	voemege			iru	voemege			iru
iru	vo-	e-	me -ge	iru	vo-	e-	me -ge	iru
sleep	3plO-	SBD-	HAB -ANT	sleep	3plO-	SBD-	HAB -ANT	sleep
voemege			oiva	/	"Bai!"			
vo-	e-	me -ge	oiva	/	bae			
3plO-	SBD-	HAB -ANT	other.MED.pl	/	let's.go			

They slept and slept and slept, then the others said "Let's go!"

jn 051

Lalu	eiham		/	mave.	
lalu	e-	i	-ham	/ ma-	ve
stealing	3sgnO-	do	-PURP	/ 3plS-	go

They went to steal.

jn 052

Roa	kini	/	tail	ga	enam	/	losi	ga
roa	kini	/	tail	ga	e-	nam	/ losi	ga
one.sgm	ACT	/	house	sgnArt	3sgnO-	to	/ basket	sgnArt
ena			otau	/	eohole,			
e-	na	o-	tau	/ e-	o-	ho	-le	
3sgnO-	in	3sgPOSS-	limb	/ 3sgnO-	3sgS-	put.inside	-POT	
mina	aohomale				"Akiki!"	hide		
mina	a-	o-	homa	-le	akiki	hide		
thing	3sgmO-	3sgS-	bite	-POT	Ow!	thus		

aerele				/	oina		sou	falere	/
a-	e-	re	-le	/	oina		sou	fale	-re /
3sgmO-	SBD-	say	-POT	/	other.MED.sgm		rise	stand	-NF /
aokurule					kium.				
a-	o-		kuru -le		kiu		-m		
3sgmO-	3sgS-		hit -POT		die		-sgm		

One man went to the house, put his hand in a basket, and when something bit him. "Ow!", then when he said it, [the house owner] stood up and killed him.

jn 053

Koi aka fi	/	aka fi	/	suni lov.
koi aka fi	/	aka fi	/	suni lo -v
also then	3sgnFOC /	then	3sgnFOC /	all finish -pl

The whole lot of them were killed.

jn 054

Vomakuruge.			
vo-	ma-		kuru -ge
3plO-	3plS-		hit -ANT

When they hit them.

jn 055

Aka siare	/	rovoru		felelav		fiv.
aka sia -re	/	rovo -ru		fele -la		-v fiv
then do -NF	/	one.pl -none		return -NEG		-pl 3plFOC

That's why none returned.

jn 056

Mangoae		foiga.
ma-	ngoae	e foiga
3plS-	stay	-NOMZR PN.MED.sgn

That's their way.

jn 057

Ngoanun	ngoanun	ngoanun	ta fi	aka	/	"Hai!
ngoae -nun	ngoae -nun	ngoae -nun	ta fi	aka	/	hai
stay -DUR	stay -DUR	stay -DUR	just	3sgnFOC	then /	hey!

So it went on, then, "Hey!"

jn 058

Oile		/	nato	ro	ole		okoroi
o-	i	-le	/ nato	ro	o-	le	o-
3sgfO-	do	-POT	/ sago.palm	one.sgf	3sgfO-	see	3sgfO-
oume"			/ mare.				koroi
o-	u	-me	/ ma-	re			chop
3sgfO-	eat	-HORT	/ 3plS-	say			

Let's go cut down a sago tree," they said.

jn 059

Ta fi	aka	/	kini	/	nat	na	alere	
ta fi	aka	/	kini	/	nat	na	a-	le -re
just	3sgnFOC	then /	ACT /	sago.leaf	sgmArt	3sgmO-	see	-NF

"Horiom!

ho	-ri	-om
MOD.PROX.sgf	-PSNV	-m/n

Seeing a sago leaf, "This one!"

jn 067

Ohuluirige				ta	kalem	ne	kala	nato	la
o-	hului	-ri	-ge	ta	kalem	ne	kala	nato	la
3sgfO-	go.round	-CAUS	-ANT	just	father	with	mother	sago.palm	sgfArt
erau oiga		mafoton				/	erau oiga		ta hano.
erau oiga		ma-		foto	-n	/	erau oiga		ta hano
fall	other.MED.sgn	3plPOSS-		middle	-LOC	/	fall other.MED.sgn		just then

Turning it around, oh my goodness!, the sago tree falls down in the middle of them all.

jn 068

Vokuruge				kiure	lov.
vo-	o-	kuru	-ge	kiu	-re
3plO-	3sgS-	hit	-ANT	die	-NF
				finish	-pl

Upon it hitting them, they all die.

jn 069

Houl va vomavelage.					
houl	va	vo-	ma-	vela	-ge
trees	plArt	3plO-	3plS-	press.down	-ANT

The branches squashing them.

jn 070

Oina nato okoroi mem na fin /					
oina	nato	o-	koroi	me	-m
other.MED.sgm	sago.palm	3sgfO-	chop	HAB	-sgm
				sgmArt	3sgmFOC /
felere soire vem hin.					
fele	-re	soi	-re	ve	-m
return	-NF	run.away	-NF	go	-sgm
				3sgmEFOC	

The man who chopped the tree runs away.

jn 071

Mangoae foiga.		
ma-	ngoae	-e
3plS-	stay	-NOMZR
		PN.MED.sgn

That's their way.

jn 072

Ngoanun ngoanun ngoanun ngoanun ngoanun / sulum					
ngoae	-nun	ngoae	-nun	ngoae	-nun
stay	-DUR	stay	-DUR	stay	-DUR
				stay	-DUR
na hide aerege "Ei!					
na	hide	a-	e-	re	-ge
sgmArt	thus	3sgmO-	SBD-	say	-ANT
				hey!	

Things go on and on, then the chief says "Hey!"

jn 073

Kosora ririgoiaba!		
kosora	ririgoi	-a
today	prepare	-INTR
		-DURIMP.pl

Get ready today!

jn 074

Velame koi!	
vela	-me
go	-HORT
	also

Let's go again!

jn 081

Aore **velanun** **velanun** **velanun** **velanun** **ta**
 ao -re vela -nun vela -nun vela -nun vela -nun ta
 go.in -NF go -DUR go -DUR go -DUR go -DUR just
 "Ei!
 ei
 hey!

They went on and on, then "Hey!"

jn 082

Naumal na **tamu siam.**
 naumal na tamu sia -m
 god sgmArt no do -sgm

There is no magic strength.

jn 083

Bai **feleme!"** **hide ore.**
 bae fele -me hide o- re
 let's.go return -HORT thus 3sgS- say

Let's go back!" he said.

jn 084

Aerege **mafele.**
 a- e- re -ge ma- fele
 3sgmO- SBD- say -ANT 3pls- return

Him saying this, they returned.

jn 085

Felere **vore,** **kini maerau** **eraure,** **sulum na**
 fele -re vo -re kini ma- erau erau -re sulum na
 return -NF come -NF ACT 3pls- fall fall -NF chief sgmArt
ofei **foiga.**
 o- feu -i foiga
 3sgPOSS- go.up -NOMZR PN.MED.sgn

Coming back, then they got out, and the chief went ashore.

jn 086

Feuna **feuna** **feuna** **feu otua** **otail**
 feu -na feu -na feu -na feu o- tua o- tail
 go.up -DUR go.up -DUR go.up -DUR go.up 3sgPOSS- wife 3sgPOSS- house
okoan **ka** / **kilekile la**
 o- koa -n ka / kilekile la
 3sgPOSS- door -LOC LOCEMPH / axe sgfArt
okoge **lain** **heaka**
 o- o- ko -ge lai -n heaka
 3sgfO- 3sgS- throw -ANT top -LOC there.DIST1
oeaege **haikio la** **oehaige** /
 o- e- æ -ge haikio la o- e- hai -ge /
 3sgfO- SBD- go.up -ANT shout sgfArt 3sgfO- SBD- do -ANT /
oeaege **haikio la** **ohaire** **kilekile**
 o- e- æ -ge haikio la o- hai -re kilekile
 3sgfO- SBD- go.up -ANT shout sgfArt 3sgfO- do -NF axe
la **ini foae** **oiga** **ena** /
 la ini foa -e oiga e- na /
 sgfArt ACT go.down -NOMZR other.MED.sgn sgnO- in /

ola				aofotorige					
o-	la			a-	o-	foto	-ri	-ge	
3sgPOSS-	soft.part.of.head			3sgMO-	3sgS-	get.hole	-CAUS	-ANT	
oina	foina	loveare		leim.		Koan.			
oina	foina	lovea	-re	lei	-m	koa	-n		
other.MED.sgm	PN.MED.sgm	be.stiff	-NF	exist	-sgm	door	-LOC		

He went up and up and up, he goes to the door of his wife's house, and throwing his axe up into the air, and shouting, shouting, the axe comes down on it, it breaks the soft part on the top of the head, he lays stiff. In the door.

jn 087

Okiu.

o-	kiu
3sgS-	die

He dies.

jn 088

Aka otua la "Ta!

aka	o-	tua	la	ta
then	3sgPOSS-	wife	sgfArt	just

Then his wife says "Hey!

jn 089

Le ngomae fin haikio la ohaim

le	ngo-	ma	-e	fin	haikio	la	o-	hai	-m
but	2sg-	take	-NOMZR	3sgmFOC	shout	sgfArt	3sgfO-	do	-sgm
hin	/	aka	ria	ta	vere	/	'koa	calava'	
hin	/	aka	ria	ta	ve	-re	/	koa	e-
3sgmEFOC	/	then	where	just	go	-NF	/	door	3sgnO-
hilam		olei"		ore.					
hi	-la	-m	o-	lei	/	o-	re		
do	-NEG	-sgm	3sgS-	exist	/	3sgS-	say		

But my husband shouted. Where did he go, he hasn't said 'Open the door?'" she said.

jn 090

Kekimare ngoanun ngoanun koa ga

kekima	-re	ngoa	-nun	ngoa	-nun	koa	ga
listen	-NF	stay	-DUR	stay	-DUR	door	sgnArt
ealare,		oekakomeon		ta	foina		
e-	ala	-re	o-	e-	kako	-meon	ta
3sgnO-	open	-NF	3sgfO-	SBD-	look.out	-SURP	just
hoina	loveare		leim.		Koan.		
hoina	lovea	-re	lei	-m	koa	-n	
MOD.MED.sgm	be.stiff	-NF	exist	-sgm	door	-LOC	

Listening, she opened the door and looked around, and he was stiff. In the doorway.

jn 091

Ikari ta hano.

ika	-ri	ta	hano
there	-PSNV	just	then

There it was.

jn 092

Lae ga aelaveage.

lae ga a- e- lavea -ge
 cry sgnArt 3sgmO- SBD- appear -ANT

With the crying. (agreement mistake: should be elaveage (AHT))

jn 093

Aka ikari ta hano malav va hauhauv ikari ta
 aka ika -ri ta hano malav va hauhau -v ika -ri ta
 then there -PSNV just then people plArt worry -pl there -PSNV just

kini amare amangu.
 kini a- ma -re a- ma- ngiu
 ACT 3sgmO- take -NF 3sgmO- 3plS- bury
Then the people all worried around, then they took him and buried him.

jn 094

Mangoae foiga.

ma- ngoa e foiga
 3plS- stay -NOMZR PN.MED.sgn

That's their way.

jn 095

Ngoanun ngoanun ngoanun ngoanun ta fi.
 ngoa -nun ngoa -nun ngoa -nun ngoa -nun ta fi
 stay -DUR stay -DUR stay -DUR stay -DUR just 3sgnFOC

Things went on and on.

jn 096

"Ila. Bai vau ila emeva" hide mare.
 ila bae vau ila e- me- va hide ma- re
 net let's.go go.out net 3sgnO- 1pl.in- pull thus 3plS- say
"A net. Let's go out and take a net" they said.

jn 097

Ngoanun le ga eveage, vau
 ngoa -nun le ga e- e- vea -ge vau
 stay -DUR day sgnArt 3sgnO- SBD- emerge -ANT go.out
kokul lelemal nala lamafale.
 koku -l lelemal nala la- ma- fale
 diving.platform -du two.m mduArt 3dumO- 3plS- stand.sth.up

It went on, then next day, they went out and built two diving platforms.

jn 098

Ila ga emare vau evelare /
 ila ga e- ma -re vau e- vela -re /
 net sgnArt 3sgnO- take -NF go.out 3sgnO- press.down -NF /
airal lelemal nala / roa koku roa roa
 airal lelemal nala / roa koku roa roa
 men.du two.m mduArt / one.sgm diving.platform one.sgm one.sgm
koku roa.
 koku roa
 diving.platform one.sgm

They took the net, pressed it down, two men, one on each diving platform.

jn 099

Mangoae			foiga	buma		la
ma-	ngoa	-e	foiga	buma		la
3plS-	stay	-NOMZR	PN.MED.sgn	school.of.small.fish		sgfArt
ohourene.						
o-	hou	-re	-ne			
3sgfO-	wait.for	-NF	-IMPF			

They stayed waiting for a school of little fish.

jn 100

Aka oiva		mafan		fiv / kekeran		hoka	hoio
aka	oiva	ma-	fan	fiv / keker	-n	hoka	hoio
then	other.MED.pl	3plPOSS-	some	3plFOC / dry.place	-LOC	here.PROX	wait
oirene.							
o-	i	-re	-ne				
3sgfO-	do	-NF	-IMPF				

Then some of the others waited here at the shore.

jn 101

Ngoa laemege			ngoa laemege			ngoa		
ngoa	la-	e-	me -ge	ngoa	la-	e-	me -ge	ngoa
stay	3sgmO-	SBD-	HAB -ANT	stay	3sgmO-	SBD-	HAB -ANT	stay
laemege			buma			la	kini haure	
la-	e-	me -ge	buma		la	kini	hau	-re
3sgmO-	SBD-	HAB -ANT	school.of.small.fish		sgfArt	ACT	go.ashore	-NF
/ suni ila ga ena hore loa.								
/ suni	ila	ga	e-	na	ho	-re	lo	-a
/ all	net	sgnArt	3sgnO-	in	put.inside	-NF	finish	-sgf

Things went on, the school of little fish came in, they put them all in the net.

jn 102

Hore		oeloge			oiva	kini vau	
ho	-re	o-	e-	lo	-ge	oiva	kini vau
put.inside	-NF	3sgfO-	SBD-	finish	-ANT	other.MED.pl	ACT go.out
ila ga emare feu / omahalaguri.							
ila	ga	e-	ma -re	feu / o-	ma-	halago	-ri
net	sgnArt	3sgnO-	take	-NF	go.up / 3sgfO-	3plS-	capsize -CAUS

Putting them in, the others (who stayed ashore) came out and took the fish out of the net.

jn 103

Ohalagurire,			otairi		fi	mame.		
o-	halago	-ri	-re	o-	tairi	fi	ma-	me
3sgfO-	capsize	-CAUS	-NF	3sgfO-	divide	3sgnFOC	3plS-	HAB

Having tipped out the school of fish, they divided them.

jn 104

Ali otalai			ali otalai		akariom		
ali	o-	talai	ali	o-	talai	aka -ri	-om
man	3sgPOSS-	equal.share	man	3sgPOSS-	equal.share	then -PSNV	-m/n
meariare.							
meari	-a	-re					
count	-INTR	-NF					

They counted out each man's share.

jn 105

Ngoane	ngoane	voemege		/	akari		siane				
ngoane	-ne	ngoane	vo-	e-	me	-ge	/	aka	-ri	sia	-ne
stay	-IMPF	stay	3plO-	SBD-	HAB	-ANT	/	then	-PSNV	do	-IMPF
voemege				/	hano			lalamu	la	faua.	
vo-	e-	me	-ge	/	hano			lalamu	la	fau	-a
3plO-	SBD-	continue	-ANT	/	then			morning	sgfArt	happen	-sgf

Things went on, it went on like that, then morning came.

jn 106

Oefauge,					aka	hide	ore		"Tam!
o-	e-	fau	-ge	/	aka	hide	o-	re	tam
3sgfO-	SBD-	happen	-ANT	/	then	thus	3sgS-	say	man

It came, then [one man] said "Man!"

jn 107

Oile					hagi		amefou.		
o-	i	-le			hagi		a-	me-	fou
3sgfO-	do	-POT			dry.coconut.leaf		3sgmO-	1pl.in-	put.on

Let's light a dry coconut leaf.

jn 108

Ana		feume"		/	hide	mare.	
a-	na	feu	-me	/	hide	ma-	re
3sgmO-	in	go.up	-HORT	/	thus	3plS-	say

Let's go up [to the bush] with it" they said.

jn 109

Hide voerege					aka	ali	sulakat	ali	sulakat	/		
hide	vo-	e-	re	-ge	aka	ali	sulakat	ali	sulakat	/		
thus	3plO-	SBD-	say	-ANT	then	man	torch	man	torch	/		
akari		fi		/	aka	feure		voeloge		ta		
aka	-ri	fi		/	aka	feu	-re	vo-	e-	lo	-ge	ta
then	-PSNV	3sgnFOC	/	then	go.up	-NF	3plO-	SBD-	finish	-ANT	just	
aka	/	ngalakun			lafa	hoiarom						
aka	/	nga-	laku	-n	lafa	hoia	-ri	-om				
then	1sgPOSS-	hate	-LOC	part	MOD.MED.sgf	-PSNV	-m/n					
otigirine.												
o-	tigiri	-ne										
3sgfO-	tell	-IMPF										

So each man had one torch, like that they went up. But I don't want to say that bit.

jn 110

Mina onal					mina	ngiungiu	oesiage.			
mina	o-	nal			mina	ngiungiu	o-	e-	sia	-ge
thing	3sgfO-	because			thing	secret	3sgfO-	SBD-	do	-ANT

Because of it being a secret.

jn 111

Hoikariom				/	masulakatev		vofure		/	
hoika	-ri	-om		/	ma-	sulakatev	vo-	fu	-re	/
there.MED	-PSNV	-m/n		/	3plPOSS-	torches.pl	3plO-	light	-NF	/

aka foiga.

aka foiga
then PN.MED.sgn

So they all lit their torches, okay.

jn 112

Mave **ke / mafai.**
 ma- ve ke / ma- feu -i
 3plS- go EMPH / 3plPOSS- go.up -PSV
They went up [to the bush].

jn 113

Oina **koleare** **foina** **fifirene.**
 oina kolea -re foina fifi -re -ne
 other.MED.sgm wonder -NF PN.MED.sgm sit -NF -IMPF
One man was sitting wondering.

jn 114

Oiva **hano / lilisiav.**
 oiva hano / lilisia -v
 other.MED.pl then / go.far.away -pl
The others all went far away.

jn 115

Feu **mabuma** **okuire**
 feu ma- buma o- kui -re
 go.up 3plPOSS- school.of.small.fish 3sgfO- burn -NF
ounuv.
 o- u -nuv
 3sgfO- eat -PRES.pl
They went, and cooking their little fishes, they eat them.

jn 116

Oina **sou falere** **kini / aevemeon** **taman /**
 oina sou fale -re kini / a- e- ve -meon taman /
 other.MED.sgm rise stand -NF ACT / 3sgmO- SBD- go -SURP but /
lake ga enuarire **kelea laemege**
 lake ga e- nua -ri -re kelea la- e- me -ge
 road sgnArt 3sgnO- be.amiss -CAUS -NF walk 3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ANT
kelea laemege **kelea laemege** **kelea**
 kelea la- e- me -ge kelea la- e- me -ge kelea
 walk 3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ANT walk 3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ANT walk
laemege / **buma** **la kivia.**
 la- e- me -ge / buma la kivi -a
 3sgmO- SBD- HAB -ANT / school.of.small.fish sgfArt be.smelly -sgf
The other man stood up and went, but he took the wrong path. He walked and walked and walked, and then his little fish got smelly [went rotten].

jn 117

Oekivige, **le ga eveage,**
 o- e- kivi -ge le ga e- vea -ge
 3sgfO- SBD- be.smelly -ANT day sgnArt 3sgnO- SBD- emerge -ANT
oloolo **kini otailan** **laveam.**
 o- loolo kini o- tail -n lavea -m
 3sgPOSS- straight ACT 3sgPOSS- house -LOC appear -sgm
They went rotten, then next day coming, he went straight home.

ae veom.

ae veo -m
go.up arrive -sgm

They climbed up in a line, then one man reached the top.

jn 126

Aeveore ta aka / sagio la foia aka
a- e- veo -re ta aka / sagio la foia aka
3sgmO- SBD- arrive -NF just then / line sgfArt PN.MED.sgf then
hide ore /
hide o- re /
thus 3sgS- say /

Him reaching the top, then the line followed him, and he said:

jn 127

"Ta! Kua hoga lokosu foga ke!" / ore.
ta kua hoga lokosu foga ke / o- re
just coconut.tree MOD.PROX.sgn headless PN.PROX.sgn EMPH / 3sgS- say
"Hey! This coconut tree has no top!" he said.

jn 128

Aerege, sinan fi okelaguri
a- e- re -ge sina -n fi o- kelago -ri
3sgmO- SBD- say -ANT whisper -LOC 3sgnFOC 3sgfO- go.over -CAUS
mame.
ma- me
3plS- HAB

Him saying this, they passed [the words] over [the line] in a whisper.

jn 129

Okelagurire foanun foanun foa
o- kelago -ri -re foa -nun foa -nun foa
3sgfO- go.over -CAUS -NF go.down -DUR go.down -DUR go.down
heana / ogean leim na oveo.
heana / o- ge -n lei -m na o- veo
MOD.DIST1.sgm / 3sgPOSS- bottom -LOC exist -sgm sgmArt 3sgS- arrive

Sending it over, it went down the line, and reached the man at the bottom.

jn 130

"Hai!
hai
hey
"Hey!"

Ho'bea fi!

ho'bea fi
good 3sgnFOC
"Hey! It's okay!"

jn 131

Kiu / voemele / latenav
kiu / vo- e- me -le / latena -v
die / 3plO- SBD- HAB -POT / be.alive -pl
voemele / vu'vul aemele /
vo- e- me -le / vu'vul a- e- me -le /
3plO- SBD- continue -POT / baby.coconut 3sgmO- SBD- continue -POT/

APPENDIX: TEXT

ngotea	oemele					/	ngolus
ngotea	o-	e-	me	-le	/		ngolus
young.coconut	3sgfO-	SBD-	continue	-POT	/		old.dry.coconut
aemele					/	kini foa	voemen."
a-	e-	me	-le	/	kini foa	vo-	e- me -n
3sgmO-	SBD-	continue	-POT	/	ACT go.down	3plO-	SBD- HAB -ADMON
oina	ore.						
oina	o-		re				
other.MED.sgm	3sgS-		say				

No matter if it's dead or alive, small or young, or ready for eating, bring it down" he said.

jn 132

Aerege,				kariala	okelaguri		
a-	e-	re	-ge	kariala	o-	kelago	-ri
3sgmO-	SBD-	say	-ANT	slowly	3sgfO-	go.over	-CAUS
voemege				ae	oina	anam	
vo-	e-	me	-ge	ae	oina	a-	nam
3plO-	SBD-	HAB	-ANT	go.up	other.MED.sgm	3sgmO-	to
ovea.							
o-	vea						
3sgS-	emerge						

Him saying that, he sent his word up slowly and it reached the man at the top.

jn 133

Aka oina	hide ore:
aka oina	hide o- re
then other.MED.sgm	thus 3sgS- say

Then the other man said:

jn 134

"Hai!	
Mina roru	tamu.
mina ro	-ru tamu
thing one.sgf	-none no

"Hey! There is nothing there!

jn 135

Lokosu foga.
lokosu foga
headless PN.PROX.sgn

This one is headless!

jn 136

Ogan	tamu."	ore.
o-	gan tamu	o- re
3sgPOSS-	meat no	3sgS- say

It has no fruit." he said.

jn 137

Foiga	omakelaguri			foa	mea.
foiga	o-	ma-	kelago	-ri	foa me -a
PN.MED.sgn	3sgfO-	3plS-	go.over	-CAUS	go.down HAB -sgf

They sent down his word.

jn 138

Foana		foana		foa		anam	
foa	-na	foa	-na	foa	a-	nam	
go.down	-DUR	go.down	-DUR	go.down	3sgmO-	to	
oeveoge				"Ho'bea fi		ke!"	
o-	e-	veo	-ge	ho'bea	fi	ke	
3sgfO-	SBD-	arrive	-ANT	good	3sgnFOC	EMPH	

It went down and down and down, and reached the bottom. "Okay!"

jn 139

Kini foa		voemen				matua		ve	man	man	man
kini foa	vo-	e-	me	-n	matua	ve	man	man	man		
ACT	go.down	3plO-	SBD-	HAB	-ADMON	old.coconut	or	what	what	what	
na	/	foa		laemen"		hide ore.					
na	/	foa	la-	e-	me	-n	hide	o-	re		
sgmArt	/	go.down	3sgmO-	SBD-	HAB	-ADMON	thus	3sgS-	say		

Bring it down, whatever it is, no matter if it's dry!" he said.

jn 140

Hide lain		mem		na		aerege,			
hide lai	-n	me	-m	na	a-	e-	re	-ge	
thus top	-LOC	SPEC	-sgm	sgmArt	3sgmO-	SBD-	say	-ANT	
omakelagurige						ofoa.			
o-	ma-	kelago	-ri	-ge	o-	foa			
3sgfO-	3plS-	go.over	-CAUS	-ANT	3sgS-	go.down			

Then the man on the top sent his word down.

jn 141

Oefoage				ta	oina	/	"Ho'bea fi"	/
o-	e-	foa	-ge	ta	oina	/	ho'bea	fi
3sgfO-	SBD-	go.down	-ANT	just	other.MED.sgm	/	good	3sgnFOC
ore.								
o-	re							
3sgS-	say							

It going down, the bottom man said "It's all right!"

jn 142

Okelagurige				leta	aka	/	oina		feiriare	/
o-	kelago	-ri	-ge	leta	aka	/	oina	feiria	-re	/
3sgfO-	go.over	-CAUS	-ANT	but	then	/	other.MED.sgm	be.tired	-NF	/
haikio la	ohai.									
haikio la	o-	hai								
shout	sgfArt	3sgS-	do							

The talk went back up, then that man on top got sick of it and shouted.

jn 143

"Lokosu foga!"		hide ore.		
lokosu foga	hide	o-	re	
headless	PN.PROX.sgn	thus	3sgS-	say

"This one is headless!" he said.

jn 144

Aerege,				hano	/	mate ga		vo.
a-	e-	re	-ge	hano	/	mate ga	vo	-ø
3sgmO-	SBD-	say	-ANT	then	/	war	sgnArt	come
								-sgn

Him saying this, then there was a fight [with the owners of the tree].

jn 145

Kini evoge					oiva	soiv	va	/
kini e-	e-	vo	-ge		oiva	soi	-v	va /
ACT	3sgnO-	SBD-	come	-ANT	other.MED.pl	run.away	-pl	plArt /
hoika tam enga ve.								
hoika	tam	enga	ve	-e				
there.MED	man	three	go	-NOMZR				

It coming, then only three men [managed to] run away.

jn 146

Elav hova tam?		
elav	hova	tam
how.many	MOD.PROX.pl	man

[aside:] How many men?

jn 147

Foiva hano soiv				hiv	/	oiva	roa	kini
foiva	hano	soi	-v	hiv	/	oiva	roa	kini
PN.MED.pl	then	run.away	-pl	3plEFOC	/	other.MED.pl	one.sgm	ACT
aefoale				akurure,		roa	kini	
a-	e-	foa	-le	a-	kuru	-re	roa	kini
3sgmO-	SBD-	go.down	-POT	3sgmO-	hit	-NF	one.sgm	ACT
aefoale				akurure				
a-	e-	foa	-le	a-	kuru	-re	/	
3sgmO-	SBD-	go.down	-POT	3sgmO-	hit	-NF	/	
vokurure		vomalori					/	akari
vo-	kuru	-re	vo-	ma-	lo	-ri	/	aka -ri
3plO-	hit	-NF	3plO-	3plS-	finish	-CAUS	/	then -PSNV
siare	mangoae			foiga.				
sia	-re	ma-	ngoa	-e	foiga			
do	-NF	3plS-	stay	-NOMZR	PN.MED.sgn			

Those ones who ran away, any of them who came down, other people killed every one of them.

jn 148

Ngoanun	/	ngoanun	ngoanun	ngoanun	ta	fi	/	
ngoa	-nun	/	ngoa	-nun	ngoa	-nun	ta	fi /
stay	-DUR	/	stay	-DUR	stay	-DUR	just	3sgnFOC /

"Ei!

ei

hey!

Things went on, then "Hey!"

jn 149

Lefalefaul	votaeva!"			/	hide	koi	mare.		
lefalef	-aul	vo-	tae	-iva	/	hide	koi	ma-	re
basket	-pl	3plO-	make	-PCTIMP.pl	/	thus	also	3plS-	say

You make some big baskets!" they said.

jn 150

"Ali lefalef	/	ali lefalef	/	aka hoikari	fi			
ali	lefalef	/	ali lefalef	/	aka hoika	-ri	fi	
man	basket	/	man basket	/	then	there.MED	-PSNV	3sgnFOC

mevere" / hide mare.
 me- ve -re / hide ma- re
 1pl.in- go -FUT / thus 3plS- say
"Each man should make a basket, then we'll go." they said.

jn 151

Lefalefaul va volukarire matongan.
 lefaief -aul va vo- lukari -re ma- tonga -n
 basket -pl plArt 3plO- gather -FUT 3plPOSS- chance -LOC
They gather the baskets, one each.

jn 152

Vofoure ngoane ngoa voemege /
 vo- fou -re ngoa -ne ngoa vo- e- me -ge /
 3plO- put.on -NF stay -IMPF stay 3plO- SBD- HAB -ANT /
koro ga fau.
 koro ga fau -ø
 darkness sgnArt happen -sgn
They get them, thing go on, dark comes.

jn 153

Koro ga efauge, foiva.
 koro ga e- e- fau -ge foiva
 darkness sgnArt 3sgnO- SBD- happen -ANT PN.MED.pl
Dark coming, those people.

jn 154

Mavau.
 ma- vau
 3plS- go.out
They went out.

jn 155

Vau mabinabina la okevaurire,
 vau ma- binabina la o- ke vau -ri -re
 go.out 3plPOSS- war.canoe sgfArt 3sgfO- push.off go.out -CAUS -NF
vau ma.
 vau ma- ao
 go.out 3plS- go.in
They went out and pushed out their war canoe, and got in.

jn 156

Vau aore / hoine talav!
 vau ao -re / hoi -ne tala -v
 go.out go.in -NF / deep.sea -PERL go.far -pl
They got in, then they went far away in the deep sea.

jn 157

Gurugurur tamu.
 gurugurur tamu
 canoe.noise no
Making no noises.

jn 158

Mafoae foiga.
 ma- foa -c foiga
 3plPOSS- go.down -NOMZR PN.MED.sgn
That was how they went down.

jn 159

Foana foana foana foana foana
 foa -na foa -na foa -na foa -na foa -na
 go.down -DUR go.down -DUR go.down -DUR go.down -DUR go.down -DUR
foa Nagu me efataran ka
 foa Nagu me -ø e- fatara -n ka
 go.down place.name SPEC -sgn 3sgnO- across.from -LOC LOCEMPH
siavel hokari ta fi.
 sia -vel hoka -ri ta fi
 do -COMPL here.PROX -PSNV just 3sgnFOC
They went down and down and down and down, then across from Nagu they went ashore.

jn 160

Hau maerau.
 hau ma- erau
 go.ashore 3plS- fall
They went ashore.

jn 161

Hau eraure, mabinabina la ona aige
 hau erau -re ma- binabina la o- na aige
 go.ashore fall -NF 3plPOSS- war.canoe sgfArt 3sgfO- in anchor
okefoare, mafeu. Lalamu la
 o- ke foa -re ma- feu lalamu la
 3sgfO- push.off go.down -NF 3plPOSS- go.up darkness sgfArt
ona.
 o- na
 3sgfO- in
Going ashore, they anchored the canoe and went up [to the bush]. In the dark.

jn 162

Feu lugauline gala keleanun keleanun keleanun /
 feu lugauli -ne gala kelea -nun kelea -nun kelea -nun /
 go.up bush -PERL there walk -DUR walk -DUR walk -DUR /
volu ika tamu.
 volu ika tamu
 garden there no
They go up through the bush, there are no gardens there.

jn 163

Vuvurane igala keleanun keleanun / dani ga
 vuvura -ne igala kelea -nun kelea -nun / dani ga
 go.all.about -IMPF there walk -DUR walk -DUR / dawn sgnArt
ekige, elere, malav va mafan
 e- e- ki -ge e- le -re malav va ma- fan
 3sgnO- SBD- dawn -ANT 3sgnO- see -NF people plArt 3plPOSS-some
ika volufure o'asene gala kini vau mao.
 ika vo- lufu -re o'as -ne gala kini vau ma- ao
 there 3plO- leave -NF bush -PERL there ACT go.out 3plS- go.in
They went all about, went on and on, then dawn came, they saw day coming, they left some people there.

the rest went with the canoe.

jn 164

Felere, **soire** **mae.**
fele -re soi -re ma- æ
return -NF run.away -NF 3plS- go.up

Returning, they ran up.

jn 165

Ae mangoae **foiga.**
æ ma- ngoa -e foiga
go.up 3plS- stay -NOMZR PN.MED.sgn

They stayed up there.

jn 166

Ngoanun / **hoikari** **fi** **kini / ngoae**
ngoa -nun / hoika -ri fi kini / ngoa -e
stay -DUR / there.MED -PSNV 3sgnFOC ACT / stay -NOMZR
mae **ga** **ena** **hano aka suni / kiure**
ma- æ ga e- na hano aka suni / kiu -re
3plS- go.up sgnArt 3sgnO- in then then all / die -NF
lov.
lo -v
finish -pl

Things went on, then they all died.

jn 167

Monggomil **va.**
Monggo -mil va
stupid.Isabel.people -FOLK plArt
The Monggo people.

jn 168

Rovoru **tamu ta** **hona.** **Loa.**
rovo -ru tamu ta hona lo -a
one.pl -none no time MOD.PROX.sgm finish -sgf

There are none left now. The end.

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