

*A grammar of the Hoava language,
Western Solomons*

Also in Pacific Linguistics

John bowden, 2001, *Taba: Description of a South Halmahera Austronesian language*.

Norm and Sheila Draper, 2002, *Dictionary of Kyaka Enga, Papua New Guinea*.

Alexandre François, 2002, *Araki: A disappearing language of Vanuatu*.

Margaret Mutu with Ben Teikitoutoua, 2002, *Ùa Pou: Aspects of a Marquesan dialect*.

Williams-van Klinken, Catharina, John Hajek and Rachel Nordlinger, 2002, *Tetun Dili: A grammar of an East Timorese language*.

Pacific Linguistics is a publisher specialising in grammars and linguistic descriptions, dictionaries and other materials on languages of the Pacific, the Philippines, Indonesia, East Timor, southeast and south Asia, and Australia.

Pacific Linguistics, established in 1963 through an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund, is associated with the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University. The Editorial Board of Pacific Linguistics is made up of the academic staff of the school's Department of Linguistics. The authors and editors of Pacific Linguistics publications are drawn from a wide range of institutions around the world. Publications are refereed by scholars with relevant expertise, who are usually not members of the editorial board.

FOUNDING EDITOR: Stephen A. Wurm

EDITORIAL BOARD: Managing Editors: Malcolm D. Ross, John Bowden,
Darrell T. Tryon, I Wayan Arka, Andrew Pawley,
Paul Sidwell, Jane Simpson and David Nash

A grammar of the Hoava language,
Western Solomons

Karen Davis



Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University

Published by Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Australia

Copyright © The author

First published 2003

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry:

Davis, Karen.
A grammar of Hoava language, Western Solomons.

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 85883 502 9.

I. Hoava language - Grammar. I. The Australian National
University. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies.
Pacific Linguistics. II. Title.

499.4

Cover design by Emily Brissenden
Copyedited by Lea Brown
Typeset by Margaret Forster
Printed and bound by Union Offset Printers, Canberra

Table of contents

Acknowledgements	xiii	
Abbreviations	xv	
Chapter 1	Overview	1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Previous studies of Hoava–Kusaghe	3
1.2.1	Somerville and Weigall (1896)	3
1.2.2	Grace (1955)	3
1.2.3	Capell (1943) and (1968)	4
1.2.4	Tryon and Hackman (1983)	4
1.2.5	Other surveys	5
1.3	Hoava–Kusaghe within Austronesian	5
1.4	The present study	6
Chapter 2	Hoava and Kusaghe	8
2.1	The dialect status of Hoava and Kusaghe	8
2.2	The present location of Hoava–Kusaghe	12
2.3	The pre-modern linguistic situation	13
2.3.1	Hoava traditional and recent history	16
2.3.2	Kusaghe traditional and recent history	19
2.4	Multilingualism	21
Chapter 3	Phonetics and phonology	23
3.1	Segmental phonemes	23
3.1.1	Consonants	23
3.1.2	Vowels	25
3.2	Elision	26
3.2.1	Elision in reduplicated words	26
3.2.2	Elision in polysyllabic words	27
3.2.3	Word final elision	27

3.2.4	Elision of consonants	27
3.3	Metathesis	28
3.4	Stress	29
3.4.1	Stress on underived words	29
3.4.2	Stress on derived words	29
3.4.3	Lexical stress	30
3.5	Intonation	31
3.6	Reduplication	31
3.7	Orthographic representation	33
Chapter 4	The noun phrase	34
4.1	Introduction	34
4.2	Head of a noun phrase	35
4.2.1	General nouns	36
4.2.1.1	Compound nouns	36
4.2.1.2	Derived nouns	38
4.2.2	Pronouns	45
4.2.3	Personal names	50
4.2.4	Place names	51
4.3	Articles	52
4.3.1	The general article	52
4.3.2	The definite article	55
4.3.3	Referential-indefinite marking	56
4.3.4	Indefinite noun phrase marking	57
4.3.5	Personal noun articles	59
4.3.5.1	The personal article <i>e</i>	60
4.3.5.2	The personal article <i>se</i>	63
4.4	Quantifiers	66
4.4.1	Numerals	66
4.4.2	General quantifiers	68
4.4.3	Collective nouns	71
4.5	Prenominal modifiers	71
4.6	Postnominal modifiers	74

4.6.1	Stative verbs as postnominal modifiers	74
4.6.2	Postnominal modifiers derived from active verbs	75
4.6.3	Passive verbs as postnominal modifiers	75
4.6.4	Quantifiers as postnominal modifiers	76
4.6.5	Postnominal modifiers derived from nouns	76
4.6.6	-E suffix on postnominal modifiers	77
4.6.7	Intensification of modifiers	77
4.7	Restrictive particles	78
4.7.1	The restrictive particle qa	78
4.7.2	The restrictive particle tu	78
4.7.3	The restrictive particle qatu	79
4.7.4	Other restrictive particles	80
4.8	Demonstratives	81
4.8.1	The long demonstratives	81
4.8.2	The short demonstratives	87
	4.8.2.1 ni/ri	88
	4.8.2.2 na/ra	89
	4.8.2.3 so/ro	90
	4.8.2.4 Pronominal function of short demonstratives	91
4.8.3	Emphatic demonstrative pronouns	92
4.9	Prepositional phrases in noun phrases	96
4.10	Relative clauses	97
4.11	Possessive noun phrases	97
	4.11.1 Inalienable possession	98
	4.11.2 Edible possession	101
	4.11.3 Exclusive possession	103
	4.11.4 Prepositional possession	105
4.12	Coordination of noun phrases	108
Chapter 5	The verb phrase	110
5.1	Defining the verb phrase	110
5.2	The head of the verb phrase	110
	5.2.1 Type I verbs	111
	5.2.2 Type II verbs	113

5.2.3	Type III verbs	113
5.2.4	Type IV verbs	115
	5.2.4.1 Properties of Type IV verbs	115
	5.2.4.2 The directional verbs	118
5.2.5	Type V verbs	121
5.2.6	Type VI verb	122
5.2.7	Summary of Hoava verb types	123
5.2.8	Verbs derived from nouns	124
5.3	Verbal affixes	126
5.3.1	The transitive suffix	126
	5.3.1.1 One-syllable verbs	127
	5.3.1.2 Two-syllable verbs	127
	5.3.1.3 Three-syllable verbs	129
	5.3.1.4 Four-syllable verbs	130
	5.3.1.5 Five-syllable verbs	131
5.3.2	The applicative suffix	131
5.3.3	The prefix va-	133
5.3.4	The prefix vari-	135
5.3.5	The passive prefix ta-	138
5.3.6	The suffix -(a)gi	138
5.3.7	Nominal indexing suffixes used with verbs	139
	5.3.7.1 Nominal indexing suffixes as subject markers	139
	5.3.7.2 Nominal indexing suffixes as object markers	141
5.4	Aspect	142
5.4.1	Perfect aspect	143
5.4.2	Progressive aspect	144
5.4.3	Continuative aspect	145
5.4.4	Habitual aspect	147
5.4.5	Ingressive and completive aspects	148
5.5	Tense and mode markers	149
5.5.1	The future tense marker ma-	150
5.5.2	The optative marker	151
5.6	Preverbal modifiers	152
5.6.1	Preverbal adverbs	153

5.6.2	Directional verbs used preverbally	154
5.7	Serial verbs	154
5.7.1	Introduction	154
5.7.2	Active verb plus active verb (1)	157
5.7.3	Active verb plus active verb (2)	157
5.7.4	Verb plus stative verb	158
5.7.5	Stative verb plus verb	158
5.7.6	Verb plus causative verb	161
5.7.7	Verb plus verb of general direction	162
5.7.8	Verb plus pule	163
5.7.9	Verb plus directional verbs	164
5.8	Postverbal adverbial modifiers	166
5.9	Intensifiers	169
5.10	Incorporated objects	171
5.11	Possessive pronoun subject markers	172
5.12	Nominalisations in the verb phrase	177
Chapter 6	The clause core	179
6.1	Nominal clauses	179
6.2	Verbal clauses	181
6.2.1	Single-argument clause structure	182
6.2.2	Clauses containing the existential verb ari	183
6.2.3	Two-argument clause structure	185
6.2.4	Object incorporation	188
6.2.5	Three-argument clause structure	190
6.3	The applicative construction	193
6.3.1	Introduction	193
6.3.2	The recipient applicative	194
6.3.3	The instrumental applicative with Type V verbs	195
6.3.4	Causative verbs in applicative constructions	200
6.3.5	Monotransitive verbs in applicative constructions	201
	6.3.5.1 Applicative construction with Type IV verbs	201
	6.3.5.2 Applicative construction with Type III verbs	204
6.3.6	The pro-verb gua	205

6.3.7	Plural-marked verbs in applicative constructions	206
6.3.8	Passive verbs with applied objects	207
6.3.9	Incorporated objects derived from applicative constructions	207
6.3.10	Origins of the applicative suffix	208
6.3.11	Valency increasing verb serialisations	209
6.3.12	Conclusion	212
6.4	Passive clauses	212
6.5	Oblique objects in clauses	218
6.5.1	Prepositional phrases as oblique objects	219
6.5.2	The use of directional verbs to indicate participants	221
6.5.3	Prepositional phrases with comitative function	223
Chapter 7	The clause periphery	224
7.1	Spatial location	224
7.1.1	Location expressed by deictic adverbs	224
7.1.2	Prepositional phrases	227
7.1.3	Position of prepositional phrases in a clause	230
7.1.4	Direction expressed through verbs	232
7.1.5	Locational nouns in prepositional phrases	235
7.1.6	Prepositional phrases for modes of transport	236
7.2	Temporal location	236
7.2.1	Grammatical tense	236
7.2.2	Time adverbials	238
7.2.3	Prepositional phrases for temporal location	242
7.3	Sentential negation	242
7.3.1	The negator kipu	243
7.3.2	The negator kae	244
7.3.3	The negator kahi	247
7.3.4	The modal negative maki	247
7.4	General clausal modifiers	247
7.4.1	Epistemic modal adverbs	247
7.4.1.1	The epistemic modal garo	248
7.4.1.2	The epistemic modal nina	249
7.4.1.3	The epistemic modal makoa	251
7.4.2	The restrictive particles	252

	7.4.2.1	The restrictive particle qa	252
	7.4.2.2	The restrictive particle tu	254
	7.4.2.3	The restrictive particle qatu	256
	7.4.3	The adverb pele	257
Chapter 8		Multi-Clause sentences	259
8.1		Clause linking	259
	8.1.1	The conjunction gila	259
	8.1.2	The conjunction dae	260
	8.1.3	The sequencer tige	262
	8.1.4	The sequencer sogi	263
	8.1.5	The contrasting coordinator mina	264
	8.1.6	The alternative coordinator ba	265
	8.1.7	The surprise coordinator kela	265
8.2		Clause serialisation	266
8.3		Relative clauses	268
	8.3.1	Nominal relative clauses	269
	8.3.2	Verbal relative clauses	270
	8.3.3	Relative clauses with prepositional predicates	273
	8.3.4	Placement of relative clauses	274
	8.3.5	The relative marker tala	277
8.4		Adverbial subordinate clauses	279
	8.4.1	The purposive particle de	279
	8.4.2	The reason particle puna/na	281
	8.4.3	Conditional particles	282
	8.4.4	Temporal adverbial clauses	284
8.5		Clausal complements	287
8.6		The similitive particle ve(na)	290
	8.6.1	The post-nominal similitive adjunct	291
	8.6.2	The post-verbal similitive phrase	293
	8.6.3	Subordinating particles and ve(na)	293
Chapter 9		Focus and topicalisation	295
9.1		Clause initial focusing without particles	295
9.2		The contrastive focus particle mi	298

9.3	The emphatic particles ba and go	299
9.3.1	The emphatic particle ba	299
9.3.2	The emphatic particle go	306
9.4	Interrogative clauses	307
9.4.1	Question word questions	307
9.4.1.1	The question word sa	308
9.4.1.2	The question word sava-	309
9.4.1.3	The question word se	310
9.4.1.4	Quantity questions	313
9.4.1.5	Locative questions	313
9.4.1.6	Questioning time	315
9.4.1.7	The question words vegoa and vesa	315
9.4.2	Yes/no questions	317
9.5	The particle sagi	320
9.6	Left and right dislocation	326

References	329
-------------------	-----

List of tables

Table 1: Shared cognate percentages for the New Georgia languages	5
Table 2: Hoava consonant phonemes	23
Table 3: Hoava orthography and phonemic equivalents	33
Table 4: Hoava verb types	123

List of maps

Map 1: New Georgia	2
Map 2: Dialect areas of Hoava–Kusaghe	9
Map 3: Dialects/languages by village	13
Map 4: Probable settled areas 1700-1900	14

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I thank my host family in Tamaneke in 1987-88 and 1990: Amina Kada and Vincent Vaguni, and their extended families, especially Tena and Iula; and my host family in Paradise in 1990: Ian and Florence Willing. Without their assistance and enthusiasm for the project, this work would not have been completed. In particular, I wish to thank Vincent Vaguni for his support in enabling me to obtain permission to carry out my research in Tamaneke.

In and around Tamaneke I recorded many people and I wish to thank them all: Tena, Vincent Vaguni, Ebolo Jaji, Uilisoni Opa, Nathan Midili, Mere Nana, Amina Kada, Ameria, Iula, Napi, Ratisi, Uza, Qasi, Varina, Mensia, Deni, Joshua Pitu, Eileen Tina, Solomon Maika, Simione, Burusi, Devita Sasa, Denisi, Tina, Dilenti, Sepili, Dokasi, Matiu Peo, Wiliamu Peo, and the late Philip Rono. Jone Qasere, Beri, Viviane, and Jiuni helped me with Hoava speech sounds. Paula Hapa was of invaluable assistance with the grammar. Deni, Qeri, Mensia, and Piana were of great help in transcribing many of the stories.

In Paradise there were three great story tellers: Hapi, Nira, and Pilemoni. I also recorded Lizaveti, Zona Kikobule, and Silas Kama. Qati, Lina, Livae, and Adi helped me with Kusaghe speech sounds, while Mendana answered my questions about grammar.

I also wish to thank Job Dudley Tausinga and his wife Ruth, Samuel Kuku, Edi Hovo, and Nelson Pule and his family of Keru.

Above all, I would like to thank the communities of Tamaneke and Paradise for welcoming me into their villages and allowing me to do my work. I hope the recorded stories, dictionary and grammar are of some benefit for them.

My heartfelt thanks for all her help go to Barbara Riley of CUSO, who was the Cultural Affairs Officer in Gizo during the field work trips. I also wish to thank Rowland Reeve, Kenneth Roga and the archaeology team for introducing me to Paradise, and to thank Lawrence Foanaota, the Director of the Solomon Islands National Museum, and Graham Bains for their assistance.

I am extremely grateful to my supervisor, Frank Lichtenberk, for his patient reading of, and comments on, earlier drafts. I would also like to thank my original supervisor, Andrew Pawley, for pointing me in the direction of the Western Solomons. I received funding for my fieldwork expenses from the University of Auckland Research Committee. Joan Lawrence of the Anthropology Department drew the maps. Simon Corston and Matthew Fitzsimons generously shared their work with me.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Robert, Thomas and Hannah who have delayed, distracted, sustained, and encouraged me in the completion of this work.

Koleo holapa gamu!

Abbreviations

Languages

HOA	Hoava
KUS	Kusaghe
MAR	Marovo
PAN	Proto Austronesian
PIJ	Solomon Islands Pijin
POC	Proto Oceanic
ROV	Roviana

Glosses

IPL.EX	first person plural exclusive	EXHORT	exhortation
IPL.IN	first person plural inclusive	FOC	focus marker
1SG	first person singular	FRONT	fronting marker
2PL	second person plural	FUT	future marker
2SG	second person singular	IMP	imperfective aspect
3PL	third person plural	INTENS	intensifier
3SG	third person singular	LIG	ligature
ADV	adverb prefix	N	noun
AGI	-(a)gi suffix	NEG	negative marker
AP	applicative suffix	NEG:WARN	negative modal
ART	article	NOM	nominalising affix
CAUSE	causative prefix	NP	noun phrase
COLL	collective action	NUM	number prefix
COM	comitative	OPT	optative marker
COMP	complementiser	PASS	passive prefix
COND	conditional	PERF	perfect aspect
DEM	short demonstrative	PL	plural
DEP	depatientive	POSS	possessive
DIST	distal demonstrative	PP	prepositional phrase
EDPOSS	edible possessive marker	PRO	pronominal
EMPH	emphatic particle	PROX	proximate demonstrative
EXCL	exclamation	PRP	preposition
		PURP	purposive marker
		RECIP	reciprocal prefix

RED	reduplicated syllable(s)	SURP	surprise marker
REL	relative clause marker	TOP	topic marker
REMOTE	remote demonstrative	TR	transitive suffix
REST	restrictive particle	UNCERT	uncertainty modal
SEQ	sequencer	V	verb
SG	singular	VP	verb phrase
SIM	similative particle		

1 *Overview*

1.1 Introduction

Hoava–Kusaghe is an Austronesian language spoken by about 2,360 people (1986 Census) living on the northern coast of the island of New Georgia in the Western Province of the Solomon Islands.

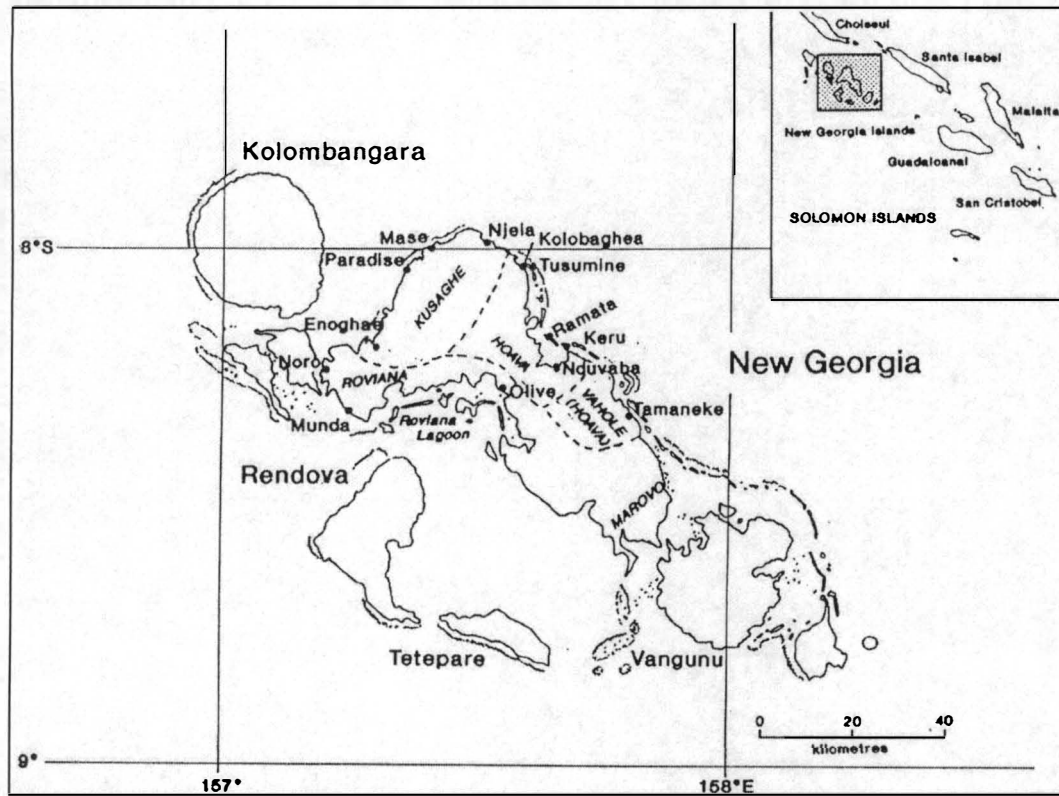
New Georgia is a mountainous island, 85 kilometres long and 41 kilometres wide at its widest part, with a total area of 2,145 square kilometres, covered with dense rainforest. Mangrove swamps fringe the coastline, and there is a line of upraised coral islands along the eastern side, enclosing the long arm of the Marovo lagoon. The north western coast is mostly open to the sea and most villages on that side are found in the shelter of bays.

Villages are sited along the coastline from the logging camp at Enoghae in the west to the village of Tamaneke in the east, where much of the language data was recorded (see Map 1). Formerly there were many settlements in the interior, but these have been abandoned as people moved to coastal settlements following the arrival of European traders and missionaries. People still maintain gardens some distance inland, particularly along some of the major rivers where they are easily accessible by canoe.

The majority of the Hoava–Kusaghe people belong to the Christian Fellowship Church, a breakaway from the Methodist Church. Having a separate church has helped to maintain a strong spirit of independence and self-determination among the Hoava–Kusaghe. The villagers of Mase, Njela and Tusumine are adherents of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, present in the islands since 1914. There is little day to day contact between the two religious groups.

The people in the area follow a mostly traditional subsistence lifestyle. There has been a major change from taro growing, using constructed terraces in the inland, to the growing of sweet potato since European contact in the early twentieth century. The Hoava people were a bush tribe, using the coastline only for shellfish gathering. They are now skilled at fishing in both the shallow coastal waters and the open sea. The Kusaghe people have a tradition of being both bonito fishers as well as bush gardeners. The cash economy is very small and mostly comes from outside sources when relatives send money or goods back to the village, or from people who take temporary work outside the village. The Kusaghe have restarted logging an area around Enoghae which is bringing in a large

amount of cash, but other benefits were not evident during the period of fieldwork (1987–1990) yet to be seen.



Map 1: New Georgia

Travel throughout the area is by canoe through the Marovo lagoon, as well as on the open sea, and along rivers. There are also bush tracks to garden areas, and across the island from Nduvaha to Olive on the southcoast.

Hoava–Kusaghe consists of two major dialects, Hoava and Kusaghe. Kusaghe, spoken on the north west coast, has around 1,230 speakers. Hoava is spoken in the remainder of the villages apart from Njela, a Seventh Day Adventist village with some dialectal peculiarities of its own. Numerically speaking, the language could be called Kusaghe-Hoava, but as I learnt the language in Tamaneke village within the Hoava speaking region, I am primarily describing the Hoava dialect. Within the Hoava speaking area is the Marovo speaking Seventh Day Adventist village of Ramata. The Kusaghe and Hoava areas have long been separated from each other by their geographical locations on either side of the Western New Georgian mountains. Each area has its own oral traditions and tribal relations, but there has always been contact through intermarriage, trade and war. Externally, however, the Kusaghe people tend to look towards Roviana, while the Hoava are more likely to be bilingual in Marovo. This is reflected in vocabulary differences, so that where Kusaghe differs from Hoava, it tends to be that Kusaghe has taken up a

Roviana word. Hoava, in turn, shares many sea fishing terms with Marovo, and one village, Keru, is half Marovo and half Hoava speaking. The Hoava speaking village of Kolobaghea at the top of the Marovo lagoon has close links with the Kusaghe villages and also with the rest of Hoava, and dialect differences are less clear there.

As with other Solomon Islanders, many locals have left their home villages and there are now sizable communities of Hoava–Kusaghe speakers in the provincial capital of Gizo and the country's capital, Honiara.

1.2 Previous studies of Hoava–Kusaghe

1.2.1 Somerville and Weigall (1896)

In 1894 the British Admiralty ship HMS “Penguin” surveyed the Marovo lagoon. A surveying party camped on shore at a number of places in the Marovo lagoon over a five month period. During this time, Roviana and Marovo words were recorded, being the principal languages encountered by the party. In addition, shorter word lists of Mbareke (spoken on Vangunu) and Hoava were recorded. Somerville and Weigall were told by a Hoava person that Hoava was ‘spoken by the bush natives on the north-east side of the Kusaghe hills’, while a langugae called Vekavekala was ‘spoken by the bush natives on the north-west side of the Kusaghe hills’ (Somerville & Weigall 1896:4). No words from Vekavekala, which is otherwise unknown, were recorded.

The Hoava vocabulary recorded by Somerville and Weigall has few differences from the Hoava words I recorded nearly a hundred years later. For instance, there are such distinctively Hoava words as **pinato** ‘language’, **koleoqa** ‘good’ and **naninani** ‘eating’. Some of the words recorded are now considered to be Marovo language by present-day Hoava speakers, such as **cheku** ‘hair’ (HOA **kalu**); **chichi lupuru** ‘little finger’ (HOA **visuvisu kisi**). Other words have changed towards Roviana: HOA 1896 **kalegarede** ‘left’ > ROV and HOA **kalegede**; HOA 1896 **kulinini** ‘plover’ > ROV and HOA **bilikiki**. Of course, we have no way of knowing how accurate the word list for Hoava is, particularly as the words were recorded in the coastal, Marovo region, not in the then Hoava region itself.

1.2.2 Grace (1955)

The Tri-Institutional Pacific Program of the University of Hawai‘i, Yale University and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum began a survey of languages of the Pacific region. A questionnaire was developed, and the Solomon Islands was included in this programme, as reported in Grace (1955). Wordlists for nearly all the New Georgian languages were filled out by male language speakers, either senior students at Goldie College or in training with the Methodist missionary at Munda (Samuel Kuku, pers. comm.). The students were given English and Roviana words and sentences to translate into their own languages. A questionnaire was filled out by two Hoava speakers, Samuel Kuku and

Stephen Buka, and by an unknown informant for Kusaghe. The word lists were not published.

1.2.3 Capell (1943 and 1968)

Capell (1943) has a brief mention of Kusaghe and Hoava as dialects of Marovo, according to A.R. Barret of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission at Batuna, from whom Capell received his information (Capell 1943:26). He lists only six words of Kusaghe.

In a paper on Choiseul languages, written in 1968, Capell also records word lists for New Georgia languages, including Kusaghe and Hoava, using data from the 1955 Linguistic Questionnaire (see 1.2.2). Capell's paper is concerned primarily with the languages of Choiseul, and as a consequence there is little analysis of New Georgia languages.

1.2.4 Tryon and Hackman (1983)

Tryon and Hackman (1983) gathered data of around 324 common vocabulary items from all the Solomon Islands languages in order to carry out a lexicostatistical analysis. In the Tryon and Hackman data, Hoava and Kusaghe have 77.6% shared cognates (1983:460), thus making them separate languages, according to Tryon and Hackman's cut-off point of at least 81% shared cognates for dialects. However, there were a few inaccuracies in the data gathered which has affected the analysis. For example, for 'bow' the Kusaghe speaker provided the word **bokala**, which is 'bow' in both Kusaghe and Hoava. **Parika** 'arrow' is erroneously recorded for Hoava. Similarly, **ano** 'turmeric' is recorded correctly for Hoava, while the word for 'ginger' **mamasi** is given instead in the Kusaghe list. For a few words, near synonyms have been used, such as: **hole** 'flooded/deep river' (KUS) and **ovuku** 'large river' (HOA) for 'river'; **boboso** 'damp'(KUS) and **mehuru** 'soaking wet' (HOA) for 'wet'; **kalaho** 'woman who has had first child (KUS) and **hinaquru** (HOA) 'woman, girl, who has not yet had first child' for 'woman'. The differences between Kusaghe and Hoava therefore appear to be greater than they really are, and I have reanalysed the Tryon and Hackman data to arrive at a more accurate figure for shared cognates which is discussed in 2.1. Kusaghe and Hoava speakers are insistent that they share one language, with some lexical and phonological differences.

Tryon and Hackman's data also show Kusaghe and Roviana having 61.9% of shared cognates, while Hoava and Roviana share 51.8%. This is consistent with my finding that where Hoava and Kusaghe differed in vocabulary, it was primarily due to Kusaghe sharing a word with Roviana, rather than having a unique word (see 2.1 below). Tryon and Hackman's findings for the New Georgia languages are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Shared cognate percentages for the New Georgia languages
(Tryon & Hackman 1983:456, 460)

	<i>Kusaghe</i>	<i>Hoava</i>
Roviana	61.9	51.8
Ughele	45.6	39.3
Ganongga	34.0	30.2
Lungga	35.2	30.9
Simbo	40.4	36.2
Nduke	42.2	36.5
Marovo	37.9	39.8
Mbareke	40.1	41.0
Vangunu	37.7	37.6

1.2.5 Other surveys

A short list of Kusaghe words for plants and artefacts was collected by Margaret Tedder (1976) while recording archaeological information in Kusaghe. The round-the-world youth expedition Operation Raleigh also recorded Kusaghe vocabulary, as well as data on traditional medicine from Hoava and Marovo speakers on Keru Island in 1987 (Roland Reeve, Nelson Pule, pers. comm.), but this has not yet been published to my knowledge.

1.3 Hoava–Kusaghe within Austronesian

Ross (1988) proposes a North-West Solomonian chain within Austronesian, extending from Nissan Island (Nehan) to South Eastern Santa Ysabel, excluding Bughotu. Within this chain he finds no evidence for a Western Solomons subgroup of Choiseul, New Georgia and Ysabel, as proposed by Tryon and Hackman (1983). Instead, Ross divides the languages into a Choiseul subgroup and New Georgia/Ysabel subgroup. The latter subgroup then divides into a New Georgia chain and an Ysabel chain.

Ross bases the New Georgia/Ysabel subgroup primarily on the sharing of a particle *si* found in Roviana (New Georgia) and Maringe (Ysabel). However, this particle is not found in most other New Georgia languages—the closest is Lungga which has *sa* (Grace 1955)—nor in other Ysabel languages, making it unlikely to be a shared innovation of a subgroup. Ross himself remarks that, given the chaining of languages throughout this area, innovations may pass from one communalect to another, even when the languages are not closely related (1988:9). Because of the strong historical links between Roviana

and Ysabel, borrowing by either Maringe or Roviana may be a better explanation for the presence of *si* in both languages.

Ross proposes two phonological innovations as further evidence of the New Georgia / Ysabel subgroup: Proto North Solomons **rani* 'day' > Proto New Georgia/Ysabel **rane* (1988:224); and the loss of **r*-initial pronouns except for the first person singular (1988:255). Ross's additional suggestion of a change in the alimentary possessive classifier (1988:255) is less conclusive, as Roviana and Hoava–Kusaghe both retain reflexes of Proto North Solomons **ya-* (ROV *gana*, HOA *gana/ana* third person singular possessive, ROV *gada*, HOA *gada/ada* first person plural inclusive possessive).

Although the Ysabel languages share a number of phonological innovations to mark them as a distinct group, Ross finds only one possible innovation for the New Georgia languages: **saqa* for expected **sava* 'what' (1988:224), HOA *sa*. However, I have found that *sava* is also retained as 'which' (see 9.4.1.2). It is therefore still unclear as to what marks the New Georgia languages as a distinct group, or whether they should be referred to as such.

1.4 The present study

This descriptive study of Hoava–Kusaghe is based on fieldwork in the Solomon Islands for seven months in 1987–1988 and three months in 1990. For most of that time I was based in the village of Tamaneke in the Hoava-speaking region of Vahole, except for the final five weeks in 1990 in the village of Paradise, Kusaghe. I also visited the Hoava-speaking villages of Keru and Nduvaha and the Kusaghe-speaking village of Jericho. I recorded approximately fifteen hours of narratives, stories, and conversations, which form the basis of the grammatical analysis, with the addition of elicitation sessions for grammatical detail. During the fieldwork, I took part in two workshops organised by the Marovo Lagoon Resource Management Project, a community partnership with local people, scientists, and other academics to document knowledge of the local environment. The first workshop was in 1987 in Seghe, Marovo, and the second was in 1990 at Keru. Both of these workshops enabled me to meet other Hoava speakers as well as to observe the interaction among Hoava, Marovo and Solomon Islands Pijin.

The purpose of this description is to provide data from a little-studied linguistic area in the hope that it will be useful for other linguists. I have used a primarily functional view of language in my description, based on the work of Foley and Van Valin (1984), since this enabled me, as an English speaker, to work through some of the less familiar structures I encountered, and also provided me with a means of organising the description, especially in relation to clause structure. However, I have tried to not let theory dictate and have concentrated on describing as fully as I could the features that the language of Hoava–Kusaghe itself has to offer.

However, I do not see this as the only purpose, because to a certain extent I did not choose the language, it—or rather its speakers—also chose me, after we met each other in 1987. Hoava–Kusaghe speakers are highly aware that they are a very small language community, and there was great concern expressed that the language may be lost in the

future under pressure from Roviana, Marovo and Solomon Islands Pijin. Therefore, alongside the descriptive study, a large number of traditional stories and personal narratives were collected, and a small collection of children's stories was published (Davis 1991). Other unpublished material has been deposited with the Cultural Affairs Office of the Western Solomons, including an extensive wordlist.

Chapter 2 of this description analyses the relationship between the two dialects, Hoava and Kusaghe and also looks at the wider picture of the changes the language community has gone through, and the impact on them of other languages in the area.

Chapter 3 describes the phoneme system and phonological processes. Chapter 4 is a description of the various elements of the noun phrase.

In Foley and Van Valin's (1984) functional syntax, the clause is described as having a layered structure, and I have followed this organisation in my description. The nucleus of the clause is described in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 covers the core of the clause: the verb phrase and its arguments. In this chapter, I discuss in turn the intransitive clause, the transitive clause, the applicative clause and the passive clause.

Chapter 7 contains a description of the peripheral elements of the clause, the spatio-temporal setting and other optional elements. Multi-clause structures are described in Chapter 8. Chapter 9 discusses focus and topicalisation.

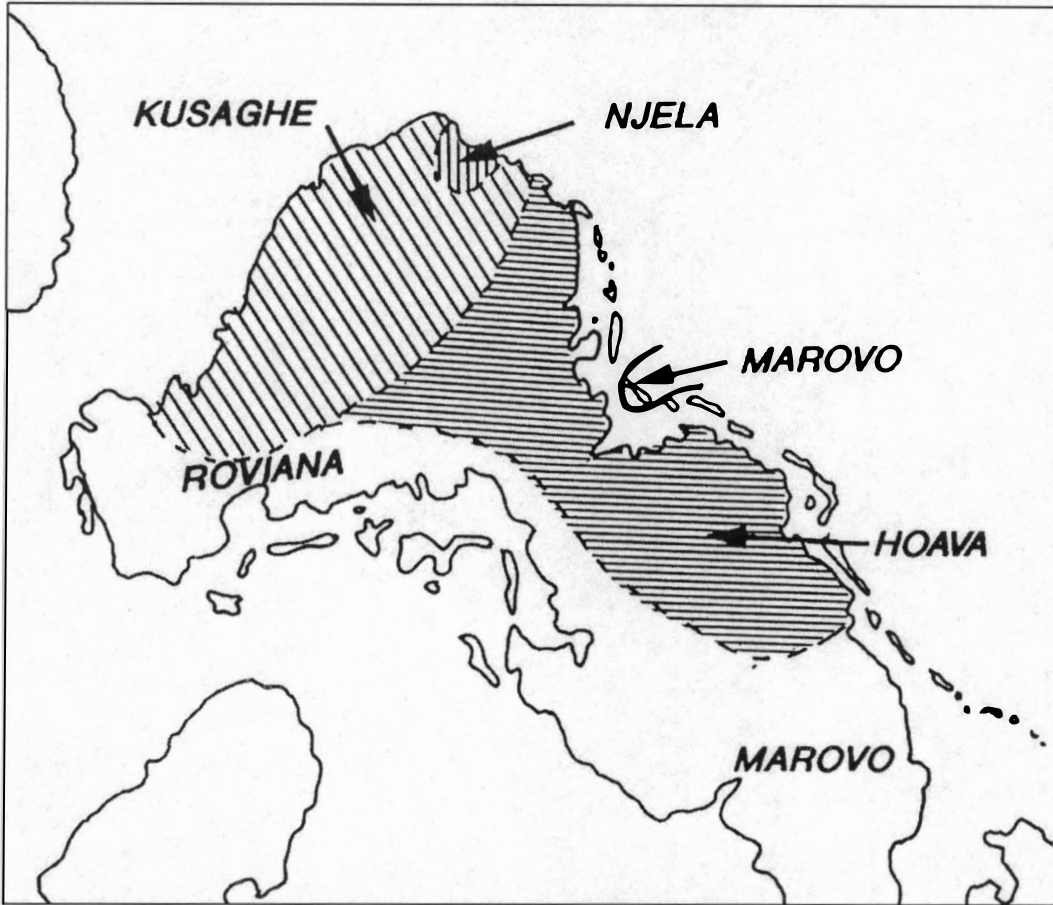
2 *Hoava and Kusaghe*

In this chapter I discuss the relationship between the Hoava and Kusaghe dialects of Hoava–Kusaghe. I examine the present day relationship as well as the pre-modern linguistic situation through traditional accounts, including the varying contacts with other languages in the region. Finally, I also describe the multilingualism of most Hoava–Kusaghe speakers.

2.1 The dialect status of Hoava and Kusaghe

The Hoava–Kusaghe people recognise two major dialects of their language, Hoava and Kusaghe. They do not have one name for the language, but refer to it by one of the dialect names or by combining both: Hoava and Kusaghe. Each dialect is spoken by people who are born in, and primarily live in, one of the two geographic regions. Hoava is spoken in Hoava tribal areas; Kusaghe is spoken in Kusaghe tribal areas. If Hoava or Kusaghe speakers live in each other's tribal areas because of marriage or community work requirements, they continue to speak their own dialect. The longer the residence, the more likely they are to use what are regarded as 'mixed' forms, such as a Kusaghe speaker occasionally using a Hoava dialect word and vice versa.

There is a third minor variant of Hoava–Kusaghe which is spoken by people in the Njela district (see Map 2). As I was unable to visit Njela, I could not collect any detailed data on that dialect, although I did briefly meet some Njela speakers. The two differences that make Njela distinct which both Hoava and Njela speakers told me were: (1) the lengthening of the final stressed syllable of a phrase, combined with a deeper pitch on the stressed syllable than that used by Kusaghe, who have a similar lengthening; and (2) the use of the word *kolohe* for *kolomao* 'friend', the commonly used call to a person in Hoava–Kusaghe.



Map 2: Dialect areas of Hoava-Kusaghe

When asked about dialect differences, Hoava and Kusaghe speakers refer to the vocabulary differences of some common words. Some frequently mentioned words are shown in (1).

(1)	Hoava	Kusaghe	
	edeve	kineda	'sago palm'
	niva	kinahe	'nipa palm'
	pato	nake	'speak'
	kikie	diro	'type of basket'
	okoko	ema huala	'type of vine'
	seqa	kura	'string basket'

In addition, the Hoava people will point out the lengthened final stressed syllable in a speech utterance used by Kusaghe, and the accompanying lowering of pitch. Hoava, by comparison, is more "correct" according to its speakers because they do not have this intonation. "Talking Kusaghe" by imitating this intonation is used to make fun of

Kusaghe speakers, and “talking Njela” aroused even more mirth. The Kusaghe did not appear to have a similar retaliation for the Hoava.

People made vague mention of how Kusaghe and Hoava “sounded different” but no specific sound differences were mentioned. The most obvious sound differences to me were that Hoava and Kusaghe differed in pronunciation of ‘z’ and ‘r’. The Hoava pronounce ‘z’ as the affricate [dʒ], and often prenasalise it as [ʰdʒ], while the Kusaghe pronounce it as the fricative [z], perhaps under the influence of the identical Roviana pronunciation. Hoava speakers use a very short trill [r] for ‘r’, while Kusaghe speakers have a much stronger, though still alveolar, trill [r]. Kusaghe speakers also tended to pronounce each vowel in a word while Hoava has more elision of vowels. The Hoava speakers are more likely to palatalise sounds such as /s/ and /t/ before high and back vowels, which may be due to the influence of similar palatised sounds in Marovo. Further details of phonological differences between Hoava and Kusaghe are described in Chapter 3.

No-one ever mentioned grammatical differences as features of dialect difference, although there are different prepositional forms. Both Kusaghe and Hoava use **pa** as a general preposition, but a different preposition is used for an oblique object or with a human or specific non-human location. For this function, Kusaghe uses the preposition **ke**, while Hoava uses the same form as the prepositional possessive, **ta-**, followed by a person/number particle (see 4.11.4, 7.1.2).

Tryon and Hackman (1983), through the use of a 200 word list, assessed Hoava and Kusaghe as separate languages since they only shared 77.6% of the words, less than the 81% needed for them to be considered as dialects. However, in some instances the Hoava and Kusaghe lists contained synonyms and errors, as discussed in 1.2.4. By removing these from the list, I found only twenty words to be different between them, giving a shared percentage of 89.8%, confirming the Hoava and Kusaghe speakers’ own view that they speak dialects of one language.

The principal area of difference between Kusaghe and Hoava is in the vocabulary. The most extensive cause of this difference is the influence of the neighbouring Roviana language. Roviana, as well as being geographically close to Hoava–Kusaghe (see Map 2), is also linguistically the closest relative of Hoava–Kusaghe (see Table 1, 1.2.4). Kusaghe has been, and continues to be, influenced by Roviana to a far greater extent than has happened to Hoava. Kusaghe focuses on the Roviana-speaking Munda region for trade, external communications, paid employment at the Noro harbour site and religious activities with Roviana Christian Fellowship Church villages. Many people with Roviana as their first language live in Kusaghe villages through ties of marriage or are employed as schoolteachers. They use Roviana rather than Kusaghe when they talk to people, although most also understand Kusaghe. Where Hoava and Kusaghe differ in vocabulary, it is often because Kusaghe has taken a Roviana word, as shown in (2).

(2)	Hoava	Kusaghe/Roviana	
	bobe	sini	‘full’
	hike	neta	‘three’
	poqala	ale	‘float’
	mati	masa	‘shore’

agana	teqe	'pandanus sp.'
mara madali	mara davidavi	'mara fish sp.'

This results in the higher cognate percentages for Roviana and Kusaghe as noted by Tryon and Hackman (1983) of 61.9%, compared to 51.8% for Roviana and Hoava. The replacement of Kusaghe words by terms borrowed from Roviana seems unlikely to stop, with no lessening of the influence of Roviana society over Kusaghe. Hoava is also influenced by Roviana, primarily as most church activities are in Roviana, but the focus for trade, inter-island transport, and health clinics is the Marovo-speaking region. This is reinforced by the political boundaries of Area Councils which group the Kusaghe district with Roviana, and Hoava districts with part of the Marovo-speaking region.

It seems unlikely that Kusaghe is retaining words cognate with Roviana while Hoava is the more innovative dialect. Hoava and Kusaghe speakers were very aware of the increasing number of Roviana words in their language. For example, each dialect had its own word for 'raised floor': KUS **tequru** and HOA **qotona**. Both have now been replaced by ROV **pade**. A number of Hoava speakers consistently use the Roviana word **doduru** 'all' for HOA **doluru**, while the Roviana stative verb **leana** 'be good' is used nearly as often as the HOA **koleo** 'be good'.

As well as words borrowed from Roviana, there are also a number of other vocabulary differences between Hoava and Kusaghe. Some words differ in only one sound, a vowel or a consonant (see (3) and (4) below). There is no phonetic regularity in the difference.

(3)	KUS kilikove	HOA kalikove	'lizard sp.'
	KUS kute	HOA kutu	'rat'
	KUS ramosi	HOA ramusi	'fish sp.'
	KUS luhu kane	HOA lohu kane	'tailbone'
(4)	KUS dogala	HOA dovala	'fish sp.'
	KUS ragomo	HOA raqomo	'wild yam sp.'
	KUS vologao	HOA gologao	'vine sp.'
	KUS hihiqala	HOA sisiqala	'roof part'

Other sound differences are more complex, involving two sounds:

(5)	KUS hoa	HOA sou	'heron'
	KUS pitikuele	HOA pitikole	'wagtail'

In the last example in (5), Hoava has the same word as Roviana while Kusaghe differs, which is not common.

Hoava sometimes has a shorter word than Kusaghe, losing the last syllable, as in the examples in (6):

(6)	KUS ehaka	HOA eha	'nautilus shell'
	KUS popomehe	HOA popome	'thrush infection'
	KUS lopata	HOA lopa	'leaking'

Kusaghe uses the full form of the third person singular pronoun **isa** for most functions, while Hoava only uses it for focus or emphasis, otherwise using the shorter form **sa** (see 4.2.2).

Kusaghe has an **-e** on the verbs **ko** 'stay, exist' and **la** 'go', which is an optional variant for Hoava speakers. Most commonly, though, Hoava uses **ko** and **la**. Kusaghe uses the full form of the phrase used for anaphoric 'there/where I said' (see 7.1.1), **tala guania**, while Hoava often shortens this to **tala gunia**. Hoava speakers frequently elide unstressed vowels in fast speech, which is probably the reason for these types of changes.

At least two words have shifted their meanings in at least one of the dialects. The word **kura** is used in Hoava, Roviana and Marovo to mean a 'net fishtrap' while in Kusaghe it is a 'string bag'. Presumably this has come about because Kusaghe does not have a protective reef and the people do most of their fishing in deep water, where such fishtraps are not usable, unlike the lagoon areas of Hoava, Marovo and Roviana.

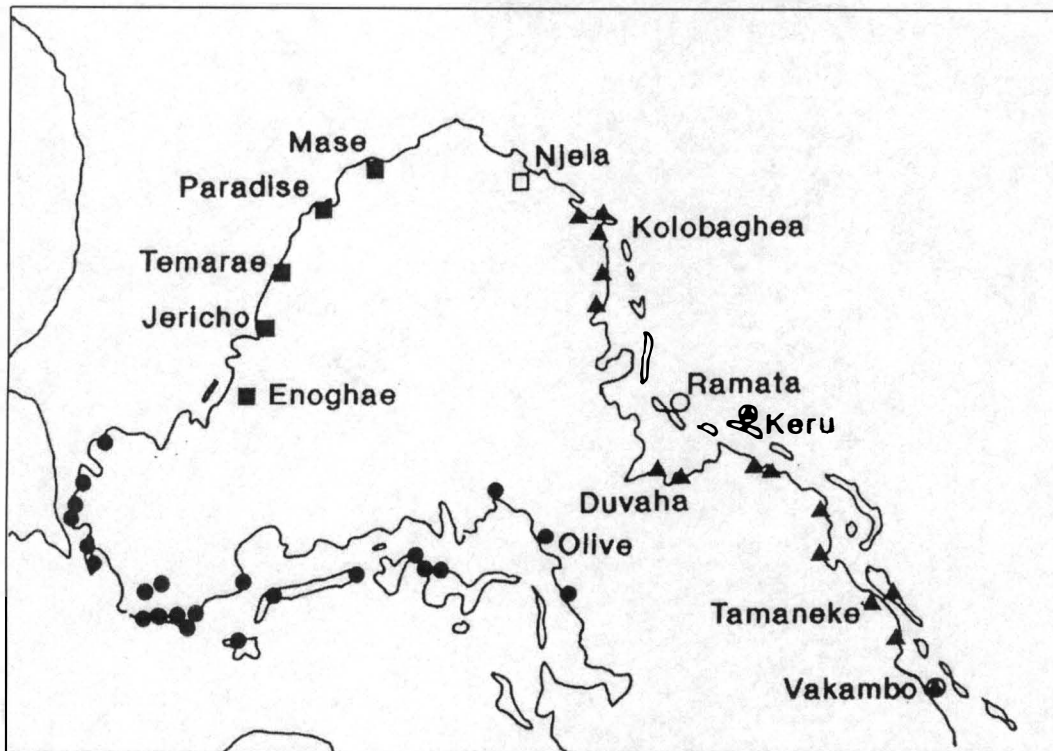
The second word, **ezi**, was used in Hoava to mean a woven basket for carrying soil when building taro gardens. It is now no longer used since taro gardens are not built on the same scale as previously. In Kusaghe **ezi** is only known to mean 'birdcage'. The same meaning is found in Roviana, but there **ezi** also means 'fish trap'.

For some words there is no regular sound difference in the forms used by Hoava and Kusaghe, and these include the words mentioned at the beginning of this chapter in (1) as being frequently mentioned as distinctive by Hoava and Kusaghe speakers. One of the most notable differences is in the words for 'speak'. Marovo and Roviana, the languages on each side of Hoava–Kusaghe, use the cognate MAR **jama**, ROV **zama**, but Hoava has **pato**, while Kusaghe has **nake**. Other languages in New Georgia also have non-cognate words for 'speak' (see lists in Tryon & Hackman 1983). Other irregular differences are shown in (7):

(7)	KUS rada	HOA eba	'ashes'
	KUS humi	HOA zozopo	'edible estuarine shellfish sp'
	KUS horete	HOA koqomo	'ceremonial pudding bowl'

2.2 The present location of Hoava–Kusaghe

Hoava–Kusaghe is currently spoken along the northern coast of New Georgia. There are also communities of Hoava–Kusaghe speakers in the regional capital Gizo and the national capital Honiara, but no study has been done on these two groups. The 1986 census lists the number of inhabitants in Hoava–Kusaghe villages but not the dialect spoken. Assuming that most people in those villages speak Hoava or Kusaghe, other than a small number of Marovo and Roviana speakers who would also be able to speak Hoava–Kusaghe, in 1986 there were approximately 1,226 Kusaghe speakers and 887 Hoava speakers, with a further 251 Njela speakers, giving a total of 2,364. Within the Hoava speaking area there are also about 200 Marovo speakers, with one village, Keru, where both Hoava and Marovo are spoken. Within the Marovo region to the south, the village of Vakambo is reported by Hoava people to be increasingly Hoava-speaking, and a few other villages in Marovo have Hoava-speaking residents. The biggest villages in Hoava–Kusaghe are: Paradise (576), Njela (251), Keru (203), Mase (200), Jericho (181) and Tamaneke (183). Map 3 shows the location of villages in the region and the main dialects and other languages spoken.



- | | |
|-----------|--------------------|
| ● Roviana | ▲ Hoava |
| ■ Kusaghe | ⊕ Hoava and Marovo |
| □ Njela | ○ Marovo |

Map 3: Dialects/languages by village

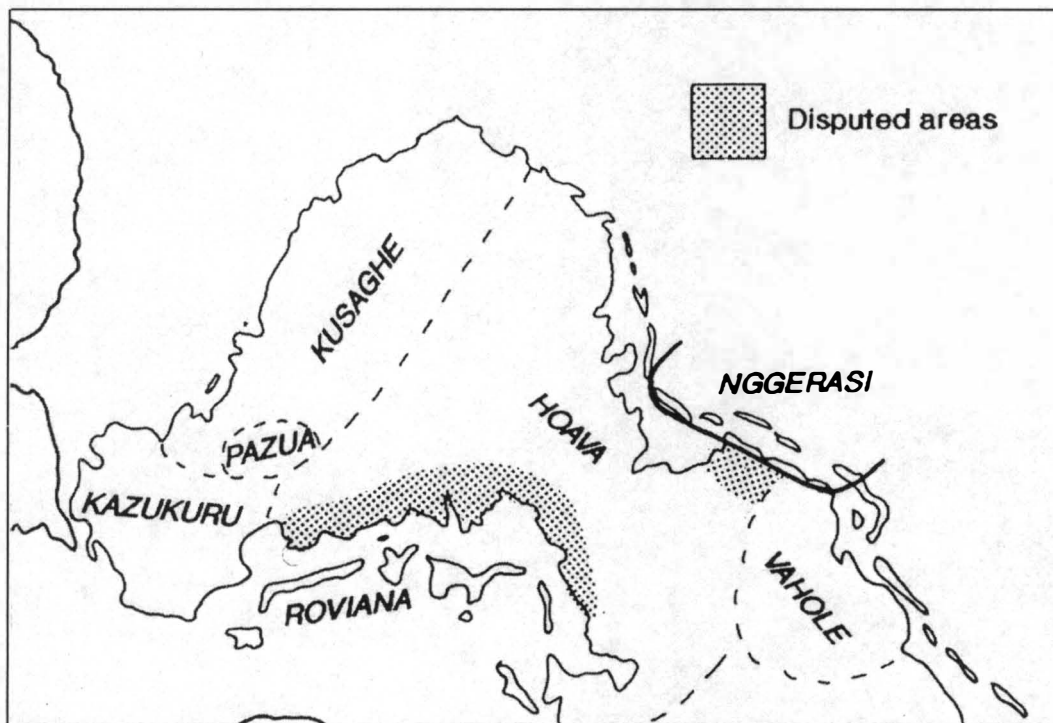
2.3 The pre-modern language situation

The present distribution of Hoava–Kusaghe is a fairly recent one, with Kusaghe villages other than Paradise being settled after the Second World War, while Tamaneke village was established as late as the early 1960s, when people moved from the nearby island of Burongo. Map 3 above shows a string of villages along the coast, but before the arrival of the missionaries, settlement was much denser in the inland areas. In this section I will discuss the likely pre-modern distribution of Hoava–Kusaghe and other languages they came into contact with.¹

¹ The information in this section is derived from stories and discussions recorded at Tamaneke village in Hoava and Paradise village in Kusage, except where otherwise indicated.

As yet, there is no known date for the settlement of New Georgia other than the estimates for the arrival of Austronesian speakers in the area of c.2500BC (Reeve 1989:61). Archaeologists have suggested possible earlier occupations as long ago as 25,000 BC (Jackson 1978:8), but the language spoken then is unknown.

Traditionally, there were no land boundaries with land ownership determined by use and long settlement or by mutual agreement when new groups of people moved into the area. The Hoava people at Tamaneke, for example, are descended from a group that was living in the Kalena Bay area, at least eleven generations ago, in what is now a Roviana speaking region, and which moved into the area regarded as Hoava heartland at least nine generations ago. We do not know what language the Kalena group spoke when they lived there, although Hoava people claim it was Hoava. Other Hoava groups also claim areas of the southern coast, but this has been the subject of dispute, eventually won by the Roviana-speaking people of the area (Parker 1994:36). We can be most certain about the period just prior to the arrival of the missionaries in Roviana in 1902, since there is knowledge of former village and garden sites in the hinterland and some supporting evidence from Hocart (MS 16). The probable pre-missionary distribution of Hoava and Kusaghe is shown in Map 4.



Map 4: Probable settled areas 1700–1900

The Non-Austronesian language of Kazukuru shown in Map 4 was spoken by people who lived south of a line from Mbaeroko Bay to the Piraka river (Hocart MS, 16:6). It became extinct early this century (Waterhouse 1931:123). Two related dialects of

Kazukuru are said to have been spoken on the slopes of Mount Vina Roni in the central Kusaghe area. (Lanyon-Orgill 1953:125). The names of the dialects are given as Dororo and Guliguli, but there was no one in present day Kusaghe who had heard of them, and Lanyon-Orgill does not identify his informant. As one of the names of the dialects, Guliguli, can mean 'masturbate' in Hoava-Kusaghe, I have my doubts about the existence of this language.

The Vahole language was spoken before 1920 in north-eastern New Georgia, the area now settled by Hoava at Tamaneke. The few words I collected from one Hoava person who knew some words (Pilipi Rono) were similar to other New Georgian Austronesian languages, as in **nono** 'eat' (also Marovo); **ago** first person plural (ROV, Ugehele **agoi**); **tuna** 'eel' (PAN ***tuna**); **sie** 'dog' (MAR **cie**). It became extinct around 1920 due to an epidemic of sickness.

There have also been at least two migrations of language groups onto mainland New Georgia in the pre-European period.

In the first, a Nduke speaking group called Pazua by the Kusaghe, moved from Rei on Kolombangara to near Enoghae in the southern Kusaghe region. They were absorbed by the Kusaghe after much fighting. This presumably happened prior to the introduction of European weapons as only stone weapons are mentioned in the stories referring to the Pazua.

The second group, the Nggerasi, moved from their offshore settlement of Namboe in the Marovo lagoon to the Haho river area to escape an epidemic, before moving to the island of Ramata. During their movements they lost their original language and changed to Marovo (Nelson Pule, pers. comm.), possibly due to an influx of Marovo-speaking people from Pondokana in 1908 following a raid on some Pondokana villages by HMS Cambrian (Jackson 1978:181).

Despite the presence of different languages, the area shared a common culture, based on subsistence agriculture and fishing, matrilineal land rights, the power of ancestor spirits, the roles of big men, and the rites of intertribal fighting. The land and the sea were equally valuable as resources according to where a group lived, but had no value as trade. Each tribal group had only the land it could settle and use. Clashes were more commonly over insults, the abduction or elopement of women, and the need for human sacrifices or slaves, rather than over land.

Each group within the Hoava-Kusaghe area has a formalised tribal system whereby descent is traced from apical ancestors called **atunu**. Each descent group (**butubutu**) has a different **atunu**. Each **butubutu** has a **banara** 'chief' whose line is traced through the first-born child, whether male or female, and the **banara** must be consulted in any major decisions. This may have been changed since European times, and possibly the chief was formerly a man or woman who was able to use family position to stay in that role. There were also other **banara**, including a war leader and a "caretaker" (**banara pepeha**) of the traditional shell money (**poata**) associated with the land. Other people within the **butubutu** traced their descent through both parents, but descent from a woman gave the strongest claim to the rights to use land. People lived in small settlements, usually consisting of an extended family, and moved often as garden land became exhausted. Each family group had one or more shrines, where the men would consult the ancestor

spirits and ask for their blessings on their lives, their gardens, hunting expeditions, and in war. The shrines were often on the tops of mountains or hills, or in cave sites. Skills in traditional healing and magic were passed down within families.

Men took the role of hunters and fighters, but also did some of the heavy work in preparing gardens and constructing stone-walled taro terraces. The women cleared and tended the gardens and ensured the family was fed. Women also had their own rites associated with childbirth and menstruation. Marriage involved the exchange of shell money and food from the man's family to the woman's family.

Within this shared cultural background, the Hoava and Kusaghe peoples had different histories as told in their oral traditions.

2.3.1 Hoava traditional and recent history

The Hoava people trace themselves back to four **atunu** 'apical ancestor' related to each subdivision of the Hoava-speaking region. The relevant subdivision is shown in brackets after the name of the ancestors:

1. Raqo **atunu**, who had two boys Kamekamehe (Tagosaghe) and Qorasiana (Kolozona);
2. Bule **atunu**, who had one son Kihekihe (Koreke).
3. The only female **atunu**, Qulo **atunu**, who had a daughter Qulomaza (Ndekurana Mole).
4. Sage **atunu** of Dekeha. He had two sons: Tadokidoki, who took Kalena Bay, and Gesobanara, who took the area known as Hoava and which is regarded as the Hoava 'heartland' where the most spiritually significant sites are located. (Samuel Kuku, pers. comm.)

In addition, there was also the related Hoava-speaking tribe of Maqela, who may have been the same as the Hoeze people, in the area to the south of Hoava. The Hoava people also report signs of old shrines and rock carvings on the barrier islands around the northern coast that are not traditionally associated with their people.

An epidemic or epidemics wiped out most of the people in the Hoava region descended from Gesobanara. The people of Kalena Bay crossed over the mountain ridge and settled in Hoava under the leadership of Rue, the grandson of Tadokidoki, around 1800 according to traditional genealogies. This may have been the same time that Hocart estimates the Roviana people were moving from their offshore islands onto the mainland coast around Munda (Hocart MS, 16:2-3).

The tribes followed a principally agricultural lifestyle based on the cultivation of taro and yams. The men hunted pigs, possums, and other birds and animals. People fished in the rivers using a thorn from a vine (**vinetunu te ruruhu**) as a hook or used a bow and arrow. They collected shellfish from coastal reefs but did not fish in the sea, and traditionally did not build canoes. Food exchanges with coastal tribes happened at

regular intervals to provide some variety, bringing the Hoava into contact with Roviana and Marovo speakers, as well as Kusaghe.

The Hoava-speaking tribes on the northern side of the mountains had little contact with the Europeans beginning to arrive in the area. However, the Tagosage and Koreke groups had settled on the southern side, inland from the Roviana lagoon. As the Roviana people spread out along the coast, the Tagosage and Koreke intermarried with them and eventually regarded themselves as all one people (Allan 1957:232). They thus became part of the general Roviana population.

The Methodist missionaries arrived in Roviana in 1902, but it was the end of headhunting around 1910 that caused big changes to the Hoava. The cessation of headhunting in the region has been attributed by Zelenietz (1977) to the trading of guns outside the Roviana area, allowing counter raids which upset the Roviana copra trade, as well as the increasing replacement of traditional exchange by western trade goods, lessening the need for headhunting raids for traditional prestige. Once headhunting had stopped and the Methodist Mission influence increased to fill the void, intermarriage between Roviana and Hoava–Kusaghe increased.

The Hoava region north of the Mbokumboku ridge had become densely settled by the Hoava from Kalena Bay, as well as other Hoava groups, as suggested by the density of place names for every feature of landscape and the large number of shrines for the family groups. There was little access to European goods because trade was dominated by the Roviana and Marovo groups. A coconut plantation owned by Norman Wheatley was started on Rovana island and managed by a European named Bennett, but his contacts were mostly with the Nggerasi people on Ramata. According to the traveller Burnett, who visited the area in 1908, the Hoava were still regarded as isolated 'bushmen of the interior' (Burnett 1909:123).

One young man from Hoava, Kalutu, went to the Methodist school in Vella Lavella and learnt to write in the Roviana language. When he returned to Hoava, he taught other people to write, again in Roviana. This encouraged other young men to go to the Methodist school at Saikile in order to be able to teach other Hoava to write (Pilipi Rono, pers. comm.).

In the beginning, the value of the Methodist missionary was not the religion it brought, but its access to writing and the prestige now held by the Roviana language, because of Roviana access to European trade goods. The Hoava asked for a teacher to come to their area, and in 1915 the missionary John Goldie accompanied Samu Gobe, a Roviana man, to set up a school on the coast at a new coastal settlement, Ndive. People came down from the other inland village sites to Ndive for the first meeting with Goldie and Gobe, and many ended up settling closer to the coast. Shortly after, the people of the Ndekurana region also established a church settlement at Kolobaghea on the coast.

Church services and education used the Roviana language, enabling Hoava speakers to become familiar with the language, if they had not been already. Through its choice by the missionaries as a lingua franca, Roviana became the prestige language of the area. Roviana words began to replace some Hoava terms, making obsolete such words as **gotana** 'floor', replaced by ROV **pade**, and introducing new words such as **hore** 'dugout canoe', **kolo** 'water' (which exists alongside HOA **kuma**). Some words which may have

been shared by Hoava and Roviana had their meanings changed, such as **maqomaqo** 'ghost' > **maqomaqo hopena** 'Holy Ghost', and **tamasa** 'totemic ancestor' > 'God'. Many of the older men educated in this system continue to use more Roviana vocabulary in their Hoava speech than the younger people.

There were also material culture changes through the influence of the Tongan and Fijian missionaries at Munda, with basket and mat weaving being introduced, and a change in house construction from the traditional use of large overlapping leaves to a thatch woven from sago palm. New food stuffs became more common, with sweet potato now replacing taro as the staple food. The slit gong drum was used to summon people to church, supplementing the traditional conch shell summons. As the Hoava people moved to the coast, they started using canoes which they had to learn to build and to use for fishing. All these new introductions required new vocabulary which came mostly from Roviana, but also from English, such as **belo** 'bell', **varada** 'verandah', **sikulu** 'school, teach'.

Although there was a Methodist mission in Marovo, the Hoava were part of the Roviana church district, so any combined church events took the Hoava to Kokenggolo in Roviana. There was also a close link with Roviana-speaking Saikile via the overland route. By adopting the Methodist religion, the Hoava people gave themselves access to the relatively privileged world of the Roviana, but at the same time came under the domination of the Roviana language to the point where it is now difficult to know how much Hoava vocabulary was introduced from Roviana, rather than being of shared inheritance.

With the arrival of the traders and the missionaries, diseases such as measles and influenza followed in their wake, killing many hundreds of Solomon Islanders (Bennet 1987:98). Roviana and Kazukuru had already suffered from dysentery and other diseases through increased contact with Europeans in the 19th century (Hocart MS, 16:6 and Jackson 1978:11). In 1920 the Hoava were hit by a major epidemic which was attributed to **lodu gugusu**, a magic spell, by a Roviana man, in retaliation for a Hoava man killing a person from Saikile. Many people died and the survivors fled from the contaminated area. Some were able to settle in the land left empty by the Vahole, who had earlier also been wiped out by disease. As a Hoava man had married a Vahole woman, their descendants had the right to use the Vahole land. They first settled on the island of Burongo, before establishing Tamaneke on the mainland in the 1960s, and called themselves the Vahole. In 1926 most of the remaining Hoava in the central region moved north to the already existing village of Kolobaghea.

The Seventh Day Adventist mission arrived in the Marovo lagoon in 1914 (Bennet 1987:63). As they moved along the lagoon, their converts split from the Methodist villages and set up their own settlement at Tusumine. The Nggerasi village on Ramata also became Seventh Day Adventist and the remaining Marovo-speaking Methodists of Ramata moved to Keru Island, intermarrying with Hoava. Gradually this island has changed to become predominantly Hoava speaking, one of the few places where Hoava has taken over from the dominant Marovo language. Many people on the island, however, are equally fluent in Marovo and Roviana. The population remained low, with

the 1931 census recording 156 Methodists in the three villages of Kolobaghea, Keru and Burongo and 64 Seventh Day Adventists in Tusumine.

The Second World War caused Solomon Islanders all over New Georgia to move back into the bush until the arrival of the American forces, although many people were involved in assisting the coastwatchers. The presence of African-Americans in the American army who were treated with relative equality, and the friendliness of the Americans in general, was a transforming experience for the Hoava leadership. In response, there began to be resistance to the paternalistic attitude of the Methodists at Munda (Harwood 1971).

In 1960 there was a major split in the Methodist church. Silas Eto of Hoava had become a Methodist preacher in Kolobaghea, which was regarded as a backward area as far as the church was concerned. He established the Christian Fellowship Church (CFC), a charismatic Melanesian adaptation of the Methodist teachings, with himself incorporated as the Holy Mama 'Holy Father', as an addition to the Methodist trinity. The CFC provided a church controlled by local people, although traditional leadership roles were maintained (Tuza 1977:86). The church spread through the Kusaghe and Hoava regions, as well as other areas of Methodist influence in Roviana, Simbo and Choiseul, particularly through kinship links (Harwood 1971:86). As with the earlier Seventh Day Adventist conversions, villages split into CFC and Methodist, but all the Hoava and Kusaghe villages that were Methodist became CFC. The establishment of the CFC church has contributed to a strong sense of identity for its Hoava-speaking adherents, perhaps enabling them to retain their distinctive language in the future.

2.3.2 *Kusaghe traditional and recent history*

As in Hoava, the Kusaghe are made up of a number of **butubutu** 'descent group' descended from **atunu** 'apical ancestor'. The three main **butubutu** are Korogha and Ghamese in the central region and Lupa to the north, with other smaller **butubutu** also in the area, such as Rondana and Loghina. The boundary with the Kazukuru people to the south was roughly a line drawn from Mbaeroko bay to the Piraka river (Hocart MS, 16:6). There was also a settlement of Pazua people from Kolombangara in the southern Kusaghe region (see Map 4). As discussed above, there may have been people speaking a Kazukuru dialect in the area around Mount Vinaroni.

There were extensive taro terraces in the inland area of Kusaghe capable of supporting at least a thousand people, with wide, well-formed paths, suggesting a large number of people available for labour (Tedder 1976:48). In contradiction to the traditional bush-saltwater distinction, the Kusaghe also fished for bonito in the open sea off Kusaghe, as well as building **tomoko** 'war canoe' for headhunting raids. However, it may have been that different Kusaghe tribes carried out these activities. During the fiercest headhunting period when Roviana warriors had guns, the Kusaghe people moved further inland, abandoning some of their coastal settlements (Reeve 1989:63).

Prior to European contact, the Kusaghe tribes fought with each other, with the Kazukuru and Pazua to the south, and frequently with the Nduke-speaking Kolombangara

tribes. The fighting with the Nduke involved the Kusaghe crossing over to Kolobangara to raid and avenge other raids by the Nduke on Kusaghe. The stories recounting these battles make no mention of iron weapons—only stone axes and spears are used and the traditional method of fighting is described, whereby one side stands and tries to hit the other, who deflect the blows with their shields, before changing sides to the cry of “**Puleo!**” ‘return, go back’.

Eventually peace was made with Nduke after disease had affected the main Nduke village involved, killing most of the people there; although there are other stories, possibly from a later date, where the Nduke employed other warriors from Simbo, Ranongga and Vella Lavella to attack Kusaghe.

The Kusaghe tribes traded with each other for food and also exchanged goods with the Hoava people from Dekurana. Although these were friendly occasions, if someone became insulted fights and raids could result. For a long time the Korogha and Ghamese **butubutu** fought with the northern Lupa, until a **banara** ‘chief’, Vilinggi, united the Kusaghe tribes during the 19th century. Vilinggi died before the arrival of the Methodists.

The Kusaghe were always hostile to the Roviana people on the lagoon islands, and at one time, according to one person, the Roviana had to give the Kusaghe a large number of shell rings in order to obtain peace. As the Roviana group became more dominant with its access to metal weapons, they began to hire the Kusaghe as their warriors to go on raids to Choiseul and Ysabel. However, the majority of the coastal Kusaghe abandoned the coast and moved inland. The coastal Kusaghe villages became stopping places on the way to the Manning Straits for both Roviana and Simbo war parties (Hocart 1931:303–304).

With the arrival of the Methodist missionaries at Munda in 1902 and the end of headhunting around 1910, the Roviana settlements around Kokenggolo became more attractive to the Kusaghe. There was an increase in intermarriage between Kusaghe men and Roviana women around this time, and many Kusaghe moved south into the Roviana region (Allan 1957:232). As the coastal Kusaghe region was still abandoned and European surveyors appeared to be unaware of inland settlements, much of the Kusaghe area was declared wasteland and made available to Levers logging company, beginning a dispute over land that still has effects today.

Shortly before 1917, the Methodists established a mission station at Nusa, near present day Paradise, on the Kusaghe coast. The missionary and his wife were from Roviana and, as with the Hoava, the language used for church teaching, hymns and school was Roviana. In 1917 the people living inland moved down to create one village at the mission settlement called Menakasapa (now called Paradise). Shortly after they came down from the hills, many became ill and died from disease, adding further loss to the numbers of Kusaghe speakers.

By 1923 there were around 300 people in the whole Kusaghe region (Tedder 1976:47), while the 1931 census records only 262 people. Most people, other than the Seventh Day Adventists, lived in Menakasapa (Paradise) until shortly after the Second World War, when other villages along the coast were settled.

2.4 Multilingualism

While Hoava–Kusaghe is the first language of the majority of the people living in the present day Hoava–Kusaghe settlements, three other languages, Roviana, Marovo and Pijin/English, have become increasingly important, and many people are multilingual.

Although the religious split of the Christian Fellowship Church resulted in a localising of the church, Roviana is still the language used for church matters throughout the Hoava and Kusaghe regions. The Methodist church has tended to move away from Roviana to the use of the local vernacular language in churches outside the Munda region (Early 1982:14). The Christian Fellowship Church still uses Roviana as a lingua franca with many of its adherents living in Roviana-speaking districts. Regular gatherings of church members, a system of visiting preachers, and the use of the old Methodist hymn book continues the use of Roviana as the church language.

Roviana was the language of education when schools were run by the missionaries, so many people learned to read and write in Roviana, then employed the same writing system for Hoava–Kusaghe. Several Hoava–Kusaghe men were educated at the mission school in Kokenggolo in Roviana and returned to their home villages, often becoming local leaders. As noted above, Roviana continues to have an effect, especially on the Kusaghe dialect, replacing many Hoava–Kusaghe words. Also, the schoolteachers of the present day are often Roviana, who use Roviana language rather than Kusaghe or English to teach the children.

One surprising area where Roviana is used by some people is for traditional magic. When people quoted the words used in some magic and ritual, they used Roviana. For Hoava speakers, the second most commonly used language is Marovo, rather than Roviana, as most travel and trade is done with other Marovo speakers, and the regional centre for health clinics, store supplies, shipping and other communications is in the Marovo lagoon. Hoava people speak Marovo to Marovo people and do not expect to be spoken to in Hoava. When a Marovo-speaking child came to Tamaneke for schooling, all the Hoava children he played with, as well as adults, spoke Marovo to him. After a short time, two Hoava children around three to four years old were starting to mix in Marovo terms with Hoava, such as using the Marovo demonstrative **pia neni** ‘this’ for HOA **heni** ‘this’ at the end of otherwise Hoava noun phrases.

There is no one event that points to the increasing influence of the Marovo language over the Hoava. There may have always been a strong need for the Hoava to understand Marovo through traditional food exchanges. There was a land route from Hoava to Nonoulu suggesting regular contact with Marovo-speaking groups. One Hoava man, Pilipi Rono, told of being adopted by Marovo-speaking people on Ramata island, and he moved back and forth between the two communities. As the Hoava took to sea fishing and became more mobile with canoes after 1915, many Marovo terms for fishing and fish names seem to have been borrowed, e.g. **eha** ‘nautilus shell’ (ROV **ehaka**); **bao** ‘fishing spear’ (ROV **hopere**); **mata sisiu** ‘red eyed crab’ (ROV **mata hihiu**).

When I first visited the area in 1987–88, I was told that Keru village was half Hoava and half Marovo speaking and I heard both languages being used there. However, on returning in 1990, I was told by Keru villagers that Hoava was now the more popular language. A similar situation was also reported to me about the village of Vakambo

which was regarded as Marovo, but by 1990 Vakambo villagers were said to be speaking Hoava to visiting Hoava people.

As I was unable to visit the Seventh Day Adventist villages, I could not assess if there was a greater degree of Marovo used, although I would expect this to be so because of church links to the Marovo region rather than to Roviana.

The third 'outside' language in use in the area is Solomon Islands Pijin. Officially, children are taught to read and write in English at primary school, but most speech in school is in Pijin if it is not in Roviana, Kusaghe or Hoava. Many Pijin terms have been introduced into Hoava–Kusaghe for non-traditional items, such as **paramasi** 'primus stove', **mataresi** 'mattress', **malaria**, **misionare** 'teacher, missionary', **sikulu** 'school, teach'. Children also use Pijin words to replace Hoava, such as **rapu** 'rough', as in the sentence **kae rapurapu** 'don't be rough' instead of the Hoava **taturu**, or using **lusi** 'lose' in a game of cards. Pijin is also the language of the radio and so is usually heard throughout the village at night. With more people moving to the towns for work and increasing numbers of children in school, Pijin will continue to be a major factor in the multilingual environment for Hoava–Kusaghe speakers.

For the rest of the grammar, I will refer to the language as Hoava, as this is the dialect I am primarily describing, but I will note Kusaghe variants where appropriate.

3 *Phonetics and phonology*

In this chapter I outline the phoneme system of Hoava, including the dialectal differences of Kusaghe, and describe the main phonological processes occurring in the language.

Hoava has an open syllable structure of (C)V. Two vowels occurring together are counted as two syllables, since they function as such for transitive marking rules (see 5.3.1).

3.1 Segmental phonemes

3.1.1 Consonants

Hoava uses sixteen consonants in its phoneme system. Table 2 outlines the phonemic consonant system.

Table 2: Hoava consonant phonemes

	bilabial	alveolar	post-alveolar	velar	glottal
plosives:					
- voice	p	t		k	
+ voice	b	d		g	
affricate:			ɟ		
fricatives:					
- voice		s			h
+ voice	β			ɣ	
nasals	m	n		ŋ	
trill		r			
lateral		l			

The three voiceless plosives are unaspirated word initially, but /t/ and /k/ can receive a small amount of aspiration word medially.

The three voiced plosives are prenasalised word medially. In isolation, there is little or no prenasalisation word initially, except when the word is used emphatically, as in

[ⁿdæ] ‘finish’ (used to tell a child to stop crying). There tends to be initial prenasalisation when a word is inside a phrase.

- (1) /rɛbɔa/ > [rɛ^mbɔa] ‘soak it’ /bɛha/ > [bɛha] ‘basket’
 /sa dɔluruna sa bɛha/ > [sa ⁿdɔluruna sa ^mbɛha]
 ‘the whole of the basket’

Children and teenagers show more variation in this, with some having little prenasalisation at all, even word medially. For example, /kabasa/ ‘house’ may be pronounced [kabasa]; /hadɛ/ ‘wrap’ as [hadɛ]; /βɛgɛ/ ‘flying fox’ as [βɛgɛ]. However, I could not find any consistent lack of prenasalisation; the children varied the sound they did not prenasalise, and different children left out prenasalisation in different words. Without having done any rigorous testing, my impression was that the school-age children tended to have less prenasalisation than adults and preschool children, which is perhaps due to some influence from English being used as the teaching medium.

The affricate /ɕ/, which is not used in Kusaghe, is prenasalised. The prenasalisation follows the pattern of other prenasalised sounds, being used more word medially than word initially. Kusaghe uses the sound /z/ where Hoava has [ⁿɕ], and the Kusaghe sound is not prenasalised.

- (2) HOA /ɕiŋara/ > [ⁿɕiŋara] ‘red’
 KUS /ziŋara/ ‘red’
- (3) HOA /piɕuli/ > [piⁿɕuli] ‘tree sp.’
 KUS /pizuli/ ‘tree sp.’

The voiceless fricative /s/ is often palatalised by older adults preceding /i/, /ɔ/ and /u/:

- (4) /sɔtɔ/ > [s^jɔtɔ] ‘join’
 /sia/ > [s^jia] ‘nine’
 /βɛsu/ > [βɛs^ju] ‘eight’;

but from the same speaker also:

/surɔŋa/ > [surɔŋa] ‘board (a canoe)’

The fricative /β/ is occasionally labialised when it precedes back vowels:

- (5) /βɔku/ > [β^wɔku] ‘bird sp.’
 /βura/ > [β^wura] ‘go out’

The fricative /ɣ/ is optionally elided in Hoava (see 3.2.4), but is usually retained in Kusaghe.

Hoava has a short alveolar trill for /r/, while Kusaghe has a much stronger and longer alveolar trill.

3.1.2 Vowels

Hoava uses five vowels: /i/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /u/. There is no phonemic distinction of vowel length, although vowels can be lengthened when stressed. Kusaghe uses the same set of vowels.

The vowels can be combined into pairs with the weight of two syllables. Triplets of vowels are not used in base words, but do occur when the transitive suffix for third person plural (-i) is added to verbs ending in two vowels: /baɔ/ 'spear' > /baɔ-i/ 'spear them'. Some vowel combinations are very rare. Permitted combinations are shown in (6).

(6)		i	ɛ	a	ɔ	u
	i		/iɛ/	/ia/	/iɔ/	/iu/
	ɛ			/ɛa/	/ɛɔ/	/ɛu/
	a		/aɛ/		/aɔ/	
	ɔ		/ɔɛ/	/ɔa/		
	u	/ui/		/ua/		

The combinations /ia/ and /iu/ are pronounced with a glide as [ja] and [ju]:

- (7) /iani/ > [jani] 'Iani'
 /iula/ > [jula] 'Iula'

The combinations /ai/, /au/ and /ɔi/ are only found in words which have been borrowed from Roviana or Marovo within living memory, e.g. /ɣaili/ 'bonito hook'; /bɔsalau/ 'spirit of a murdered relative', /βɛkɛβɛkɔi/ 'line fishing'. The combination /ai/ is also used as an exclamation.

The combinations /uɛ/ and /uɔ/ are rare, found only in a few words, such as /buɛ/ 'tree species' and /suɔ/ 'exclamation, shout used to rouse a dog', and may also be borrowings. However, they were not pointed out as such by Hoava speakers.

The combination /ɛi/ is not used and the combination /ɛu/ is also rare, being only found in the place name for a river (Beu) in the Vahole district, an area settled by Hoava speakers in 1920.

The infrequency of particular vowel combinations suggests that Hoava has had a tendency for the second vowel of a sequence to assimilate to lower vowel height, so that a high vowel such as /i/ or /u/ becomes the corresponding mid vowel [ɛ] and [ɔ] following a mid or low vowel. Where this creates two identical vowels, one is deleted: /ɛi/ > [ɛɛ] > [ɛ]. A similar height assimilation has also probably operated in the formation of the present-day transitive suffixes (see 5.3.1). Height assimilation by Hoava can be seen when Hoava is compared with cognate words in Roviana, assuming that it is Roviana that preserves the earlier form of the words.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------|--------------------|---------|
| (8) | a. | ROV vei | HOA ve | 'where' |
| | | ROV ninoroi | HOA ninoroe | 'today' |
| | | ROV goi | HOA goe | 'you' |
| | b. | ROV pausu | HOA paosu | 'adopt' |
| | | ROV arau | HOA rao | 'I' |

ROV pou	HOA po	'hole'
ROV seu	HOA seo	'far'

The possible historical application of a general height lowering assimilation rule also operating leftwards is shown in the following pairs, where a high vowel in Hoava may have become a mid vowel if followed by a mid or low vowel, again assuming that Roviana preserves the earlier form of the words.

(9)	ROV vegua	HOA vegoa	'why, how'
	ROV tio	HOA teo	'friend'

(This latter word is now obsolete in Hoava and replaced by **kolo**).

However, other irregular correspondences occur between Roviana and Hoava, and the above two examples in (9) may simply be irregularities as are the following in (10):

(10)	ROV seopo	HOA saopo	'adze'
	ROV koa-	HOA koe-	'old'
	ROV kaiqa	HOA kiqa	'some'

3.2 Elision

Hoava has a basic underlying (C)V syllable structure. However, elision of vowels and partial elision of consonants is very common. There are three areas where elision is found: in reduplicated words; in polysyllabic words; and word finally. In addition, the consonants /*ɣ*/ and /*h*/ are often deleted.

3.2.1 Elision in reduplicated words

Reduplication is a common strategy of word formation and aspect marking in Hoava (see 3.6, 4.2.1.2.4, 5.4.2), where the first one or two syllables of a word are reduplicated. In cases where the first two syllables are reduplicated, the second vowel is always deleted in connected speech:

(11)	/buma/ 'blue'	>	[bumbuma] 'variety of small blue reef fish'
	/yasa/ 'jump'	>	[yasyasa] 'jumping'
	/hiyala/ 'to garden'	>	[hiyhiyala] 'gardening'

When the second consonant is a prenasalised voiced plosive or affricate, the oral obstruent part of the segment is also deleted, leaving behind the nasal part:

(12)	/hagala/ 'run'	>	[haŋha ^ŋ gala] 'running'
	/kabo/ 'cry'	>	[kamka ^m bə] 'crying'.

These elisions are also common in connected speech (see 3.2.3 below), suggesting a move towards a (C)VC syllable structure; but when a word is said slowly in isolation, the vowel is not elided. In writing, some people will write out the full form of the word,

while others will use an apostrophe to show the elided vowel: **veluvelu** or **vel'velu** 'evening'. I will follow the convention of writing the word in full when not showing the phonetic form.

3.2.2 Elision in polysyllabic words

In connected speech, it is common for polysyllabic words to have one or more unstressed vowels or even syllables elided:

- (13) /**tinávete/** > [**tinávte**] 'work'
 /**kàsiakatona/** > [**kàsiatona**] 'thing'

3.2.3 Word final elision

Word final vowel elision is common in rapid speech, especially for frequent combinations of words such as those in the following examples:

- (14) a. /**bóni kólεo/** > [**bóni kólεo**]
 night good
 'good night'
 b. /**kipu kabɔ/** > [**kip ka^mbɔ**]
 NEG cry
 'don't cry'
 c. /**βερα la yamu karu/** > [**βερα la yam karu**]
 where go PRO:2PL two
 'where are you two going?'

3.2.4 Elision of consonants

The voiced fricative /ɣ/ is frequently deleted in the middle of words when it precedes /i/, and at the beginning of the common word /yua/ 'said, did':

- (15) /**βayi/** > [**βai**] 'take'
 /**sayi/** > [**sai**] or [**sε**] fronting marker (see 9.5)
 /**yua/** > [**ua**] 'said, did'

The form [**sε**] is only used by older (50+) speakers, and other words where elision resulted in an [**ai**] combination did not change to [**ε**], suggesting that the tendency to height assimilation of vowels, discussed in 3.1.2, is no longer active.

The /p/ in the negative article **kipu** (see 7.3.1) is often elided, giving [**kiu**]. The phoneme /h/ is also occasionally deleted in connected speech:

- (16) /**pahɔ/** > [**paɔ**] 'empty'

3.3 Metathesis

A few words undergo optional metathesis of either consonants or vowels.

- (17) [baluyu] or [bayulu] ‘pepper leaf’
 [kasitɔŋa] or [kaɛstɔŋa] ‘thing’ (fast speech forms of /kasiakatɔŋa/)

Metathesis also appeared in some purported examples of what I was told were “extinct languages”: Vahole, said to be spoken in the Vahole region, where Tamaneke village is sited, before Hoava speakers arrived around 1920; and Pazua, said to have been spoken in southern Kusaghe in the 18th Century. Several of the following numbers given as Vahole are very similar to metathesised Hoava forms.

- (18) Vahole numbers

	Vahole	Hoava
1	/tɛkɛ/	/kɛkɛ/
2	/nuara/	/karua/
3	/kɛhi/	/hikɛ/
4	/dami/	/madɛ/
5	/maɛla/	/lima/
6	/ɣɔnɔmɔ/	/ɔnɔmɔ/
7 ¹	/zuapa/
8	/sɛβu/	/βɛsu/
9	/niasa/	/sia/
10	/manoya/	/manɛyɛ/

The following two phrases were provided as examples of Pazua speech by a Kusaghe speaker. The Pazua people are said to have come from Kolombangara and were fighting with the Kusaghe around the late 18th to early 19th centuries, before guns were available in the area. The glosses are of the Hoava equivalent for the purported meaning of the Pazua.

- (19) Pazua [na sa nua-ŋga-ni-a nɔɛya]
 Hoava [na sa ɣua-ŋga-ni-a yoe na]
 ART what say-REST-AP-3SG PRO:2SG DEM
 ‘What did you say?’

¹ No form for ‘seven’ was given for Vahole.

- (20) Pazua [lukulu βatalana naema]
 Hoava [ruku laβata-na maε na]
 rain big-3SG come DEM
 'A big rainstorm is coming'

K.J. Hollyman, in a note to an article by Bruce Biggs on metathesis in Rotuman (Biggs 1959), mentions that 'secret languages involving metathesis of normal word forms are known from Melanesia' (Biggs 1959:26), which suggests that the samples of "Pazua" and "Vahole" that I was given may be metathesised forms of Hoava–Kusaghe, rather than being genuine memories of now extinct languages.

Some words cognate with Roviana show metathesis either in Hoava or in Roviana:

- (21) HOA *mataripu* ROV *matapuri* 'blink'
 HOA *heri* ROV *hire* 'these'
 HOA *amasa* ROV *asama* 'type of vine'.

No such use of metathesis was found to apply between the dialects of Kusaghe and Hoava.

3.4 Stress

3.4.1 Stress on underived words

Two- and three-syllable underived words are stressed on the first syllable, as shown in the next examples:

- (22) /híke/ 'three'; /βélu/ 'yesterday'; /búlo/ 'heart'
 /máŋini/ 'warm' /kábasa/ 'house' /ámina/ 'Amina'

Four-syllable underived words receive secondary stress on the first syllable and main stress on the third syllable:

- (23) /γðloγáo/ 'vine sp.'; /liczaβéti/ 'Elizabeth'

3.4.2 Stress on derived words

Words derived by reduplication retain main stress on the base of the word in accordance with the stress pattern in 3.4.1 above.

- (24) /ráro/ 'cook' > /ra=ráro/ 'cooking'
 /híyala/ 'garden' > /hiya=híyala/ 'gardening'
 /búma/ 'blue/green' > /buma=búma/ 'blue fish'

Likewise, in nominalised words derived by means of the affix (-)in- (infix or prefixed) stress remains on the root of the word:

- (25) /híyala/ 'garden [v]' > /h-in-íyala/ 'garden [n]'
 /ásɔ/ 'move, walk' > /in-ásɔ/ 'journey, movement'
 /yu=yúa/ 'saying, doing' > /γ-in-u=yúa/ 'meaning'

Words formed by means of the noun-deriving suffix **-ana** are always stressed on the first syllable of the suffix:

- (26) /héle/ 'wash' > /heleána/ 'washing place'
 /yóre/ 'go down' > /yóre=yóre-ána/ 'landing strip'

A regular stress shift occurs when a verb becomes transitive. The main stress shifts to the vowel immediately preceding the object marker:

- (27) a. /hápu/ 'cover' /hapú-a/ 'cover-it' /hapu-í-γɔ/ 'cover-TR-you'
 b. /áyiri/ 'open (oven)' /ayirí-a/ 'open it'
 c. /βa-mátε/ 'CAUSE-be.dead (kill)'
 /βa-maté-a/ 'CAUSE-be.dead-him/her'

In the third person plural, when there is no overt object marker (for verbs ending in /i/ and /ε/; see 5.3.1.2), the only marker of transitivity and object marking is the stress on the final vowel:

- (28) /ḡáni/ 'eat' /ḡaní/ 'eat them'
 /kókahε/ 'block' /kókahé/ 'block them'

Movement of stress also occurs when some suffixes are added on to a word. The main stress moves to the syllable immediately preceding the suffix:

- (29) /bátu/ 'head' /batú-gu/ head-POSS:1SG 'my head'
 /kísi/ 'small' /kisí-na/ small-3SG 'small (one)'
 /kólεɔ/ 'good' /koléɔ-ḡga/ good-emphatic 'good'
 /ámina/ 'Amina' /aminá-ɔ/ Amina-vocative 'Amina!'

Derivational prefixes do not affect the placement of stress, which remains on the root of a word.

- (30) Passive prefix **ta-** /ta-ḡáni/ 'be bitten'
 Causative prefix **va-** /va-mátε/ 'kill'
 Reciprocal prefix **vari-** /vari-hába/ 'marry'

3.4.3 Lexical stress

In a few pairs of words stress is the only means of distinguishing them. In most cases, this is probably because, for one of the pair, the original root of a derived word has been lost:

- (31) /rórɔ/ 'banyan tree' /rɔrɔ/ 'desire' (no form *[rɔ])
 /tátaβa/ 'kite' /tatáβa/ 'back of canoe' (*[taβa])

Two words, with no possibility of a derivational origin for either, are differentiated only by stress:

- (32) /híkɛ/ 'three' vs /hiké/ 'three days ago'

This is the only example of lexical stress in the language. Since **hiké** 'three days ago' was only spoken in isolation and not found in any of the recorded speech, it is possible that this was an exaggerated difference.

3.5 Intonation

The Hoava, Kusaghe and Njela dialects differ in their intonation, a feature often commented on by speakers of Hoava in particular. Both Kusaghe and Njela may lengthen the final stressed syllable of a phrase and sharply lower the pitch on that syllable, followed by a monotone for any remaining unstressed syllables:

- (33) KUS /rá:ɔ ga ba si/
 PRO:1SG REST EMPH PRO
 'It's just me.'

The Njela dialect uses a lower pitch than Kusaghe, and the stressed syllable is greatly lengthened:

- (34) NJE /bɔŋ kó:lɛɔ/
 night good
 'good night'

This feature is more pronounced in conversation and is less common in connected narratives.

3.6 Reduplication

In this section I describe the form of reduplicated words. Reduplication is frequently used in Hoava as a method of word formation, to express intensification, and to form the progressive aspect of a verb. The different functions of reduplication will be discussed under the appropriate sections (4.2.1.2.4 for nouns, 5.4.2 for verbs). Hoava uses leftward reduplication of either the first syllable or the first and second syllables of a word. Main stress remains on the base of the word.

- (35) *One-syllable words:*

[kɔ́] 'stay' > [kɔ=kɔ́] 'staying'
 [βé] 'similar to' > [βε=βé] 'same as'

(36) *Two-syllable words:*

[báru]	‘bunch’	>	[baru= ^m báru]	‘bunches’
[há ⁿ dε]	‘wrap’	>	[ha ⁿ dε=há ⁿ dε]	‘parcel’
[kéke]	‘one’	>	[ke=kéke]	‘number one, the best’

(37) *Three-syllable words:*

[háβɔɔ]	‘flower’	>	[haβɔ=háβɔɔ]	‘wearing flowers’
[kú ^m bεε]	‘write’	>	[ku ^m bε=kú ^m bεε]	‘writing [V]’
[tápuru]	‘fly’	>	[ta=tápuru]	‘feather’
[kósiri]	‘urinate’	>	[kɔ=kósiri]	‘penis’

As noted in 3.2.1 above, the second vowel of the reduplicated prefix is usually deleted, as is the obstruent part of a prenasalised consonant.

(38)	[haβɔ=háβɔɔ]	>	[haβ=háβɔɔ]	‘wearing flowers’
	[ha ⁿ dε=ha ⁿ dε]	>	[han=ha ⁿ dε]	‘parcel’

The vowel of a second syllable is always deleted in a word beginning with a vowel:

(39)	[asɔ]	‘walk’	>	[as=asɔ]	‘walking’
	[ε ⁿ dʒini]	‘engine’	>	[ε ⁿ dʒ=ε ⁿ dʒini]	‘powered by an outboard engine’

Words beginning with CVV only reduplicate the first syllable:

(40)	[bui]	‘lost’	>	[bu= ^m bui]	‘forget’
	[kiu]	‘call’	>	[ki=kiu]	‘calling’
	[ruasa]	‘swim’	>	[ru=ruasa]	‘swimming’

For the word /iuru/ ‘steer’, which is the only word beginning with two vowels in my data, there are two possible forms when reduplicated, the first having a glottal stop to separate the reduplicated part from the base: [iʔ=juru] and [ju=juru]. These forms were only gathered from elicitation, not from spontaneous conversation.

Some reduplicated verbs and noun modifiers have an optional suffix [-(a)yi] (see 5.3.6):

(41)	[βetu= ^m βetu]	or	[βetu= ^m βetu-ayi]	‘rocking’
	[sɛkε=sɛkε]	or	[sɛkε=sɛkε-ayi]	‘cunning’

Reduplication is applied to base forms of words and is not used with most derived forms, such as causative, nominalisations using the (-)in- affix, or transitive verb forms.

However I did record one spontaneous occurrence of a verb in which the reciprocal prefix was reduplicated.

(42)	Vari=vari-hobe	sa	timi	taka bolo.
	RED=RECIP-change	ART:SG	team	kick ball.
	‘The [composition of the] football team was always changing.’			

3.7 Orthographic representation

The Hoava–Kusaghe villages that I visited use the writing system developed by the Methodist missionaries for Roviana. I did not visit any Seventh Day Adventist villages, and I do not know if they use the slightly different orthography developed by the Seventh Day Adventist Church for the Marovo language. The Methodist system, which is the one I shall use throughout is shown in Table 3:

Table 3: Hoava orthography and phonemic equivalents

a /a/	b /b/	d /d/	e /ɛ/	g /ɣ/
h /h/	i /i/	k /k/	l /l/	m /m/
n /n/	<u>n</u> /ŋ/	o /ɔ/	p /p/	q /g/
r /r/	s /s/	t /t/	u /u/	v /β/
z /ɟ/ Hoa; /z/ Kus				

J is used for names introduced from English such as **Jakia** and **Jone**. Hoava speakers pronounce <j> as /ɟ/, while Kusaghe speakers pronounce it as /z/.

4 *The noun phrase*

4.1 Introduction

A noun phrase in Hoava is one which has a noun or pronoun as its head. Nouns are defined as the class of lexical words which can occur with nominal articles, and place names. The component parts of the noun phrase are shown in (1). All constituents except the head are optional:

(1) **Constituents of a noun phrase**

(article) (quantifier or prenominal modifier) HEAD (postnominal modifier)

(restrictive particle) (demonstrative) (prepositional phrase) (relative clause)

Not all possible constituents can be present at once. Both of the pre-head elements may be present at once, as in (2), but only one or two of the post head elements are used simultaneously, as shown in (3) and (4).

(2) **ria** **kiqa** **kabasa**
ART:PL few house
ARTICLE QUANTIFIER HEAD
'the few houses'

(3) **ria** **ninani** **deana** **heri**
ART:PL food sweet PROX:PL
ARTICLE HEAD MODIFIER DEMONSTRATIVE
'these sweet foods'

(4) **ria** **doluru** **kasitona** **kisi=kisi**
ART:PL all thing RED=small
ARTICLE QUANTIFIER HEAD MODIFIER
'all the small things'

The category of pronouns includes personal pronouns, demonstratives, and possessive pronouns (see 4.2.2). Pronouns can be optionally followed by restrictive modifiers.

Possessive noun phrases are those which consist of a noun phrase containing a possessum and a possessor element, which may be a pronominal element or prepositional phrase, with an optional additional possessor full noun phrase (see 4.11).

A set of nominal indexing suffixes is used for a range of functions within noun phrases (see 4.2.1.2.3 and 4.11.1). The set is shown in (5):

(5)		singular	plural
	first person:		
	- inclusive		-da
	- exclusive	-qu	-mami
	second person	-mu	-mi
	third person	-na	-di

In this chapter I will first look at the head of the noun phrase, then at the component parts of the noun phrase. The final section, 4.12, will describe coordination of noun phrases.

4.2 Head of a noun phrase

The head of a noun phrase can be a noun or a pronoun. Nouns can be divided into the following categories:

a. *Common nouns*: they can be preceded by an article and/or quantifier, and can be base forms or derived nouns.

(6) **sa noki** ‘the snake’; **na noki** ‘a snake’; **keke noki** ‘one snake’;
sa in-edo ‘the happiness’ (lit: ART:SG NOM-be.happy).

b. *Quantifiers*: this category includes numerals and indefinite quantifiers. They usually precede nouns in the noun phrase but can also be heads of noun phrases, in which case they are always preceded by a definite article. Quantifiers are discussed in more detail in 4.4.

(7) **eri kalima** ‘the five’; **sa keke** ‘the one’;
ria kiqa ‘the few’; **ria sokudi** ‘the many’

c. *Personal names*: these can be preceded by the personal articles **e** or **se**, and can have a “vocative” suffix **-o** when shouted.

(8) **e Vezi**; **se Vezi**; **Vezi**; **Vezi!**

d. *Place names*: these are never used with an article, but can be preceded by the preposition **pa** in a prepositional phrase.

(9) **Tamaneke**; **pa Tamaneke**

The category pronoun includes:

personal pronouns	rao	'I'		
demonstrative pronouns	heni	'this';	si	'it-invisible'
possessive pronouns	mua	'yours (sg)';	e-qu	'edible-mine'.

Personal pronouns are discussed in 4.2.2, demonstratives in 4.8, and possessive pronouns in 4.11.

4.2.1 General nouns

Plurality in Hoava is conveyed by the plural definite article, plurality markers on demonstratives and by the use of quantifiers. There is a distinction, however, between count and non-count nouns. Count nouns can have a plural article in the noun phrase (10), while non-count nouns occur either with the singular definite article **sa** or the general article **na**, but not with the plural definite article (11), (12). Articles are discussed in 4.3 below.

(10)	sa	koburu	na	koburu	ria	koburu
	ART:SG	child	ART	child	ART:PL	child
		'the child'		'the/a child'		'the children'
(11)	sa	kuma	na	kuma	*ria	kuma
	ART:SG	water	ART	water	ART:PL	water
		'the water'		'water'		
(12)	sa	raesi	na	raesi	*ria	raesi
	ART:SG	rice	ART	rice	ART:PL	rice
		'the rice'		'rice'		

The vast majority of Hoava nouns are underived forms, but the language also has compound nouns (discussed in 4.2.1.1) and there are a number of highly productive ways of creating new nouns (discussed in 4.2.1.2). Some of these new nouns are now used instead of former, underived words. For example, the word for 'stone oven' is **kakatuana**, a derived form using the nominalising suffix **-ana** and reduplication of the verb **katu** 'to light', instead of the now obsolete **motu**.

4.2.1.1 Compound nouns

Compounds consist of two nouns occurring in sequence where the first noun is a general term, while the second noun modifies it.

(13)	nikana	soloso	nikana	vaka	nikana	Roviana
	man	bush	man	ship	man	Roviana
		'bush man'		'European man'		'man from Roviana'
(14)	kabasa	raro	kabasa	lotu	kabasa	hinigala
	house	pot	house	prayer	house	garden
		'kitchen'		'church'		'garden house'

Another set of compounds consists of words which would normally be linked by the inalienable possessive suffix in a part-whole relationship (see 4.11.1 for more detail on inalienable possession). When the possessive suffix is not used, the second noun serves to modify the first as in other compounds.

- (15) **gole-na** **qato** **gole** **qato**
 base-POSS:3SG tree base tree
 ‘base of a tree’ ‘tree base’
- (16) **kaha-na** **qato** **kaha** **qato**
 skin-POSS:3SG tree skin tree
 ‘bark of a tree’ ‘tree bark’

Often this type of compound has a metaphorical meaning, as in the following examples:

- (17) **lua** **sovi** **bele** **noki**
 vomit penis tail snake
 ‘sperm’ ‘last in the race’
- (18) **mea** **vose** **kola** **requ**
 tongue paddle liver hand
 ‘paddle blade’ ‘palm of the hand’

Hoava compounds are mostly made up of noun plus noun and, as such, are left-headed, but other word class combinations can be used, such as noun plus verb (19) and verb plus noun (20). In this case, the head of the compound tends to be the noun, whether this is the left element, as in (19), or the right element as in (20).

Noun + Verb:

- (19) **vaka** **tapuru** **deri** **tiva**
 ship fly post stand
 ‘aeroplane’ ‘standing post’

Verb + Noun:

- (20) **bui** **heleana** **mate** **malego**
 lose river sick leg
 ‘underground river’ ‘leg sickness (polio)’

The majority of compounds are clear in meaning since they are used to specify a member of a set of objects, such as types of houses (**kabasa podopodoana** ‘birth house’), woven baskets (**beha tepe** ‘basket with a sail design’), stories (**vivine kerane** ‘historical stories’), sweet potatoes (**mahu zama** ‘potato which is sweet like jam’), people (**nikana vaka** ‘European’). Some compounds, however, are opaque in meaning, varying from the metaphoric examples in (17) and (18) above, to those where the meaning of at least one part of the compound is no longer remembered, as in **dinigo pepeha** ‘forest’. The second word, **pepeha**, means ‘land’ but no meaning is known for **dinigo**. Other opaque compounds are shown in (21) and (22):

- (21) **koburu soloso** **koburu mata**
 child bush child eye
 'scorpion' 'pupil (eye)'
- (22) **isu mata** **deana boko**
 nose eye grease pig
 'face' 'beetle larvae sp.'

A few compounds are made up of three words, usually comprising a noun followed by another compound, again making the first noun more specific. This is found in the names of different types of cultivated plants such as sweet potato (23) or the description of a particular type of calm sea (24).

- (23) a. **mahu bira lipa**
 sweet.potato roe lipa.fish
 'sweet potato which is the colour of lipa roe'
- b. **mahu mule molu**
 sweet.potato return[NDU]¹ pregnant
- (24) **bule tunu ivili**
 calm pool *ivili*.tree
 'ivili pool calm', that is, the sea is as still as a pool of water in a knoll in the trunk of the large forest tree called *ivili*.

4.2.1.2 Derived nouns

There are several methods of deriving nouns from other categories of words: the nominalising affix (-)in-, the suffix -ana, the addition of the nominal indexing suffixes, and reduplication.

4.2.1.2.1 The nominalising affix (-)in-

The affix (-)in- is inserted before the first vowel in a word. If the word does not start with a consonant, the affix is inserted at the beginning of the word (25a), while if the word begins with a consonant, the affix follows the first consonant (25b, c). Stress remains on the root of the word.

- (25) a. **ása** 'grate' > **in-ása** 'pudding made from grated cassava'
- b. **bóru** 'massage' > **b-in-óru** 'massaging, cure'
- c. **háqala** 'run' > **h-in-áqala** 'act of running'

¹ **Mule** is a Nduke word meaning 'return', and this potato is a species which was brought from Nduke (Kolombangara Island), by a woman who was pregnant when she returned to Hoava.

² A similar situation is described by Hamel (1985:145–146) for Loniú, an Austronesian language in Papua New Guinea, where all the pronouns are used as articles for definite noun phrases.

This affix is extremely productive and can be used with virtually any active or stative verb to create a noun. Active verbs taking the affix result in a nominal with the following range of possible meanings:

1. *result of an action:*

- (26) **asa** 'grate' > **in-asa** 'pudding made from grated cassava'
guzala 'roll, twist bark to make string' > **g-in-uzala** 'string made from twisted bark'
bukulu 'defecate' > **b-in-ukulu** 'faeces'
ropa 'clear land for a garden' > **r-in-opa** 'cleared land'

2. *object which undergoes an action:*

- (27) **babana** 'tow' > **b-in-abana** 'load, towed object'
gerigeri 'gather building materials' > **g-in-erigeri** 'logs, sticks, vines, etc. needed for building a house'
mae 'come' > **m-in-ae** 'people who have arrived'

3. *an abstract noun describing an action:*

- (28) **dumi** 'punch' > **d-in-umi** 'act of punching'
hade 'wrap' > **h-in-ade** 'act of wrapping'
surana 'board a canoe' > **s-in-urana** 'embarkation'
tavete 'work, do' > **t-in-avete** 'work'

The affix is also used to derive abstract nouns from experiential and stative verbs:

- (29) **edo** 'be happy' > **in-edo** 'happiness'
hiva 'want' > **h-in-iva** 'wishes, desires'
gele 'be long' > **g-in-ele** 'length'
to 'be alive' > **t-in-o** 'life'
meava 'be yellow' > **m-in-eava** 'yellowness'.

There are also some irregular formations which do not fit into the above categories. The first example below, (30), shows a noun created from another noun; (31) is a verbal modifier created from a verb; and (32), while being a noun created from a verb, has a less regular meaning in that it usually refers to live people, not dead or sick people.

- (30) **pesu** 'food staple, such as potato, cassava, rice' > **p-in-esu** 'food accompaniment, such as meat or fish'
(31) **hoqa** 'run away' > **h-in-oqa** 'go quickly [adverb]'
(32) **mate** 'dead, sick' > **m-in-ate** 'person'.

The affix can also be used inside prefixes, to generate a nominalisation of a derived verb.

With the causative prefix va:

- (33) a. **va-qaqiri** 'pack up' > **v-in-a-qaqiri** 'belongings, luggage'
 b. **va-bobe** 'make full' > **v-in-a-bobe** 'filled object'
 c. **va-dae** 'make finish' > **v-in-a-dae** 'end'

When used with the causative prefix, the affix also derives ordinal numbers from cardinals:

- (34) a. **keke** 'one' > **v-in-a-keke** 'first'
 b. **karua** 'two' > **v-in-a-rua** 'second'
 c. **hike** 'three' > **v-in-a-hike** 'third'

With the reciprocal prefix vari:

- (35) a. **vari-razae** 'fight each other' > **v-in-ari-razae** 'war, battle'
 b. **vari-haba** 'marry each other' > **v-in-ari-haba** 'marriage'
 c. **vari-gara** 'gather together' > **v-in-ari-gara** 'gathering'

With the passive prefix ta:

- (36) **ta-poni** 'be given' > **t-in-a-poni** 'gift'

Nominalisations derived by means of the affix (-)in- are most commonly used as the head of a noun phrase. However, there are a few such words which are also used as noun modifiers (37a, b) or as verbs (38). Noun modifiers may optionally take the nominal indexing suffixes, as in (37b).

- (37) a. **ko** 'stay' > **k-in-o** 'old', as in **kabasa kino** 'old house'.
 b. **vihe** 'choose' > **v-in-ihe** 'chosen' as in **koburu vinihe-na** 'chosen child'.

In the next example, a nominalisation of a verb is functioning as a verb, since it is followed by a non-nominalised verb in a typical verbal serialisation.

- (38) **haqala** 'run' > **h-in-aqala** 'running'
H<in>aqala vura sa toloko.
 run<NOM> go.out ART:SG eel
 'The eel rushed out.'

Section 4.6.2 looks at postnominal modifiers derived from active verbs, and 5.12 has more details on the use of nominalisations in the verb phrase.

4.2.1.2.2 *The suffix -ana*

This suffix generally derives nouns referring to the place where an action occurs, or where the referent of the noun can be found. It is very productive with both verbs and nouns. In most cases, addition of the suffix requires reduplication of the base:

- (39) a. **katu** > **katu=katu-ana**
 ‘light (V)’ ‘stone oven’
- b. **eko** > **eko=eko-ana**
 ‘lie down’ ‘sleeping place’
- c. **heuku** > **he=heuku-ana**
 ‘plant (V)’ ‘garden’

A few words take the suffix without reduplication:

- (40) a. **ibu** > **ibu-ana**
 ‘cold’ ‘shaded place’
- b. **paere** > **paere-ana**
 ‘calm’ (sea) ‘harbour’

Four-syllable words are generally not reduplicated:

- (41) **oromari** > **oromari-ana.**
 ‘cassava’ ‘cassava garden’

The initial **a** of the suffix is deleted when it follows two vowels in sequence:

- (42) **hoe** > **ho=hoe-na**
 ‘spoon (V)’ ‘spoon (N)’

When **-ana** is added to a word ending in **-a**, the initial **a** of the suffix is again deleted:

- (43) a. **kabasa** > **kaba=kabasa-na**
 ‘house’ ‘village’
- b. **hebala** > **hebala-na**
 ‘travel’ ‘section of journey’

The main stress of a word shifts to the first **a** of the suffix:

- (44) a. **hódoko** > **hòdoko-ána**
 ‘land (V)’ ‘landing place’
- b. **ígunu** > **igu=ìgunu-ána**
 ‘play’ ‘sportsground’

When the initial **a** of the suffix is deleted, main stress is on the final vowel of the base of the word:

- (45) a. **héta** > **heta=hetá-na**
 ‘betel nut’ ‘betel nut growing place’
- b. **hóe** > **ho=hoé-na**
 ‘spoon (V)’ ‘spoon (N)’

A range of meanings is found in derived words using the **-ana** suffix, depending on the class of base used.

a. *Noun derived from a noun*

The derived word denotes the place where such an object can be found, usually in large quantities:

- (46) a. **heta** 'betelnut' > **hetahetana** 'betelnut growing place'
 b. **bae** 'cave' > **babaena** 'place of many caves'
 c. **qato** 'tree' > **qatoqatoana** 'forest, place of many trees'
 d. **kabasa** 'house' > **kabakabasana** 'place of houses, village'
 e. **petu** 'mangrove tree' > **petupetuana** 'mangrove swamp'
 f. **deo** 'clam' > **dedeona** 'clam bed'

Apart from derived words relating to places where particular plants or other living things are found, the derived word is often a synonym for an existing word. For example, **qato=qato-ana** 'place of trees' is a synonym for **dinigo pepeha** 'forest', **kaba=kabasa-na** 'place of houses' for **gugusu** 'village'.

b. *Noun derived from an active verb*

The derived noun describes either the place where an action happens, or the instrument used to perform the action.

Place:

- (47) a. **bagere** 'hunt possums' > **bagereana** 'possum hunting place'
 b. **eko** 'lie down' > **ekekoana** 'sleeping place, bed'
 c. **igunu** 'play' > **igigunuana** 'sportsground'
 d. **gore** 'go down' > **goregoreana** 'landing strip'

Instrument:

- (48) a. **nipaha** 'bail' > **nipanipahana** 'bailer'
 b. **gori** 'grate' > **gorigoriana** 'grater'
 c. **va-bubui** 'dust, wipe' > **va-bubuina** 'duster'
 d. **pazi** 'husk (coconuts)' > **pazipaziana** 'coconut husker'

c. *Noun derived from a stative verb*

The derived noun describes the place where such a state can occur. Only one such example was recorded.

- (49) **ibu** 'cold' > **ibuana** 'shade'

The stative verb **mate** 'be dead, be sick' has two irregular derivations using **-ana**. Both types of entity named by the nouns created in this way are regarded as causers of sickness or death.

- (50) a. **mateana** 'euphemism for eagle, portent of misfortune; also used for Christian angel'
 b. **matemateana** 'person who has a number of magical powers, including the ability to cause death'

4.2.1.2.3 The nominalising suffixes **-na/-di**

These suffixes are part of the set of nominal indexers used on noun modifiers and inalienably possessed nouns which were mentioned in 4.1 (see 4.11.1 below). **-Na** is the third person singular suffix, and **-di** is the third person plural suffix. They are used as nominalisers when what is otherwise a postnominal modifier or quantifier is used as the head of a noun phrase.

There are three main types of postnominal modifier in Hoava: (a) stative verbs; (b) derived modifiers; and (c) passive verbs. These categories are discussed in 4.6 below. When any of these three forms is used as the head of a noun phrase, it must take a nominal indexing suffix, which therefore functions as a marker of nominalisation. When a noun modifier follows a noun, the use of the nominal indexing suffix is optional.

Stative verb:

- (51) a. **sa koburu kisi**
 ART:SG child be.small
 'the small child'
 b. used as head of NP:
sa kisi-na
 ART:SG be.small-3SG
 'the small one'
- (52) a. **sa hore rerege**
 ART:SG canoe be.fast
 'the fast canoe'
 b. used as head of NP:
sa rerege-na
 ART:SG be.fast-3SG
 'the fast one'
- (53) a. **doluru qato koleo-di**
 all tree be.good-3PL
 'all the good trees'

- b. used as head of NP:

ria koleo-di
 ART:PL be.good-3PL
 'the good ones'

Derived modifiers:

- (54) a. **sa koburu tubu=tubu-na**
 ART:SG child RED=have.sores-3SG
 'the child with sores'

- b. used as head of NP:

sa tubu=tubu-na
 ART:SG RED=have.sores-3SG
 'the one with sores'

Passive verbs:

- (55) a. **sa nikana ta-hitu-na**
 ART:SG man PASS-cast.out-3SG
 'the outcast man'

- b. used as head of NP:

sa ta-hitu-na
 ART:SG PASS-cast.out-3SG
 'the outcast'

Quantifiers precede the head noun of a noun phrase. They are not followed by a nominal indexing suffix in this position. However, if a quantifier other than a numeral is used as the head of a noun phrase, a nominal indexer can be used.

- (56) a. **soku holapa makoto**
 many INTENS triggerfish
 'very many triggerfish'

- b. **ria soku-di**
 ART:PL many-3PL
 'the many (of them)'

The nominal indexing suffixes could be regarded as the head of the noun phrase, rather than as a nominaliser. They certainly appear to function as a type of anaphoric pronoun, coreferencing a previously mentioned noun phrase. However, this does not explain why they can also be used with noun modifiers which follow a general noun head of a noun phrase as in (57) below and (53a), (54a) above.

- (57) **sa hore kisi-na**
 ART:SG canoe be.small-3SG
 'the small canoe'

4.2.1.2.4 Reduplication

Many new nouns in Hoava are created from other nouns by reduplication. The regular patterns of reduplication and their pronunciation are outlined in 3.6 above. In this section I will discuss the use of reduplication to create nouns.

Reduplication is used to create words denoting entities related to the referent of the source word, either as part of the entity (58a, b), or as having a resemblance to it (58c), or being a metaphorical extension (58d).

- (58) a. **lose** 'room' > **lo=lose** 'wall'
 b. **ase** 'chin' > **ase=ase** 'jawbone'
 c. **dive** 'type of flat bivalve shell' > **di=dive** 'shoulder blade'
 d. **mata** 'eye' > **mata=mata** 'front of house'

In some words, reduplication indicates plurality, but this is not common. One of the few examples is (59):

- (59) **belama** 'frigate bird' > **bela=belama** 'flock of frigate birds'

The names of plants and fish are frequently reduplicated forms of other nouns:

- (60) a. **siki** 'dog' > **siki=siki** 'type of archer fish which eats faeces'
 b. **bisere** 'swamp hen' > **bise=bisere** 'type of medicinal plant'
 c. **nohoko** 'bird' > **no=nohoko** 'bee'

Some place names are derived by reduplication of nouns.

- (61) a. **bikoho** 'trochus shell' > **Biko=bikoho** name of a passage
 b. **baruku** 'pigeon' > **Baru=baruku** name of an island

Nouns are created from verbs by reduplication, particularly when there also exists a nominal form using the nominalising affix (-)in-.

- (62) a. **hade** 'wrap' > **hinade** 'act of parcelling'
 > **hade=hade** 'parcel'
 b. **buli** 'throw' > **binuli** 'act of throwing'
 > **buli=buli** 'throwing stick'

Nouns created from verbs by reduplication usually refer to the object undergoing the action of the verb (as with **bulibuli** 'throwing stick'), or the object created as a result of the action (as with **hadehade** 'parcel').

4.2.2 Pronouns

The following section discusses personal pronouns only. Demonstrative pronouns are discussed in 4.8.1, 4.8.2.4 and 4.8.3, while possessive pronouns are detailed in 4.11.

Personal pronouns in Hoava distinguish (a) three persons: first, second and third; (b) plurality: singular, plural; and (c) inclusion and exclusion for first person plural pronouns. The same forms are used in subject and object positions. The full set of personal pronouns is shown in (63):

(63)		singular	plural
	first:		
	-inclusive	gita	
	-exclusive	rao	gami
	second	goe	gamu
	third	(i)sa	ria

The full third person singular form **isa** 's/he, it' is used more in Kusaghe than in Hoava as a subject or object pronoun, although the oldest Kusaghe speaker (Pilemoni, c80 years) used **sa** more often than **isa**. Hoava speakers tend to use **isa** as an emphatic form or to refer back to a topic (65), and use **sa** for the general pronoun (64). Kusaghe speakers also use **sa**, but **isa** is far more usual (66).

Hoava:

- (64) **Tiqe la nani paho-e sa ria doluru**
 then go kill empty-TR:3PL PRO:3SG ART:PL all
nikana pa Hoeze.
 man PRP H.
 'Then he killed all the people of Hoeze.'

- (65) **Sa kasitona tu, isa koni ilisoqo-e**
 ART:3SG thing REST PRO:3SG FUT harm-TR:3PL
ria nikana riara.
 ART:PL man DEM:PL
 'The thing, it will harm those men.'

Kusaghe:

- (66) **Podo-a isa keke koburu.**
 give.birth.to-TR:3SG PRO:3SG one child
 'She gave birth to a child.'

A dual form is created by using **karu** 'two' after a plural pronoun, and a trial form by using **ka-hike** 'number prefix-three'. In the dual and trial forms of the third person pronoun, Kusaghe speakers use the third person pronoun **ria**: **ria karu** and **ria ka-hike**; Hoava uses **eri**: **eri karu**, **eri ka-hike**.

Kusaghe:

- (67) **Mae ko ria karu pa Nusa.**
 come stay PRO:3PL two PRP N.
 'They (two) came to stay at Nusa.'

Hoava:

- (68) **Sagele pule mae eri karu.**
 go.up return come PRO:3PL two
 'They (two) came back up.'

The dual forms of all the pronouns appear to be obligatory, while the trial forms can be replaced by the simple plural. A quadral form is quite common when it is important to a speaker that four people are involved. In this case the number four follows the pronoun, and it always occurs with the number prefix **ka-**: **gita ka-made, gami ka-made, gamu ka-made, eri ka-made.**

- (69) **La pita muziki gami ka-made.**
 go seek bait PRO:1PLEX NUM-four
 'We four looked for bait.'

Other numbers can be similarly used (70a), including large amounts (70b):

- (70) a. **Toka ria minate, sa qurupu, gami**
 set.off ART:PL people ART:SG group PRO:1PLEX
ka-lima, onomo.
 NUM-five six
 'The people set off, the group, we five or six.'
- b. **Gami hike gogoto, isa leba tala**
 PRO:1PLEX three hundred PRO:3SG labour where
gu-ni-a pa Muda.
 said-AP-3SG PRP M.
 'We three hundred, that is the labour there at Munda.'

When the dual and other numerical forms are used, it is common to add the names of the people making up the group, other than the speaker, especially at the beginning of a narrative. **Ri** is used as a conjunction to link names when there are more than one.

- (71) a. **gami karu Amina**
 PRO:1PLEX two A.
 'me and Amina'
- b. **gami ka-made Lena ri Ladi ri Niubiri**
 PRO:1PLEX NUM-four L. and L. and N.
 'me and Lena and Ladi and Niubiri'

Pronouns can be followed by noun phrase in apposition:

- (72) a. **Maki lavati sa pa Solomone, gi**
 NEG:IMP big PRO:3SG PRP Solomons and
ta-nani gita nikana hupa.
 PASS-eat PRO:1PL.IN man black
 'Let it [a monkey] not grow big in the Solomons, and we black men be bitten.'
- b. **Koleo holapa goe Tena.**
 be.good INTENS PRO:2SG T.
 'Thank you Tena.'

Pronouns can also be followed by demonstratives (73a, b) and the restrictive particle **qa** (73c); see 4.8 and 4.7 respectively for further examples of these.

- (73) a. **Gami heri la pa Rabolo.**
 PRO:1PLEX these go PRP R.
 'We here go to Rabaul.'
- b. **Sagele gua ba rao ni.**
 go.up said EMPH PRO:1SG DEM
 'Get up I said!'
- c. **Goe qa sa nikana pu boka=boka-di**
 PRO:2SG REST ART:SG man REL RED=able-3PL
ria t<in>avete.
 ART:PL work<NOM>
 'You are the only person who can do the work.'

Pronouns are frequently left out of a sentence once the referent is understood by the participants (74a), or if it is clearly evident from other information in the sentence, such as object markers (74b) or the use of the possessive pronoun in the verb phrase (74c). Note that the use of possessive pronouns in the verb phrase is discussed further in 5.11.

- (74) a. **Taloa sa koburu. Ome la nana, gua sa.**
 leave ART:SG child see go POSS:3SG said PRO:3SG
Uman-i-a ba sa onona-di ria kakaqara.
 hear-TR-3SG EMPH ART:SG noise-3PL ART:PL red.ants
 'The child left. "Look," she said. (She) heard the noise of the red ants.'
- b. **Gori-a tiqe la raro-a.**
 grate-TR:3SG then go cook-TR:3SG
 'Grate it and then cook it.'
- c. **La ko qua tedi Midili Kate, tiqe**
 go stay POSS:1SG PRP:3PL M. K. then
pule la pa Burono, tiqe la ko qua.
 return go PRP B. then go stay POSS:1SG
 'I went to stay at Midili Kate's then returned to Burono, then I stayed [there].'

Inanimate objects rarely have independent pronominal reference, but it is possible to use a pronoun for an inanimate object, as in the following examples:

- (75) a. **Isa sa poata dae Pilipi vagi-a sa.**
 PRO:3SG ART:SG shell.money and P. take-TR:3SG PRO:3SG
 'That is the shell money and Pilipi took it.'
- b. **Eri karu teqe-a sa pa Burono na.**
 PRO:3PL two clear-TR:3SG PRO:3SG PRP Burongo DEM
 'The two (of them) cleared it (the land) at Burongo.'

Ellipsis of pronouns referring to animate objects is particularly common with first person singular and plural and second person plural pronouns in object position, as the object marker on the verb is identical to the pronoun.

Pronoun present:

- (76) **"Aso mae goe," gua-ni-rao sa rao.**
 walk come PRO:2SG said-AP-1SG PRO:3SG PRO:1SG
 "'Walk towards me," he said to me.'

Pronoun ellipsed:

- (77) **Kiu-g-i-rao ria.**
 call-LIG-TR-1SG PRO:3PL
 'They called me.'

There are no reflexive forms of the pronouns. The main strategy for creating a reflexive meaning is the use of the verb **pule** 'return'. There is no subject or object pronoun used, other than the object marker on the applicative suffix (a transitivity suffix—see 5.3.2), in any of the sentences elicited with **pule** used in this manner.

- (78) a. **Ome pule-ni-a isumata-na pa tiro-ana.**
 see return-AP-3SG face-3SG PRP look-NOM
 '(She) saw her face in the mirror.'
- b. **Vaquuru teqe pule-ni-rao qa.**
 new cut return-AP-1SG REST
 'I've just cut myself.'
- c. **Balabala pule-ni-a.**
 think return-AP-3SG
 '(He) thinks of himself.' [i.e. he is selfish]

Tale- 'alone' can also be used with these sentences, but has the function of emphasising that no one else is involved, rather than a reflexive function.

- (79) **Vaquuru teqe pule-ni-a tale-na.**
 new cut return-AP-3SG alone-3SG
 '(She) has just cut herself.'

For some verbs there is no use of any additional form suggesting reflexive. These include **va-halahala** ‘dry (oneself)’ (80a), **hele** ‘wash oneself’, **ririki** ‘move oneself (out of the way)’, **molemole** ‘decorate oneself with red juice from chewing betel nut’, and **viraka** ‘scratch (oneself)’ (80b). Kemmer (1993) cites similar verbs which have an inherent reflexive meaning (see also 5.11 on the middle voice function).

- (80) a. **Va-hala=hala isa pa taoro.**
 CAUSE-RED=dry PRO:3SG PRP towel
 ‘He dried (himself) on the towel.’
- b. **Sa koburu sagi vira=viraka doluru boni.**
 ART:SG child TOP RED=scratch all night
 ‘The child was scratching (itself) all night.’

4.2.3 Personal names

Personal names can be used with or without an article. The use of articles with personal names is discussed in 4.3.5 below.

- (81) **La se Ebolo Qasi, tasi-na Pilipi.**
 go ART E. Q. sibling-3SG P.
 ‘Ebolo Qasi, Pilipi’s brother, went.’
- (82) **Tase-na sa nikana Tona heni, Samusoni Mapi.**
 name-3SG ART:SG man Tonga PROX:SG S. M.
 ‘This Tongan man’s name, Samusoni Mapi.’

Traditional pre-European personal names consisted of one (83a) or two words (83b):

- (83) a. **Hiva Ito Siamā ‘priest’ Muti**
- b. **Biko Igana Kava Nohara Keba Sora**
 fish coconut climb ?

Present day personal names in Hoava consist of two names. The first is a name derived from a European name, such as **Deniti** ‘Dent’, **Uilisoni** ‘Wilson’, **Quresi** ‘Grace’, **Sera** ‘Sarah’, **Zevenaēa** ‘Zephaniah’. The second name is a traditional Hoava name or, as in the case of the children of a Choiseul man who married a Hoava woman, from another Solomon Islands language, for example: **Kani**, **Kada**, **Opa**, **Nauqula**, **Oqoro** (all Hoava), **Vaguni** (Choiseul).

Some people are addressed by both their names, especially when there is more than one bearer of a name, such as **Josua Leti** and **Josua Pitu**. Most people, however, are known by just one of their names. For instance, **Devita Sasa** is called **Sasa**, while his brother **Burusi Baerakera** is known as **Burusi**.

Naming patterns are changing with many of the present generation of children being given their father’s traditional name as a surname. For example, **Nuke** was the name of the father of **Devita Kani**, who is the father of **Uilisoni Opa**. **Uilisoni**’s children, however, all now have the surname **Opa**.

Names of anthropomorphised animals have the same NP structure as human names. In (84) the first occurrence of **kikio** ‘hermit crab’ is a personal name, as shown by the use of the personal article **e**. The second occurrence of **kikio** follows the definite article, and so it is now functioning as a general noun.

- (84) **Goe, e Kikio, ko holapa. Sa**
 PRO:2SG ART hermit.crab stay pass ART:SG
kikio ko=ko holapa.
 hermit.crab RED=stay pass
 ‘You, Hermitcrab, stay behind. The hermit crab was staying behind.’

Personal names can be modified by the addition of a locative phrase, used mainly for the names of mythical animals.

- (85) **Tore sa, na sege pa Kaolo heni,**
 writhe PRO:3SG ART crocodile PRP K. PROX:SG
“Pakubani pa Kaolo” gua-ni-a ria.
 P. PRP K. said-AP-3SG PRO:3PL
 ‘It writhed, this crocodile from Kaolo, “Pakubani from Kaolo” they called it.’
- (86) **La sa, la ome-a sa sege**
 go PRO:3SG go see-TR:3SG ART:SG crocodile
lavata pa Hura na ... Matunu pa Hura.
 big PRP H. DEM Matungu PRP H.
 ‘It went, went to see that big crocodile from Hura ... Matungu from Hura.’

4.2.4 Place names

Place names do not take an article. Place names are used to name many features of the Hoava landscape, including significant rocks and trees. Although I did not record a meaning for most place names, a number of them are derived from general nouns. These are often terms for flora and fauna, such as the tree **tatalise** ‘Terminalia sp.’, or shells, such as **dive** ‘flat bi-valve shell’, used as a name for a coastal settlement. A place name may refer to where a particular species is found, such as **kopi tape** ‘stingray pool’, or **qoviri manue** ‘possum hole’.

Place names can also include words for landscape features such as **miho** ‘headland’, **botu** ‘mound, small hill’, **toqerana** ‘mountain’, **sadana** ‘rivermouth’, **koqu** ‘bay, inlet’, **kopi** ‘pool’.

Some place names are derived from verb phrases, as in the following:

- (87) **Kae ta-liṅana**
 NEG PASS-look.back
 ‘Can’t be looked back’: a point on a track going inland, from where the sea can no longer be seen if the walker looks back.

- (88) **Tiro koqu**
 look.at bay
 ‘Look at bay’: a point on a track to the coast from where the walker first sees the coast.

The name **Tamaneke** is a passive verb derived from the noun **maneke** ‘mother and child’, and was originally ascribed to a large rock in the village.

Some place names are borrowed, notably **Paradise** and **Jericho** in Kusaghe from English, where the original spelling is retained. Other place names are words also found in Marovo, such as the word for river **piono** in the river name **Piono Lavata** ‘Big River’, in the Vahole region.

The following examples show place names used as heads of noun phrases.

- (89) **Holehole Tita tase-na sa toqerana isana.**
 H. T. name-3SG ART:SG mountain DIST:SG
 ‘The name of that mountain is Holehole Tita.’
- (90) **Vegoa sa tase-ni-a Qerasi ria**
 why PRO:3SG name-AP-3SG Nggerasi PRO:3PL
sa pa noka-na heni?
 PRO:3SG PRP high-3SG PROX:SG
 ‘Why do they call it Nggerasi, this one up above?’

4.3 Articles

In discussing definiteness and referentiality, Givón (1984) proposes a linear scale consisting of: definite > referential-indefinite > non-referential > generic. He states that ‘in many languages ... coding devices are used to code contiguous sections of the scale’ (1984:407). Hoava has a general noun article which merely serves to mark a word as a noun. In order to specify definiteness or indefiniteness according to Givón’s scale, other devices are used. The definite articles are clearly derived from the pronoun system, with the third person singular pronoun **sa** for singular and the third person plural pronouns **ria/eri** for plural. Referential-indefinite is marked by the numeral **keke** ‘one’, while the absence of an article indicates both non-referentiality and generic noun phrases.

4.3.1 The general article

The general noun article is **na**. Since it does not distinguish number, it can be used to indicate non-referentiality.

- (91) a. **na mahu qa**
 ART sweet.potato REST
 ‘just sweet potato’

- b. **garo na noki**
probably ART snake
'probably a snake'
- c. **deana ve na zipale**
sweet SIM ART honey
'sweet like honey'

When **na** is used with a noun phrase that is definite, number distinctions can be made by other means, such as by a demonstrative modifier (92a), object indexing in the verb phrase (92b), or by a nominal indexing suffix (92c).

- (92) a. **Aso mae na boko heri=ri, susua sa**
walk come ART pig these=RED in.front ART:SG
keke, hiku toka mae keke.
one behind follow come one
'These pigs walked towards me, one in front, the other following behind.'
- b. **Agiri-a sa na kakatuana.**
open-TR:3SG PRO:3SG ART stone.oven
'She opened up the stone oven.'
- c. **... gua-ni-a eri kahike na koburu hiku-na.**
said-AP-3SG ART:PL three ART child behind-3SG
'... the three said to the younger child.'

Singular and plural distinctions are made using object markers in the next two examples.

- (93) a. **Nani-a qa na gomih.**
eat-TR:3SG REST ART mosquito
'The mosquito bit him.'
- b. **La veko-e hera na kakaqara.**
go leave-TR:3PL here ART ant
'Leave the ants here.'

The use of **na** in both definite and indefinite noun phrases is shown in the following example:

- (94) **Na boko isana sagi na boko manovisi.**
ART pig that TOP ART pig tame
'That pig, it was a tame pig.'

In elicitations of single sentences in the Hoava dialect area, people showed some preference for not using **na** with a direct object when the object was clearly definite and singular, in which case the singular definite article **sa** is preferred (see 4.3.2). The following examples were regarded as marginal by Hoava speakers:

- (95) a. **?Toká sa siki na boko.**
 chase.TR:3SG ART:SG dog ART pig.
 'The dog chased the/a pig.'
- b. **?Keri-a Tena na moqo.**
 cut-TR:3SG T. ART boil
 'Tena lanced the/a boil.'

The second sentence (95b) became more acceptable when a possessive phrase was added: **na moqo te Uza** 'Uza's boil'.

Note also that example (91b) above, from a narrative, caused no problems. When the above sentences were tested in Kusaghe however, all sentences with **na** as the article of an object were rejected.

Na is the only article that can be used with the secondary object in an applicative clause (see 6.3 regarding applicatives). When the secondary object follows the verb phrase it does not have an article (96a), but if a secondary object is moved to the front of a sentence, only **na** was regarded as acceptable for the article by Hoava speakers (96b), never a definite article.

- (96) a. **Bao-ni-a bao kohale Sasa sa boko.**
 spear(V)-AP-3SG spear turtle S. ART:SG pig
 'Sasa speared the pig with the turtle spear.'
- b. **Na bao boko bao-ni-a Sasa sa boko.**
 ART spear pig spear-AP-3SG S. ART:SG pig.
 'Sasa speared the pig with the pig spear.'

Na is very commonly found with adjunct noun phrases which add a further comment or explanation to a noun phrase in a sentence. The adjunct phrase is in italics in the following:

- (97) a. **La ria, *na qeto minate*, va-mate**
 go PRO:3PL ART warparty people CAUSE-be.dead
paho-e ria nikana.
 be.empty-TR:3PL ART:PL man
 'They went, the warparty, killed all the men.'
- b. **Naqali-a sa napo te banara, *na napo nohara qa.***
 carry.TR-3SG ART:SG drink POSS chief ART drink coconut REST
 '[They] carried the chief's cup, just a coconut cup.'

Na is also used when listing items, although the first item may have a definite article.

- (98) a. **sa nana beke na lave**
 ART:SG POSS:3SG spear ART shield
 'his spear, shield'

- b. **ria paka, na beniti, na katalasi, na ve**
 ART:PL gun ART bayonet ART sword ART SIM
 'the guns, bayonets, swords, (and) the like'
- c. **na manue, toloko, igana**
 ART opossum eel fish
 'opossums, eels, fish'

Na is used before the question word **sa** 'what?', in the same manner as the personal article **e** is used before the question word **se** 'who?' (see 9.4.1.1 and 9.4.1.3).

- (99) **Na sa taveti-a gamu karu?**
 ART what do.TR-3SG PRO:2PL two
 'What are you two doing?'

Na is not used after the preposition **pa**, where no article is used, nor after the prepositions **ta-** and **ke**, which require a definite article (see 7.1.2).

4.3.2 The definite article

The definite article has a singular form **sa** and plural forms **ria** and **eri**. Hoava uses **eri** as the plural definite article with numbers of people, for example **eri karu koburu** 'the two children', in the same way as it uses **eri** with the dual and trial third person pronoun forms (see 4.2.2), while Kusaghe always uses **ria**: **ria karu koburu** 'the two children'.

It seems likely that the definite article is historically derived from the pronominals.² This is supported by the use of other pronominals with noun phrases referring to first and second persons:

- (100) a. **gita nikana hupa**
 PRO:1PL.IN man black
 'we black men'
- b. **goe Tena**
 PRO:2SG T.
 'you Tena'

From the use of such appositional noun phrases with pronouns, the third person pronouns have assumed the role of definite noun phrase marker, in contrast to the general article **na** which does not indicate definiteness.

The definite article, as with the general article, precedes all other components of a noun phrase:

- (101) a. **sa kaleqe**
 ART:SG woman
 'the woman'

- b. **sa nana pakupaku.**
ART:SG POSS:3SG necklace
'his necklace'
- c. **ria dia gugusu**
ART:PL POSS:3PL village
'their village'
- d. **ria doluru kasitona pa kabasa**
ART:PL all thing PRP house
'all the things in the house'.

Definite articles are used in noun phrases in subject (102a) and object (102b) position in a clause, and adjuncts (102c), but never with an applied object (96 above; see 5.3.2).

- (102) a. **Pato sa kalaho.**
speak ART:SG woman
'The woman spoke.'
- b. **Tioni-a eri karu sa toloko.**
bake.TR-3SG ART:PL two ART:SG eel
'The two (boys) baked the eel.'
- c. **Toka ria minate, sa qurupu.**
travel ART:PL people ART:SG group
'The people, the group, travelled.'

Definite articles are used with the prepositions **ta-** and **ke**, but not with the preposition **pa**.

- (103) a. **tani sa hinaquru**
PRP:3SG ART:SG girl
'to/of/from/by the girl'
- b. **tadi ria kalaho**
PRP:3PL ART:PL woman
'to/of/from/by the women'

4.3.3 Referential-indefinite marking

The function of a referential-indefinite marker is described by Givón (1984:399): 'Speakers code a referential nominal as indefinite if they think they are *not* entitled to assume that the hearer can—by whatever means—assign it unique referential identity.' Hoava uses the numeral **keke** 'one' for this function.

- (104) a. **Heni keke kasitona lea-na holapa.**
this one thing good-3SG INTENS
'This is a very good thing.'

- b. **Edi Wickham, gua-ni-a ria, keke solodia.**
 E. W. said-AP-3SG PRO:3PL one soldier
 'Edi Wickham, they call him, a soldier.'
- c. **La ria karua nikana riara vale-a keke diqi.**
 go ART:PL two man these give-TR:3SG one dinghy
 'These two men went and gave a dinghy (to them).'

Since **keke** is also used as the numeral 'one', it can be used in definite noun phrases, when preceded by the definite article:

- (105) a. **Sikulu-ni-a ria sa keke k<in>era.**
 learn-AP-3SG PRO:3PL ART:SG one sing<NOM>
 'They learned the one song.'
- b. **La sikulu pa Saikile, tani sa keke nikana Tona.**
 go school PRP S. PRP:3SG ART:SG one man Tonga
 '(They) went to school, with the (one) Tongan man.'

4.3.4 Indefinite noun phrase marking

The absence of an article generally indicates that a noun phrase is to be interpreted as non-referential or generic.

- (106) a. **Kolokolo-na isana, nikana varuqa rao ba si.**
 time-3SG that man new PRO:1SG EMPH PRO
 'That time, I was a young man of course.'
- b. **Sa vivine heni sagi vivine pa Qerasi dae Ramata.**
 ART:SG story this TOP story PRP Nggerasi and R.
 'This story, it is a story from Nggerasi and Ramata.'
- c. **Kabasa h<in>igala gu-ni-a sa kabasa**
 house garden<NOM> said-AP-3SG ART:SG house
ko pa tala pu la higa=higala.
 exist PRP where REL go RED=garden
 'A gardening house (we) call the house which is situated where (we) go gardening.'

An article is not used with the secondary object of the only ditransitive verb **poni** 'give' (107a), nor with the secondary objects of applied verbs (107b), giving an indefinite interpretation to the secondary object. This is discussed further in 6.3.3.

- (107) a. **La ria poni-a seleni e Biliboa.**
 go PRO:3PL give-TR:3SG money ART B.
 'They went and gave Biliboa money.'

- b. **Keri-ni-a kuti Tena sa moqo lavata.**
 lance-AP-3SG knife T. ART:SG boil big
 'Tena lanced the large boil with a knife.'

Since an object is usually incorporated when it is generic, incorporated objects do not have articles, as in the next example. For more examples see 6.2.4.

- (108) **Gona nohoko sa makariva.**
 pelt bird ART:SG boy
 'The boy shot birds.'

Articles are not used after the preposition **pa**, although either definite or indefinite interpretation is possible according to the discourse:

- (109) a. **Koni la pa toba gita.**
 FUT go PRP barrier.islands PRO:1PL.IN
 'We will go to (the) barrier islands [but not to any one in particular].'
- b. **Eko ko paki tu pa nobo.**
 lie stay first REST PRP forest
 '(He) stayed lying down first in (the) forest.'
- c. **Eko Biulu pa teqe.**
 lie B. PRP mat
 'Biulu lay on a mat.'

If it is important for the location to be specified as definite, two strategies are possible. First, it is possible to change the syntax so that the location becomes a direct object (see 5.2.4 for further discussion of this), and can therefore be marked by the definite article.

- (110) **Eko-a Biulu sa teqe.**
 lie-TR:3SG B. ART:SG mat
 'Biulu lay on the mat.'

The other strategy for denoting a specific, referential location is to use the alternative prepositions **ta-** (HOA) and **ke** (KUS) (see 6.5, 7.1.2), in which case the definite articles are used after the preposition. Compare (111a), referring to a non-specific location, to (111b) and (111c), referring to a specific location.

- (111) a. **la pa qato**
 go PRP tree
 'go to a tree'
- b. [HOA]
la tani sa qato
 go PRP:3SG ART:SG tree
 'go to the tree'

- c. [KUS]
la ke sa qato
 go PRP ART:SG tree
 'go to the tree'

In some examples, though, it is clear that the noun phrase after the preposition **pa** is referential, despite the lack of an article. In the next example, one particular village is being discussed as a site for a missionary school.

- (112) **Kari, pa Odono qa koleo, pa gugusu tamu**
 no PRP Odongo REST be.good PRP village PRP:2
gamu ri Masu ri Tokopae.
 PRO:2PL and M. and T.
 'No, just at Odongo is good, at the village of you and Masu and Tokopae.'

Examples such as this may be influenced by there being no article with place names.

It is also possible to omit articles in possessive noun phrases, where the possessive pronoun supplies the definiteness:

- (113) **nana hore Iani**
 POSS:3SG canoe I.
 'Iani's canoe'

4.3.5 Personal noun articles

E and **se** are optional articles used with names of people or personified animals and birds. Articles are not necessary with names, as the following examples show.

- (114) a. "**Qeto lavata mae,**" **gua Hutahuta.**
 warparty big come said H.
 'A big warparty is coming," said Hutahuta.'
- b. **Samu Gobe misianare tami gami.**
 S. G. teacher POSS:1PLEX PRO:1PLEX
 'Our teacher was Samu Gobe.'
- c. **Hiko vagi-a Benete sa paka na.**
 steal take-TR:3SG B. ART:SG gun DEM
 'Bennet stole that gun.'
- d. "**Koleo qa,**" **gua-ni-a rao Natu.**
 be.good REST said-AP-3SG PRO:1SG N.
 '“Alright,” I said to Ngatu.'

4.3.5.1 The personal article *e*

The article *e* is optionally used in Hoava, although it is used infrequently and personal names occurring without any article or the personal article *se* are more common. The article *e* is most commonly used with the subject of an intransitive verb, and is rarely found with subjects or objects of transitive verbs, unless these arguments are placed before the verb. In Kusaghe, personal names can use either no article or *e*, but *e* cannot be used in object position where the personal article *se* is used. The following examples show the possible occurrences of *e* with arguments of a verb.

Subject of an intransitive verb:

- (115) a. **Ko nana pa requ qato pa noka huani e Hutahuta.**
 stay POSS:3SG PRP arm tree PRP high DEM ART H.
 ‘Hutahuta stayed up high there on the tree branch.’
- b. **Gasa sagele e Voku pa ema.**
 jump go.up ART V. PRP vine.sp.
 ‘Voku jumped up onto the *ema* vine.’

Subject of a transitive verb:

- (116) **La teni-a e Surisie sa bibolo hope.**
 go take-TR:3SG ART S. ART:SG prostitute sacred
 ‘Surisie went and took the sacred prostitute.’

Object (Hoava only):

- (117) **E se podo-a e Saku?**
 ART who give.birth-TR:3SG ART S.
 ‘Who gave birth to Saku?’

E is also the article used before the interrogative noun *se* ‘who?’ and so is most often found in the response to a question, when a name is in initial position in a clause.

- (118) a. **Q: E se kebá sa heta?**
 ART who climb.TR:3SG ART:SG betelnut
 ‘Q: Who climbed the betelnut tree?’
- A: E Vezi kebá sa heta.**
 ART V. climb.TR:3SG ART:SG betelnut
 ‘A: Vezi climbed the betelnut.’
- b. **Q: E se qa ome-a goe?**
 ART who REST see-TR:3SG PRO:2SG
 ‘Q: Who did you see?’
- A: Eri, e Mago keke.**
 ART:PL ART M. one
 ‘A: Mago is one.’

If *e* is not used in the question, it is not used in the reply:

- (119) **Q: Se va-sikuli-go? Se sa misianare?**
 who CAUSE-school.TR-2SG who ART:SG teacher
 'Q: Who taught you? Who was the teacher?'
A: Samu Gobe sa misianare tami gami.
 S. G. ART:SG teacher POSS:1PL.EX PRO:1PL.EX
 'A: Samu Gobe was our teacher.'

E is sometimes found with a fronted noun phrase in a vocative role:

- (120) a. **Goe, e Kikio, ko holapa.**
 PRO:2SG ART K. stay pass
 'You, Kikio, stay behind.'
 b. **Koe, e Mama, koe-gi tu na binukulu**
 EXCL ART Father stay-TR:3PL REST ART faeces
ba sa horete ni!
 EMPH ART:SG bowl DEM
 'Gosh, Father, there are faeces in the bowl!'

E can also be used with an NP that is the predicate in a sentence where the subject NP is topicalised:

- (121) a. **Tase-na sa koburu sagi e Sueline.**
 name-3SG ART:SG child TOP ART S.
 'The child's name, it is Sueline.'
 b. **Keke kalaho sola nani-na se Roqae sagi e Tuqa.**
 one woman join eat-3SG ART R. TOP ART Tungga.
 'A woman who joined in the eating of Ronggae, it was Tungga.'
 c. **Tase-na isa e Kebasora.**
 name-3SG PRO:3SG ART K.
 'His name was Kebasora.'

When a name is topicalised using *sagi* or is fronted with other constructions, as discussed in Chapter 9, *e* can be used with the name.

- (122) a. **E Mosi sagi tavete-na sa lose.**
 ART M. TOP build-3SG ART:SG room.
 'It was Mosi that built the room.'
 b. **E Tena ba asa-na sa tile.**
 ART T. EMPH grate-3SG ART:3SG pearl.shell
 'Tena sharpened the pearl shell.'

E is optionally used when a name is included in a relative clause:

- (123) a. **karu magara pu la e Matakale pota-e pa Pelopelo**
 two stone REL go ART M. hit-TR:3PL PRP P.
 'two stones which Matakale hit to Pelopelo'
- b. **sa horete pu pekuti-a e Pepekutu**
 ART bowl REL turn.inside.out-TR:SG ART P.
 'the bowl which Pepekutu turned inside out'

The article *se* is never found in this position, and most commonly no article at all is used:

- (124) a. **sa nikana pu togasi-a Bubu de la piko**
 ART:SG man REL tell.TR-3SG B. COMP go spy
 'the man who told Bubu to go and spy'
- b. **sa buruburu pu gore Mista Goldie**
 ART:SG year REL go.down Mr G.
- sa lotu pa Hoava**
 ART:SG church PRP H.
 'the year when Mr Goldie brought the church to Hoava'

Another use of *e* is as a filler when trying to remember a name. Some instances of its use with names may be due more to its use as a filler than as an article, as in the next example:

- (125) **Pirae, na, e, Koba pa vari-korapa-na.**
 now ART e K. PRP RECIP-middle-3SG
 'Now, the, eh, Komba is right in the middle.'

E can be used with more than one name in a phrase, in which case the second or subsequent names are linked by the conjunction *ri* 'and'.

- (126) **Kera e Jone ri Inoke.**
 sing ART J. and I.
 'Jone and Inoke sang.'

Alternatively, the definite article *ria* can be used in place of *e*:

- (127) **Kera=kera ria Jone ri Inoke.**
 RED=sing ART:PL J. and I.
 'Jone and Inoke were singing.'

In Hoava there is a plural form *eri*. As with the definite article in (127) above, this can be ambiguous, capable of being interpreted as either a plural article or the third person plural article (see 4.2.2 and 4.3.2). I have chosen to interpret HOA *eri* as a personal noun article when it occurs with personal names, since Kusaghe uses a plural article *ari* with personal names. *Ari* is not used as a pronoun and so is unambiguously a plural personal noun article. Therefore, the equivalent word in Hoava should also have this function.

Hoava:

- (128) **Q: Eri se mae?**
 ART:PL who came
 'Q: Who came?'
A: Eri Vezi ri Napi ri Jopa.
 ART:PL V. and N. and J.
 'A: Vezi and Napi and Jopa.'

Kusaghe:

- (129) **Q: Ari se mae?**
 ART:PL who come
 'Q: Who came?'
A: Ari Vezi ri Napi ri Jopa.
 ART:PL V. and N. and J.
 'A: Vezi and Napi and Jopa.'

4.3.5.2 The personal article *se*

Se, like *e*, is an optional article, but it has a strong ergative patterning when it is used, much like the cognate particle in neighbouring Roviana. As discussed in Corston (1993), Roviana *se* is used with an absolutive noun phrase, that is, the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb. In Hoava–Kusaghe I recorded only three sentences where *se* was used with a subject of a transitive verb, shown in (130). Since there were so few examples of this, it is quite likely that the examples in (130) result from performance errors. Alternatively, there may be a language change in progress or some other unidentified conditioning.

- (130) a. **Sa pu kisi-na, sa pu gua-ni-a**
 PRO:3SG REL small-3SG PRO:3SG REL said-AP-3SG
goe, ta_nini-a se Jonitani.
 PRO:2SG hold-TR:3SG ART J.
 'The small one, the one you talked about, Jonitani holds it.'
- b. **Isa qa la ropa-ni-a se Tupiti tala gu-ni-a.**
 PRO:3SG REST go clear-AP-3SG ART T. REL said-AP-3SG
 'Tupiti cleared it (the land) where I said.'
- c. **Kamo-a se Roqae keke patu koqu lavata.** [KUS]
 arrive-TR:3SG ART R. one stone bay big
 'Roqae arrived at a large stone bay.'

All other examples of a name functioning as the subject of a transitive verb do not use *se*, using instead no article (131) or, less often, *e*, as in (116) above.

- (131) a. **Nanasi-a Zisu sa nikana heni.**
ask.TR-3SG Jesus ART:SG man PROX:SG
'Jesus asked this man.'
- b. **Vale-a Nuke te Devita sa poata heni.**
give.TR-3SG N. PRP D. ART:SG shell.money PROX:SG
'Nuke gave this shell money to Devita.'

Se is used optionally with names functioning as subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs in Hoava, alternating with *e* and no article, except in Kusaghe, where only *se* is used with objects of transitive verbs. There is no plural form of *se*.

- (132) a. **Eko piliha se Biulu pa teqe.** [KUS]
lie across ART B. PRP mat
'Biulu lay across a mat.'
- b. **Manini se Vezi.** [KUS]
hot ART V.
'Vezi is angry.'
- c. **Umana-ni-a ria se Biliboa.** [KUS]
hear-AP-3SG PRO:3PL ART B.
'They had heard of Biliboa.'
- d. **La sa kalaho te banara roro-a se Matakale.** [KUS]
go ART:SG woman POSS chief desire-TR:3SG ART M.
'The wife of the chief desired Matakale.'
- e. **Vari-korakora-e se Josua ri Deni velu.** [KUS]
RECIP-angry-TR:3PL ART Z. and D. yesterday.
'Josua and Deni argued yesterday.'

Note the alternation of articles in the near identical clauses in (133), all from Kusaghe:

- (133) a. **Taloe e Turukale.** [1st use of name]
leave ART T.
'Turukale left.'
- b. **Taloe Turukale.** [2nd use of name]
leave T.
'Turukale left.'
- c. **Hoqa se Turukale.** [later use of name]
flee ART T.
'Turukale fled.'

Likewise, note the two following variations for personal articles with object noun phrases recorded in Hoava:

- (134) a. **“Pirae mae ba rao ni,” gua-ni-a rao se Natu.**
 now come EMPH PRO:1SG DEM said-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART Ngatu
 ‘“I come now,” I said to Ngatu.’
- b. **“Koleo qa,” gua-ni-a rao Natu.**
 be.good REST said-AP-3SG PRO:1SG Ngatu
 ‘“Good,” I said to Ngatu.’

Se can be used with a topicalised or fronted name, though less often than **e** or no article.

- (135) **Se Matakale sagi na kipu tu-na na nikana so.** [KUS]
 ART M. TOP ART NEG child-3SG ART man PAST
 ‘Matakale was not the child of a human.’
- (136) **Se Kavanohara ba tunu.** [KUS]
 ART K. EMPH sit
 ‘Kavangohara sat.’

Se is never used in a relative clause, but it is used in other dependent clauses:

- (137) **Pana do=dola la-i-a goe se Maqiqo,**
 if RED=stare go-TR-3SG PRO:2SG ART Mangginggo
- koni pota-go tu sa goe na.**
 FUT beat-TR:2SG EMPH PRO:3SG PRO:2SG DEM
 ‘If you stare at Mangginggo, he will beat you!’

Overall, when personal articles are used at all, the article **se** is used, mainly with subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs, thus showing a tendency towards an ergative pattern in a similar manner to the cognate particle in Roviana, which is used to mark the absolutive noun phrase. The personal article **e**, while limited in use, does not have the same restrictions on its use as the cognate article in Roviana, which can only be used with proper noun phrases in ergative position (Corston 1993:20).

Two possibilities are evident. First, Hoava may be developing an ergative patterning of personal noun articles under the influence of Roviana. Or second, Hoava may be losing the ergative patterning and replacing the **e** and **se** articles with no article at all.

There may have been an earlier particle that could be used with pronouns, cognate with Roviana **si**, which has now been lost, but there is not enough evidence to show that its use followed the same ergative pattern of Roviana **si** as described in Corston (1993). I therefore prefer the first option, since Roviana, as well as being closely-related, has had a major impact on Hoava through its use as a church language. Roviana continues to have a greater influence over Kusaghe than over Hoava, and it is in Kusaghe where the ergative patterning of **se** is strongest. As a consequence, it appears likely that Hoava–Kusaghe, especially the Kusaghe dialect, is moving towards an ergative system of personal noun articles.

As the following passage from a speaker in his late 60s shows, Hoava people currently use **se**, **e** and no article in free variation.

- (138) **Pato Benete. “Ai, mae sa palabatu,” gua**
 speak B. EXCL come ART:SG elder said
isa. “Ao, mae heni,” gua se Edi.
 PRO:3SG yes, come this said ART E.
“Ego, sagele tu goe, la vivini-a,”
 well go.up REST PRO:2SG go story.TR-3SG
gua e Benete. Sagele e Edi.
 said ART B go.up ART E.
 ‘Benete spoke. “Ai, the elder comes,” he said. “Yes, this one comes,” said Edi. “Well, you go up, go talk to him,” said Benete. Edi went up.’

4.4 Quantifiers

There are three types of quantifiers in Hoava: numerals, general quantifiers and collective nouns. Quantifiers in a noun phrase precede the head noun and any possessive pronouns.

- (139) a. **karu koburu makariva**
 two child boy
 ‘two boys’
- b. **ria doluru kasitona**
 ART:PL all thing
 ‘all things’
- c. **kiqa dia gugusu**
 some POSS:3PL villages
 ‘some of their villages’

Quantifiers can be used as the head of a noun phrase. When counting humans, the article **eri** is used with numbers, while for other non-human nouns the article **ria** is used.

- (140) a. **eri ka-made**
 ART:PL NUM-four
 ‘the four’ (people)
- b. **ria kiqa**
 ART:PL few
 ‘the few’ (things)

4.4.1 Numerals

Hoava has a decimal system of numbering. In counting, the numbers one to ten are as follows:

keke	one
karua	two
hike	three (Kusaghe often use Roviana neta)
made	four
lima	five
onomo	six
zuapa	seven
vesu	eight
sia	nine
manege	ten

Karua 'two' usually loses its final **a** preceding nouns and if used as the head of a noun phrase: **karu nikana** 'two men'; **eri karu** 'the two'. **Keke** and **karua** are derived from **ka-eke** and **ka-rua** respectively. They are used without the **ka-/k-** prefix in numbers greater than ten. When the other numbers are used in a noun phrase, following a pronoun, or in a reply to the question **ka-visa** 'how many?', the prefix **ka-** is added to the number.

- (141) a. **eri ka-made tamaturana**
 ART:PL NUM-four siblings
 'the four siblings'
- b. **ria ka-lima magara**
 ART:PL NUM-five stone
 'the five stones'

The numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by using **manege** 'ten' followed by the numbers one to nine.

- (142) **manege eke** 'eleven'
manege rua 'twelve'
manege made 'fourteen'
manege zuapa 'seventeen'

Kaoqe 'twenty' and **tolo-navulu** 'thirty' have distinct forms, but the other tens are created by using the numbers from four to nine and adding **-navulu** to the stem.

- (143) **made-navulu** 'forty' **lima-navulu** 'fifty'
onomo-navulu 'sixty' **zuapa-navulu** 'seventy'
vesu-navulu 'eighty' **sia-navulu** 'ninety'

The word **puta** 'absolutely, exactly' can be added to any of the tens to give a sense of exactness: **kaoqe puta** 'twenty exactly'; **manege puta** 'ten exactly'.

The numbers from one to nine are added to the multiples of ten, with the forms **eke** and **rua** being used for 'one' and 'two' respectively.

- (144) **lima-navulu eke** 'fifty one'
kaoqe rua 'twenty two'
made-navulu made 'forty four'
sia-navulu vesu 'ninety eight'

The prefix **ka-** can be used with any of these numbers, especially in reply to the question **ka- visa** 'how many?', but it is never used with numbers above ninety-nine, except as part of **keke** 'one' and **karua** 'two'.

Gogoto is the number for 'hundred' and **tina** is 'thousand'.

- (145) **keke gogoto** 'one hundred'
keke gogoto keke 'one hundred and one'
karu gogoto made-navulu 'two hundred and forty'
keke tina sia gogoto vesu-navulu sia '1989'.

Vuro is a general term for a quantity larger than a thousand. **Milione** has been borrowed from English 'million'.

Ordinals are created by nominalising a verbal form of the number with the infix **-in-** inside the causative prefix **va-** (see 5.3.3 for the causative prefix). For example:

- keke** 'one' > **v-in-a-keke** 'first'
karua 'two' > **v-in-a-rua** 'second'
hike 'three' > **v-in-a-hike** 'third'

The number **keke** 'one' has several other functions. It is used as the referential indefinite marker as described in 4.3.3. **Keke** also means 'the best, number one' when combined with the restrictive particles **qa** and **qatu** (see 7.4.2 for the restrictive particles).

- (146) **Ei, kolo, keke qatu goe ni.**
EXCL friend one EMPH PRO:2SG DEM
'Ei, friend, you're number one.'

Keke is the only number to have a reduplicated form with an emphatic function:

- (147) **Ke=keke qa kasiatona kahi vale-a gita karu.**
RED=one REST thing not.yet give-TR:3SG PRO:1PL.IN two
'There's only one thing we (two) haven't yet tried.'

The form **eke**, without the prefix **k-**, means 'alone' and is used as a noun or verb modifier (see 4.7.4 and 5.8), as in the next example:

- (148) **Tavete eke-a qa sa pu nana isa.**
make alone-TR.3SG REST PRO:3SG REL POSS:3SG PRO:3SG
'(He) made the one that was his by himself.'

Other counting systems for taro and nuts were once used, but there is now no memory of these words or systems.

4.4.2 General quantifiers

General quantifiers consist of a set of words referring to general amounts. The most common quantifiers are shown in (149), followed by examples of quantifiers in noun phrases (150).

- (149) **kiqa** 'some' **karu(a)kahike** 'two or three'
vasina kisi 'little bit' **kako(a)** 'no, none, nothing'
soku 'many' **doluru** 'all, whole'
botu 'many, a pile of, heaps', PIJIN 'staka'
- (150) a. **doluru igana**
all fish
'all fish'
- b. **vasi-na kisi mahu**
piece-3SG small sweet.potato
'a little bit of sweet potato'
- c. **botu sege**
many crocodile
'many crocodiles'

If the definite article is present in the noun phrase, it can precede or follow the quantifier:

- (151) a. **ria kiqa qato**
ART:PL some tree
'some trees'
- b. **doluru ria tusu**
all ART:PL island
'all the islands'

Quantifiers can be used to modify pronouns:

- (152) a. **kiqa ria**
some PRO:3PL
'some of them'
- b. **doluru gami**
all PRO:1PLEX
'all of us'

Soku 'many' is frequently modified by the intensifiers **holapa** and **nananana** (see 4.6.7), and the suffix **-navulu**, used to create multiples of ten (see 4.4.1).

- (153) a. **soku nananana susuri-na sa kabasa**
many INTENS bone-POSS:3SG ART:SG house
'very many parts of the house'
- b. **soku holapa makoto**
many INTENS triggerfish
'very many triggerfish'

- c. **soku nananana holapa ruruhu**
 many INTENS INTENS giant
 'very, very many giants'
- d. **soku-navulu boko**
 many-tens pigs
 'very many pigs'

The word for half, **kukuru**, can also fit into the quantifier category when referring to a quantity of something, although it is also used as a noun.

quantifier:

- (154) **ria kukuru tase-di**
 ART:PL half name-POSS:3PL
 'half their names'

noun:

- (155) **kukuru-na v<in>a-dadae-na sa kabasa**
 half-3SG CAUSE<NOM>-end-3SG ART:SG house
 'the end half of the house'

General quantifiers can be used as heads of noun phrases, in which case they are expressing an abstract noun of quantity.

- (156) **Kiqa koni kuka koburu.**
 some FUT carry child
 'Some will carry children.'

The quantifiers **doluru** 'whole' and **soku** 'many' can optionally take the nominal indexing suffixes (see 4.1 for a list of these) when used as the head of a noun phrase:

- (157) a. **Vari-pera qa ria sa doluru-na sa rane.** [KUS]
 COLL-fight REST PRO:3PL ART:SG whole-3SG ART:SG day
 'They fought for the whole of the day.'
- b. **ria pa Qerasi, Hoava, Dekurana, ria soku-di**
 ART:PL PRP Nggerasi H. D. ART:PL many-3PL
 'those from Nggerasi, Hoava, Dekurana, many of them'

Kakoa 'no, none' loses its final **a** when it precedes a noun:

- (158) a. **kako igana** 'no fish'
- b. **Ka-visa igana vagi gamu? Kakoa.**
 NUM-how.many fish take.TR:3PL PRO:2PL none
 'How many fish have you caught?' 'None.'

4.4.3 Collective nouns

Hoava has a set of collective nouns used for large quantities of animals and fish. **Rovana** is a general word for a large number of any fish or animal:

- (159) **sa rovana boko** ‘the large number of pigs’
 sa rovana lipa ‘the school of **lipa** fish’

A group of humans or non-human animate objects is a **puku**.

- (160) **sa puku nikana** ‘the group of men’
 sa puku igana ‘the group of fish’

Puku can also be used with shell money:

- (161) **sa puku poata** ‘the collection of shell money’

Other words are used only with specific species gathered for food.

- (162) **udumu** ‘huge number of **tarasi** fish’: **sa udumu tarasi**
 avara ‘huge number of caught tuna, so that the canoe is full and there are still
 more in the sea’: **sa avara makasi**
 rerege ‘many **mara** fish’: **sa rerege mara**
 topatopa ‘large number of wild pigs’: **sa topatopa boko**

4.5 Prenominal modifiers

There are three prenominal modifiers, each of which functions in a slightly different way. They are:

- nati** ‘main, most important’
hopeke ‘different, separate’
tale- ‘only, wholly’

Nati is used both as a prenominal modifier and as a noun meaning ‘topic, main one’. Its prenominal modifier function is illustrated in (163a, b). When it functions as a noun, the nominal indexing suffixes are always added to it (164). In issues of traditional land inheritance, **nati** refers to the inheriting lineage or person (164b, c).

Prenominal modifier:

- (163) a. **ria** **doluru** **nati** **gugusu** **pa** **Hoava**
 ART:PL all main village PRP H.
 ‘all the main villages in Hoava’
- b. **Sa** **qa** **ria** **nati** **n<in>ani** **tamu** **gamu** **kerane?**
 what REST ART:PL main <NOM>eat POSS:2 PRO:2PL olden.days
 ‘What were your main foods in the olden days?’

Noun:

- (164) a. **sa nati-na sa vivine**
 ART:SG main-3SG ART:SG story
 ‘the topic of the story’
- b. **E Zemisi sagi nati-na.**
 ART Zemisi TOP main-3SG
 ‘Zemisi is the most important.’
- c. **Sa pu gore mae taqu rao sa nati-na.**
 PRO:3SG REL go.down come PRP:1SG PRO:1SG ART:SG main-3SG
 ‘That which descends to me is the most important one (lineage).’

Hopeke can be used both pre- and postnominally as a modifier, and as a stative verb meaning ‘be different, be separate’. It can be reduplicated to stress the meaning of difference or separateness (165c), and it can take the third person plural nominal index **-di** to show plurality (165d) and (166).

Prenominal modifier:

- (165) a. **ria hopeke dia soana**
 ART:PL separate POSS:3PL path
 ‘their separate paths’
- b. **pule pa hopeke vasileana**
 return PRP different place
 ‘return to different places’
- c. **Na hope=hopeke puku-na tatamana ba gami.**
 ART RED=separate group-3SG family EMPH PRO:1PL.EX
 ‘We were in our separate family groups.’
- d. **Hopeke-di gugusu eri karu.**
 different-3PL village ART:PL two
 ‘The two have different villages.’

Postnominal modifier:

- (166) **ria hinaquru hopeke-di**
 ART:PL girl different-3PL
 ‘the different girls’

Verb:

- (167) a. **Hopeke pule la pa mami gugusu.**
 be.separate return go PRP POSS:1PL.EX village
 ‘(We) returned separately to our villages.’

- b. **Hope=hopeke-di ria nikana.**
 RED=be.different-3PL ART:PL man
 'The men are different (from each other).'

There is no equivalent verb or pronominal modifier used as an antonym of **hopeke**. The only way to express 'same' is to use a noun phrase: **keke nono**.

- (168) **Keke nono ria karu hore sari.**
 one same ART:PL two canoe DIST.PL
 'Those two canoes are the same.'

Tale is a restrictive modifier meaning 'only, wholly', used with both nouns and verbs (see 5.6.1). It also contains the notions of 'numerous, excessively'.

- (169) a. **Tale mahu qa ko pa kabasa raro.**
 only sweet.potato REST exist PRP house cook
 'Only sweet potato is in the cookhouse.'
- b. **Sa banara pu tale hinili-na sa batu-na.**
 ART:SG chief REL wholly shell.money-3SG ART:SG head-3SG
 'the chief that has **hinili** money all over his head'
- c. **Tale koburu-na qa sa sikulu.**
 wholly child-3SG REST ART:SG school
 'The school has too many children.'

Tale can also be the head of a noun phrase when, as with **nati**, the nominal indexers are used:

- (170) a. **Tale-na eke ko pa kabasa.**
 only-3SG one exist PRP house
 '(She) was the only one in the house.'
- b. **Kipu tale-mi gami karu koni nani**
 NEG only-1PLEX PRO:1PLEX two FUT eat
ria n<in>ani.
 ART:PL <NOM>food
 'You will not eat the food on your own.'
- c. **Vagi mae de tale-qu.**
 take come PURP only-1SG
 'Bring it to me, to be mine only.'

Tale is also used with reflexive-type constructions (see (79) above) to stress that the actor is alone:

- (171) **Balabala pule-ni-a tale-na.**
 think return-AP-3SG wholly-3SG
 '(He) thinks only of himself.'

4.6 Postnominal modifiers

Postnominal modifiers follow the head of a noun phrase. There are no true adjectives as defined by Dixon (1977:62–63) as ‘a set of lexical items, distinguished on morphological and syntactic grounds from the universal classes Noun and Verb.’ All postnominal modifiers in Hoava can be classified into either verbs or modifiers derived from nouns. The verb forms which function as postnominal modifiers can be further classified into: (a) stative verbs; (b) other modifiers derived from active verbs; (c) passive verbs; or, less commonly, (d) quantifiers. The nominal indexing suffixes are frequently used with postnominal modifiers but are not obligatory.

4.6.1 Stative verbs as postnominal modifiers

Stative verbs describe states and qualities such as colour, size, shape, quality (see 5.2.1). When used as postnominal modifiers, the use of the nominal indexers is frequent, although optional.

(172) a. **Koni buma sa kuma pana vale-a**
 FUT be.green ART:SG water when give-TR:3SG

sa dae buma.
 ART:SG dye be.green

‘The water will turn green when (you) put in the green dye.’

b. **keke qato mate-na**
 one tree be.dead-3SG
 ‘a dead tree’

c. **doluru qato koleo-di**
 all tree be.good-3PL
 ‘all good trees [for building]’

d. **sa sasaeri zinara**
 ART:SG leaf be.red
 ‘the red leaf’

e. **sa keke gologao lavata**
 ART:SG one vine be.big
 ‘the single big vine’

f. **ria t<in>avete lavati-di**
 ART:PL work<NOM> be.big-3PL
 ‘the major works’

Note that **lavata** ‘big’ is the only stative verb to change its last vowel when the nominal indexing suffix is added (cf. (172e) and (172f)).

Postnominal stative verbs can be reduplicated for intensification (173a). Some stative verbs relating to states of mind (for example, ‘happy’, ‘sad’, ‘angry’) are always reduplicated when they are functioning as a post nominal modifier (173b).

- (173) a. **e-mami n<in>ani kisi=kisi qa**
 EDPOSS-1PL.EX <NOM>eat RED=be.small REST
 ‘just our very small bit of food’
- b. **sa p<in>ato edo=edo**
 ART:SG <NOM>speak RED=be.happy
 ‘the happy speech’

4.6.2 Postnominal modifiers derived from active verbs

Active verbs are used as postnominal modifiers in the same manner as stative verbs. The nominal indexing suffixes are nearly always used with active verbs functioning as postnominal modifiers.

- (174) a. **ria nikana mae-di**
 ART:PL man come-3PL
 ‘the arrivals’
- b. **n<in>ani kina-di**
 <NOM>eat cook-3PL
 ‘cooked food’

Active verbs can also be reduplicated in this position:

- (175) a. **ria nikana haqa=haqala-di**
 ART:PL man RED=run-3PL
 ‘the running men’
- b. **sa qurapa vari=vari-kapo-agi**
 ART:SG yam.sp. RED=RECIP-carry-AGI
 ‘the “two-people-to-carry” yam’

4.6.3 Passive verbs as postnominal modifiers

Passive verbs are used as postnominal modifiers in the same way as other verbs by simply following the head noun, with optional addition of nominal indexing suffixes. They are usually used instead of non-passive forms when the head noun is regarded as the patient of some action of another person.

- (176) a. **sa koburu ta-hapu-na**
 ART:SG child PASS-cover-3SG
 ‘the covered child’

- b. **igana ta-nani**
 fish PASS-eat
 'edible fish'

4.6.4 Quantifiers as postnominal modifiers

Only two quantifiers are used as postnominal modifiers. These are **soku** 'many' and **doluru** 'all, whole'. **Soku** usually takes the nominal indexing suffixes when used in this way:

- (177) **ria koburu soku-di**
 ART:PL child many-3PL
 'the many children'

Doluru, which means 'all, whole' when used as a quantifier, has the meaning 'round' when it is used as a postnominal modifier. It is often reduplicated, and all examples of its use occurred with the suffix **-agi** (see 5.3.6).

- (178) **sa qato doluru-agi**
 ART:SG tree round-AGI
 'the round tree' [i.e., round trunk, rather than buttressed]

4.6.5 Postnominal modifiers derived from nouns

Nouns used as postnominal modifiers are either reduplicated nouns or nominalised verbs. When unreduplicated nouns follow another noun, I have classified these constructions as compounds (see 4.2.1.1). As with the other types of postnominal modifiers, the use of the nominal indexers with modifying nouns, while frequent, is optional.

Reduplicated nouns:

- (179) a. **sa makariva tubu=tubu-na**
 ART:SG boy RED=sore-3SG
 'the boy with sores'
- b. **ria nikana baha=baha-di**
 ART:PL man RED=magic-3PL
 'the magic men'
- c. **quhe ma=makariva**
 beetle RED=boy
 'male beetle'

Nominalised verbs:

- (180) a. **ria mahu q<in>ame-di**
 ART:PL sweet.potato peel<NOM>-3PL
 'the peeled potatoes'
- b. **sa bekoto v<in>a-da=dae hokara**
 ART:SG thatching.stick CAUSE<NOM>-RED=finish true
 'the very final thatching stick'

Place names are also used as noun modifiers, taking the nominal indexing suffixes:

- (181) **ria butubutu Koroga-di** [KUS]
 ART:PL descent.group Koroga-3PL
 'the Koroga descent groups'

4.6.6 -E suffix on postnominal modifiers

Some words take an **-e** suffix when used as a noun modifier. This applies to the existential verb **ko** 'exist, stay' (see 5.2.4), which means 'old' when used as a noun modifier, and the prepositional noun **noka** 'high up' (see 7.1.5).

- (182) a. **kabasa ko-e-na**
 house stay-E-3SG
 'old house'
- b. **Ome-a sa heta noka-e.**
 see-TR:3SG ART:SG betelnut high-E
 'See the high betelnut.'

The stative verb **heva** 'be strong' also occurs with a final **-e** when used as a predicate or as a noun modifier (183a). The **-e** is dropped when **heva** becomes a causative verb used as a verbal modifier (183b).

- (183) a. **sa nikana heva-e-na**
 ART:SG man strong-E-3SG
 'the strong man'
- b. **Tanini va-hevá.**
 hold CAUSE-strong.TR:3SG
 'Hold it strongly.'

4.6.7 Intensification of modifiers

The intensifier **holapa** is used with stative verbs that function as post nominal modifiers.

- (184) a. **keke pade kisi holapa**
 one floor be.small INTENS
 'one very small floor'
- b. **kasitona sana holapa**
 thing be.difficult INTENS
 'very difficult thing'

Hokara 'true' is also used as an intensifier of noun modifiers, though less often than **holapa** (see example (180b) above).

4.7 Restrictive particles

The label 'restrictive particles' refers to a number of modifying words and particles which Hoava uses to highlight a noun phrase, in order to ensure that the entity referred to is clearly delineated. All the restrictive particles are also used as clause modifiers (see 7.4.2).

4.7.1 The restrictive particle *qa*

The particle **qa** is found in noun phrases as well as in prepositional phrases and following verb phrases (see 7.4.2.1). In noun phrases it follows the head noun and any modifiers, but can precede determiners, relative clauses and possessor NPs. With a noun phrase, **qa** has a restrictive function, in that it limits the range of possible entities to the one being referred to, in contrast to all other possibilities.

- (185) a. **Sa nikana qa sani ba hiko.**
 ART:SG man REST DIST:SG EMPH steal
 'Only that man stole.'
- b. **Rao qa ba pi.**
 PRO:1SG REST EMPH PRO:PROX
 'It's only me!'

4.7.2 The restrictive particle *tu*

The restrictive particle **tu** has a contrastive function when it is used with noun phrases. It can also be used with prepositional phrases and following verb phrases (see 7.4.2.2). The noun phrase containing **tu** may be contrasted with another noun phrase:

- (186) a. **Tavete n<in>ani sagi taveti-a qa ria**
 make <NOM>eat TOP do.TR-3SG REST ART:PL
- hinaquru mina ko tu makariva tu koni**
 girl but stay REST boy REST FUT

poni-a. Makariva tu koni naqali-a.
 give.TR-3SG boy REST FUT carry.TR-3SG
 'Food making, the girls make it, but there are boys who will feed him. Boys will carry him.'

- b. **Kipu mae ria nikana Janani de gami**
 NEG come ART:PL man Japanese PURP PRO:1PL.EX

nikana hupa mae nani-gami, gua ria.
 man black come kill-TR:1PL.EX said PRO:3PL

Mina ria nikana Merika tu naní.
 but ART:PL man American REST kill.TR:3PL
 'The Japanese have not come to kill us black men, they said. But to kill the Americans.'

The noun phrase marked by **tu** may contain information that is unexpected (187) or exaggerated (188).

- (187) **Ei, kolo, na sege tu ba ko la na.**
 EXCL friend ART crocodile REST EMPH stay go DEM
 'Ei, friend, a crocodile is there!'

- (188) **Soku makasi vagí eri karu. Vagí**
 many bonito take.TR:3PL ART:PL two take.TR:3PL
eri karu nina keke tina tu.
 ART:PL two maybe one thousand REST
 'The two of them caught many bonito. Maybe they caught one thousand.'

4.7.3 The restrictive particle qatu

Qatu is a more emphatic restrictive particle, combining the emphasis of **qa** with the contrastive function of **tu**:

- (189) a. **Kusage sagi Kusage qatu.** [KUS]
 K TOP K REST
 'Kusaghe is just Kusaghe.'
- b. **P<in>ato sa sa kukuqi? P<in>ato Hoava qatu?**
 <NOM> speak what ART:3SG "kukunggi" <NOM> speak H. REST
 'What language is "kukunggi" from? Just Hoava language?'

4.7.4 Other restrictive particles

Hokara 'true' is used as a restrictive intensifier, to emphasise the truth of a noun phrase. **Hokara** is also used as a stative verb 'be true' and as a verbal intensifier (see 5.9).

- (190) a. **na heta kisi hokara**
 ART betelnut be.small true
 'a truly small betelnut'
- b. **sa v<in>a-da=dae hokara**
 ART:SG <NOM>CAUSE-RED=be.finished true
 'the very end'
- c. **na igana heleana hokara**
 ART fish river true
 'a true freshwater fish'

Soti is a marker of reality and exclusiveness. It is used to emphasise that the entity referred to in the noun phrase is the only relevant one.

- (191) a. **meti soti**
 mate real
 'best friend'
- b. **Qua butubutu soti rao sa**
 POSS:1SG descent.group real PRO:1SG ART:SG
butubutu te Ogoro.
 descent.group POSS Onggoro.
 'My real descent group is Onggoro's descent group.'
- c. **Te se nana soti sa kabasa?**
 POSS who POSS:3SG real ART:SG house
 'Who really owns the house?'

Eke 'one' is used to stress that someone or something is alone in the action or state.

- (192) a. **Pilipi eke qa ome.**
 P. one REST see.TR:3PL
 'Only Philip saw them.'
- b. **Qua eke.**
 POSS:1SG one
 'Mine!'

Eke is also combined with **tale-** 'only, wholly' to reinforce the meaning of aloneness.

- (193) **Tale-na eke Kenedi.**
 only-3SG one Kennedy
 'Kennedy was by himself.'

4.8 Demonstratives

In Hoava there is a three way spatial distinction of deixis: proximal, close to speaker; distal, close to hearer; and remote, distant from speaker and hearer. This is evident not just in demonstratives, as discussed in 4.8.1 and 4.8.2, but also in deictic adverbs (7.1.1). In addition, there is a fourth deictic category, for emphatic demonstrative pronouns only, of 'out of sight' (see 4.8.3). The anaphoric use of demonstratives is not so clear cut, with a tendency to favour the 'near to hearer' forms in Hoava and the 'near to speaker' forms in Kusaghe, regardless of actual position or distance in terms of discourse.

Hoava has three sets of demonstratives: one set of short forms used primarily as noun modifiers; one set of long forms used as noun modifiers and as demonstrative pronouns; and a third set which is restricted to being used only as demonstrative pronouns. There is also an extra 'near to hearer' set of long demonstratives used both as a noun modifier and demonstrative pronoun in the Hoava dialect only. Each set has both singular and plural forms, although the singular forms are sometimes used to cover plural.

4.8.1 The long demonstratives

The long demonstratives in Hoava are the following:

	singular	plural	gloss
close to speaker	heni	heri	proximal
close to hearer	sani	sari	distal
distant	huani	huari	remote

The forms are divisible into a demonstrative marker and a singular/plural suffix: **he** + **ni/ri**, **sa** + **ni/ri**, **hua** + **ni/ri**. **He** and **hua** are both also used as part of the deictic adverbs **he-ra** 'here' and **huara** 'over there', showing the positional meanings of the particles **he** and **hua** (see 7.1.1.). There is however no deictic adverb ***sara** for 'there', as this is replaced by the word **tana**. The plural remote form **huari** is uncommon, being replaced by the singular **huani** irrespective of the number of the noun it is modifying (196b). Examples of long demonstratives are shown in (194) to (196):

(194) a. **sa ruta heni**
 ART:SG taro.terrace PROX:SG
 'this taro terrace'

b. **ria nikana heri**
 ART:PL man PROX:PL
 'these men'

(195) a. **sa hore sani.**
 ART:PL canoe DIST:SG
 'that canoe'

- b. **ria karu hore sari.**
ART:PL two canoe DIST:PL
'those two canoes'
- (196) a. **sa zale huani**
ART:SG stone.wall REMOTE:SG
'that stone wall over there'
- b. **eri kahike huani**
ART:PL three REMOTE:SG
'those three'

Emphatic forms of the long demonstrative are created by reduplication. In this case the reduplication runs counter to the normal pattern of leftward reduplication in Hoava (see 3.6), by reduplicating either the last syllable in rightwards reduplication, or by repeating the first syllable at the end of the word. The singular proximal demonstrative **sani** also gains an extra interpolated **i** in one of its reduplicated forms (197b).

- (197) a. **heni > heni=ni, heni=he; heri > heri=ri**
b. **sani > sani=ni, sani=sia; sari > sari=ri**
c. **huani > huani=ni, huani=hua; huari > huari=ri**

It is possible that the extra **ni/ri** in these forms are actually the short demonstratives **ni** 'close:singular', **ri** 'close:plural' (see 4.8.2.1), occurring after the long demonstratives. I did not record rightwards reduplication in any other part of the grammar.

The emphatic forms in (197) are used alone as demonstrative pronouns, or within a noun phrase, especially when two noun phrases are used in sequence, as in (198c) and (198d).

- (198) a. **Heni=he!**
PROX:SG=RED
'This one!'
- b. **ria n<in>ani heri=ri**
ART:PL <NOM>eat PROX:PL=RED
'these foods'
- c. **Raro hahao heni dae koni raro-a**
cook leaf PROX:SG finish FUT cook-TR:3SG
sa nute heni=ni.
ART:SG root PROX:SG=RED
'Cook this leaf and then [you] will cook this root.'
- d. **Poze-na sa pole huani, dae**
rotten-3SG ART:SG taro REMOTE:SG finish

poze-na sa mekomeko huani=hua.
 rotten-3SG ART:SG taro.stalk REMOTE:SG=RED
 'That taro is rotten, and then that taro stalk is rotten.'

Isana and **riara** are used as alternative forms of **sani** and **sari** respectively in Hoava dialect only. These alternatives are clearly derived from the third person pronouns plus an additional singular/plural marker: **na/ra**. The singular and plural markers are identical to the near-to-hearer short demonstratives discussed in 4.8.2.2 below and may well be derived from them.

- (199) a. **sa nuzu-na sa siki isana**
 ART:SG mouth-3SG ART:SG dog DIST:SG
 'that dog's mouth'
- b. **sa vaka tapuru isana**
 ART:SG ship fly DIST:SG
 'that aeroplane'
- c. **ria karu nikana riara**
 ART:PL two man DIST:PL
 'those two men'

Isana 'that' is commonly used in two collocations: **kolokolo-na isana** 'that time', and **dae isana** 'that being finished' or 'after that'.

Isana can be used in a shortened form **isa**, but **riara** is not shortened.

- (200) a. **Tiqa sa kolokolo isa.**
 arrive ART:SG time DIST:SG
 'That time arrived.'
- b. **Koni boka gilali va-leani-a goe**
 FUT able know CAUSE-be.good.TR-3SG PRO:2SG
sa kakele-na pa kabasa isa.
 ART:SG side-3SG PRP house DIST:SG
 'You will be able to know well that subject of the house.'

In narratives, the long demonstratives can have a temporal function. **Heni** 'close to speaker' generally refers to the present, and is used in the collocation **pirae heni** 'right now', while **sani** and **isana** (HOA) refer to past time, as in the collocation **kolokolona isana** 'that time'. **Huani** is not used in a temporal sense, as it is replaced by the short demonstrative **so** for past time references (see 4.8.2.3). The plural forms are little used in any temporal sense.

The three demonstratives are also used anaphorically, and here too they roughly correspond to the spatial distinctions: **heni/beri** 'just mentioned' ; **sani/sari, isana/riara** 'mentioned before'; **huani/huari** 'mentioned earlier'. There is little distinction between the last two, and, in fact, **huani/huari** are again little used, since Kusaghe speakers prefer to use **heni** for most anaphoric references (201), while Hoava speakers show a preference for **isana/riara** (202).

- (201) a. **Mae kamo ria pa keke gugusu tala pu**
 come arrive PRO:3PL PRP one village where REL
ko kahike maneke. Tase-na sa
 exist three mother.and.child name-3SG ART:SG
gugusu heni, pa Marigomae. [KUS]
 village PROX:SG PRP M.
 'They arrived at a village where there were a mother and two children. The name of this village was Marigomae.'
- b. **La ria pa Kalikoqu, la vagi-a ria,**
 go PRO:3PL PRP K. go take-TR:3SG PRO:3PL
dae pule taloa ria. Gila taloa ria pa
 and return leave PRO:3PL and leave PRO:3PL PRP
Kalikoqu heni sagi sagele ria. [KUS]
 K. PROX:SG CONJ go.up PRO:3PL
 'The ones from Kalikoqu went, they went and took him and they went back. And these ones from Kalikoqu left and they went up.'
- (202) a. **La sa, la ome-a sa sege lavata**
 go PRO:3SG go see-TR:3SG ART:SG crocodile be.big
pa Hura na. Bui-ni-a tase-na sa sege isana.
 PRP H. DEM forget-AP-3SG name-3SG ART:SG crocodile DIST:SG
 'It went, went to see the big crocodile at Hura. (I've) forgotten the name of that crocodile.'
- b. **Taloa ria pa Ramata, ria pu pota**
 leave PRO:3PL PRP R. PRO:3PL REL fight
nikana, ria nikana riara.
 man ART:PL man DIST:PL
 'The ones from Ramata left, the ones who fight men [the warriors], those men.'

Huani 'that (distant)' is sometimes used as an alternative to the deictic adverb **huara** 'over there'.

- (203) **Koni taveti-a sa soana tani sa**
 FUT make.TR-3SG ART:SG path POSS:3SG ART:SG
heleana pu mae huani.
 river REL come REMOTE:SG
 '[We] will make the path of the river which comes from there.'

The long demonstratives are also used as the head of a noun phrase as demonstrative pronouns, being used anywhere a noun phrase may be used, except after the emphatic

particles **ba** and **go** where the set of emphatic demonstrative pronouns is used instead (see 4.8.3).

Examples of **heni/heri**:

- (204) a. **Heni ari vasi-na ni, heni dae heni=ni.**
 PROX:SG exist root-3SG DEM PROX:SG and PROX:SG=RED
 'This has roots, this one and this one.'
- b. **Heni sa vivine-na sa g<in>ore**
 PROX:SG ART:SG story-3SG ART:SG go.down<NOM>
sa lotu pa Hoava.
 ART:SG church PRP H.
 'This is the story of the arrival of the church in Hoava.'
- c. **Koi, eko gana qa heni.**
 EXCL lie.down POSS:3SG REST PROX:SG
 'Gosh, this one is lying down.'
- d. **Heri ria nikana vihe.**
 PROX:PL ART:PL man choose
 'These are the chosen men.'

The distal demonstratives **sani** singular and **sari** plural are not often used as demonstrative pronouns (205). In Hoava dialect they are often replaced by **isana** and **riara** respectively (206).

- (205) a. **Koe, goe sani?**
 EXCL PRO:2SG DIST:SG
 'Hey, is that you?'
- b. **Sani ba sa makariva pu barata-na**
 DIST:SG EMPH ART:SG boy REL seduce-3SG
sa kalaho.
 ART:SG woman
 'That's the boy who seduced the woman.'
- c. **Sari ria tabu de v<in>a-bobe teni.**
 DIST:PL ART:PL tambu.shell PURP CAUSE<NOM>-full tin
 'Those are the tambu shells for filling the tin with.'
- (206) a. **La isana, la gona veko-ni-a sa**
 go DIST:SG go throw leave-AP-3SG ART:SG
kukuru-na sa gologao.
 half-3SG ART:SG vine
 'That one went, went and threw the piece of vine.'

- b. **ria pa Rasolo pu tala ta-vagi riara.**
 ART:SG PRP Rossell REL where PASS-take DIST:PL
 'those at Rossell, where those (other) ones were taken'
- c. **riara pu mae taqu rao**
 DIST:PL REL come PRP:1SG PRO:1SG
 'those which came to me'

In Kusaghe, if the distal demonstratives are not used to modify a noun, they are nearly always used with a preceding personal pronoun, example (207) being a less usual occurrence. Kusaghe also uses **sani** for both singular and plural, as in (208a) and (208b), although **sari** is also used but less often, as in (208c).

- (207) **Mono isa gua sani.** [KUS]
 squeeze PRO:3SG did DIST:SG
 'He squeezed, that one did.'
- (208) a. **Umana la nana gua isa sani.** [KUS]
 hear go POSS:3SG did PRO:3SG DIST:SG
 'That one listened.'
- b. **La kamo ria sani.** [KUS]
 go arrive PRO:3PL DIST:SG
 'Those ones arrived.'
- c. **Ome la dia gua ria sari.** [KUS]
 see go POSS:3PL did PRO:3PL DIST:PL
 'Those ones looked.'

Huani and **huari**, the remote demonstratives, are not frequently used in either Kusaghe or Hoava as noun modifiers, and only in Hoava is **huani** used as a demonstrative pronoun.

- (209) **Kolokolo sa pu vura huani, la ria**
 time PRO:3SG REL go.out REM:SG go ART:SG
nikana Merika gona mate.
 man America shoot die
 'When that one went out, the Americans shot and killed (him).'

The proximal demonstratives **heni/heri** are frequently separated from the rest of the noun phrase and placed in a relative clause (see 8.3 regarding relative clauses):

- (210) a. **Kala sa ria pu heri?**
 colour what PRO:3PL REL PROX:PL
 'What colour are these?' [lit: What colour are they which are these?]
- b. **sa hahao pu heni**
 ART:SG leaf REL PROX:SG
 'this leaf' [lit: the leaf which is this]

Demonstrative pronouns are also used in a similative adjunct (see 8.6):

- (211) a. **Tige tiva rao pa ririana ve sani.**
 then stand PRO:1SG PRP doorway SIM PROX:SG
 'Then I stood in the doorway like this.'
- b. **Doduru kasitona ve sari**
 all[ROV] thing SIM DIST:PL
 'All things like these.'

4.8.2 The short demonstratives

The short demonstratives are a set of particles found after the head noun of a noun phrase, which appear to have a similar noun modifying function to the long demonstratives. However, they carry less of the spatial dimension of demonstratives and more of a sense of definiteness, being frequently used with the emphatic particle **ba**. The remote short demonstrative also signifies past tense. The set is shown in (212).

(212)		singular	plural
	close	ni	ri
	distant	na	ra
	remote/past	so	ro

The short demonstratives show a resemblance to the demonstratives reconstructed for POC (Ross 1988:100):

*e/*ne	near speaker	HOA	ni
*a/*na	near addressee	HOA	na
*o/*no	distant	HOA	so

The Hoava short demonstratives follow the head of a noun phrase and can be used with common nouns, names, and pronouns. They are usually found in a noun phrase at the end of a clause:

- (213) a. **Taloa sa koburu hiku-na na.**
 leave ART:SG child follow-3SG DEM
 'The youngest child left.'
- b. **Kae toka-ni-rao goe ba rao ni.**
 NEG help-AP-1SG PRO:2SG EMPH PRO:1SG DEM
 'You didn't help me!'
- c. **Kolo, na sa taveti-a gamu na?**
 friend ART what do.TR-3SG PRO:2PL DEM
 'Friend, what are you doing?'

Short demonstratives are also used with adjunct NPs:

- (214) a. **Rao tiva gotogoto pa nuzu-na sa**
 PRO:1SG stand go.direct PRP mouth-3SG ART:SG
labiti, sa qato lavata na.
 buttress ART:SG tree big DEM
 'I stood in the buttress opening, that big tree.'
- b. **na ninani veve na boko na, na kohale na**
 ART food SIM ART pig DEM ART turtle DEM
 'food like pork, turtle'

Only one sentence was recorded where a short demonstrative was used in a noun phrase placed before a verb:

- (215) **Sa kalaho na koni hikuhi.**
 ART:SG woman DEM FUT follow
 'That woman will follow.'

4.8.2.1 Ni/ri

Ni and **ri** function similarly to **heni/heri** in conveying a sense of closeness to the speaker or immediacy. They frequently follow the first person pronouns, being used less often with third person pronouns and nouns, and they are regarded as ungrammatical with second person pronouns, although one example was recorded:

- (216) **Keke qatu ba goe ni.**
 one REST EMPH PRO:2SG DEM
 'You are the only number one!' (i.e. 'you are the best'—said sarcastically)

More typical examples of **ni** are the following:

- (217) a. **Vera koni ko rao ni?**
 where FUT stay PRO:1SG DEM
 'Where will I stay?'
- b. **Kari, solodia kae gua ba rao ni.**
 no soldier NEG thus EMPH PRO:1SG DEM
 'No, I'm not a soldier!'
- c. **Heni sa siki ni.**
 this ART:SG dog DEM
 'This is the dog.'

The plural form is not obligatory with plural nouns or pronouns (218) and there are, in fact, only a very few occurrences of **ri** in the data. One example is given in (219).

- (218) a. **Hera qa ba kura gami karu ni.**
 here REST EMPH use.fish.trap PRO:1PL.EX two DEM
 'Here we two will trap fish.'

- b. **Dae sa, raro eri karu ni.**
 finish PRO:3SG cook ART:PL two DEM
 'After that, the two cooked.'
- (219) **Koni paho ba e-mami ri.**
 FUT empty EMPH EDPOSS-1PL.EX DEM:PL
 'Ours will be all gone!'

Ni can be replaced by **na** with apparently the same meaning:

- (220) a. **Barigese ba rao ni.**
Barigese ba rao na.
 old.man EMPH PRO:1SG DEM
 'I'm an old man!'
- b. **Koni atu qa ba rao ni.**
Koni atu qa ba rao na.
 FUT come.to.you REST EMPH PRO:1SG DEM
 'I'll come to you!'

There is an obvious similarity between **ni/ri** and the long demonstratives, all of which end in **ni** singular and **ri** plural, and perhaps **ni/ri** are merely abbreviated forms of the longer demonstratives. What are considered in 4.8.1 to be the reduplicated forms of the longer demonstratives, for example, **heni=ni**, **sani=ni**, **heri=ri**, may in fact be **heni ni**, **sani ni**, **heri ri**.

4.8.2.2 Na/ra

Na and its plural form **ra** are the most commonly recorded short demonstratives, used mostly with third person noun phrases, although they are found with both first and second person pronouns.

- (221) a. **La koba kaburu vagi-a ba kikikolo**
 go hermit.crab crunch take-TR:3SG EMPH testicle
tani sa ruruhu na.
 POSS:3SG ART:SG giant DEM
 'Hermit crab crunched the testicle of the giant!'
- b. **Ko holapa sa hinaquru na.**
 stay pass ART:SG girl DEM
 'The girl stays behind.'
- c. **Se goe na? Kae pato mae.**
 who PRO:2SG DEM NEG speak come
 'Who are you? Don't speak to me.'
- d. **Sa ria pinesu tamu gamu? Ria igana qa ra?**
 what ART:PL food POSS:2 PRO:2PL ART:PL fish REST DEM
 'What was your food? Just fish?'

As with the plural form **ri**, **ra** is used less often since **na** can also be used with plural nouns:

- (222) a. **Pule mae eri ka-hike na.**
 return come ART:PL NUM-three DEM
 'The three came back.'
- b. **Loga=loga ba gamu karu na.**
 RED=lie EMPH PRO:2PL two DEM
 'You two are lying!'

4.8.2.3 So/ro

So and **ro** are the only singular/plural pair of short demonstratives to have a tense function, that of past:

- (223) a. **Na vioro ba rao so.**
 because ill EMPH PRO:1SG DEM:PAST
 'Because I was ill!'
- b. **Hevae busa sa igana so, kae boka ta-kave.**
 strong too ART:SG fish DEM:PAST NEG able PASS-pull.in
 'The fish was too strong, it couldn't be pulled in.'

The following two sentences were clearly differentiated in tense by the Hoava, the first being understood as past and the second as present:

- (224) a. **Se tago-di ria hope ro?**
 who own-3PL ART:PL shrine DEM:PAST
 'Who owned the shrines?'
- b. **Se tago-di ria hope ra?**
 who own-3PL ART:PL shrine DEM
 'Who owns the shrines?'

A time contrast can also be seen in the following two sentences.

- (225) a. **Vera la Amina so?**
 where go A. DEM:PAST
 'Where did Amina go?'
- b. **Ve Amina ni?**
 where A. DEM
 'Where is Amina (right now)?'

As with the other short demonstratives, the singular form can also be used with plural nouns but not vice versa.

- (226) a. **Hiva nani ba gami so.**
 want eat EMPH PRO:1PLEX DEM:PAST
 'We wanted to eat!'

- b. *E Iani ko pa Enogae ro.
 E Iani ko pa Enogae so.
 ART I. stay PRP Enoghae DEM:PAST
 'Iani stayed at Enoghae.'

However, one unusual example was recorded where **ro** was used with a singular pronoun:

- (227) Rane Turu la kera=kera kale ba rao ro.
 day Thursday go RED=sing usually EMPH PRO:1SG DEM:past
 'On Thursdays I usually went singing.'

4.8.2.4 Pronominal function of short demonstratives

The short demonstratives are sometimes found on their own in a sentence, functioning as a type of pronominal:

- (228) a. Sa tasi-da kera, ta-umana la na.
 ART:SG sibling-1PL.IN sing PASS-hear go DEM
 'Our sister sings, she is heard.'
- b. "Ve si?" gua sa makariva. "Tata mae qa na."
 where PRO said ART:SG boy close come REST DEM
 "'Where is he?' said the boy. 'He's nearly here.'"
- c. Sa masi ba to qa ni.
 ART:SG lighter EMPH live REST DEM
 'The lighter works!'

The demonstrative appears to function in these examples as a pronominal when a noun phrase is elided (228a and b), or as an anaphoric pronoun when a noun phrase is moved from its usual position following a verb (as in example (228c) above). This may also explain the anomaly of (227), if the plural demonstrative particle **ro** is actually coreferencing **rane Turu** 'on Thursdays', and not the first person singular pronoun that it follows.

The following set of examples (229) also shows anaphoric use of the short demonstrative pronouns to coreference a noun phrase moved to initial position. In each case, the demonstrative pronoun is plural, as is the moved noun phrase, and so the demonstrative cannot refer to the inherently singular locations in the prepositional phrase which it follows.

- (229) a. Ria pu Kusaghe sumi la eko susua-di
 ART:PL REL K. PERF go lie first-3PL
 pa tikeli ra. [KUS]
 PRP higher.up DEM
 'Those from Kusaghe had gone to lie down first higher up.'

- b. **Mina ria minate heri sumi loka pa**
 but ART:PL people PROX:PL PERF wait PRP

kakaliqahana Bukuku ri. [KUS]
 pass B. DEM

‘But these people had waited at Bukuku pass.’

- c. **Mi ria ka-vesu nikana sumi taloa,**
 but ART:PL NUM-eight man PERF leave

aso pa dinigopepeha ra.
 walk PRP forest DEM

‘But the eight men had gone, walked into the forest.’

Note also the following two examples in (230), where the plurality of the demonstrative changes to agree with the plurality of the initial noun phrase:

- (230) a. **E Iani ko pa Enogae so.**
 ART I. stay PRP Enogae DEM:PAST
 ‘Iani stayed at Enogae.’

- b. **Eri karu ko pa Enogae ro.**
 ART:PL two stay PRP Enogae DEM:PAST
 ‘The two stayed at Enogae.’

Short demonstratives also appear separate from the head noun of an NP when the head noun is followed by a relative clause. The short demonstrative is placed after the relative clause, and agrees in number with the head noun, rather than with any element in the relative clause. This is clearly so in (231c) below, where the plural short demonstrative **ra** follows the singular pronoun **goe** ‘you, singular’. The short demonstrative is plural in this example since it agrees with the pronoun **riara** ‘they, plural’, which is the head of the noun phrase.

- (231) a. **Tiva mae rao pu eko-qu tana so.**
 stand come PRO:1SG REL lie.down-1SG there DEM:PAST
 ‘I, who was lying down, stood up.’

- b. **La balabala ria pu varigara ra.**
 go think PRO:3PL REL gather DEM
 ‘Those who were gathered started to think.’

- c. **Riara pu mae tamu goe ra?**
 DIST:PL REL come PRP:2 PRO:2SG DEM
 ‘Those which came to you?’

4.8.3 Emphatic demonstrative pronouns

A third set of demonstratives is used only as demonstrative pronouns. They are used in questions, emphatic statements with the particle **ba**, and simply as alternatives to the

set of long demonstrative pronouns. I have called them ‘emphatic’ demonstrative pronouns because they have an emphatic function among their other uses, and also to distinguish them from the set of long demonstrative pronouns discussed above in 4.8.1.

There are four demonstrative pronouns in the emphatic set, with the addition of a ‘not visible’ distinction,³ each also having a plural form, as shown in (232).

(232)		singular	plural
	visible:		
	near speaker	pi	piri
	near hearer	sana	sara
	distant	pu	puru
	not visible:	si	siri

The forms for ‘near hearer’ are probably derived from the third person pronoun **sa** plus the emphatic particles **na** singular and **ra** plural. However, this does not explain why they are used for what is basically a second person deictic (‘near to hearer, nearer to you’). Nor does it explain the plural **sara** which would then be totally replaced by **ria ra** (a demonstrative form which does exist, see 4.8.1). I therefore consider **sana** and **sara** to be independent emphatic demonstrative pronouns alongside **pi**, **piri**, **pu**, and **puru**. **Sana** is also used as a demonstrative in Roviana, so it may be a borrowing into Hoava. However, **sara** is not recorded in Waterhouse (1949) for Roviana.

The emphatic demonstrative pronoun **pu** is also used as the relative clause marker (see 4.10 and 8.3), and as a complementiser with some clausal complements (see 8.5).

The ‘visible’ group of emphatic demonstrative pronouns parallels the long demonstrative pronouns discussed in 4.8.1, but includes also the ‘invisible’ demonstrative pronoun **si**, for which there is no equivalent long demonstrative pronoun.

Emphatic demonstrative pronouns are frequently found in questions, as in the following examples:

- (233) a. **Ome-a goe pi?**
 see-TR:3SG PRO:2SG PROX:SG
 ‘Do you see this?’
- b. **Sa piri?**
 what PROX:PL
 ‘What are these?’
- (234) a. **Na ezini te se sana?**
 ART engine POSS who DIST:SG
 ‘Whose engine is that?’

³ A demonstrative pronoun with a similar meaning is recorded by Dyen (1965:12) for Trukese: **joob** ‘that - out of sight but known to exist’.

- b. **Sa sara?**
what DIST:PL
'What are those?'
- (235) a. **Raesi sa pu?**
rice what REMOTE:SG
'What rice is that?'
- b. **Sa puru?**
what REMOTE:PL
'What are those?'
- (236) a. **Sa si?**
what INVIS:SG
'What is that (unseen)?'
- b. **Umani-a goe si?**
hear.TR-3SG PRO:2SG INVIS:SG
'Did you hear that?'

Sentences using the emphatic particle **ba** (see 9.3.1) and the emphatic demonstrative pronouns are often used in reply to the above types of questions.

- (237) a. **Sa makoa pi? Ei, na masi qa ba pi.**
what uncertain PROX:SG EXCL ART lighter REST EMPH PROX:SG
'What is this?' 'Ei, this is just a lighter!'
- b. **Na sa heni? Na binu ba sana.**
ART what PROX:SG ART lime EMPH DIST:SG
'What is this?' 'That's lime!'
- c. **Sa pu? Garo nohoko ba pu.**
what REMOTE:SG probably bird EMPH REMOTE:SG
'What's that (over there)?' 'That's probably a bird!'
- d. **Umani-a goe si? Ao, umani-a**
hear.TR-3SG PRO:2SG INVIS:SG yes hear.TR-3SG
rao ba si.
PRO:1SG EMPH INVIS:SG
'Did you hear that?' 'Yes, I heard that!'

The emphatic demonstratives can be used in statements without an emphatic particle, although this is less common:

- (238) a. **Se tase-na sa nikana pu tavete pa Maruia**
who name-3SG ART:SG man REL work PRP M.

Society so? E Aneti si.
 S DEM:PAST ART A. INVIS:SG
 ‘What is the name of the person who works for Maruia Society?’ ‘That is Annette (no longer present).’

- b. **Garo nohoko qa puru.**
 probably bird REST REMOTE:PL
 ‘Those over there are probably just birds.’
- c. **Koni la goe, gua-go si.**
 FUT go PRO:2SG said-TR:2SG INVIS:SG
 ‘You will go, that one (not present) says to you.’

The emphatic demonstrative pronouns **pi** and **pu** can be used to replace the proximal and remote demonstrative pronouns **heni** and **huani** (239a), or in combination with them, with one form being used in the question and the other in the reply (239b).

- (239) a. **Baeka sa huani? Baeka sa pu?**
 bag what REMOTE:SG bag what REMOTE:SG
 ‘What bag is that?’
- b. **Q: Na qato sa huani=ni?**
 ART tree what REMOTE:SG=RED
- A: Na qato edeve qa ba pu.**
 ART tree sago REST EMPH REMOTE:SG
- Q: ‘What tree is that?’
 A: ‘That’s just a sago palm tree!’

Both **pi** and **pu** are words which are used in conversation. They are not recorded in narratives other than in reported speech. **Sana** and the plural **sara**, by contrast, are found in both conversation and narratives, with both anaphoric and exophoric references, particularly as emphatic forms after the emphatic particles **ba** and **go** (see 9.3).

- (240) a. **Vasi isa qa ba sana.**
 INTENS PRO:3SG REST EMPH DIST:SG
 ‘That really is it!’
- b. **Gugusu pu kakoa ninani ba sara.**
 village REL nothing food EMPH DIST:PL
 ‘Those are villages which have no food.’
- c. **Ria maqoru pu la pita ninani go sara.**
 ART:PL war.canoes REL go look.for food EMPH DIST:PL
 ‘Those were war canoes which go to look for food.’

Si is used to refer to something or someone who is not present at the time of speaking. For example, the sentence in (241a) is possible when the referent is not present, but sentence (241b) is impossible, as the speaker and the referent are the same, and sentence (241c) has to be used instead.

- (241) a. **Isa qa ba si.**
 PRO:3SG REST EMPH INVIS:SG
 'That's only her!'
- b. ***Rao qa ba si.**
 PRO:1SG REST EMPH INVIS:SG
 '*That is only me!'
- c. **Rao qa ba pi.**
 PRO:1SG REST EMPH PROX:SG
 'This is only me!'

Si is also used to request a name that has been forgotten:

- (242) a. **Eri Sianala ri sanu, e, gi ko tala**
 ART:PL Siangala and so-and-so eh and stay where
gu-ni-a. Loa-na so. Se si?
 said-AP-3SG spouse-3SG DEM:PAST who INVIS:SG
 'Siangala and what's-her-name, eh, and they stayed where I said. His wife.
 Who was that?'
- b. **Sa makoa si? Keke sasaeri so.**
 what uncertain INVIS:SG one leaf DEM:PAST
Sa si, Ame?
 what INVIS:SG A.
 'What was that? A leaf. What was that, Ame?'
 (requesting name of a leaf used in dyeing baskets, because the speaker has temporarily forgotten the name).

4.9 Prepositional phrases in noun phrases

A prepositional phrase used as a noun modifier consists of a preposition **pa** followed by a noun phrase without an article. Other prepositional phrases are used for the prepositional possessive (see 4.11.4) or in the clause periphery (see 7.1.2). Prepositional phrases within noun phrases usually refer to place names.

- (243) a. **sa binanara pa Daepaqo**
 ART:SG chieftainship PRP Daepanggo
 'the chieftainship of Daepanggo'
- b. **Matunu pa Hura**
 Matungu PRP H.
 'Matungu of Hura'

4.10 Relative clauses

A relative clause follows the head noun and any modifiers it may have, other than short demonstratives (see 4.8.2.4). The relative clause marker is **pu**, the same form as is used for the remote emphatic demonstrative pronoun (see 4.8.3). Only a singular form is used to indicate a relative clause; the plural emphatic demonstrative pronoun **puru** is never used with this function. Relative clauses are discussed in detail in 8.3. The following are some examples of noun phrases containing relative clauses:

- (244) a. **ria pu ko holapa**
 PRO:3PL REL stay pass
 'they who stay behind'
- b. **ria doluru nikana pu nani-a sa lokita**
 ART:PL all man REL bite-TR:3SG ART:SG banana.tree
 'all the men who ate the (fruit of the) banana'
- c. **sa barigese pu la sege nani-a na**
 ART:SG old.man REL go crocodile bite-TR:3SG DEM
 'the old man who was eaten by the crocodile'

4.11 Possessive noun phrases

Hoava has four types of possessive noun phrases, determined by the relationship of the possessum to the possessor:

- (1) inalienable possession for such categories as part-whole relations and most family relationships, marked by the addition of a nominal indexing suffix to the possessum;
- (2) edible possession for consumables using an edible classifier attached to the nominal indexing suffix, but preceding the possessum;
- (3) exclusive possession for objects not covered in the above two categories, using a separate possessive pronoun preceding the possessum. This type of possession tends to indicate exclusive rights not shared by other people;
- (4) general possession, using a prepositional form following the possessum.

Possessive noun phrases of types 1–3 may include an optional possessor noun phrase, coreferential with the possessive marker, after the possessum. Type 4, the prepositional possessive, has an obligatory possessor noun phrase. The separate possessor noun phrase may be a pronoun or a full noun phrase.

4.11.1 *Inalienable possession*

Inalienable possession is marked on the possessum by the addition of the set of nominal indexing suffixes used for several different functions throughout the grammar of Hoava. The set of suffixes, which were listed as (5) in 4.1, are repeated here:

	singular	plural
first person		
- inclusive		-da
- exclusive	-qu	-mami
second person	-mu	-mi
third person	-na	-di

The suffixes can be used alone as a pronominal possessor or in combination with a coreferent possessor noun phrase.

Inalienable possession is used to express a range of relationships between possessum and possessor, all of which can be said to fall under the general concept of part-whole relationships, in that the possessum is regarded as part of a larger entity, either concretely or abstractly.

(a) *Parts of the body*

All body parts of humans and other animate objects take the inalienable possessive in general usage.

- (245) a. **sa kalu-na sa ruruhu**
 ART:SG hair-3SG ART:SG giant
 'the giant's hair'
- b. **sa bele-na sa boko**
 ART:SG tail-3SG ART:SG pig
 'the pig's tail'
- c. **isu-mu**
 nose-2SG
 'your nose'

Less tangible elements are also regarded as part of an animate being's body, such as its voice, as in (246a). A person's spirit is regarded as part of his or her body and therefore is possessed inalienably (246b). Likewise, a preserved skull of an ancestor, although removed from the body, is still regarded as inalienably belonging to the ancestor (246c).

- (246) a. **mamalaini-na se Josua**
 voice-3SG ART:SG Josua
 'Josua's voice'

- b. **sa maqomaqo-na sa nikana**
 ART:SG spirit-3SG ART:SG man
 'the man's spirit'
- c. **ria batu-di ria tomate**
 ART:PL head-3PL ART:PL dead
 'the heads of the dead'

However, if someone has injured a body part then the prepositional possessive can be used:

- (247) a. **Batu taqu rao nahu-a.**
 head PRP:1SG PRO:1SG hurt-TR:3SG
 'My head hurts.' [lit: (It) hurt my head.]
- b. **Ta-nani leboto sa malego tani sa.**
 PASS-bite bushknife ART:SG leg PRP:3SG PRO:3SG
 'His leg was cut by the bushknife.'

(b) *Parts of inanimates*

Anything which is considered to be part of a larger inanimate object is possessed inalienably. In describing trees and other large plants, body part terms are used:

(248)	human	plant
batu	head	top
reku	hand, arm	branch (also reta)
gole	backside	base
kaha	skin	bark
kola	liver, centre	centre of new growth

- (249) a. **ria deri-na sa kabasa**
 ART:PL post-3SG ART:PL house
 'the posts of the house'
- b. **havoro-na sa beha**
 flower-3SG ART:SG basket
 'patterns of the basket'
- c. **reta-di heleana**
 branch-3PL river
 'branches of rivers'
- d. **sa hahao-na sa nohara**
 ART:SG leaf-3SG ART:SG coconut
 'the leaf of the coconut'

As with body parts of humans, less tangible elements are also regarded as part of an inanimate object, such as its shadow (shadows are regarded as manifestations of spirits).

- (250) **sa** **ere-na** **sa** **qato**
 ART:SG shade-3SG ART:SG tree
 'the shade of the tree'

(c) *Family relations*

Most terms for blood relatives and relatives by marriage are possessed inalienably, since these words describe membership of a larger entity, the kinship group. Kinship terms used in Hoava are shown in (251).

- (251) **tina-** 'mother, aunt, grandmother'
 tama- 'father, uncle, grandfather'
 tu- 'child, niece, nephew, grandchild'
 tasi- 'sibling, cousin'
 loa- 'spouse'
 roa- 'relative by marriage, in-law'
 hope- 'respect word for parents-in-law and spouse's eldest opposite sex
 sibling'

Combinations of these terms are used to define more specific relationships:

- (252) **tama-na** **tama-qu** **rao**
 father-3SG father-1SG PRO:1SG
 'my father's father'

Some kinship terms are no longer used in everyday speech. In stories where they are recorded, inalienable possession is used: **buhi-qu** 'my mother's brother, my sister's child'; **vavane-qu** 'my sister (of man), my brother (of woman)'.
 The general term for 'relation' and also 'companion' is possessed inalienably: **ria teni-na** 'his/her relatives/companions', but the word for close friend or lover, **baere**, can be used with either the inalienable possessive or the general possessive: **baere-qu** or **qua baere** 'my friend'. The former is often heard when a person is asking a friend for something or teasing them. The word for 'former lover' is always inalienably possessed: **kezo-na** 'his/her ex-lover', despite this person being outside the normal kinship group.

One term for blood relatives which is not possessed inalienably is **butubutu** 'descent group'. This seems to be always used with the prepositional possessive, presumably because it is not a part of anything larger as it is the largest kinship group.

(253) a. **butubutu** **te** **Oqoro**
 descent.group POSS Onggoro
 'Onggoro's descendents'

- b. **butubutu** **taqu** **rao**
 descent.group POSS:1SG PRO:1SG
 'my descent group'

(d) *Abstract elements*

Abstract elements can be possessed inalienably where they are regarded as inseparable from the possessum, such as a person's name (254a), or other abstract qualities such as size (254b). These include base forms, and abstract nouns derived from verbs by the nominalising affix (-)in-.

- (254) a. **tase-mu goe**
 name-2SG PRO:2SG
 'your name'
- b. **g<in>ele-na sa hore**
 long<NOM>-3SG ART:SG canoe
 'the length of the canoe'
- c. **sa g<in>ua-na sa p<in>ato**
 ART:SG say<NOM>-3SG ART:SG speak<NOM>
 'the meaning of the speech'
- d. **sa t<in>avete-na sa kabasa**
 ART:SG work<NOM>-3SG ART:SG house
 'the work of the house (i.e. the building of it)'

4.11.2 *Edible possession*

Edible possession covers possession of items that are intended to be consumed, such as food, drink and tobacco. It also includes people captured in battle for sacrifice and then eaten, and heads taken in battle which were not eaten. If an item is not intended for consumption in the near future, it can be possessed using the exclusive or general possessive forms, as in (255):

- (255) **Hokara ko qa mahu tamu goe?**
 true stay REST potato POSS:2SG PRO:2SG
 'Do you have potatoes?' [lit: Are your potatoes truly present?]

The edible possessive is indicated by the classifiers **e-** or **a-** followed by the nominal indexing suffixes. **E-** is used for all persons except third person singular and first person plural inclusive where **a-** is used, probably because of the **a** in the nominal indexing suffix. The edible possessive forms are shown in (256).

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| (256) | | singular | plural |
| | first person | | |
| | - inclusive | | a-da |
| | - exclusive | e-qu | e-mami |
| | second person | e-mu | e-mi |
| | third person | a-na | e-di |

The edible possessive precedes the possessum; articles and quantifiers do not appear to be used with the edible possessive.

- (257) a. **e-mi** **n<in>ani**
 EDPOSS-2PL eat<NOM>
 'your(pl) food'
- b. **e-qu** **napo**
 EDPOSS-1SG drink
 'my drink'
- c. **e-mami** **toloko kisi**
 EDPOSS-1PL.EX eel small
 'our small eel'
- d. **e-qu** **veala**
 EDPOSS-1SG sacrificial.victim
 'my sacrificial victim (for eating)'

The possessum can be followed by a noun phrase coreferent with the edible possessive:

- (258) **a-na** **napo sa** **koburu**
 EDPOSS-3SG drink ART:SG child
 'the child's drink'

The edible possessive can also function as the head of a noun phrase by itself.

- (259) a. **Mae pule tu e-qu.**
 come return REST EDPOSS-1SG
 'Give me more.' [lit: come again mine]
- b. **Koni paho ba e-mami ri.**
 FUT empty EMPH EDPOSS-1PL.EX DEM
 'Ours will be all gone!'

The Roviana form for the edible possessive is frequently used in both Hoava and Kusaghe. This consists of the particles **ge** and **ga** replacing **e** and **a** respectively, as shown in (260) and (261).

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| (260) | | singular | plural |
| | first person | | |
| | - inclusive | | ga-da |
| | - exclusive | ge-qu | ge-mami |
| | second person | ge-mu | ge-mi |
| | third person | ga-na | ge-di |

- (261) a. **ge-mi** **n<in>ani**
 EDPOSS-2PL eat<NOM>
 'your (pl) food'
- b. **ge-qu** **napo**
 EDPOSS-1SG drink
 'my drink'
- c. **ge-qu** **boso**
 EDPOSS-1SG head
 'my head (battle trophy)'
- d. **ge-di** **ria** **koburu**
 EDPOSS-3PL ART:PL child
 'the children's (food)'
- e. **ge-mu** **goe**
 EDPOSS-2SG PRO:2SG
 'yours (food)'

People use both forms of the edible possessive in speech within the same narrative, and even within the same sentence:

- (262) **Naqali** **gita** **karu** **ga-da**
 carry.TR.3PL PRO:1PL.IN two EDPOSS-1PL.IN
- ninani**, **a-da** **makoto**.
 food EDPOSS-1PL.IN triggerfish
 'We two carry our food, our triggerfish.'

Both forms of the edible possessive also have another function in the verb phrase as a subject marker, discussed in 5.11. The Hoava *a/e* edible possessive is also associated with the optative subject marker, discussed in 5.5.2.

4.11.3 Exclusive possession

The exclusive possessive pronouns are used for items which are either not possessed inalienably or about to be consumed. The possessor is always human. The use of an exclusive possessive pronoun tends to indicate that no one else has ownership of a particular thing, whether it is a canoe, a house, an item of clothing or a village. However, property rights to movable objects such as household items, clothing, and canoe parts are not constant, since another person can become the "owner" by simply taking the item. Exclusive possession of such items is therefore a rather temporary state.

For an item such as a house, to use the exclusive possessive form **nana kabasa** 'his/her house' means that one person alone owns the house, although other people may live there, while to use the prepositional form **kabasa tani sa** 'his/her house' indicates that he or she shares ownership with other residents of the house, or may be just living in that particular house without any specific ownership rights. Ownership, in this case, is

not signalled by purchase, since houses in the village are not purchased. Nor, given the temporary nature of most building materials, is it likely that a person has moved into someone else's empty house. Rather, it indicates that a person has been given the right to build a house and has organised the building of that house.

Although garden rights are regarded as inalienable, since they cannot be sold and are owned through inheritance, the inalienable possessive is not used when referring to the owner. This is presumably because they are not regarded as part of a person in the same way as a person's body part, kin or spirit. Therefore, either the exclusive possessive or the prepositional possessive is used for ownership of garden rights.

Exclusive possession is shown by the use of a possessive pronoun preceding the possessum. The possessive pronouns are shown in (263).

(263)		singular	plural
	first person		
	- inclusive		nada
	- exclusive	qua	mami
	second person	mua	mi
	third person	nana	dia

Two of the possessive pronouns in (263) contain the particle **na-**, reconstructed by Pawley (1973:158) as a marker of dominant possession in Proto Oceanic. **Qua**, **mua** and **dia** consist of the relevant nominal indexing suffix followed by **a**, while **mami** and **mi** are identical to the nominal indexing suffixes for those persons.

The possessive pronoun usually follows any articles or quantifiers used in a noun phrase, although it may precede the article.

- (264) a. **mami** **gugusu**
 POSS:1PL.EX village
 'our village'
- b. **qua** **ineva_{na}**
 POSS:1SG feast
 'my feast (that I have organised and paid for)'
- c. **na dia sanu koe-di**
 ART POSS:3PL thing old-3PL
 'their old things'
- d. **ka-made dia tomoko**
 NUM-four POSS:3PL warcanoes
 'their four war canoes'

There may be a noun phrase after the possessum, coreferent with the possessive pronoun:

- (265) a. **sa nana soana sa kalaho heni**
 ART:SG POSS:3SG path ART:SG woman PROX:SG
 'this woman's path' (path exclusively used by a woman after childbirth)
- b. **nana siki Jakia**
 POSS:3SG dog J.
 'Jakia's dog'

Exclusive possession is also used for abstract properties denoted by some nominalised verbs, although other nominalisations take the inalienable possessive (see 4.11.1) or the prepositional possessive (4.11.4).

- (266) a. **dia k<in>o ria nikana heri**
 POSS:3PL stay<NOM> ART:PL man PROX:PL
 'these men's lives'
- b. **mami g<in>ore**
 POSS:1PL.EX go.down<NOM>
 'our descent'
- c. **dia p<in>uta**
 POSS:3PL sleep<NOM>
 'their sleep'

Possessive pronouns can be used as the head of a noun phrase, usually followed by a pronoun:

- (267) a. **Tavete eke-a qa sa pu nana isa.**
 make alone-TR:3SG REST PRO REL POSS:3SG PRO:3SG
 '(She) made that which was hers by herself.'
- b. **Isa nana kukuru sa kalaho sagi kukuru**
 PRO:3SG POSS:3SG half ART:SG woman CONJ half
kabasa, dia ria sa kukuru kabasa.
 house POSS:3PL PRO:3PL ART:SG half house
 'Half the house, that is the woman's half; theirs (the men's) is the (other) half of the house.'

The exclusive possessive pronouns also have a function in the verb phrase as subject marker, discussed in 5.11.

4.11.4 Prepositional possession

Any relationship of possession which does not fall into the above three categories can be expressed using the prepositional possessive form. This construction is also used for the oblique object of a clause (6.5) and, in Hoava dialect only, some locative phrases involving humans (see 7.1.2).

The prepositional possessive uses a preposition **ta-** followed by a person/number suffix and a coreferent pronoun or noun. The person/number suffixes resemble the nominal indexing suffixes (see 4.11.1) except for the third person singular, where **-ni** rather than **-na** is used, and the plural forms of the first person and the second person, where the expected forms would be ***ta-da gita**, ***ta-mami gami** and ***ta-mi gamu**. Because of these differences, the prepositional possessive form is shown as one morpheme. The prepositional possessive forms are shown in (268).

(268)		singular	plural
	first person		
	- inclusive		tadi
	- exclusive	taqu	tami
	second person	tamu	tamu
	third person	tani	tadi

As there have been changes from the presumably original nominal indexing suffixes, there is now no number distinction in the second person, both singular and plural using **tamu**, nor any person distinction between the first person plural inclusive and the third person plural, both of which use **tadi**. However, a pronoun or noun phrase indicating the possessor always follows this form of the possessive.

- (269) a. **sa k<in>era tani sa kaleqe**
 ART:SG sing<NOM> POSS:3SG ART:SG old.woman
 'the singing of the old woman'
- b. **keke parika taqu rao**
 one bow POSS:1SG PRO:1SG
 'my bow'
- c. **sa koburu tadi ria nikana heri**
 ART:SG child POSS:3PL ART:PL man PROX:PL
 'the child of these people'
- d. **ria butubutu tani sa**
 ART:PL descent.group POSS:3SG PRO:3SG
 'his/her descendants'
- e. **t<in>avete tadi eri karu**
 work<NOM> POSS:3PL ART:PL two
 'the work of the two'

The form **tana** is used instead of **tani** when the possessor is an indefinite noun phrase used generically. This could be derived from the preposition **ta-** plus the general article **na**.

- (270) a. **na hahanana tana kaleqe**
 ART habit POSS woman
 'the habits of old women'

- b. **na <in>asao tana solodia**
 ART <NOM>walk POSS soldier
 'the walking (marching) of soldiers'.

When the possessor noun phrase is the name of a person, the particle **te** is used:

- (271) a. **sa hore te Iani**
 ART:SG canoe POSS I.
 'Iani's canoe'
- b. **sa kabasa te Vezi**
 ART:SG house POSS V.
 'Vezi's house'

Te is made plural by the addition of the third person plural nominal indexing suffix: **te-di**. In the next example, the plural form is used to show that the name 'Devita' refers to more than one person, Devita's family.

- (272) **sa kabasa tedi Devita**
 ART:SG house POSS:3PL D.
 'Davids' (family's) house'.

The particle **te** is also used to precede the question word **se** 'who?' to form the question 'whose?'. Since **te se** is used in a question, it can be placed at the front of a clause, the normal place for question words (see 9.4.1.3) as shown in (273a). It is also possible to leave **te se** in place following the possessum (273b).

- (273) a. **Te se karu hore sari?**
 POSS who two canoe DIST:PL
 'Whose are those two canoes?'
- b. **Kabasa te se?**
 house POSS who
 'Whose house?'

The reply will generally use the **ta** form of the possessive although the exclusive possessive can also be used.

- (274) a. **Te Iani. or Nana Iani.**
 POSS I. POSS I.
 'Iani's'
- b. **Taqu rao. or Qua rao**
 POSS:1SG PRO:1SG POSS:1SG PRO:1SG
 'Mine.'

4.12 Coordination of noun phrases

Hoava has three coordinating conjunctions to link noun phrases: **ri**, **dae**, and **na**, and one disjunctive coordinator, **ba**.

Ri 'and' is used to coordinate names within a noun phrase. The coordinated noun phrase is then treated as a single noun phrase of plural number.

- (275) a. **Sumi barigese-di eri Jone ri Deni.**
 PERF old.man-3PL ART:PL Jone and D.
 'Jone and Deni have become old men.'
- b. **Pa gugusu ri tamu gamu Masu ri Tokopae.**
 PRP village ART:PL POSS:2 PRO:2PL M. and T.
 'At the village of you two, Masu and Tokopae.'

Ri 'and' is also used to coordinate nouns denoting humans:

- (276) a. **Sa barigese ri karu koburu ko qa.**
 ART:SG old.man and two child stay REST
 'The old man and the two children just stayed.'
- b. **Eri ka-hike qa, sa ri karu koburu.**
 PRO:3PL NUM-three REST PRO:3SG and two child
 'The three of them, her and the two children.'

The coordinator **dae** 'and' is derived from the verb 'be finished', and it is used to coordinate clauses as well as noun phrases (see 8.1.2). **Dae** can be used to join any two noun phrases, such as personal names (277a), place names (277b), and general noun phrases (277c).

- (277) a. **se Lusi dae se Qulateko**
 ART L. and ART Nggulateko
 'Lusi and Nggulateko'
- b. **Qerasi dae Ramata**
 Nggerasi and R.
 'Nggerasi and Ramata'
- c. **sa kilekile dae sa davi dae sa tile.**
 ART:SG stone.axe and ART:SG davi.shell and ART:SG pearl.shell
 'the stone axe and the davi shell and the pearl shell.'

The coordinator **na** 'and' is used to join place names that are regularly combined:

- (278) a. **Daepaqa na Hovo**
 Daepanggo and H.
 'Daepanggo and Hovo'
- b. **Hoeze na Kalivara**
 H. and K.
 'Hoeze and Kalivara'

It is also possible to coordinate noun phrases merely by juxtaposition:

- (279) **Supa, Lepa, eri karu koburu.**
 S. L. ART:PL two child
 'Supa and Lepa were the two children.'

The disjunctive coordinator is **ba** 'or'.

- (280) a. **Sa hiva-ni-a goe? Taio ba miti?**
 what want-AP-3SG PRO:2SG taiyo or corned.beef
 'What do you want? Taiyo [tuna] or corned beef?'
 b. **Nikana vera sa tama-na Quresi? Nikana**
 man where ART:SG father-3SG Ngguresi man
Hoava ba nikana Maqela ba nikana Dekurana?
 H. or man Manggela or man D.
 'Ngguresi's father was from where? Hoava or Manggela or Dekurana?'
 c. **Vera ta-ko=ko susua? Pa Qerasi ba pa Ramata?**
 where PASS-RED=stay first PRP Nggerasi or PRP R.
 'Where was settled first? At Nggerasi or at Ramata?'

There is further discussion of coordination in 8.1.

5 *The verb phrase*

5.1 Defining the verb phrase

Following Foley and Van Valin (1984), I will describe three layers of clause structure in Hoava. I consider the verb phrase to be the nucleus of the clause and to consist of the verbal head and its surrounding elements as outlined in (1) below. The verb phrase, in this description, does not include the primary noun phrase arguments of the verb. These are part of the second layer of the clause, the core, which is described in Chapter 6. However, object markers are included in the transitive and applicative suffixes (see 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 respectively). These suffixes are placed on the final element in the verb phrase, whether it is a verb or intensifier. Alternatively, an incorporated object may be used, in which case there is no transitive marking, and the incorporated object follows the verb. Incorporated objects are described briefly in 5.10, but the main discussion of their use is in Chapter 6 as it pertains to the argument structure of clauses. The third layer of the clause, the periphery, includes the oblique arguments of the clause and is described in Chapter 7.

The only obligatory element in a Hoava verb phrase is the verbal head. All other components are optional. The components of the Hoava verb phrase are shown in (1).

- (1) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(aspect)} \\ \text{(adverb)} \\ \text{(intensifier)} \\ \text{(tense/mode marker)} \end{array} \right\} \text{(directional VERB (verb}^x\text{) (postverbal modifier)}$

In (1), verb^x is used for a verb serialisation which consists of a sequence of up to four verbs. Serial verbs are discussed further in 5.7.

5.2 The head of a verb phrase

According to the data collected, all Hoava verbs can be intransitive. There appear to be no obligatorily transitive verbs, and all verbs tested could be used intransitively. All Hoava verbs also appear to have the potential to become transitive through a variety of

valency increasing strategies (described in 5.3). No verbs recorded in the data appeared to be only used intransitively. However, verbs differ as to which of the valency increasing strategies they can combine with, and this is the basis of a classification of Hoava verbs into distinct syntactic categories. Some of the syntactic categories correspond to semantic groupings, but this is not true for all.

Pawley (1973) established a provisional set of verb classes for Proto Oceanic based on grammatically definable classes, which correspond roughly to semantic groupings, according to the choice of one of two transitive suffixes, **-i* or **-aki(ni)*.

A similar classification is possible for Hoava verbs, based on two transitive affixes and the number of possible objects: (1) the transitive suffix and one or two objects; and (2) the applicative suffix and one or two objects. The transitive affixes are discussed in detail in 5.3. At this stage I will point out that the transitive suffix includes an object marker and has a variety of forms according to phonological conditioning (see 5.3.1). If two objects occur with the transitive suffix, only one, the primary object, is indexed by the object marker. The applicative suffix is *-ni* followed by an object marker, as listed in 5.3.2. Again, if two objects are present, only the primary object is indexed by the object marker. The secondary, or applied, object is not indexed.

The primary division of verbs is semantic, into stative and active verbs. Stative verbs are those where the subject is a patient, and active verbs are those where the subject is an agent. Both of these groups are then subdivided according to the types of transitive strategies used.

5.2.1 Type I verbs

This category covers those stative verbs which can only become transitive by using the causative prefix *va-*, with either the transitive (2a) or applicative suffix (2b). (See 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 for discussion of transitive and applicative suffixes respectively.)

- (2) a. **kisi** 'be small' > **va-kisi-a** 'make it be small'
zɪnara 'be red' > **va-zɪnar-ia** 'make it be red'
- b. **kisi** 'be small' > **va-kisi-ni-a** 'make it be small (by means of something)'
zɪnara 'be red' > **va-zɪnara-ni-a** 'make it be red (by means of something)'

These verbs cannot take the transitive or applicative suffix without the causative prefix: **kisia*, **zɪnaria*; **kisinia*, **zɪnaranja*.

They may have an optional nominal indexing suffix on the intransitive form to index the subject (see 4.1 for list of suffixes):

- (3) a. **Kisi sa boko.**
be.small ART:SG pig
'The pig is small.'
- b. **Kisi-na sa boko.**
be.small-3SG ART:SG pig
'The pig is small.'

- (4) a. **Kalea-na sa bisiketi ni.**
 be.bad-3SG ART:SG biscuit DEM
 'The biscuit is bad.'
- b. **Kalea-di qua soana.**
 be.bad-3PL POSS:1SG path
 'My paths are bad.'

Type I verbs are not used as second or subsequent verbs in verbal serialisations in their underived form. They can only have this function when the causative prefix is used. In this case, the causative verb may be intransitive when the causative verb has an adverbial function:

- (5) a. **Ko va-leana ria pa gugusu banara.**
 exist CAUSE-be.well PRO:3PL PRP village chief
 'They lived well at the village of the chief.'
- b. **Lava=lavata va-kisi eri karu.**
 RED=be.big CAUSE-be.small ART:PL two
 'The two were growing a little.'

Verbs which come into this category are stative verbs which mainly denote the physical properties of an entity, such as colour, size, dimension and age, as well as the properties of speed and value.

Examples of Type I verbs:

colour:	buma	'be green',	meava	'be yellow',	hupa	'be black';
size:	lavata	'be big',	kisi	'be small',	gele	'be tall';
dimension:	boboko	'be round',	nirisi	'be narrow';		
age:	vaqaru	'be new',	koe	'be old';		
speed:	rerege	'be fast',	kisi	'be small, slow';		
value:	koleo	'be good',	kalea	'be bad',	lea	'be good' (a borrowing from Roviana).

Verbs of this type are also used as postnominal modifiers, fulfilling the function that a separate category of adjectives would have in other languages (see 4.6.1). However, I consider them to be verbs in Hoava since they can be used with the future tense marker, as shown in (6). In this example, **buma** 'be green' is first used as a stative verb, and then as a postnominal modifier.

- (6) **Koni buma sa kuma pula vale-a**
 FUT be.green ART:SG water if give-TR:3SG
- goe sa dae buma.**
 PRO:2SG ART:SG dye be.green
 'The water will be green if you put in the green dye.'

allow an object noun phrase to be present in a clause (10b), (11b). The subject remains as the patient/experiencer, as it is when the verb is intransitive, and the object has the role of indirect cause.

- (10) a. **Edo rao.**
 happy PRO:1SG
 'I'm happy.'
- b. **Edo-ni-a rao sa hore.**
 happy-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG canoe
 'I'm happy about the canoe.'
- (11) a. **Kabo sa koburu.**
 cry ART:SG child
 'The child cried.'
- b. **Sa kabo-ni-a goe?**
 what cry-AP-3SG PRO:2SG
 'What are you crying for?'

Type III statives, as with the other statives, can be turned into causative verbs by taking the causative prefix and the transitive suffix (12), (13b). This is used when there is an animate, agentive cause of the state.

- (12) **Va-kabo-a sa redio.**
 CAUSE-cry-TR:3SG ART:SG radio
 'Make the radio "cry",' (i.e., turn the radio on.)
- (13) a. **To sa nikana.**
 be.alive ART:SG man
 'The man is alive.'
- b. **Va-to-ia sa zuke.**
 CAUSE-be.alive-TR:3SG ART:SG lamp
 'Light the lamp.' [lit: Make the lamp be alive.]

Type III verbs are verbs of human emotions, such as: **korakora** 'be angry', **kuse** 'be jealous', **edo** 'be happy', **hiva** 'want', and **mabo** 'be tired'. The stative verbs **to** 'be alive, be functioning' and **mate** 'be dead, be sick' also belong in this syntactic category.

Although I did not find any Type I verbs taking the applicative suffix, it is possible that Type I and Type III verbs are part of one syntactic category, distinct from Type II. The applicative suffix with these verbs is used to encode the 'cause' role of an object when a cause can be attributed responsibility for a state. Hence, verbs of Type III which take the applicative suffix tend to refer to human emotional or physical states which can have causes, while Type I verbs refer to more longlasting, often permanent, states of inherent properties, such as size and colour. When a state referred to by a Type I verb has a cause, it is usually animate and usually human as in (6), and so the stative verb becomes a causative verb, allowing the causer to be in the subject position in the clause. When a state referred to by a Type III verb has a cause, it is usually inanimate and non-

human as in (10), or else is a stimulus for the emotional state, not a direct causer of it, as in (14). In this case, the applicative suffix is used because the cause does not have an agentive role.

- (14) **Tahiko-ni-a** **rao** **sa** **sege**
 frightened-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG crocodile
 'I'm frightened of the crocodile.'

Therefore, the apparent syntactic difference between Type I and Type III statives is due to the different semantic relationships between a verb and its possible object, rather than a specific syntactic constraint. With further investigation, it is possible that Type I and Type III verbs could be combined into one category. At this stage, however, I will maintain the separate categories.

5.2.4 Type IV verbs

I will first describe the properties shared by Type IV verbs, and then discuss the additional properties of the three directional verbs: **mae** 'come to speaker', **atu** 'go to hearer', and **la** 'go away from speaker and hearer'.

5.2.4.1 Properties of Type IV verbs

Type IV verbs are active verbs which are used intransitively (15a), or with the transitive suffix and one object (15b), or with the applicative suffix and one object (15c).

- (15) a. **Kae haqala pa kabasa!**
 NEG run PRP house
 'Don't run in the house!'
- b. **Kae haqali-a sa kabasa!**
 NEG run.TR-3SG ART:SG house
 'Don't run in the house!'
- c. **Kae haqala-ni-a goe sa kuti!**
 NEG run-AP-3SG PRO:2SG ART:SG knife
 'Don't you run with the knife!'

As can be seen from comparing (15a) and (15b), the transitive suffix is used to encode a goal or other locative object, which can also be expressed as a prepositional phrase. The applicative suffix is used, as in (15c), to encode a concomitant or other circumstantial role.

Type IV verbs are actives, in that the subject is the agent or an active experiencer. A number of semantic groupings fall into this category, such as:

- (a) verbs of movement: **aso** 'walk', **haqala** 'run', **keba** 'climb';
- (b) verbs of posture and change in posture: **tunu** 'sit', **tiva** 'stand', **eko** 'lie down', **polo** 'roll up', **opo** 'roll over';

- (c) verbs of general direction: **sagele** 'go up', **gore** 'go down', **vura** 'go out', **nuquru** 'enter', **toloro** 'go straight';
- (d) the existential verb **ko** 'stay, exist';
- (e) verbs of sensory perception: **ome** 'see', **umana** 'hear', **homana** 'smell';
- (f) verbs of speech: **pato** 'speak' [HOA], **nake** 'speak' [KUS], **nanasa** 'ask', **tozi** 'tell', **vivine** 'tell stories';
- (g) verbs of mental activity and perception: **balabala** 'think', **gilali** 'know', **sikulu** 'teach, learn';
- (h) verbs of exchange: **holu** 'buy', **maketi** 'sell at market'.

Verbs of subtypes (a), (b), (c), (d), and the directional verbs (see 5.2.4.2) follow the same pattern of syntactic construction and semantic roles as does **haqala** 'run' (see (15)). They have an agent subject, and there can be either a prepositional phrase or object noun phrase to express the locative role.

- (16) a. **Eko Biulu pa teqe.**
lie B. PRP mat
'Biulu lay on the mat.'
- b. **Eko-a Biulu sa teqe.**
lie-TR:3SG B. ART:SG mat
'Biulu lay on the mat.'
- (17) a. **Nuquru sa nikana pa bae.**
enter ART:SG man PRP cave
'The man entered the cave.'
- b. **Nuquri-a sa nikana sa bae.**
enter.TR-3SG ART:SG man ART:SG cave
'The man entered the cave.'

Verbs of speech and sensory perception can also take either a prepositional phrase or an object noun phrase.

- (18) a. **Pato mae taqu rao sa.**
speak come PRP:1SG PRO:1SG PRO:3SG
'He spoke to me.'
- b. **Pato-erao sa rao.**
speak-TR:1SG PRO:3SG PRO:1SG
'He spoke to me.'
- (19) **Hiva ome-a mua sa maqe? ... La ome**
want see-TR:3SG POSS:2SG ART:SG monkey go see

tani sa maqe.

PRP:3SG ART:SG monkey

'Do you want to see the monkey? ... Go and see the monkey.'

Examples such as (18) and (19) indicate that Hoava regards the objects of speech and perception verbs as having the role of goal rather than stimulus or cause. As Palmer (1994:26) notes, 'the idea that the thing perceived is the cause is probably a very modern idea based on scientific knowledge'. Hoava is portraying the perceiver or speaker as the agent in the same manner as the runner in (15), in that the agent is intentionally performing an action, and not, in the scientific view, being the passive recipient of visual or aural stimuli. The object is then the goal at which the action is directed.

The use of two syntactic constructions for these verbs may reflect a semantic difference, so that when a prepositional phrase is used, there is a greater sense of movement towards or from the locative participant, than there is if the locative participant is the object noun phrase. However, this seems to be irrelevant for verbs such as *eko* 'lie' (16) where the location is static in both cases. Givón (1984:98–99) suggests that verbs with locative direct objects use different constructions to reflect a change in perspective, so that when the direct object construction is used, the object is more affected by the action than when the prepositional form is used.

Verbs of mental perception and verbs of exchange do not have the option of placing an object noun phrase inside a prepositional phrase. They are included in Type IV as the object still has the same role of perceived/stimulus or goal as found with the other verbs. Further, all verbs of this category, including the last two subtypes, use the applicative suffix in the same manner: to allow an alternative choice of object. The applied object has the role of concomitant for verbs of movement and posture, and less direct cause or stimulus for other verbs. In all cases, the object has a more circumstantial role than the object indexed by the transitive suffix.

(20) a. **Umani-a ria se Biliboa.**

hear.TR-3SG PRO:3PL ART B.

'They heard Biliboa.'

b. **Umana-ni-a ria se Biliboa pu**

hear-AP-3SG PRO:3PL ART B. REL

va-mate-na sa boko.

CAUSE-be.dead-3SG ART:SG pig

'They heard of Biliboa who had killed the pig.'

(21) a. **Pato-erao sa rao.**

speak-TR:1SG PRO:3SG PRO:1SG

'He spoke to me.'

b. **Pula vena pato=pato-ni-rao goe, koni va-gilali rao.**

if SIM RED=speak-AP-1SG PRO:2SG FUT CAUSE-know PRO:1SG

'Suppose you were talking about me, I would know.'

5.2.4.2 The directional verbs

The three directional verbs, **mae** ‘come to speaker’, **atu** ‘go to hearer’, **la** ‘go away from speaker and hearer’ also belong in the Type IV category, as they function in the same way as Type IV verbs. However, they also have a number of other functions which are listed here. More detailed discussion of the different functions is found under the appropriate references.

The directional verbs need to be clearly distinguished from verbs of general direction. Verbs of general direction indicate the direction of the movement without reference to the participants. Such verbs include: **sagele** ‘go up’, **gore** ‘go down’, **karovo** ‘go across’. The directional verbs show movement in relation to the participants, whether overt or contextual. **Mae** indicates movement towards the first person, or speaker; **atu** is movement towards the second person, or hearer; and **la** is movement towards the third person, or generally away from the speaker or hearer. The examples in (22), (23), and (24) show the directional verbs being used as main verbs of Type IV.

- (22) a. **Mae keke mola.**
 come one canoe
 ‘One canoe came.’
- b. **Mae e-qu.**
 come EDPOSS-1SG
 ‘My [food] comes.’
- c. **Mae-g-irao ria koburu.**
 come-LIG-TR:1SG ART:PL child
 ‘The children came to me.’
- (23) a. **Keke rane koni atu gami.**
 one day FUT go.to.you PRO:1PL.EX
 ‘One day we will go to you.’
- b. **Sege huala ba atu na.**
 crocodile wild EMPH go.to.you DEM
 ‘A wild crocodile is approaching you!’
- c. **Koni atu-go keke pele.**
 FUT go.to.you-TR:2SG one next
 ‘One more will go to you.’
- (24) a. **Kolokolo sa la pa Honiara goe?**
 time what go PRP H. PRO:2SG
 ‘What time did you go to Honiara?’
- b. **sa gugusu pu la-g-ia ria**
 ART:SG village REL go-LIG-TR:3SG PRO:3PL
 ‘the village which they went to’

Kusaghe uses **laegia** for the transitive form of **la**, as shown in (25), in contrast to the Hoava transitive form **lagia** in (24b) above.

- (25) **Laegi-a ria koburu sa barigese.** [KUS]
 go.TR-3SG ART:PL child ART:SG old.man
 'The children went to the old man.'

The applicative suffix is only used with the directional verbs when they occur at the end of a serial verb construction (see 5.7.7).

- (26) **Naqala gore la-ni-a sa beha pa hore.**
 carry go.down go-AP-3SG ART:SG basket PRP canoe
 '(She) carried the basket down to the canoe.'

In serial verbs, the directional verbs are distinct from the other verbs of Type IV, in that they are used only at the end of a serialisation, whereas other Type IV verbs can be used as the main verb in a serialisation, or before the directional verbs. The directional verbs are frequently used in combination with the verbs of general direction, in order to specify the direction of movement in relation to the participants.

- (27) a. **Aso karovo mae sa leta.**
 move across come ART:SG letter
 'The letter came across (to me).'
- b. **Vose gore atu ria.**
 paddle go.down go.to.you PRO:3PL
 'They paddled down (to you).'

The directional verbs **mae** and **la**, but not **atu**, are used as preverbal directional markers before a main verb, as shown in (28). This is discussed in 5.6.2.

- (28) a. **Sumi mae tiqa sa Janani.**
 PERF come reach ART:SG Japanese
 'The Japanese had arrived.'
- b. **La togasi-a sa banara Pazua: "la va-napo poni-rao".**
 go tell.TR-3SG ART:SG chief P. go CAUSE-drink give-TR:1SG
 'The Pazua chief told (her): "go get a drink for me".'

The directional verb **la** has also been further grammaticised with its use as an aspectual marker and clause linker. **La** is used as one means of indicating continuative aspect, usually in combination with the restrictive particle **qa** or the existential verb **ko** (see 5.4.3).

- (29) **Koni vose leta la qa doluru boni.**
 FUT paddle letter go REST all night
 '(We) would be paddling (carrying) letters all night.'

Because directional verbs are used so often in sequences of actions, the directional verb **la** is also a common accompaniment to the sequencing conjunction **tiqe** 'then' with no directional function, as in the next two examples:

- (30) a. **La tiqa sa tala gu-ni-a, tiqe la,**
 go arrive PRO:3SG where said-AP-3SG then go
balabalá sa sa nana pakupaku.
 think.TR:3SG PRO:3SG ART:SG POSS:3SG necklace
 'He arrived where I said, then he thought of his necklace.'
- b. **Lavati ria karu koburu ri, la tiqe la,**
 be.big ART:PL two child DEM go then go
gore eri kahike maneke.
 go.down ART:PL three mother.and.children
 'These children grew big, and then, the mother and the two children went down.'

Notice in the next example how **la** is used to link clauses with the largely redundant clause **la sa** 'he goes', and how **la** is used with the sequencer **tiqe** 'then' even when the direction in the immediately following clause is **mae** 'come'.

- (31) **Likohi-a sa Niu Zioza heni,**
 go.round.TR-3SG ART:SG New Georgia this
la tiqa pa Hura. La sa, la ome-a
 go arrive PRP H. go PRO:3SG go see-TR:3SG
sa sege lavata pa Hura na... La sa,
 ART:SG crocodile big PRP H. DEM go PRO:3SG
la teni-a dae tiqe la sagele pule mae
 go take-TR:3SG and then go go.up return come
de podalae la pitá ria pa Piono
 PURP begin go seek.TR:3SG PRO:3PL PRP River[MAR]
Lavata sa sege na.
 Big ART:SG crocodile DEM
 '(He) went round this New Georgia, to reach Hura. He went, went to see the big crocodile at Hura ... He went, went to take it, and then (they) went up back here, to begin looking for the crocodile in the Big River.'

La can also be used when **mae** 'come' is the main verb, as in (32), confirming that **la** has no directional function here.

- (32) **Podalae pita pa Piono Lavata dae tiqe la**
 begin seek PRP River[MAR] Big and then go
mae pa doluru heleana qatu.
 come PRP all river REST
 '(They) began searching in the Big River and then came to all the rivers.'

5.2.5 Type V verbs

Type V verbs can be used intransitively, as in (33a) and (34a), or transitively with one object, as in (33b) and (34b).

- (33) a. **Soko sa makariva.**
 chop ART:SG boy
 'The boy chopped.'
- b. **Soko-a sa makariva sa qato.**
 chop-TR:3SG ART:SG boy ART:SG tree
 'The boy chopped the tree.'
- (34) a. **Gona sa makariva.**
 throw ART:SG boy
 'The boy threw.'
- b. **Goná sa makariva sa keke nohoko.**
 pelt.TR:3SG ART:SG boy ART:SG one bird
 'The boy pelted the bird.'

The object of Type V verbs has the role of patient, rather than the locative role of objects of Type IV verbs. Type V verbs also differ from Type IV verbs in the use of the applicative suffix. While Type IV verbs can only have one object with the applicative suffix, Type V verbs can have two objects. The primary object is indexed by the object marker, while the secondary, or applied, object is not indexed. The secondary object immediately follows the verb phrase and it is not possible to use the definite article in the secondary object noun phrase. The secondary object usually has the role of instrument (see 6.3.3).

- (35) **Soko-ni-a malivi sa makariva sa qato rararo.**
 chop-AP-3SG axe ART:SG boy ART:SG tree cooking
 'The boy chopped the firewood with an axe.'
- (36) **Gona-ni-a magara sa makariva sa nohoko.**
 pelt-AP-3SG stone ART:SG boy ART:SG bird
 'The boy pelted the bird with a stone.'

The noun phrases in the positions of secondary object and primary object can be transposed, usually when the instrument is the main focus of the clause rather than the patient, as in examples (37) and (38) which can be compared with the equivalent sentences in (35) and (36) respectively. The switching of secondary and primary objects is discussed further in 6.3.3.

- (37) **Soko-ni-a qato rararo sa makariva**
 chop-AP-3SG tree cooking ART:SG boy
sa malivi tamu goe.
 ART:SG axe POSS:2 PRO:2SG
 'The boy chopped firewood with your axe.'

- (38) **Gona-ni-a nohoko sa makariva sa magara lavata.**
 pelt-AP-3SG bird ART:SG boy ART:SG stone big
 'The boy pelted a bird with the big stone.'

Type V verbs form a semantic grouping of verbs of physical action that is usually directed at another participant. This includes such verbs as: **pota** 'hit', **dumi** 'punch', **teqe** 'chop down', **heuku** 'plant', **sidolo** 'tie', **bao** 'spear', **nani** 'eat, bite, kill', **tavete** 'make, build, do'; all of which can involve the use of an instrument in order to carry out the action. It also includes two verbs of physical exchange **vagi** 'take' and **vale** 'give'.

Causative verbs also come into this category, no matter what type of verb they are formed from, since causative verbs also take two objects when used with the applicative suffix (see 6.3.4). In (39a) the single object is the pig. The use of the applicative suffix as in (39b) allows the addition of the secondary object, 'stick', which has the semantic role of instrument.

- (39) a. **Va-maté-a sa boko.**
 CAUSE-be.dead.TR-3SG ART:SG pig
 'Kill the pig.'
- b. **Va-mate-ni-a qato sa boko.**
 CAUSE-be.dead-AP-3SG stick ART:SG pig
 'Kill the pig with a stick.'

There is further discussion of causatives in 5.3.3.

5.2.6 Type VI verb

There is only one verb of Type VI in Hoava. This is the ditransitive verb **poni** 'give', which can have two objects when used with the transitive suffix.

- (40) **Poni-a igana sa kalaho sa koburu.**
 give-TR:3SG fish ART:SG woman ART:SG child
 'The woman gave the child fish.'

The object marker nearly always indexes the recipient, as the above example shows, not the object in patient role, unless there is a strong contextual reason for focussing on the item which is given. For example, the following sentence (41) was acceptable if the question was 'What was given to the child?'

- (41) **Poni-a koburu sa kalaho sa igana.**
 give-TR:3SG child ART:SG woman ART:SG fish
 'The woman gave the fish to the child.'

When this sentence was tested with Hoava speakers, the immediate reaction of one man was to say "Koi, the child is dead!", because the usual understanding is that the primary object is the recipient. Therefore, his interpretation of (41) was that the child was being given to the fish in order to be eaten by it.

Poni can also be used with the applicative suffix **-ni** with no obvious difference in the semantic roles of the objects (see 6.3.2).

- (42) **Poni-ni-a mahu sa koburu.**
 give-AP-3SG potato ART:SG child
 'Give the child potato.'

The Type V verb **vale**, also meaning 'give', is not ditransitive because the object marker indexes the patient, while the recipient is expressed as a prepositional phrase.

- (43) **Sumi valé rao karu igana te Amina.**
 PERF give.TR:3PL PRO:1SG two fish PRP A.
 'I have given two fish to Amina.'

Contrast (43) with a similar sentence using **poni** (44), which has the recipient as its primary object, indexed by the transitive suffix object marker, and the patient as the unindexed secondary object.

- (44) **Sumi poni-a karu igana rao se Amina.**
 PERF give-TR:3SG two fish PRO:1SG ART A.
 'I have given Amina two fish.'

5.2.7 Summary of Hoava verb types

The Hoava verb types are summarised in the following table:

Table 4: Hoava verb types

verb type	TRANS+1OBJ	TRANS+2OBJ	APPLIC+1OBJ	APPLIC+2OBJ
<i>STATIVE:</i>				
Type I	–	–	–	–
Type II	+	–	–	–
Type III	–	–	+	–
<i>Active:</i>				
Type IV	+	–	+	–
Type V	+	–	–	+
Type VI	–	+	–	+

The table shows the six syntactically distinct verb types in Hoava, based upon the use of the transitive and applicative suffixes. Although some of the categories contain verbs within the same semantic domain, such as the stative verbs of Type I, other categories are more heterogenous, in particular Type IV.

5.2.8 Verbs derived from nouns

A number of nouns can be used as verbs without any change to their form, other than the transitive or applicative suffixes where appropriate. The following examples show **bao** 'spear' (45), which is used as a Type V verb, and **sikulu** 'school' (46), which is used as a Type IV verb meaning 'learn' or 'teach'.

- (45) **Bao-ni-a kohale Sasa sa bao igana.**
 spear-AP-3SG turtle S. ART:SG spear fish
 'Sasa speared the turtle with the fish spear.'
- (46) **Koni rao taveti-a sikulu ... Pato vaka kipu**
 FUT PRO:1SG work.TR-3SG school speak ship NEG
sikulu-ni-a gami kerane.
 school-AP-3SG PRO:1PL.EX olden.days
 'I made the school [i.e. was the teacher] ... We didn't learn English in the olden days.' [**pato vaka**, lit. 'speak ship', 'English language']

The referents of the majority of nouns used as verbs are the names of implements of some kind, and the associated verb refers to the action of their use. These are primarily Type V verbs.

- (47)
- | | | | |
|--------------|------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| kuti | 'knife' | kutia | 'cut it with a knife' |
| amasa | 'vine sp.' | amasia | 'tie it with amasa vine' |
| mea | 'tongue' | meaia | 'lick it' |
| vose | 'paddle' | vosea | 'paddle it' |
| raro | 'pot' | raroa | 'cook it in a pot' |

A second set of verbs are used to refer to the action of creating the entity denoted by the noun:

- (48)
- | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------|
| zale | 'stone wall' | zalea | 'make a stone wall' |
| iku | 'rope' | ikua | 'plait it into rope' |

Kaha 'skin, bark' is, in a sense, opposite to these, in that the verbal form refers to the action of removing what is referred to by the noun: **kahà** 'peel off skin, bark'.

Although most verbs identical to nouns are active verbs, some are stative verbs:

- (49) a. *Noun:*
- Gore sa mati.**
 go.down ART:SG low.tide
 'The low tide went out.'
- b. *Stative verb:*
- Mati sa kuma.**
 be.low.tide ART:SG water
 'The water is at low tide.'

(50) a. *Noun:*

Sagele sa odu.
go.up ART:SG high.tide
'The high tide rose.'

b. *Stative verb:*

Odu sa kuma.
be.high.tide ART:SG water
'The water is at high tide.'

The noun **givu** 'wind' becomes a verb without an overtly stated subject, although the subject is understood to be the wind:

(51) **Givu-a sa paramasi.**
blow-TR:3SG ART:SG primus
'(It) blows the (flame of) the primus.'

The verb **hivunu** 'blow' is used for the action of blowing by a known agent, as in **hivunia sa puga** 'blow the fire', but the impersonal verb **givua** is used when there is no active human agent.

Givu 'wind' also has a derived causative form, **va-givu** 'make blow in the wind' as in (52).

(52) **La va-liká sa poko de**
go CAUSE-hang.TR:3SG ART:SG clothing PURP
va-givu=givu-a.
CAUSE-RED=wind-TR:3SG
'Go and hang up the clothing to dry it in the wind.'

A similar causative is derived from **gava** 'sun': **va-gava** 'sit in the sun, dry in the sun'. Other nouns which have causative verbs forms are: **nunu** 'breast', **va-nunua** 'breastfeed'; **qaqaha** 'line', **va-qaqaha** 'line up'; **boni** 'night', **va-boniboni** 'become night time'. With this last example, note again the impersonal nature of the derived verb, which seems to happen with verbs referring to natural phenomena when there is no active cause.

(53) **Zokoro loka ria makariva de**
stay wait ART:PL boy PURP
va-boni=boni-a de la zuke ruruhu.
CAUSE-RED=night-TR:3SG PURP go torch coconut.crab
'The boys waited for it to become night to go and hunt for coconut crabs [using torches].'

Finally, there are also some nouns which become passive verbs (see 5.3.5 for passives): **gaso** 'rafter', **ta-gasogasoagi** 'be raftered'; **bugata** 'spring (of water)', **ta-bugata** 'be coming forth like a spring'; **boni** 'night', **ta-boniagi** 'be overtaken by

night'. These are usually used where there is no overt agent, as in (54) and (55); but **ta-bugata** (56) has a more metaphorical usage.

- (54) **Ta-gaso=gaso-agi sa kabasa.**
 PASS-RED=rafter-AGI ART:SG house
 'The house is raftered.'
- (55) **Ta-boni-agi pa korapa ovuku sa kaleqe.**
 PASS-night-AGI PRP middle river ART:SG old.woman
 'The old woman was overtaken by night in the middle of the river.'
- (56) **Ta-bugata-ni-a sa nikana sa seleni.**
 PASS-spring-AP-3SG ART:SG man ART:SG money
 'The man is sprung by the money.' (i.e., money pours from the man like a spring.)

5.3 Verbal affixes

Most of the verbal affixes in Hoava are concerned with altering the valency of the verb. The exceptions are **-agi** (5.3.6), which is an optional suffix used with some verbs, and the occasional use of the nominal indexing suffixes (5.3.7), neither of which make any change to a verb's valency. The valency altering strategies in Hoava are (1) the transitive suffix (5.3.1); (2) the applicative suffix (5.3.2); (3) the causative prefix **va-** (5.3.3); (4) the prefix **vari-** (5.3.4); and (5) the passive prefix **ta-** (5.3.5).

5.3.1 The transitive suffix

The transitive suffix allows a verb to be either transitive, with one direct object or, for the verb **poni** 'give' only, ditransitive with two objects.

The transitive suffix is attached to the last verbal or adverbial component of a verb phrase, whether it is a main verb, modifying verb, adverb, intensifier, or directional verb. It is only used once in any verb phrase. The suffix consists of a transitive marker and an object marker. The transitive marker varies in form according to the number of syllables and the final vowel of the last component of the verb phrase, being realised as **i**, **e**, or as stress only. The object marker indexes the direct object of a verb phrase, with a distinct object marker for each person except the third person plural, which has a zero object marker. There are only singular and plural forms of the object marker, with no dual or trial forms. The object markers are as follows:

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| (57) | | singular | plural |
| | first person | | |
| | - inclusive | | -gita |
| | - exclusive | -rao | -gami |

second person	-go	-gamu
third person	-a	∅

In all cases, main stress, normally on the initial syllable for one-, two- and three-syllable words, shifts to the syllable immediately preceding the object marker:

- (58) **dákoho** 'tie' > **dakohía** 'tie it'
 hápu 'cover' > **hapúa** 'cover it'
 gílali 'know' > **gilalí∅** 'know them'

Stress shift therefore serves as the only marker of transitivity when there is a zero object marker, as with **gilalí** 'know them' in (58).

In the following sections, I discuss the various forms of the transitive suffix according to the number of syllables and final vowel of a verb. The same variations in the transitive suffix apply when it is attached to the end of a verb phrase consisting of more than a single verb, according to the number of syllables and the final vowel of the last item in the verb phrase to which the transitive suffix is attached.

5.3.1.1 One-syllable verbs

One-syllable verbs are only of the form CV since no verbs exist of the form V. One-syllable verbs retain the transitive marker **-i** in all persons. An optional ligature **-g-** can be used in Hoava, while in Kusaghe all one-syllable verbs have an obligatory ligature **-eg-** with the transitive suffix.

- (59) **ko** 'stay, exist'
 HOA: **koia, kogia** KUS: **koegia** 'stay at it'
- (60) **la** 'go'
 HOA: **laia, lagia** KUS: **laegia** 'go to it'

5.3.1.2 Two-syllable verbs

Two-syllable verbs take the shape of CVCV or CVV. The transitive marker on verbs consisting of CVCV is **-i** only following a final **-u** on the verb. When the final vowel of a CVCV verb is **-a** or **-o** the transitive marker is **-e**, while on CVCV verbs ending in **-e** and **-i** there is no overt transitive marker other than stress shift. The transitive marker reconstructed by Pawley (1973:120) for Proto Oceanic is ***-i**, and with Hoava's avoidance of the diphthong combinations of **ai**, **ei**, and **oi** (see 3.1.2), it seems that there has been modification of the original transitive marker to fit the preferred vowel combinations. This has the result that the transitive marker **/-i/** following word final **/a/**, **/e/** or **/o/** has been lowered to **/-e/**. The resulting double vowel on two syllable words ending in **/e/** has then been reduced to a single vowel, as has the double vowel of two-syllable words ending in **/i/**:

- (61) **va-mate-e** > **va-maté** 'kill them'
 nani-i > **nání** 'eat them'

In all two-syllable verbs of the form CVCV, no transitive marker other than stress shift is used in the second and third person singular forms. The addition of the causative prefix **va-** does not make any difference to the shape of the transitive suffix, since it is not included in the syllable count. This results in the following typical paradigms for verbs of the shape CVCV:

(62)		góna ‘shoot’	va-máte ‘kill’	<u>n</u>áni ‘eat’
	1SG	gonaé rao	va matérao	<u>n</u>aní rao
	2SG	goná go	va matégo	<u>n</u>aní go
	3SG	goná	va matéa	<u>n</u>aní a
	1PLIN	gonaé gita	va matégita	<u>n</u>aní gita
	1PLEX	gonaé gami	va matégami	<u>n</u>aní gami
	2PL	gonaé gamu	va matégamu	<u>n</u>aní gamu
	3PL	gonaé	va maté	<u>n</u>aní
		móno ‘squeeze’	hápu ‘cover’	
	1SG	monoé rao	hapu írao	
	2SG	monó go	hapu ígo	
	3SG	monó a	hapu ía	
	1PLIN	monoé gita	hapu ígita	
	1PLEX	monoé gami	hapu ígami	
	2PL	monoé gamu	hapu ígamu	
	3PL	monoé	hapu í	

Two-syllable verbs ending in two vowels (CVV) use the transitive marker with the second and third person singular. This can be affixed directly onto the verb, or with a ligature **-g-**, as is used with one-syllable verbs. The use of the ligature is obligatory in Kusaghe but optional in Hoava. Main stress is on the transitive marker.

(63)		báo ‘spear’	
	1SG	baogí rao	baoi rao
	2SG	baogí go	baoi go
	3SG	baogí a	baoi a
	1PLIN	baogí gita	baoi gita
	1PLEX	baogí gami	baoi gami
	2PL	baogí gamu	baoi gamu
	3PL	baogí	baoi

5.3.1.3 Three-syllable verbs

The vast majority of three-syllable verbs are of the form CVCVCV with the last two vowels being identical, as in **haqala** 'run', **bagere** 'hunt for possums', **agiri** 'open up (an oven)', **dolomo** 'swallow', **bekutu** 'fold back'. This shows the use of echo vowels, common to the languages of the North-West Solomonian group after Proto Oceanic word final consonants (Ross 1988:218). When these verbs become transitive, the last vowel is deleted and replaced by the transitive marker **-i**, which also takes main stress, and then the object marker is added on, giving the following forms:

(64)	nánasa 'ask'	dákoho 'tie'	hípuru 'whip'
	1SG nanasírao	dakohírao	hipurírao
	2SG nanasígo	dakohígo	hipurígo
	3SG nanasía	dakohía	hipuría
	1PLIN nanasígita	dakohígita	hipurígita
	1PLEX nanasígami	dakohígami	hipurígami
	2PL nanasígamu	dakohígamu	hipurígamu
	3PL nanasí	dakohí	hipurí

Note that even words borrowed from Pijin exhibit the same change to the final vowel if the last two vowels are identical.

(65)	síkulu 'school'
	va-sikulí-go 'teach you'

Three-syllable verbs that are of the form CVVCV follow the same pattern if the last two vowels are identical:

(66)	héuku 'plant' > heukía 'plant it'
	íuru 'steer' > iuría 'steer it'
	díuku 'wrap' > diukía 'wrap it'
	sáopo 'adze' > saopía 'adze it'

There are very few three-syllable verbs in Hoava that exhibit any difference to the pattern of identical last two vowels. Those that do fall into four clear groupings.

(a) Verbs which end in **i** and therefore no change to the last vowel other than stress shift takes place:

(67)	gílali 'know' > gilalía 'know it'
	gévagi 'clear' > gevagía 'clear it'
	ráogi 'clear' > raogía 'clear it'
	máketi 'sell at market' > maketía 'sell it at market'
	rípoti 'report' > ripotía 'report it'.

(b) CVCVCV verbs which do not end in **i** and which do not change the last vowel. Only one example was found which was in the Kusaghe dialect. The Hoava equivalent of this word is **geso** 'block'.

(68) **kókahe** ‘block’ > **kokahéa** ‘block it’ [KUS]

(c) Verbs which end in two vowels; consequently the last two vowels cannot be identical. These verbs are all derived by reduplication from a CVV base, except **liliu** ‘follow’ for which there is no base form ***liu**. They have the same transitive shape as two-syllable CVV verbs.

(69) **lilíu** ‘follow’ > **liliuía** ‘follow it’
kikíu ‘call’ > **kikiuía/kikiugía** ‘call him/her’
bubúi ‘forget’ > **bubuíia/bubuigía** ‘forget it’

(d) Two verbs which are exceptions to the regular patterns: **paosu** ‘adopt’ and **raosu** ‘plane’. Both these verbs change the last vowel to **i** in the transitive form, despite their last two vowels not being identical:

(70) **ráosu** ‘plane’ > **raosía** ‘plane it’
páosu ‘adopt’ > **paosía** ‘adopt him/her’

A possible explanation for this is that these may have had an earlier form where the last two vowels were identical, ***rausu** and ***pausu**. The words are found in these forms in Roviana (Waterhouse 1949). The Hoava tendency to avoid the diphthong /au/ by lowering /u/ to /ɔ/ may have given the verbs their current form in the intransitive, whilst retaining the change to the last vowel for the transitive. Notice that of the other verbs with a CVVCV pattern (66), three already have vowel pairs that do not violate Hoava preferred patterns: **iuru**, **diuku** and **saopo**. The fourth verb found with this pattern is **heuku**, which I did record as **heoku** from some speakers, suggesting a continuing tendency for diphthong modification, if **heuku** was borrowed from or is cognate with Roviana, where it is also found.

5.3.1.4 Four-syllable verbs

Four-syllable verbs show the same patterning as three-syllable verbs. If the last two vowels are identical, the final vowel is changed to **i** in the transitive form and takes main stress (71); otherwise the suffixes follow the same pattern as the two syllable verbs (72).

(71) **honópata** ‘pass through a gap’ > **honopatía** ‘pass through it’
manívisi ‘be thin’ > **va-manivisía** ‘make thin’
bebérava ‘wail, shout’ > **vari-beberaví** ‘shout at each other’

(72) **abahápu** ‘take by stealing’ > **abahapúa** ‘take it’
talapáo ‘make edge (of mat)’ > **talapaóia** ‘edge it’

The exception to this is **ilisoqo** ‘spoil, mistreat’ which, despite having the same last two vowels, does not change the last vowel to **i**.

(73) **ilisoqo** > **ilisoqóa** ‘mistreat him/her’ > **ilisoqé** ‘mistreat them’

This may in fact be two verbs: **ili soqo**, although I have not found either of them used separately.

There are few verbs that have four syllables in their base forms. Most are derived from a two-syllable reduplicated base and therefore follow the same pattern as two-syllable verbs:

- (74) a. **póde** 'try' > **podepóde** 'try hard' > **podepodéa** 'try hard to do it'
 b. **pólo** 'roll' > **polopólo** 'rolling' > **polopolóa** 'rolling it'
 c. **qélu** 'steer' > **qeluqélu** 'steering' > **qeluqelúa** 'steering it'
 d. **rída** 'stare' > **ridarída** 'staring' > **ridaridá** 'staring at him/her'

Balabála 'think' follows the same pattern although there is now no base form ***bala**.

5.3.1.5 Five-syllable verbs

These are all derived from reduplicated three-syllable noun or stative verb bases. The three examples which I recorded have identical last two vowels and follow the regular pattern of three-syllable verbs.

- (75) **lúmutu** 'oil' > **lumulumutía** 'oil it'
málaná 'unfortunate' > **va-malanalanía** 'make unlucky'
vílaka 'taro block' > **vilavilakía** 'divide into taro blocks'

5.3.2 The applicative suffix

The applicative suffix is a valency augmenting suffix which allows verbs to take a different object argument to that which is permitted with the transitive suffix. The applicative suffix is **-ni**, and the object markers are suffixed to it to index the direct object. The verb stem is not altered when **-ni** is used, other than losing main stress which shifts onto the **-ni** syllable. The forms of the applicative suffix and object markers are shown below.

(76)		singular	plural
	first person		
	- inclusive		-ni-gita
	- exclusive	-ni-rao	-ni-gami
	second person	-ni-go	-ni-gamu
	third person	-ni-a	-niø

The function of the applicative suffix varies according to the type of verb to which it is suffixed (see 6.3). I have not found any use of the applicative suffix with Type I or Type II verbs, other than in their causative forms. They then follow the Type V pattern of use of the applicative suffix. With Type III stative verbs, the applicative suffix allows a direct object to be used to express a cause for the state:

- (77) a. **Kabo sa koburu.**
 cry ART:SG child
 'The child cried.'
- b. **Na sa kabo-ni-a sa koburu?**
 ART what cry-AP-3SG ART:SG child
 'What is the child crying about?'
- (78) a. **Korakora se Vezi.**
 angry ART Vincent
 'Vincent is angry.'
- b. **Korakora-ni-a sa se Amina.**
 angry-AP-3SG PRO:3SG ART A.
 'He's angry with Amina.'

Passive verbs take the applicative suffix in order to allow an agent argument to be included in the clause (see 6.3.8).

- (79) a. **Ta-nani sa nikana.**
 PASS-bite ART:SG man
 'The man was bitten.'
- b. **Ta-nani-ni-a sa nikana sa siki.**
 PASS-bite-AP-3SG ART:SG man ART:SG dog
 'The man was bitten by the dog.'

Type V verbs take the applicative suffix to allow an additional object to be included in the clause (see 6.3.3). The primary object is indexed by the object marker, while the secondary object is not indexed. The secondary object is placed directly after the verb phrase. In (80b) the primary object is **rao** 'me', and the secondary object is **sasaeri** 'leaves'. In (81b) the primary object is **sa siki** 'the dog' and the secondary object is **magara** 'stone'.

- (80) a. **Hapu-i-rao.**
 cover-TR-1SG
 'Cover me.'
- b. **Hapu-ni-rao sasaeri.**
 cover-AP-1SG leaf
 'Cover me with leaves.'
- (81) a. **Goná sa makariva sa siki.**
 pelt.TR.3SG ART:SG boy ART:SG dog
 'The boy pelted the dog.'
- b. **Gona-ni-a magara sa makariva sa siki.**
 pelt-AP-3SG stone ART:SG boy ART:SG dog
 'The boy pelted the dog with a rock.'

Type IV verbs use the applicative suffix in order to change the type of semantic role possible for the direct object. When the transitive suffix is used, the direct object has the role of location (82a) or stimulus (83a). When the applicative suffix is used instead, the semantic role of the direct object changes to become a concomitant (82b) or less direct stimulus (82b) (see also 6.3.5.1).

- (82) a. **Haqali-a sa boko sa soana.**
 run.TR-3SG ART:SG pig ART:SG path
 'The pig ran on the path.'
- b. **Haqala-ni-a sa boko sa sidolo.**
 run-AP-3SG ART:SG pig ART:SG noose
 'The pig ran with the noose.'
- (83) a. **Umani-a ria se Biliboa.**
 hear.TR-3SG PRO:3PL ART B.
 'They heard Biliboa.'
- b. **Umana-ni-a ria se Biliboa.**
 hear-AP-3SG PRO:3PL ART B.
 'They heard about Biliboa.'

A Proto Oceanic remote transitive suffix **-aki(ni)* is reconstructed by Pawley (1973) in contrast to the close transitive **-i*, and each suffix marks different semantic relations holding between the object and verb. This is the likely source of the applicative suffix in Hoava, although some of its functions are different. The applicative suffix will be further discussed in relation to clause structure in 6.3.

5.3.3 The prefix *va-*

The prefix *va-* has two functions in Hoava. The first is as a derivational prefix creating causative verbs.

- (84) **ibu** 'be cold' > **va-ibu** 'make cold'
mate 'be dead' > **va-mate** 'make dead, kill'
tunu 'sit' > **va-tunu** 'make sit'

The resulting causative verb takes the transitive suffix (see 5.3.1), and has the same verbal behaviour as Type V active verbs (see 5.2.25).

- (85) a. **Va-ibu-a sa kolo manini.**
 CAUSE-be.cold-TR:3SG ART:SG water hot
 'Cool the hot water.'
- b. **Koni va-mate-go qa gami.**
 FUT CAUSE-be.dead-TR:2SG REST PRO:1PL.EX
 'We will just kill you.'

- c. **La kupa-e sa batu-di eri karu,**
 go cut.off-TR:3PL ART:SG head-3PL ART:PL two
tige va-tunu-i pa ririana.
 then CAUSE-sit-TR:3PL PRP doorway
 '(He) went and cut off the heads of the two, then sat them in the doorway.'

As with other Type V verbs, causative verbs can also be used with the applicative suffix and a secondary object included in the clause. Only the primary object, 'the pig' in (86), is indexed by the object marker.

- (86) **Va-mate-ni-a qato Ebolo sa boko.**
 CAUSE-be.dead-AP-3SG stick E. ART:SG pig
 'Ebolo killed the pig with a stick.'

The second use of the **va-** prefix is to create adverbials from stative verbs (87a) and (87b) and quantifiers (87c). Adverbials of this type follow the main verb and may still have the transitive suffix, as in (87b), since the suffix attaches to the last item of a verb phrase, although they are often intransitive, as in (87a) and (87c). In the grammar I have glossed **va-** as either causative or adverbial according to its function, although generally I refer to it as the causative prefix, as this is its main function.

- (87) a. **Ko va-leana eri ka-hike.**
 stay ADV-be.good ART:PL NUM-three
 'The three lived well.'
- b. **Poni va-leani ria koburu.**
 give ADV-be.good.TR:PL ART:PL child
 'Give properly to the children.'
- c. **La valusa va-soku ga-da makasi.**
 go fish ADV-many EDPOSS-1PL.IN bonito
 'Go and fish successfully for our bonito.'

The following examples show a clear difference between the causative function of **va-** with a stative verb **kisi** 'be small' (88a), and the adverbial function with the same verb (88b) and (88c).

- (88) a. **Va-kisi-a sa zuke.**
 CAUSE-be.small-TR:3SG ART:SG lamp
 'Turn the light down.' [lit: make small the lamp.]
- b. **La lava=lavati va-kisi eri karu.**
 go RED=be.big ADV-be.small ART:PL two
 'The two were growing a little.'
- c. **Mina sa kerane so, vena ta-bui-gi va-kisi.**
 but ART:SG olden.days PAST SIM PASS-forget-AGI ADV-be.small
 'But (it's) the olden days, like (it's) been forgotten a little.'

In (88b) and (88c) the adverbial interpretation is the only one possible, as the causative interpretation ‘make small’ does not fit, particularly in (88b): ‘?be big make small’.

The causative prefix can be used with other verbal prefixes. It generally follows the depatientive prefix **vari-** (89) which is discussed in the next section, but can either precede or follow the passive prefix **ta-** (90), see 5.3.5.

- (89) a. **vari-va-dugele**
DEP-CAUSE-be.deaf
‘able to cause deafness’
- b. **vari-va-karo=karovi**
DEP-CAUSE-RED=cross.TR:3PL
‘able to cross them’
- (90) a. **va-ta-holu-a**
CAUSE-PASS-buy-TR:3SG
‘sell it’ [lit: cause it to be bought]
- b. **ta-va-hia**
PASS-CAUSE-share
‘be shared out’

5.3.4 The prefix **vari-**

The prefix **vari-** has several functions: (1) as a reciprocal marker; (2) a marker of collective action; and (3) as a depatientive marker.

When used with a reciprocal function, the reciprocal verb takes the third person plural transitive suffix.

- (91) a. **Vari-raza-e eri karu.**
RECIP-fight-TR:3PL ART:PL two
‘The two fought with each other.’
- b. **Vari-sea-gi ria karu.**
RECIP-wrong-TR:3PL PRO:3PL two
‘They (two) wronged each other.’
- c. **Vari-haqali ria koburu pa pavasa.**
RECIP-run.TR:3PL ART:PL child PRP sportsground
‘The children are racing each other on the sportsground.’

When the subject is not the third person plural, the transitive suffix is not used, although the interpretation of the following two sentences was clearly reciprocal action.

- (92) a. **Vari-paqahi gami tala gu-ni-a.**
RECIP-leave PRO:1PL.EX where said-AP-3SG
‘We left each other where I said.’

- b. **Vari-ome gami karu.**
 RECIP-see PRO:1PLEX two
 'We two saw each other.'

The second use of the prefix **vari-** is to signal collective action when two or more participants are acting together doing the same action. In this case, the transitive suffix is not used.

- (93) a. **Vari-gara ria pu nikana pu ko**
 COLL-gather PRO:3PL REL man REL stay
holapa-di pa Duke. [KUS]
 pass-3PL PRP Nduke
 'Those who were men who had stayed behind in Nduke, gathered together.'
- b. **Kolo, na vari-nani tu ba gami ni.**
 friend NA COLL-fight REST EMPH PRO:1PLEX DEM
 'Friend, we were all fighting!' [with other people, not each other]
- c. **Karovo ge-di ria pa Duke, mae vari-pera**
 cross POSS-3PL PRO:3PL PRP D. come COLL-fight
pa Kusage. [KUS]
 PRP K.
 'The ones from Duke crossed over (the sea), came to fight together in Kusaghe.'

Compare (93c) with the following example (94), in which **vari-pera** 'fight' is used reciprocally, with the transitive suffix.

- (94) **Hokara siki, na boko tu vari-pera-e.** [KUS]
 be.true dog ART pig REST RECIP-fight-TR:3PL
 'Truly, just dogs and pigs were fighting with each other.'

It is possible to add a direct object when collective action is directed at another entity. In this case, Hoava uses the applicative suffix to index the object.

- (95) a. **Vari-kapo-ni-a eri karu koburu makariva**
 COLL-carry-AP-3SG ART:PL two child boy
sa, sa koma lavata.
 PRO:3SG ART:SG penis big
 'The two boys carried it together, the big penis.'
- b. **Vari-babana-ni ria hore.**
 COLL-tow-AP:3PL ART:PL canoe
 '(They) towed the canoes together.'
- c. **Vari-paqahi-ni-a gami sa gugusu.**
 COLL-leave-AP-3SG PRO:1PLEX ART:SG village
 'We left the village together.'

The third use of the prefix **vari-** is with the depatientive function. Lichtenberk (1991:178) describes the depatientive function as a construction which ‘takes as its input a transitive verb and the output is a syntactically intransitive form’. Although the resulting verb is syntactically intransitive, it remains semantically transitive. ‘The implied patient is general, non-specific; the event encoded by the verb is directed not at a specific participant, but at any and all of a certain kind’ (Lichtenberk 1991:179). Typical depatientives in Hoava are shown in (96).

- (96) a. **Vari-va-dugele sa kasitona sani.**
 DEP-CAUSE-be.deaf ART:SG thing DIST:SG
 ‘That thing can make (one) deaf.’
- b. **Vari-va-bui sa luturu.**
 DEP-CAUSE-be.lost ART:SG heavy.rain
 ‘The heavy rain can make (one) lost.’
- c. **Kae vari-poni sa nikana.**
 NEG DEP-give ART:SG man
 ‘The man is selfish.’ [lit: does not give to (anyone)]

Depatientive verbs derived in this way can also be used as noun modifiers, as in the following example:

- (97) **Nikana vari-va-mate, gua, na soku kasitona**
 man DEP-CAUSE-be.dead said because many thing
tago-e ria pu boka mate nikana.
 own-TR:3PL PRO:3PL REL able be.dead man
 ‘Men who can cause death, (they are) called, because many things they own that can kill men.’

In Hoava, depatientive verbs can also have the third person transitive suffix that is used with other verbs prefixed by **vari-** in the reciprocal function. The use of the transitive suffix with depatientives is probably influenced by its use with reciprocals, rather than any intended transitive function.

- (98) a. **Vari-viraki sa sasaeri heni.**
 DEP-itch.TR:3PL ART:SG leaf this
 ‘This leaf can make (someone) itch.’
- b. **Ria mahu sagi vari-medo-e.**
 ART:PL sweet.potato TOP DEP-choke-TR:3PL
 ‘The sweet potatoes, they can choke.’ [i.e., they are too dry.]

The potentially affected participant is usually not specified in the clause, as the effects are applicable to anyone, but if a particular part of a person can be affected, it may be stated as an incorporated object.

- (99) **Na huke, ninani vari-nahu tia.**
 ART taro.leaf food DEP-hurt stomach
 'Taro leaves, food (which) can hurt stomachs.'

5.3.5 The passive prefix ta-

The passive prefix is **ta-**. Passivisation allows the patient of an active verb to be in subject position.

- (100) **ome** 'see' > **ta-ome** 'be seen'
kuri 'break' > **ta-kuri** 'be broken'
- (101) a. **Ta-kuri sa beke te Roqae.**
 PASS-break ART:SG bamboo.spear POSS Ronggae
 'Ronggae's bamboo spear was broken.'
- b. **sa ninani pu ve pu ta-nani pa soloso**
 ART:SG food REL SIM REL PASS-eat PRP bush
 'the food which was like that eaten in the bush'
- c. **Sa nikana pu puta, puta tunu, koni ta-pota.**
 ART:SG man REL sleep sleep sit FUT PASS-beat
 'The man who sleeps, sleeps sitting, will be beaten.'

A number of passive verbs have a suffix **-agi** (see 5.3.6):

- (102) **toqi** 'butt' **ta-toqi-agi** 'be hit on the head'
isara 'laugh' **ta-isara-gi** 'be laughed at'
boni 'night (noun)' **ta-boni-agi** 'be overtaken by night'

The passive prefix can be used with the causative prefix (see also (90) above).

- (103) a. **Ta-va-taloa pule la pa gugusu vaka**
 PASS-CAUSE-leave return go PRP village ship
ria nikana vaka-di.
 ART:PL man ship-3PL
 'The Europeans were made to go back to the European villages.'
- b. **Ta-va-mae sa nikana isana.**
 PASS-CAUSE-come.to.me ART:SG man DIST:SG
 'That man was made to come to me.'

5.3.6 The suffix -(a)gi

A small number of passive (104) and reduplicated (105) verbs have an optional **-(a)gi** suffix. The suffix has the form **-agi** except when the final vowel of the verb is **a**, in

which case the suffix becomes **-gi**, assuming that it is the vowel of the suffix that is lost in the same patterns as with other suffixes, such as **-ana** (see 4.2.1.2.2).

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (104) | ta-boni-gi | 'be overtaken by night' |
| | ta-bui-gi | 'be forgotten' |
| | ta-gasogaso-gi | 'be rafted' |
| | ta-holapa-gi | 'be surpassed' |
| | ta-isara-gi | 'be laughed at' |
| | ta-kia-gi | 'be knocked' |
| | ta-lupaha-gi | 'be separated' |
| | ta-va-namanama-gi | 'be made ready' |
| | ta-toqi-gi | 'be knocked on the head' |
| (105) | betubetu - betubetu-gi | 'rocking' |
| | pukupuku - pukupuku-gi | 'tying' |
| | sekeseke - sekeseke-gi | 'tricking' |

With the verb **logaloga** 'lying, telling fibs', the form of the suffix is, exceptionally, **-egi: logaloga-egi**.

The verb **huku** 'hunt, search for wild food' has an intransitive form **hukuagi**. It seems to be the only verb that distinguishes transitive and intransitive in this way.

5.3.7 Nominal indexing suffixes used with verbs

The set of nominal indexing suffixes, listed in 4.1, is used with verbs in two ways: (1) to index the subject of some intransitive verbs; (2) to index the object of a verb when the subject is placed before the verb. In both cases, the use of the nominal indexing suffixes is optional.

5.3.7.1 Nominal indexing suffixes as subject markers

Nominal indexing suffixes occur with a small number of verbs to index the subject. Some of these verbs occur regularly with a subject suffix, such as **karo-** 'refuse', **(pada=)pada-** 'suit, fit', **(loga=)loga-** 'tell lies', **hokara** 'tell the truth' and **ko** 'stay, exist'; others only occasionally use it, such as **gilali** 'know', **sikulu** 'go to school', and **dae** 'finish'. These verbs are of different syntactic types and also cover different semantic areas.

Polite questions use the nominal indexing suffix on the verb, as in (106) and (107). The separate possessive pronouns also occur in other politeness constructions (see 5.11).

- | | |
|-------|-------------------------|
| (106) | Vera koe-mu goe? |
| | where exist-2SG PRO:2SG |
| | 'Where were you?' |

- (107) **Dae-mu?**
 finish-2SG
 'Have you finished?'

However, in (108) a polite response was not intended, and emphasis seems to be the function of the suffixes here:

- (108) a. "**Nani heri,**" **gua sa ruruhu. Karo-na sa hinaquru.**
 eat these said ART:SG giant refuse-3SG ART:SG girl
 "'Eat these," said the giant. The girl refused.'
- b. **Mi loga=loga-mu goe, na voku qa sagi**
 but RED=fib-2SG PRO:3SG ART voku.bird REST TOP
kabo na.
 cry DEM
 'But you are fibbing, it's just the *voku* bird which is crying.'

Other examples are neutral regarding politeness or emphasis:

- (109) a. **Vera koe-na sa makariva sani?**
 where exist-3SG ART:SG boy that
 'Where was that boy?'
- b. **Pa Kusage mae-na sa igana heni.**
 PRP K. come-3SG ART:SG fish this
 'From Kusaghe came this fish.'

A habitual function is possible in sentences such as the following:

- (110) **Q: Sikulu-mu qatu kerane?**
 school-2SG REST olden.days
 'Q: Did you go to school at all in the olden days?'
- A: Pa Hoava tu sikulu-qu.**
 PRP H. REST school-1SG
 'A: In *Hoava* I went to school.'

The verb **karo** 'refuse, not want' was always recorded with the nominal indexing suffix, as illustrated in (111). This verb is usually intransitive, but it is possible to use the applicative suffix with an object marker after the nominal indexing suffix for the subject. This was the only use of two argument markers on a verb in the data:

- (111) **Karo-qu-ni-a rao sa vose.**
 refuse-1SG-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG paddle
 'I refused (did not want) the paddle.'

The use of the nominal suffixes with verbs such as **karo** 'refuse' and **loga** 'fib' seems to be lexical. By using the nominal indexing suffixes, these verbs appear to have some nominal properties, requiring the nominal suffixes, while still functioning as verbs as in (111). They may, therefore, indicate that the boundary between noun and verb is not

rigid. For other verbs the functions of politeness (106), (107) or habit (110) appear to be behind the use of the nominal indexing suffixes. One further use of the suffixes to index the subject of an intransitive verb occurs when the subject is relativised:

- (112) a. **Na binu sagi keke kasitona pu koe-na pa kuma.**
 ART lime TOP one thing REL exist-3SG PRP water
 'Lime, it is a thing which is found in water.'
- b. **Tiva mae rao pu eko-qu tana so.**
 stand come PRO:1SG REL lie.down-1SG there PAST
 'I, who was lying down there, stood up.'
- c. **sa v<in>ari-pera pu podalae-na ke Higalozi [KUS]**
 ART:SG RECIP<NOM>-fight REL begin-3SG PRP H.
 'the war which began from Higalozi'

This is an optional use of the suffix, since it does not occur in (113), nor in other similar examples shown in 8.3.2.

- (113) **ria ema pu ko pa gole qato**
 ART:PL vine REL exist PRP base tree
 'the vines which are found at (the) bases of trees'

The nominal indexing suffixes are also used in a relative clause, in this case indexing the object, when the subject of a transitive clause is relativised, although the suffix is always optional (see 5.3.7.2, 8.3). It is possible that there is some aspectual function for the use of the nominal indexing suffixes, such as habitual aspect, as noted by Ross (1982:40) for similar uses of possessive suffixes in Mono–Alu, but this requires further investigation.

5.3.7.2 Nominal indexing suffixes as object markers

The nominal indexing suffixes are used in place of the transitive suffix when a subject noun phrase is placed in front of a verb phrase. The nominal indexing suffix is always optional, and indexes the object. The following examples cover the range of contexts for the uses of the suffix to index objects.

- (a) subject noun phrase before the verb, with no other marking (see also 9.1)

- (114) **Sa kaistona koni nani-di ria.**
 ART:SG thing FUT kill-3PL PRO:3PL
 'The thing will kill them.'

- (b) subject in front of the verb phrase with emphatic **ba** marking (see also 9.3.1)

- (115) **Mosi ba tavete-na sa lose.**
 M. EMPH build -3SG ART:SG room
 'Mosi built the room.'

- (c) subject in topic position with topic marker **sagi** (see also 9.5)

- (116) **Mere sagi asa-di ria oromari.**
 M. TOP grate-3PL ART:PL cassava
 'Mere, (she) grated the cassava.'

(d) subject is head of a transitive relative clause (see also 8.3.2)

- (117) **ria pu nani-na nikana**
 PRO:3PL REL eat -3SG man
 'they who eat a man'

(e) subject of a purposive clause introduced by **de** is omitted as it is the same as the subject of the preceding clause (see also 8.4.1)

- (118) **Mae ria Merika de geso-di ria.**
 come ART:PL American PURP block-3PL PRO:3PL
 'The Americans came to block them.'

For each of the situations above, equivalents without nominal indexing suffixes are possible and are described in the relevant sections in Chapters 8 and 9. The use of the nominal indexing suffixes is therefore a stylistic feature, not a compulsory syntactic construction. Since the suffix is also used in possessive constructions (see 4.11.1), it is possible that the suffix is being used with both transitive and intransitive verbs to indicate a nominalisation. However, articles are normally used with the other nominalisation strategy using the affix (-)in- (see 4.2.1.2.1), and so could reasonably be expected with Verb + nominal index constructions too, if they are also nominalisations. As I suggested with the use of the nominal indexing suffix with intransitive verbs in 5.3.7.1 above, there may also be an undetermined aspectual motivation for the construction. This is an unresolved area of the grammar and still requires further work. Similar uses of possessive suffixes are described for the languages of Bougainville by Ross (1982), but here too they appear to be optional and their function is not clear.¹

5.4 Aspect

Comrie (1976:3) defines aspect as 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation'. In Hoava, most verbs are unmarked for aspect as they are used without modifiers or reduplication. When aspect is marked, it is either perfect (5.4.1) or one of several subcategories of imperfective: progressive (5.4.2), continuative (5.4.3), habitual (5.4.4), and ingressive or completive (5.4.5).

¹ Ross (1988:244) discusses the similar use of nominal indexing suffixes in Roviana in relative clauses. However, here he considers that their use is motivated by the syntax and is compulsory.

5.4.1 Perfect aspect

Although the perfect is also concerned with relative tense, it is generally considered to be aspect, and Comrie (1976:52) defines it as indicating 'the continuing present relevance of a past situation'. Hoava marks this with the preverbal modifier **sumi**.

- (119) a. **Sa qeto sumi mae mi kae boka**
 ART:SG war.party PERF come but NEG able
likohi-a ria sa toa.
 go.around.TR-3SG PRO:3PL ART:SG bluff
 'The war party had come but they could not go around the bluff.'
- b. **Sumi vari-gara mae ria nikana heri.**
 PERF COLL-gather come ART:PL man PROX:PL
 'All these men had come together.'

Hoava does not distinguish between past or present tense of verbs (see 7.2), and so the assignment of tense in the glosses in (119) above is context dependent. These were assigned past tense as they were part of narratives recording events set in the past, and the verb marked by **sumi** had continuing relevance at that point in time. The next example had present relevance at the time of speaking.

- (120) **Keke vivine pele sa pu heni, teni-di**
 one story more PRO:3SG REL this companion-3PL
qatu ria vivine pu sumi ta-vivine gita.
 REST ART:PL story REL PERF PASS-tell.story PRO:1PL.IN
 'This one is one more story, a companion of the stories which we have been told.'

Perfect aspect is often used in conjunction with verbs of arrival or departure to indicate that those arriving or leaving have not returned to their point of origin at the relevant time, as in (119) above and (121) below.

- (121) a. **Sumi mae Japani so hoqa gami.**
 PERF come Japanese SEQ flee PRO:1PL.EX
 'The Japanese had come so we fled.'
- b. **Ria doluru teni-mami gami karu**
 ART:PL all relative-1PL.EX PRO:1PL.EX two
heri sumi gore pa tutupeka, ko ria.
 PROX:PL PERF go.down PRP mainland stay PRO:3PL
 'All of the relatives of these two of us had gone down to the mainland, they stayed (there).'

The choice of using **sumi** with a verb also indicates emphasis of the fact that the situation has occurred, as in its use when war parties arrive to heighten the drama of the story (119a), (121a). The following example also includes **sumi** for emphasis, when the

speaker wanted to stress that a certain piece of shell money no longer had any significance regarding a chieftainship.

- (122) **Heni qa kasitona sagi sumi**
 PROX:SG REST thing TOP PERF
va-noso-a ria dae tiqe taloa ria.
 CAUSE-be.still-TR:3SG PRO:3PL and then leave PRO:3PL
 'This thing, they *had* deactivated [stilled] it and then they left.'

5.4.2 Progressive aspect

Reduplication of a verb is used to show progressive aspect, as in the next examples:

- (123) a. **Ko qa Sou pa rarusu, do=dola la pa mati.**
 stay REST Heron PRP shore RED=stare go PRP strand
 'Heron just stayed on the shore, staring at the strand.'
- b. **Loga=loga ba gamu karu na.**
 RED=lie EMPH PRO:2PL two DEM
 'You two are lying!'
- c. **Mazu=mazuka qa so toka=toka-e qa imimusu.**
 RED=bleed REST SEQ RED=follow-TR:3PL REST fly
 '(Your sores) are bleeding so flies are following them.'

Progressive aspect is also marked by **korapa**, an aspect particle derived from the prepositional noun 'middle, inside' (see 7.1.5). The prepositional noun function of **korapa** is illustrated in (124):

- (124) a. **pa korapa kabasa**
 PRP middle house
 'inside the house'
- b. **pa korapa kolo**
 PRP middle sea
 'in the open sea'
- c. **korapa rane**
 middle day
 'middle of the day'

The use of **korapa** 'middle, in' as an aspectual marker is consistent with the notion of the imperfective, of which the progressive is a subcategory, as the aspect concerned with the 'internal temporal structure of a situation' (Comrie 1976:24). Comrie (1976:98) notes that the use of locative expressions for the progressive is widespread. Verbs used with **korapa** do not need to be reduplicated, although they may be, as in (125c).

- (125) a. **Korapa hao raro se Amina.**
 IMP wash pot ART A.
 'Amina is washing pots.'
- b. **Korapa vose sa nikana.**
 IMP paddle ART:SG man
 'The man is paddling.'
- c. **Korapa igu=igunu ria koburu.**
 IMP RED=play ART:PL child
 'The children are playing.'

The use of progressive aspect in Hoava also indicates that one situation is taking place at the same time as another. This can be shown by **korapa** alone modifying the verb (126a), or with reduplication as well (126b) and (126c).

- (126) a. **Korapa valusa eri ka-hike, tapuru gore**
 IMP fish ART:PL NUM-three fly go.down
mae sa ruruhu.
 come ART:SG giant
 '[While] the three were fishing, the giant flew down.'
- b. **Korapa tunu=tunu tala gu-ni-a sa**
 IMP RED=sit where said-AP-3SG ART:SG
palabatu, la vura rao.
 man go go.out PRO:1SG
 '[While] the man was sitting where I said, I went out.'
- c. **Ome-a keke nikana korapa aso=aso nana**
 see-TR:3SG one man IMP RED=walk POSS:3SG
pa sagauru pa Galupalu.
 PRP reef PRP G.
 '(They) saw a man walking on the reef at Galupalu.'

5.4.3 Continuative aspect

Progressive aspect marked by reduplication in Hoava also conveys the sense of continuity of action, as shown in (123). In order to emphasise the continual nature of a situation, the adverb **kumana** 'continuously' is used with a reduplicated verb.

- (127) a. **Ku=kuqi kumana sa kaleqe.**
 RED=slap.water continuously ART:SG old.woman
 'The old woman was slapping the water continuously.'
- b. **Vagi-a rao sa mike, na vale=vale**
 take-TR:3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG ukulele NA RED=give

kumani-a.

continuously.TR-3SG

'I picked up the ukelele, and was playing it all the time.'

In order to convey the continuing existence of something, progressive forms of the existential verb **ko** are used:

- (128) a. **Ko=ko nana keke gugusu.**
 RED=exist POSS:3SG one village
 'There was a village.'
- b. **Pa rane ninroe korapa ko dia ria karu magara. [KUS]**
 PRP day today IMP exist POSS:3PL ART:PL two stone
 'To this day, the two stones are still there.'

The directional verb **la** 'go away from speaker and hearer', optionally followed by the restrictive particle **qa**, is also used to convey continual existence when placed after the existential verb **ko** 'exist, stay'.

- (129) a. **Tase-na sa kinu isana, kinu ruzi...**
 name-3SG ART:SG cut.nut DIST:SG cut.nut ruzi
ko pa Burono, Doresi vagi-a, heuki-a
 stay PRP Burongo D. take-TR:3SG plant.TR-3SG
tala gu-ni-a, ko la qa na.
 where said-AP-3SG exist go REST DEM
 'The name of that cut nut tree, cut nut Ruzi ... it's at Burongo, Doris took it, planted it there, it's still there.'
- b. **Ta-vigiri magara gi ko la qa na.**
 PASS-turn stone and exist go REST DEM
 '(It) was turned into stone and is still there.'
- c. **La tu tadi karu vavane-mu ko la sari.**
 go REST PRP:3PL two sibling-2SG exist go these
 'Go to your two brothers (who) are staying there.'
- d. **Na sege tu ba ko la na.**
 ART crocodile REST EMPH exist go DEM
 The crocodile was (lying) there!

The continual persistence of an action is also shown by using the combination of **la qa** with optional reduplication of the verb:

- (130) a. **Vagi=vagi la qa ria.**
 RED=take go REST PRO:3PL
 'They were eating on and on.'
- b. **Valusa la qa eri ka-made, kabo pule**
 fish go REST ART:PL NUM-four cry again

sa kaleqe.

ART:SG old.woman

'The three continued to fish, the old woman cried again.'

- c. **Koni vose leta la qa doluru boni.**
 FUT paddle letter go REST all night
 '(We) would be paddling (carrying) letters all night.'

Repetition has the same effect of showing continuity (131a), and this can be combined with **la qa** (131b).

- (131) a. **La vose=vose, la sa koburu, la, la, la,**
 go RED=paddle go ART:SG child go go go
vose la sa.
 paddle go PRO:3SG
 'Paddling on, the child goes, go, go, go, he paddles on.'

- b. **La Biliboa, la qa, aso la qa, aso la qa, aso la qa.**
 go B. go REST walk go REST walk go REST walk go REST
 'Biliboa goes on and on, walking, walking, walking.'

5.4.4 Habitual aspect

Reduplication of a verb is also used to express habitual actions:

- (132) **Kabasa h<in>igala gu-ni-a sa kabasa ko**
 house garden<NOM> said-AP-3SG ART:SG house exist
pa tala pu la higa=higala.
 PRP where REL go RED=garden
 'Garden house we call the house which is where we go gardening.'

In the next example, a cook is being given instructions for a daily routine:

- (133) **Koni ra=raro goe onomo kolokolo.**
 FUT RED=cook PRO:2SG six clock
 'You will be cooking at six o'clock (every day).'

Habitual aspect is also expressed by the preverbal particle **koba** 'always'.

- (134) a. **Koba vagi mae ria nikana Merika tami gami.**
 always take come ART:PL man America PRP:1PLEX PRO:1PLEX
 'The Americans always brought [things] for us.'
- b. **T<in>avete tani sa koburu sagi koba**
 work<NOM> POSS:3SG ART:SG child TOP always

habu qa.
 food.gathering REST
 'The child's work, it was always just food gathering.'

Two postverbal adverbs **velo** and **kale** both mean 'usually', and can be used on their own or together for habitual expressions, although **velo** was the only one recorded in narratives (135). Note that in (135b) the transitive suffix is attached to the adverb **velo** because this is the last item in the verb phrase.

- (135) a. **Pa vera koni vagi velo pepeha?**
 PRP where FUT take usually soil
 'Where do (you) usually take the soil from?'
- b. **Sa sa nati hinabu tavete**
 what ART:SG main food.gathering do
- velo-a gamu kerane?**
 usually-TR:3SG PRO:2PL olden.days
 'What was the main type of food gathering that you usually did in the olden days?'

In elicitations, **kale** was equated with **velo**, and sentences were provided in which either word could be used:

- (136) a. **La hukuagi velo rao pana rane Sarare.**
La hukuagi kale rao pana rane Sarare.
 go hunt usually PRO:1SG when day Saturday
 'I usually go hunting on Saturdays.'
- b. **La kina bereti velo goe pa kabasa?**
La kina bereti kale goe pa kabasa?
 go cook bread usually PRO:2SG PRP house
 'Do you usually bake bread at home?'

It is also possible to use the two adverbs in sequence, with **velo** coming first:

- (137) a. **Kera=kera velo kale ba ria pana rane Turu.**
 RED=sing usually usually EMPH PRO:3PL when day Thursday
 'They usually sing on Thursdays.'
- b. **Hukuagi velo kale pana rane Sarare ba Katareti.**
 hunt usually usually when day Saturday EMPH K.
 'Katareti usually hunts on Saturdays.'

5.4.5 Ingressive and completive aspects

Both ingressive and completive aspects are conveyed by verbal serialisations. Ingressive aspect refers to the beginning of an action or event, and Hoava expresses this

by the use of the verb **podalae** 'begin' before the verb describing the situation (139). **Podalae** can also be used as a verb in its own right, as in (138).

- (138) **Podalae rao de taveti-a sa t<in>avete.**
begin PRO:1SG PURP do.TR -3SG ART:SG work<NOM>
'I begin to do the work.'
- (139) a. **Podalae vose gita, koni vose la pa Kutuke.**
begin paddle PRO:1PL.IN FUT paddle go PRP K.
'We begin to paddle, (we) will paddle to Kutuke.'
- b. **Kamo rao pa Honiara tiqe la podalae tave=tavete. [KUS]**
arrive PRO:1SG PRP H. then go begin RED=work
'I arrived at Honiara then began working.'

The completion of one action prior to the occurrence of another is signalled by the verb **dae** 'finish', which is also placed first in a serialisation. As with **podalae** 'begin', **dae** can also be used on its own as a main verb, 'be finished':

- (140) **Dae sa teqe.**
be.finished ART:SG mat
'The mat is finished.'

Note that **dae** is also used as a conjunction 'and' (see 4.12 and 8.1.2), as shown in its first use in (141), while the second occurrence of **dae** shows its use in marking completive aspect.

- (141) **Rami-a, dae resi-a. Dae resi-a heni, popoli-a.**
scorch-TR:3SG and tear-TR:3SG finish tear-TR:3SG PROX:SG roll.TR-3SG
'Scorch it, and tear it. After tearing this, roll it.'

Dae can be modified by the intensifier **puta** (see 5.9), even when in initial position in a serialisation:

- (142) **Dae puta raosi-a eri kahike, tiqe**
finish INTENS plane.TR-3SG ART:PL three then
taveti-a eri kahike keke kura lavata
make.TR-3SG ART:PL three one fish.trap big
tani sa ruruhu.
PRP:SG ART:SG giant
'The three finished planing, then the three made a big fishtrap for the giant.'

5.5 Tense and mode markers

Tense and mode are regarded by Foley and Van Valin (1984) as operators at the peripheral layer of the clause, and this is certainly the case for most tense and modal adverbials in Hoava, and these are described in Chapter 7. However, Hoava also has

tense and mode markers which are part of the verb phrase. This is at variance with the prediction of Foley and Van Valin's theory but common in other Oceanic languages, such as Zabana (Ysabel) and Fijian, where such markers are considered to be an integral part of the verb phrase. In Hoava there is a distinction between free and bound tense and mode markers. The lexically separate tense and mode words occur at the periphery, in accordance with Foley and Van Valin's theory, but the tense and mode markers which are bound to subject markers occur at the nuclear level.

Pre-verbal markers with subject indexing suffixes are used for future tense and for the optative mode in Hoava. However, pre-verbal markers are not a major feature of Hoava grammar. The subject indexing suffixes are those nominal indexing suffixes which were listed in 4.1.

5.5.1 The future tense marker *ma-*

The future tense marker, *ma-*, is used in only two persons, first person singular *maqu* and first person inclusive plural *mada*.

- (143) a. "Koleo, **ma-qu** **puta**. **Tavola** **ma-qu** **holapa**,"
good FUT-1SG sleep tomorrow FUT-1SG pass

gua sa kaleqe.

said ART:SG old.woman

'"Good, I will sleep. Tomorrow I will go on," said the old woman.'

- b. **Aria de la baogi keke ga-da de la**
EXHORT PURP go spear one EDPOSS-1PL.IN PURP go

hodoko pa Patutiva de ma-da rararo.

land PRP P. PURP FUT-1PL.IN cook

'Come on to spear our one (pig to eat), in order to go and land at Patutiva so that we will cook it (there).'

- c. **Ma-da la kebá sa kinu.**
FUT-1PL.IN go climb.TR:3SG ART:SG nut.tree

'We will go and climb the nut tree.'

In conversation, *mada* is usually used with the exhortation *aria* in the phrase *aria, mada taloa* 'come on, we will go', glossed as the English exhortative 'let's go':

- (144) a. **Aria, ma-da gore taloa.**
EXHORT FUT-1PL.IN go.down leave

'Come on, let's go down.'

- b. **Aria, ma-da tavete tupi.**
EXHORT FUT-1PL.IN make arrow

'Come on, let's make arrows.'

Hoava speakers are aware of the imperative form **mamu** 'you will' used in Roviana, but it is not considered to be part of the Hoava language.

5.5.2 The optative marker

The optative marker is a preverbal marker which takes the nominal indexing suffixes to index the subject of a verb. A full set of subject forms has been retained in the language (145), although the forms are regarded by Hoava speakers as little used. The same set is found in Roviana (Waterhouse 1949:83).

(145)	singular	plural
first person		
- inclusive		o-da
- exclusive	o-qu	o-mami
second person	o-mu	o-mi
third person	o-na	o-di

In Hoava, the optative subject marker is used with verbs of consumption, such as eating, drinking, smoking, and also sleeping. This is the same semantic range as that which is used with the edible possessive **e-/a-** (see 4.11.2), and it is possible to use the edible possessive as an optative subject marker (see (148) below). The optative subject marker is quite rare and in fact only turned up in one narrative:

(146)	Mi	ria	kabasa,	vena	o-di	tiva	gua ...
	but	ART:PL	house	SIM	OPT-3PL	stand	thus
	'but the houses, if they want (them to) stand ...'						

All other examples of the optative were from elicitations:

- (147) a. **O-na** **napo** **sa** **koburu.**
 OPT-3SG drink ART:SG child
 'The child wants to drink.'
- b. **O-da** **piala.**
 OPT-1PL.IN smoke
 'We want to smoke.'
- c. **O-di** **nani.**
 OPT-3PL eat
 'They want to eat.'

Speakers were in agreement that the edible possessive could be used in place of the optative prefix with exactly the same function:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|--------------|-----|-------------|--------------|
| (148) | O-qu | puta. | or: | E-qu | puta. |
| | OPT-1SG | sleep. | | EDPOSS-1SG | sleep |
| | Both: 'I want to sleep' | | | | |

The use of the optative subject marker was considered by the speakers to be emphasising the wish for something; therefore in a number of the elicitations it was combined with other emphatic markers.

- (149) a. **O-di puta ba ria nikana ra.**
 OPT-3PL sleep EMPH ART:PL man DEM
 'The men want to sleep!'
- b. **O-mami puta ba gami heni.**
 OPT-1PLEX sleep EMPH PRO:1PLEX PROX:SG
 'We want to sleep!'

The optative marker is also used to indicate that the speaker, whilst wishing a particular event would happen, does not necessarily expect a result. In providing the example in (147b) above, the speaker said that it meant the person wanted to smoke, but there was no one nearby who could provide any tobacco.

The use of verbal serialisation with the verb *hiva* 'want', as in (150), is far more common than the optative marker, but the optative marker was considered by Hoava speakers to be expressing a stronger wish than when *hiva* 'want' is used.

- (150) a. **Hiva ta-geva ba rao ni.**
 want PASS-delouse EMPH PRO:1SG DEM
 'I want to be deloused!'
- b. **"Hiva napo," gua sa koburu.**
 want drink said ART:SG child
 "'(I) want to drink," said the child.'

The optative subject marker and the edible possessive were also used combined with the verb *hiva*:

- (151) a. **O-na hiva-ni-a sa koloko.**
 OPT-3SG want-AP-3SG ART:SG clock
 'I want the clock.'
- b. **E-qu hiva-ni-a rao sa raesi.**
 EDPOSS-1SG want-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG rice
 'I want the rice.'

5.6 Preverbal modifiers

There are few true adverbs in Hoava, as most adverbial functions are carried out by verbal serialisations (see 5.7). There are only three preverbal adverbs which do not have a verbal equivalent; these are discussed in 5.6.1. Two of the directional verbs, *la* 'go' and *mae* 'come', are also used before main verbs with a purposive function. This is discussed in 5.6.2.

5.6.1 Preverbal adverbs

The three adverbs used preverbally are: **hana** 'disrespectfully', the intensifier **vasi**, and the limiter **tale**.

Hana is used to mean that an action is disrespectful, or performed carelessly or thoughtlessly.

- (152) a. **Kae hana pato.**
 NEG disrespectfully talk
 'Don't talk disrespectfully.'
- b. **Kipu hana nani nina. Koni varavara paki tu.**
 NEG disrespectfully eat possibly FUT pray first REST
 '(We) don't eat disrespectfully. (We) will pray first.'

The intensifier **vasi** 'really' is used before verbs to stress the reality of an action or state. The verb may also be reduplicated, and the intensifiers **holapa** or **paho** may follow the verb, to add to the emphatic nature of the statement. **Vasi** itself is usually pronounced with a stressed and lengthened first syllable.

- (153) a. **Va::si isa=isara holapa.**
 really RED=laugh INTENS
 '(I) really laughed and laughed.'
- b. **Va::si kokoto tuke holapi sa**
 really cut throw.away INTENS.TR:3PL ART:SG
nikana heni ria seni.
 man this ART:PL sin
 'This man really threw off his sins.'
- c. **Va::si malana holapa. Soqe sa**
 really be.unfortunate INTENS be.barren ART:SG
gugusu, kako ninani.
 village no food
 '(They were) really very unfortunate. The village was barren, no food.'
- d. **Koni va::si mate paho gamu.**
 FUT really be.dead INTENS PRO:2PL
 'You will really die!'

The preverbal limiter **tale** 'only' is used in combination with the continual aspect marker **la qa** (see 5.4.3), to stress that an action is the only one performed over a period of time.

- (154) a. **Tale nani luzu la qa doluru kolokolo.**
 only eat sweet.potato go REST all time
 '(We) only eat sweet potato all the time.'

- b. **Tale pato Hoava la qa kerane, ao?**
 only speak Hoava go REST olden.days yes
 '(You) only spoke Hoava in the olden days, yes?'

5.6.2 Directional verbs used preverbally

The directional verbs **mae** 'come' and **la** 'go' are used before the main verb as markers to indicate that a person is moving from one point to another, with the purpose of performing the action referred to by the main verb. The directional verb **atu** 'go to hearer' was not recorded with this function.

- (155) a. **"Geva-erao," gua sa. La gevá eri karu.**
 delouse-TR:1SG said PRO:3SG go delouse-TR:3SG PRO:3PL two
 "'Delouse me," he said. They (two) went to delouse him.'
- b. **Sagele pule sa kaleqe heni. La ko**
 go.up return ART:SG old.woman this go stay
sa pa keke bae.
 PRO:3SG PRP one cave
 'This old woman went back up. She went to stay in a cave.'
- c. **"Karia, mae surani-rao," gua sa.**
 EXHORT:2 come board-TR-1SG said PRO:3SG
 "'You two, come to take me on board," she said.'
- d. **Namanama ria pa Hoava, mi mae**
 ready PRO:3PL PRP H. but come
misianare, mae geso-e.
 missionary come block-TR:3PL
 'Hoava was ready, but the missionaries came, came to stop them [from fighting].'

5.7 Serial verbs

5.7.1 Introduction

Serial verbs are defined by Foley and Olsen (1985:18) as 'constructions in which verbs sharing a common actor or object are merely juxtaposed with no intervening conjunctions.' Serial verbs are further defined by Crowley (1987:38, following Bradshaw 1982:28), as sharing the following features:

- (i) All verbs in the serial construction refer to subparts of a single overall event.
- (ii) There is no intonational or grammatical marking of clause boundaries between the verbs.

- (iii) There are tight restrictions on the nominal arguments associated with each verb.
 (iv) There is no contrast in the basic inflectional categories of serialised verbs.

In addition, Crowley (1987) distinguishes four different types of serialisations according to the relationship between the arguments of each of the verbs in the serialisation: same subject; switch subject; ambient; and multiple object; of which the most common is same subject. Crowley also follows Foley and Olsen (1985) in accepting serialisation at both nuclear and core layers of the clause.

In this section I will discuss Hoava verb serialisation at the nuclear or verb phrase layer of the clause. A possible core layer serialisation is discussed in 8.2.

Hoava serial verbs are generally of the most common type, that defined by Crowley (1987:38) as 'same-subject serialisation', in which the verbs in sequence share the same subject. This applies to both intransitive verb phrases (156a) and transitive verb phrases (156b). Note that in serialisations with transitive or applicative verbs, the transitive or applicative suffixes are used only once at the end of the entire verb phrase, as in (156b).

- (156) a. **Haqala vura mae sa manue.**
 run go.out come ART:SG possum
 'The possum came running out.'
- b. **Keba sageli-a sa koburu sa nohara.**
 climb go.up.TR-3SG ART:SG child ART:SG coconut
 'The child climbed up the coconut tree.'

Although I did not test for it in the field, a few examples occurred in the corpus of switch-subject serialisation. Crowley (1987:39) defines this as identity between the object of the first verb and the subject of the second. All examples found concerned the verb **mate** 'be dead', which I initially assumed to be an error for the causative form **va-mate** 'cause to be dead, kill'. This is because the Hoava examples use the transitive suffix on the final verb of the serialisation containing **mate**, but the transitive suffix is not used when **mate**, a Type III verb, is the single verb in a verb phrase. In (157a) **mate** is the final verb, while in (157b) **mate** is followed by the intensifier **tuke**.

- (157) a. **La qa ria, la pota mate-a, pota mate-ni-a**
 go REST PRO:3PL go hit be.dead-TR:3SG hit be.dead-AP-3SG
beke na, pota mate-a sa igana heni.
 spear DEM hit be.dead-TR:3SG ART:SG fish this
 'They went on, went and hit it dead, killed it with spears, killed this fish.'
- b. **Pota mate tuke-a qa. Mate**
 hit be.dead completely-TR:3SG REST be.dead
taloa sa kaleqe.
 leave ART:SG old.woman
 '(They) hit her completely dead. The old woman was dead.'

Hoava allows multiple verb serial constructions, with two verb combinations being very common (158), three verb combinations frequent (159), and four verb combinations not uncommon (160). In the following examples the serial verbs are in italics.

V+V

- (158) a. *Gasa tiva sa ruruhu.*
 jump stand ART:SG giant
 'The giant jumped up.'
- b. *Sa qato sagi ta-teqe va-golu=golu.*
 ART:SG tree TOP PASS-cut CAUSE-RED=be.short
 'The tree, it has been cut very short.'
- c. *Aso mae na boko heri=ri.*
 walk come ART pig these=RED
 'These pigs walked towards me.'

V+V+V

- (159) a. *Naqala gore la-ni-a sa beha pa hore.*
 carry go.down go-AP-3SG ART:SG basket PRP canoe
 'Carry the basket down to the canoe.'
- b. *Poni-rao de sola vagi va-kisi.*
 give-TR:1SG PURP join take CAUSE-be.small
 'Give (it) to me so (I can) join in taking a little.'

V+V+V+V

- (160) *Aso gore pule taloa qa isa.*
 walk go.down return leave REST PRO:3SG
 'He walked back down and left.'

In the following discussion, Hoava verbal serialisations are divided into a number of categories, according to the type of verbs used and the resulting combination:

- (a) active verb + active verb (1), where the second verb modifies the first (5.7.2);
- (b) active verb + active verb (2), where the first verb modifies the second (5.7.3);
- (c) verb + stative verb (5.7.4);
- (d) stative verb + verb (5.7.5);
- (e) verb + causative verb (5.7.6);
- (f) verb + verb of general direction (5.7.7);
- (g) verb + **pule** 'return, again' (5.7.8);
- (h) verb + directional verb (**la**, **mae**, **atu**) (5.7.9).

5.7.2 *Active verb + active verb (1)*

When two active verbs occur together in a serialisation, one is usually a verb denoting a general type of action, while the other provides some more specific information about the manner in which the action is done. This first category covers serialisations where the general word comes first and the more specific word comes second. Verbs of movement and posture follow this pattern, with the movement or posture verb followed by a verb describing in more detail the movement or posture in question, as in the following examples:

- (161) a. **eko piliha** 'lie sideways across'
eko devele 'lie on one side'
eko opo 'lie on stomach'
eko toloro 'lie straight'
eko peraka 'lie with legs apart'
- b. **tuu devele** 'sit side on'
tuu polo 'sit cross legged'

Other active verbs also follow the pattern of general followed by specific, as in the next two examples. In (162a) the general action of cutting is described further by adding a particular type of slicing action, and in (162b) the general action of tearing is made more precise by a verb used for cutting items into narrow strips.

- (162) a. **Vagi-a** **qa** **gi** **kuti** **kokoti-a** **ba** **rua-na.**
take-TR:3SG REST and cut.knife cut.across.TR-3SG EMPH neck-3SG
'(She) took it and cut his throat.'
- b. **Resi** **viqali-a** **sa** **pate.**
tear split.TR-3SG ART:SG pandanus
'Tear the pandanus into strips.'

The serialisations in this section can also be regarded as a sequence of actions with the first describing an initial action or movement into a posture, while the second verb describes the resulting action or posture.

5.7.3 *Active verb + active verb (2)*

In this second category of serialisation, the positions of the verbs are a reversal of the first category. Here, it is the second verb which refers to a general action, while the first verb supplies more specific information about the action. The following example shows different ways of taking an object.

- (163) **vagi** 'take'
teqe vagia 'cut and take it'
pota vagia 'hit and take it'
naqala vagia 'carry and take it'

hokuru vagi	'pull down and take it'
kaburu vagia	'crunch and take it'
tamiki vagia	'touch and take it'
saputu vagia	'grab and take it'

In the next two examples different ways of leaving are shown by using verbs of movement before the more general verb **taloa** 'leave, go':

- (164) a. **Hoqa taloa ria.**
 flee leave PRO:3PL
 'They ran away.'
- b. **Ria pa Kalikoqu sumi aso taloa.**
 PRO:3PL PRP Kalikonggu PERF walk leave
 'The ones from Kalikonggu walked away.'

5.7.4 Verb + stative verb

This category covers the use of the verb **mate** 'be dead' as shown in the examples in (157) above). The second verb is the state resulting from the action of the first verb.

5.7.5 Stative verb + verb

Serialisations in this category fall into two groupings, according to the meanings and use of the stative verbs. The first grouping covers stative verbs which locate the action in time or space: **tata** 'be near, almost'; **seona** (**saonae** [KUS]) 'be far away, be a long time'; **dae** 'finish'; **podalae** 'begin'; and **vaquru** 'be new, just'. The second grouping is serialisations with the stative verbs **boka** 'be able', **hiva** 'want', and **hokara** 'be true', which have a modal function. This once again shows Hoava having some modal functions within the verb phrase, in contrast to Foley and Van Valin's theory, which places modal functions at the periphery level.

Tata as a verb on its own means physical closeness (165a), and it can also be used with this meaning in serialisations concerned with movement or direction (165b).

- (165) a. **pa Mazueri, tata pa Duvaha so**
 PRP M. be.near PRP D. PAST
 'at Mazueri, (which) was near Duvaha'
- b. **Mae, tata mae qa tani sa miho.**
 come be.near come REST PRP:3SG ART:SG headland
 'Come, come close to the headland.'

In serialisations with other verbs, **tata** takes on a more abstract meaning, conveying the sense of 'almost' or 'nearly':

- (166) a. **Tata ta-nani siki rao.**
almost PASS-bite dog PRO:1SG
'I was almost bitten by a dog.'
- b. **Sumi tata vari-paqahi ria nikana.**
PERF almost RECIP-leave.TR:3PL ART:PL man
'The men had almost left each other.'
- c. **Tata mate gami.**
almost dead PRO:1PL.EX
'We were nearly dead.'

Seona [Hoava] and **saonae** [Kusaghe] are verbs used to mean that an event occurred over a long period of time (167a), and they retain that meaning when used in serialisations (167b, c).

- (167) a. **Saonae na k<in>o.** [KUS]
be.long.time ART stay<NOM>
'The stay was long.'
- b. **Seona vioro sa kalaho.**
be.long.time be.sick ART:SG woman
'The woman was sick for a long time.'
- c. **Saonae mabo dia qa vari-pera.** [KUS]
be.long.time be.tired POSS:3PL REST RECIP-fight
'After a long time they were tired of fighting each other.'

To indicate that an event has just happened, the verb **vaquru** 'be new' is used in a serialisation, as in the next examples:

- (168) a. **Vaquru teqe pule-ni-rao qa.**
new cut return-AP-1SG REST
'I have just cut myself.'
- b. **Isa sa poata la vagi pule-a**
PRO:3SG ART:SG shell.money go take return-TR:3SG
ria pu vaquru mae ni.
PRO:3PL REL new come DEM
'That is the shell money (which) those who just came took back.'

Two other verbs are also used in serialisations to indicate the temporal status of an event. These are **dae** 'be finished' and **podalae** 'begin, be started' (see also 5.4.5).

- (169) a. **Dae hele-a isa sa kolo heni.** [KUS]
be.finished wash-TR:3SG PRO:3SG ART:SG water this
'She finished washing in this water.'

- b. **Podalae aso se Higalozi pa Qerasi.**
 begin walk ART H. PRP Nggerasi
 'Higalozi began to walk to Nggerasi.'

Boka 'able, can' is capable of being used as a verb in its own right to mean that a person is generally skilled or lucky:

- (170) **Boka=boka holapa sa koburu gila to,**
 RED=lucky INTENS ART:SG child and be.alive
puna nokae holapa tala pu uke sa.
 because be.high.up INTENS where REL fall PRO:3SG
 'The child is very lucky to be alive, because where she fell from was very high up.'

However, the main use of **boka** is before other verbs to express the ability to do something:

- (171) a. **Ria pu ruasa, kuzu, na kipu boka**
 PRO:3PL REL swim drown because NEG able
ruasa, na nikana pa soloso.
 swim ART man PRP bush
 'Those who swam, drowned, because they could not swim, men from the bush.'
- b. **Koni boka teni-rao goe la pa toba.**
 FUT able take-1SG PRO:2SG go PRP barrier.islands
 'You will be able to take me (and) go to the barrier islands.'
- c. **Boka pita-e ria vivine heri gi, boka ta-gilali.**
 able look.for-TR:3PL ART:PL story these and able PASS-know
 '(You) can look for these stories and (they) can be known.'

Boka can be replaced by **hite**, a word regarded by Hoava speakers as a Roviana borrowing with the same meaning. However, only **boka** is recorded in Waterhouse (1949) for Roviana.

- (172) a. **Kipu hite gilali-a rao.**
 NEG able know-TR:3SG PRO:1SG
 'I don't know it.'
- b. **Heni qa hite va-halahala-da gita.**
 this REST able CAUSE-dry-1PL.IN PRO:1PL.IN
 'This can keep us dry.'

The verb **hiva** 'want' is a Type III stative which is used more frequently for optative mode than the optative prefix discussed in 5.5.2. It commonly occurs in serialisations, as in the next examples:

- (173) a. **Hiva napo isa.**
 want drink PRO:3SG
 'She wants to drink.'
- b. **Rao hiva toka.**
 PRO:3SG want follow
 'I want to follow.'

The final verb in this grouping is the stative verb **hokara** 'be true' which is used before another verb only in questions regarding the truth of an event, otherwise following the main verb (see 5.9).

- (174) a. **Hokara hiva ome-a gamu sa maqe?**
 true want see-TR:3SG PRO:2PL ART:SG monkey
 'Do you really want to see the monkey?'
- b. **Hokara ko qa mahu tamu goe?**
 true stay REST sweet.potato POSS:2 PRO:2SG
 'Do you really have sweet potato?'
- c. **Hokara mate tu?**
 true be.dead REST
 'Is (he) really dead?'

5.7.6 Verb plus causative verb

When a causative verb follows another verb in a serialisation, it generally indicates the purpose or result of the first action.

Purpose:

- (175) a. **Rao hitu va-taloo-gi tu.**
 PRO:1SG chase.out CAUSE-leave-TR:3PL REST
 'I chased them out to make them leave.'
- b. **Loka va-umani-a sa burunu-na sa.**
 wait CAUSE-hear.TR-3SG ART:SG roar-3SG PRO:3SG
 'Wait to listen for its noise.'

Result:

- (176) a. **Ego, nani sa, nani va-paho-e.**
 well eat.TR:3PL PRO:3SG eat CAUSE-empty-TR:3PL
 'Well, he ate them, ate and emptied them.'
- b. **La gami pota va-mate-a tu.**
 go PRO:1PLEX hit CAUSE-dead-TR:3SG REST
 'We went and hit him dead.'

- c. **Kosiri va-bilani-a sa koburu sa teqe.**
 urinate CAUSE-smell.of.urine.TR-3SG ART:SG child ART:SG mat
 'The child urinated on the mat and made it smell of urine.'

When the causatives created from some stative verbs and quantifiers are used in serialisations, they have an adverbial function. This is particularly so for verbs referring to size or quality, as in (177).

- (177) a. **Vura mae na keke pu noboko va-leana**
 go.out come ART one REL be.fat ADV-good
vasi-na, lavati tia-na.
 body-3SG be.big belly-3SG
 'One came out whose body, its big belly, was well rounded.'
- b. **Koni ome va-leani-a goe.**
 FUT see ADV-good.TR-3SG PRO:2SG
 'You will see it well.'
- c. **Poni-rao de sola vagi va-kisi.**
 give-TR:1SG PURP join take ADV-small
 'Give me, so that I can join in eating a little, said the giant.'

Quantifiers become causative verbs in order to be adverbs of extent or quantity, although this can also be interpreted as result.

- (178) a. **La valusa va-soku ga-da makasi.**
 go fish ADV-many EDPOSS-1PL.IN bonito
 'Go and fish to make our bonito plentiful.'
- b. **Boka vagi va-soku, va-karua, hike.**
 able take ADV-many ADV-two three
 '(We) are able to take many, two, three.'

5.7.7 Verb plus verb of general direction

Verbs of general direction refer to movement in general directions, such as 'up', 'down', 'across', 'straight'. (The three directional verbs, **mae** 'come to speaker', **atu** 'go to hearer', and **la** 'go away from speaker and hearer', refer to movement in relation to the participants and are distinct from verbs of general direction; see 5.2.4.2.) Verbs of general direction are a subtype of Type IV verbs and are used in their own right as main verbs. In serialisations, they are used with verbs of movement, and their main function is to show the direction of the movement.

- (179) a. **Haqala vura sa toloko.**
 run go.out ART:SG eel
 'The eel rushes out.'

- b. **Korapa keba sageli-a sa koburu sa nohara.**
 IMP climb go.up.TR-3SG ART:SG child ART:SG coconut.palm
 'The child is climbing up the coconut palm.'
- c. **Gasa holapa-ni-a rao sa dereni.**
 jump go.past-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG drain
 'Jump over the drain.'

Verbs of general direction are commonly followed by the directional verbs, which show movement in relation to the participants:

- (180) a. **Zoro gore mae sa ruruhu.**
 jump go.down come ART:SG giant
 'The giant jumped down and came.'
- b. **Aso sagele atu sa koburu.**
 walk go.up go.to.you ART:SG child
 'The child walked up to you.'
- c. **Aso toloro la-ia sa sa sagauru.**
 walk go.straight go.TR-3SG PRO:3SG ART:SG reef
 'She walked straight to the reef.'

5.7.8 Verb plus pule

As an independent Type IV verb, **pule** means 'return, go back':

- (181) **"Ego, ma-da pule qa piraе," gua isana.**
 well FUT-1PL.IN return REST now said that
 "Well, let's go back now," that one said.'

When used in serialisations, **pule** generally means to do an action or movement again, but it can also retain its main meaning of 'return, go back', as in (182c).

- (182) a. **Pule ria, tiono pule ria.**
 return PRO:3PL bake return PRO:3PL
 'They returned, they baked again.'
- b. **Podo pule-a sa hinaquru keke koburu.**
 birth return-TR:3SG ART:SG girl one child
 'The girl gave birth again to a child.'
- c. **Haqala gore pule ria ruruhu.**
 run go.down return ART:PL giant
 'The giants ran back down.'

Pule, in a serialisation and with an applicative suffix, fulfils the reflexive function in Hoava, as discussed in 4.2.2.

- (183) a. **Ome pule-ni-a isumata-na pa tiroana.**
 see return-AP-3SG face-3SG PRP mirror
 '(She) looked at her face in the mirror.'
- b. **Vaquuru teqe pule-ni-rao qa.**
 new cut return-AP-1SG REST
 'I have just cut myself.'
- c. **Balabala pule-ni-a.**
 think return-AP-3SG
 '(She) thinks of herself.' [i.e. she is selfish].

5.7.9 Verb plus directional verbs

The three directional verbs, **la**, **mae** and **atu**, have already been discussed as main verbs in 5.2.4.2, and as preverbal modifiers in 5.6.2. In serialisations, the directional verbs follow the main verb, and any other modifying verbs. They are used primarily with active verbs to show the direction of an action or movement towards or away from a participant. **Mae** 'come to speaker' and **la** 'go away from speaker and hearer' were recorded as being used to a far greater extent than **atu** 'go to hearer', mainly because I recorded mostly narratives and fewer conversations.

When directional verbs are used, they indicate that one participant in the clause is a location, either a goal, source or present location. That participant can be expressed as a prepositional phrase:

- (184) a. **Koni ria pa Keru koni vose mae pa Burono.**
 FUT PRO:3PL PRP K. FUT paddle come PRP Burongo
Gami pa Burono koni vose la pa Vakabo.
 PRO:1.EX PRP Burongo FUT paddle go PRP Vakambo
 'They at Keru will paddle (here) to Burongo. We at Burongo will paddle to Vakambo.'
- b. **Dola mae qa taqu rao Kenedi mi**
 stare come REST PRP:1SG PRO:1SG Kennedy but
te Maqiqo tu dola la rao.
 PRP Mangginggo REST stare go PRO:1SG
 'Kennedy stared at me but at Mangginggo I was staring.'

The verb phrase may be transitive, with the transitive suffix being used on the directional verb, as it is the last element in the verb phrase. The object remains a locative participant, as is usual for Type IV verbs (see 5.2.4).

- (185) a. **Isa pu tanini tomate sa pu koni varavara la-ia.**
 PRO:3SG REL hold spirit PRO:3SG REL FUT pray go-TR:3SG
 'He who holds a spirit, he will pray to it.'

- b. **Higalozi aso laegi-a sa soana pa kakele matao.** [KUS]
 H. walk go.TR-3SG ART:SG path PRP side left
 'Higalozi walked along the path on the left side.'

The applicative suffix may also be used as in (184), in which case the direct object has the role of patient:

- (186) **Naqala gore la-ni-a sa beha pa hore.**
 carry go.down go-AP-3SG ART:SG basket PRP canoe
 'Carry the basket down to the canoe.'

Verbs of Type IV, which frequently have a goal argument, can be used with or without a directional verb with much the same meaning:

- (187) a. **Nanasi-a se Leti.**
 ask.TR-3SG ART L.
 'Ask Leti.'
- b. **Nanasa lagi-a.**
 ask go.TR-3SG
 'Ask him.'
- (188) a. **Nake-a se Marube.** [KUS]
 speak.to-TR:3SG ART M.
 'Speak to Marube.'
- b. **Nake laegi-a sa noki.** [KUS]
 speak.to go.TR-3SG ART:SG snake
 'Speak to the snake.'

Verbs of Type V can also be followed by directional verbs, perhaps stressing that movement has taken place, although the pairs of sentences in (189, 190) were described to me as 'meaning the same'. In this case the applicative suffix is used, as the object is a patient. Note that in these examples, as in (186), the use of the applicative is conditioned by the final verb in the verb phrase. Directional verbs, as with other verbs of Type IV, use the applicative suffix for a patient or concomitant, and use the transitive suffix for a locative participant (see also 6.3.5.1).

- (189) a. **Rami-a pa puga.** [KUS]
 heat-TR:3SG PRP fire
 'Heat it on the fire.'
- b. **Rami lae-ni-a pa puga.** [KUS]
 heat go-AP-3SG PRP fire
 'Heat it on the fire.'
- (190) a. **Lohe-a pa beha.**
 put-3SG PRP basket
 'Put it in the basket.'

- b. **Lohe lae-ni-a pa beha.** [KUS]
 put go-AP-3SG PRP basket
 'Put it in the basket.'

The examples with **lae** are from Kusaghe. A speaker of Hoava gave the following alternant:

- (191) **Lohe la-ni-a pa beha.**
 put go-AP-3SG PRP basket
 'Put it in the basket.'

The directional verbs follow the verb **pule** 'return, again' in serialisations:

- (192) a. **Gore pule mae ria.**
 go.down return come PRO:3PL
 'They came back down.'
- b. **Vura pule mae pele sa keke hore pa Teteqena.**
 go.out return come next ART:SG one canoe PRP Tetenggena
 'Another canoe came back out next from Tetenggena.'
- c. **Sagele pule la tani sa banara.**
 go.up return go PRP:3SG ART:SG chief
 'Go back up to the chief.'

The verb **taloa** 'leave' has some of the same functions as **la** 'go away from speaker and hearer', while the latter is becoming more grammaticised with a range of functions other than directionality (see 5.2.4.2, 5.4.3, 5.6.2). **Taloa** 'leave' is therefore also used as the final verb in serialisations, where the directional verb **la** is possible. Normally, a Type IV verb such as **taloa** 'leave' would not occur after **pule** 'return, again', as it does in (192).

- (193) **Aso gore pule taloa qa isa.**
 walk go.down return leave REST PRO:3SG
 'She walks back down and leaves.'

5.8 Postverbal adverbial modifiers

There are a small number of words used in the verb phrase which occur after the main verb, and which have an adverbial function. They have not been recorded as verbs themselves, although this was not fully tested in the field, and with further investigation some or all of these may turn out to be independent verbs as well. In his discussion of serial verbs, Crowley (1987) lists a number of adverbial words for Paamese which he includes in his category of verbs, despite their not being used as independent verbs. The fact that they are within the verb phrase and have verbal morphology, such as transitive endings, is enough for him to call them verbs. Sperlich (1993) disagrees with this view, and allows for words used in the verb phrase which cannot occur as independent verbs to be classified as 'close-bound adverbs' (1993:106). However, his task of separating verbs

from adverbs is made a little easier by the use of adverbial prefixes in Na-makir to show an adverbial function, a feature which is lacking in Hoava. At this stage, as I have not found evidence to the contrary, I will consider a small class of words used in the verb phrase to be adverbs. They are listed in (194).

(194)	zōna	‘pleasantly, beautifully’
	hikare	‘horribly, unpleasantly’
	kumana	‘continuously’
	velo, kale	‘usually’
	paki	‘first’
	eke	‘alone’

The first two adverbials, **zōna** ‘pleasantly’ and **hikare** ‘unpleasantly’, are used mainly with verbs of perception, as in (195a) and (195b), but one instance was recorded of **hikare** with a verb of action (195c).

- (195) a. **Koni ta-umana zōna holapa-ni-a sa**
 FUT PASS-hear pleasant INTENS-AP-3SG ART:SG
k<in>era tadi ria.
 sing<NOM> POSS:3PL PRO:3PL
 ‘Their singing will be very pleasingly heard.’
- b. **La ria siki kosiri vari-likoho-ni-a**
 go ART:PL dog urinate RECIP-go.round-AP-3SG
sa kokoko gila homana hikare sa kokoko.
 ART:SG kokoko.bird and smell horribly ART:SG kokoko.bird
 ‘The dogs went and urinated around the kokoko [bird] and the kokoko smelt horrible.’
- c. **Vose hikare sa hore.**
 paddle horribly ART:SG canoe
 ‘The canoe paddles horribly².’

The adverbial verb **kumana** ‘continuously’ has already been discussed in 5.4.3 as it is one way of expressing continuative aspect. It is used along with reduplication of the main verb to show that an action is being done continuously or repeatedly:

- (196) a. **Ria nikana heri kipu ko moka, mi**
 ART:PL man these NEG stay be.quiet but
nake=nake kumana. [KUS]
 RED=talk continuously
 ‘These men did not stay quietly, but were talking continuously.’

² This last example (194c) is interesting in that the verb **vose** has as its subject what is usually its patient, ‘the canoe’. Intransitively on its own, **vose** ‘paddle’ will usually have an actor as subject.

- b. **Loga=loga kumana gamu karu.**
 RED=lie continuously PRO:2PL two
 'You two are continually telling lies.'
- c. **Vagi-a rao sa mike na,**
 take-TR:3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG ukulele DEM
vale=vale kumani-a.
 RED=give continuously.TR-3SG
 'I took the ukulele, played it continuously.'

Example (196c) shows that **kumana** can have the transitive suffix attached to it, as can any other adverb in a verb phrase, when it is the final element of the verb phrase.

Similar in function to **kumana** 'continuously' are the two synonymous adverbs **velo** and **kale** 'usually', both of which refer to usual or habitual action, and which were discussed in 5.4.4. **Velo** is not recorded elsewhere in the Hoava language, while **kale** is probably grammaticalised from **kale/kakele** 'side', which can also be used to mean 'business', as in 'that's your business' or 'subject under discussion'.³ **Kale** and **velo** appear to be able to replace each other, but **kale** was not used in any of the recorded narratives and conversations, only in elicitations. Examples of their use were provided in 5.4.4 (135), (136), and (137).

The adverb **paki** 'first' is used to describe an action that is done first, before another action. It comes finally in the verb phrase and can have the transitive suffix attached to it (197b, c):

- (197) a. **La paki pa Marovo isa dae tiqe pule mae isa.**
 go first PRP M. PRO:3SG finish then return come PRO:3SG
 'She went first to Marovo and then she came back.'
- b. **Koni va-vura pule paki sa**
 FUT CAUSE-go.out return first.TR:3PL ART:SG
hiama ria batu.
 priest ART:PL head
 'The priest will first take the heads out again.'
- c. **Va-mate paki-a.**
 CAUSE-be.dead first-TR:3SG
 'Stop it first.'

Sua 'be first', a verb with the same meaning as **paki**, is used in serialisations in the same manner as **paki** (198a), but is also used as a stative verb (198b), and is itself capable of being modified by **paki** (198c).

³ An equivalent use of the noun is found in Pijin: **said bilong yu** 'your business'.

- (198) a. **La ome suá sa gugusu pa Tonima na**
 go see be.first.TR:3SG ART:SG village PRP T. DEM
 'Go and see first the village at Tonima.'
- b. **sa pu sua pa Hoava, pa Rimata**
 PRO:3SG REL be.first PRP H. PRP R.
 'it [the shrine] which is first in Hoava, at Rimata'
- c. **Koni tavete su=sua paki-a rao**
 FUT work RED=be.first first-TR:3SG PRO:1SG
sa vose dae tiqe sa hore.
 ART:SG paddle finish then ART:SG canoe
 'I will make the paddle first of all and then the canoe.'

The adverb **eke** is used as a modifier in both verb phrases and noun phrases (see 4.7.4), in both cases having the meaning 'alone'. It is probably derived from the word for 'one', which occurs as **eke** in combination with other numbers: **manege eke** 'eleven' [lit: ten one] (see 4.4.1). As an adverb, **eke** is placed after the verbs in the verb phrase, and it can have the transitive suffix attached to it:

- (199) a. **Isa barigese isana sagi tunu pa kabasa mate eke.**
 PRO:3SG old.man that TOP sit PRP house be.dead alone
 'He's that old man that, sitting by a house, died alone.' [i.e., he died where he sat].
- b. **Tavete eke-a qa sa pu nana isa.**
 make alone.TR-3SG REST PRO:3SG REL POSS:3SG PRO:3SG
 '(He) made alone that which was his.'

5.9 Intensifiers

Intensifiers are a limited set of words used in Hoava to emphasise the truth of an action, immediacy or completeness. Most of the words in this group are verbs that have acquired a figurative, emphatic meaning in addition to their verbal meaning, as shown in (200).

(200)	<i>verb</i>	<i>intensifier</i>
dae	be finished	absolutely, completely
hokara	be true	truly, really, only
paho	be empty	completely, totally
puta	sleep/be tight	completely, absolutely
holapa	go past	very much
toloro	go direct	directly
tuke	be thrown away	completely

Both **hokara** and **puta** 'be tight' are also used as intensifiers in noun phrases (see 4.6.7). The exceptions which are not verbs are: **busa** 'too much', and **nananana**, which

does not seem to have an independent meaning other than as an intensifier of the intensifier **holapa** (201b).

- (201) a. **Hevae busa sa igana.**
 be.strong too ART:SG fish
 'The fish is too strong.'
- b. **Kabo=kabo nananana holapa sa kaleqe.**
 RED=cry INTENS INTENS ART:SG old.woman
 'The old woman was crying very, very much.'

The following are examples of intensifiers in verb phrases:

- (202) a. **pula vena ta-vari-gara-gi paho ria**
 if SIM PASS-COLL-gather-AGI INTENS ART:PL
doluru ginerigeri
 all house.building.materials
 'if all the house building materials are totally gathered together'
- b. **Hiva napo holapa rao.**
 want drink INTENS PRO:1SG
 'I really want a drink.'
- c. **Hokoto puta sa v<in>a-qaqiri**
 complete INTENS ART:SG CAUSE<NOM>-pack
tani sa kaleqe na.
 POSS:3SG ART:SG old.woman DEM
 'That old woman's packing was fully complete.'

As with adverbs, intensifiers can also have the transitive suffix attached to them, as in (203), which, according to Crowley (1987), would classify them as verbs in a verbal serialisation, although the meanings in their use as intensifiers are different from their meanings as independent verbs.

- (203) a. **E kolo, kae gilali holapi-a rao.**
 eh friend NEG know INTENS.TR-3SG PRO:1SG
 'Eh, friend, I don't know it at all.'
- b. **Koni va-mate tolori-gamu.**
 FUT CAUSE-be.dead INTENS.TR-2PL
 'I am going to kill you straight away.'
- c. **Kipu ome hokari-a tu sa ruruhu.**
 NEG see INTENS.TR-3SG REST ART:SG giant
 'The giant could not see it at all.'

Crowley (1987:72) suggests that adverbs in verbal serialisations are undergoing lexical change and were once full verbs which have now become restricted to their present function. The same explanation can also be applied to the verbs used as

intensifiers in Hoava. Here, change is obviously still in process, as the intensifying verbs still have full verb functions as well.

5.10 Incorporated objects

It is possible to have incorporated objects in the verb phrase in Hoava, when an object noun phrase is backgrounded. No article is used with the incorporated noun phrase. When a noun phrase is incorporated, the verb phrase is always syntactically intransitive, with no transitive marking on the verb.

- (204) a. **Pirae tavete inebara ria.**
 now make feast PRO:3PL
 'Now they make a feast.'
- b. **Hiva hore rao.**
 want canoe PRO:1SG
 'I want a canoe.'
- c. **Ta-nani leboto rao.**
 PASS-bite bushknife PRO:1SG
 'I was cut by a bushknife.'

There is no marking of the end of an intransitive verb phrase, so it could be argued that the object noun phrases are merely following the verb phrase, not actually being incorporated into it. However, Hoava provides evidence that such objects are incorporated in the verb phrase. In 5.4.4 I discussed the habitual marker **velo**. As shown in example (135b) in that section, **velo** can have the transitive suffix attached to it, indicating that it is part of the verb phrase. In the next example, **velo** is positioned after the incorporated object, which confirms that the object is incorporated in the verb phrase, rather than merely following the verb phrase (205a). The continuative aspect marker **la qa** can also follow an incorporated object (205b), providing additional confirmation of the incorporation of the object in the verb phrase.

- (205) a. **La kina bereti velo goe pa kabasa?**
 go cook bread usually PRO:2SG PRP house
 'Do you bake bread at home?'
- b. **Ome maqo la qa Pilipi.**
 see spirits go REST P.
 'Pilipi continually saw spirits.'

There is further discussion of incorporated objects in 6.2.4.

5.11 Possessive pronoun subject markers

It is possible to place a possessive pronoun at the end of the verb phrase, using the set of exclusive possessive pronouns described in 4.11.3. This pronoun refers to the subject of the verb. The subject itself can be present as a noun phrase in the clause:

- (206) a. **Ko=ko nana keke gugusu.**
 RED=exist POSS:3SG one village
 'There was a village.'
- b. **Ko dia ria butubutu tani sa banara.**
 exist POSS:3PL ART:PL tribe POSS:3SG ART:SG chief
 'There were the tribes of the chief.'
- c. **... na hele=hele qua rao.**
 because RED=wash POSS:1SG PRO:1SG
 '... because I am washing (myself).'

The subject noun phrase is omitted if the referent can be understood from the context.

- (207) a. **Vose=vose pule la nana.**
 RED=paddle return go POSS:3SG
 'He was paddling back.'
- b. **Umana la dia.**
 hear go POSS:3PL
 'They listened.'

The possibility of incorporation of the possessive pronoun in the verb phrase is difficult to confirm since there are no formal markers to signal the end of the verb phrase. Clausal modifiers, such as the restrictive particle **qa** (see 7.4.2.1), or the clausal adverb **pele** 'next' (see 7.4.3), follow the possessive pronoun but precede the subject noun phrase, if present, as in (208), but this may indicate that the possessive pronoun is the first clause level element, rather than the last verb phrase element.

- (208) a. **Ko=ko qua qa rao.**
 RED=stay POSS:1SG REST PRO:1SG
 'I am just staying.'
- b. **Ko dia pele ria kiqa tase-di ria**
 be POSS:3PL next ART:PL some name-3PL ART:PL
kiqa kasitona pa kabasa.
 some thing PRP house
 'There are next some names of some things in the house.'

Similarly, the emphatic marker **ba**, which can follow both verb and noun phrases (see 9.3.1), also follows the possessive pronoun subject marker:

- (209) **Putā nana ba se Pepe na.**
 sleep POSS:3SG EMPH ART P. DEM
 'Pepe is asleep!'

Directional verbs, such as *la* 'go' and *mae* 'come', are used before the possessive pronoun:

- (210) a. **Te Maqiqo tu do=dola la qua.**
 PRP Mangginggo REST RED=stare go POSS:1SG
 'I was staring at Mangginggo.'
- b. **Keke mola korapa hiku toka mae nana.**
 one canoe IMP be.last follow come POSS:3SG
 'One canoe was following behind.'

Postverbal intensifiers (see 5.9) also precede the possessive pronoun:

- (211) a. **Taloa sa palabatu, taloa hokara nana tu.**
 leave ART:SG man leave true POSS:3SG REST
 'The man left, he truly left.'
- b. **Tahiko busa qua.**
 be.afraid too.much POSS:1SG
 'I was too afraid.'

When a verb is transitive, the possessive pronoun follows the object marker:

- (212) a. **Podo-a gua sa keke, podo**
 give.birth-TR:3SG did ART:SG one give.birth
pule-a nana tu keke, karua.
 return-TR:3SG POSS:3SG REST one two
 '(She) gave birth to one, gave birth again to one, (there were) two.'
- b. **Mabo-ni-a qua sa t<in>avete.**
 be.tired-AP-3SG POSS:1SG ART:SG work<NOM>
 'I was tired of the work.'
- c. **Ta-nani-ni-a qua sa masala heni=ni!**
 PASS-eat-AP-3SG POSS:1SG ART:SG criminal this=RED
 'I am injured by this criminal!'

The possessive pronoun appears to be linked more closely with the verb phrase than with the subject noun phrase, since some clausal markers can come between the possessive pronoun and the subject, as shown in (208) and (209). The subject can also be placed some distance away from the possessive pronoun, due to fronting (213), or right dislocation (214).

- (213) a. **Na keke heleana sagi ko nana tala gu-ni-a.**
 ART one river TOP be POSS:3SG where said-AP-3SG
 'One river is there.'

- b. **Sege opo nana pa karikone, puta nana.**
 crocodile go.over POSS:3SG PRP san sleep POSS:3SG
 'A crocodile lies on its stomach on the sand, asleep.'

- (214) **La nana pa keke qato mate-na, sa manue.**
 go POSS:3SG PRP one tree be.dead-3SG ART:SG possum
 'It goes to a dead tree, the possum.'

Overall, the evidence, while not conclusive, points to the use of possessive pronouns as subject markers within the verb phrase.

The function of the possessive pronoun subject markers is analogous to middle voice. One of the two defining semantic properties of middle voice, described by Kemmer(1993:238), is the initiator being the affected entity of an event. Kemmer provides a range of semantic classes of verbs where middle voice is usually used and a number of these correspond to the Hoava usage of possessive pronoun subject markers in the verb phrase, although in Hoava the use of the possessive pronoun is optional.

- (a) Verbs of grooming and body care where the subject is acting upon him/herself:

- (215) **La hele mi?**
 go wash POSS:2PL
 'Are you going to wash (yourself)?'

- (b) Verbs of change in body posture, where the subject is causing him or herself to move:

- (216) a. **Tunu nana sa keke manue.**
 sit POSS:3SG ART:SG one possum
 'One possum sat down.'
- b. **Sege opo nana pa karikone.**
 crocodile roll.over POSS:3SG PRP beach
 'A crocodile rolled over on the beach.'

- (c) Verbs of motion, again where the subject is causing him or herself to move:

- (217) a. **Talao pule dia eri karu koburu.**
 leave return POSS:3PL ART:PL two child
 'The two children left to go back.'
- b. **Aso=aso la nana, gua sa barigese.**
 RED=walk go POSS:3SG did ART:SG old.man
 'The old man was walking.'

- (d) Spontaneous events in which an entity undergoing change is conceptualised as the initiator (Kemmer 1993:145). This covers such verbs as die (218a), be born, grow, become thinner (218b), change, sprout:

- (218) a. **Sa nikana Merika pu la pa Enogae**
 ART:SG man America REL go PRP Enogae

taloa mate dia tala gu-ni-a.
 leave be.dead POSS:3PL where said-AP-3SG
 'The American (army) that went to Enoghae, they left there dead [i.e., they were killed there].'

- b. **Gore=gore nana sa vasivasi.**
 RED=go.down POSS:3SG ART:SG body
 'Her body was becoming thinner.'

(e) Verbs of emotion in which the experiencer is affected:

(219) a. **Mabo-ni-a qua sa t<in>avete.**
 be.tired-AP-3SG POSS:1SG ART:SG work<NOM>
 'I was tired of the work.'

- b. **Tahiko busa qua.**
 be.afraid too.much POSS:1SG
 'I was too afraid.'

(f) Verbs of perception where the focus is on the experiencer, rather than on the entity perceived:

(220) a. **Pato pode-ni sua goe de umana nada.**
 speak try-AP:3PL first PRO:2SG PURP hear POSS:1PL.IN
 'You say them first so that we hear.'

- b. **Do=dola la qua te Maqigo.**
 RED=stare go POSS:1SG PRP Mangginggo
 'I was staring at Mangginggo.'

The following pattern is common in Hoava when an entity is seen or heard. First the experiencer is the focus and so middle voice is used, and then the entity perceived is brought into focus, using a transitive clause.

(221) **Ruasa ria ruruhu pa kuma. Ome la dia,**
 swim ART:PL giant PRP water see go POSS:3PL
gua. Ome-a sa koburu.
 did see-TR:3SG ART:SG child
 'The giants swam in the water. They looked. They saw the child.'

Hoava also uses possessive pronoun subjects with the existential verb **ko**, as in the formulaic phrases at the beginning of a "giant" story (222), and other general existential phrases (223).

(222) **Ko=ko nana keke gugusu.**
 RED=exist POSS:3SG one village
 'There was a village.'

(223) a. **Tiro gore la pa qoviri, gua sa, kela,**
 look go.down go PRP hole did PRO:3SG SURP

ko nana sa manue.
 exist POSS:3SG ART:SG possum
 'He looked down into the hole, surprise, there was a possum.'

- b. **Na keke heleana sagi ko nana tala gu-ni-a.**
 ART one river FOC exist POSS:3SG said-AP-3SG where
 'A river, it was there.'

The formulaic character of (222) is such that a child used the singular pronoun at the beginning of a story even though there was a plural subject:

- (224) **Ko=ko nana ria butubutu nohoko.**
 RED=exist POSS:3SG ART:PL tribe birds
 'There were the tribes of birds.'

Hoava also uses possessive pronoun subject for polite commands and questions. For example, for the question 'are you coming?', **mae mua** with a possessive pronoun subject is considered more polite than **mae goe** without the possessive pronoun. The possessive pronoun subject construction is used with imperatives, when the speaker is telling the hearer to do something that they want to do, or may want to, rather than an imperative that is imposed upon the hearer.

- (225) a. **Hiva hele goe? Ego, hele mua tu.**
 want wash PRO:2SG well wash POSS:2SG REST
 'Do you want to wash? Well, just wash.'
- b. **Pana hiva pule goe, pule mua tu.**
 when want return PRO:2SG return POSS:2SG REST
 'When you want to go back, just go back.'

Kemmer (1993:196) suggest a reflexive origin for some middle voice constructions and, while the Hoava equivalent originates in the possessive system, it does share the reflexive function, as in the next example. This is consistent with the other uses of the possessive pronoun as subject, since the initiator is also the affected entity.

- (226) **Maqiqo sagi gava=gava nana, tunu=tunu**
 Mangginggo TOP RED=sun POSS:3SG RED=sit
gava=gava nana pa kukuru pade.
 RED=sun POSS:3SG PRP half raised.floor
 'Mangginggo was sunning herself, sitting sunning herself on part of the floor.'

Ross (1988:251) regards the use of possessive pronouns in verb phrases as being distinctive to the North Solomonic group of languages, being found in most languages of the area except on Choiseul, although Lichtenberk (1984:21) describes a similar construction in To'aba'ita, in the south-east Solomons. Ross describes the structure as a nominalisation of the verb phrase, although the original function of such a nominalisation is not suggested, since there are a variety of functions for the structure in the present day languages. The middle voice function is consistent with the Hoava use of the possessive

in clauses, since it is primarily used where attention is focused on the initiator or experiencer of an action or state. The question of a nominalisation of the verb phrase does not appear to be quite so evident for this structure, as it is for the other use of possessive suffixes on the verb phrase (see 5.3.7.2).

The exclusive possessive is the most usual possessive pronoun form which is used in this construction, but occasionally the edible possessive, using the **ga-/ge-** form is used (see 4.11.2), particularly in Kusaghe. Recall that the Hoava edible possessive prefix is **a-/e-**, with **ga-/ge-** being regarded as a borrowing from Roviana. However, I did not find the Hoava **a-/e-** edible possessive being used as a subject pronoun. Only **ga-/ge-** prefixed forms were used in both Hoava and Kusaghe, although more frequently in Kusaghe. There is no apparent difference in function between the two possessive forms used for subjects. Compare, for example, (227a) with (216a) above, where the same verb, **tunu** 'sit', is used in each example, but with different possessive forms.

- (227) a. **Koleo, gua sa kaleqe, la tunu ga-na**
 good said ART:SG old.woman go sit EDPOSS-3SG
pa kedakeda, pa nipahana.
 PRP near.back PRP bailer
 'Good, said the old woman, going to sit near the back (of the canoe), by the bailer.'
- b. **Ta-haqala-ni-a ruruhu sa toloko,**
 PASS-run-AP-3SG giant ART:SG eel
kolomao, gi gasa tiva sa ruruhu gi
 friend and jump stand ART:SG giant and
haqala ga-na taloa.
 run EDPOSS-3SG leave
 'The giant was startled by the eel, friend, and jumped up and ran away.'
- c. **Qeto minate ria pa Qerasi. Gore**
 warparty people ART:PL PRP Nggerasi go.down
ge-di, na la pota nikana gua.
 EDPOSS-3PL because go hit man did
 'Those from Nggerasi were a warparty. They went down (north), to kill people.'

5.12 Nominalisations in the verb phrase

Nominalised verbs are sometimes used in the verb phrase as if they are underived verbs. As in the next examples, they can be part of verbal serialisations. Both examples also show a following clause containing the unnominalised version of the same verb.

- (228) a. **H<in>aqala vura sa toloko gila**
 run<NOM> go.out ART:SG eel and

haqala nuquru sa toloko gi pa korapa
 run enter ART:SG eel and PRP middle

tia tani sa ruruhu.

belly POSS:3SG ART:SG giant

'The eel ran out ... and the eel ran inside the belly of the giant.'

- b. **Potá sa manue, in-uke gore**
 hit.TR:3SG ART:SG possum NOM-fall go.down

sa manue, uke la pa pepeha.

ART:SG possum fall go PRP ground

'(He) hit the possum, the possum fell down, fell to the ground.'

Example (229) has the same nominalised verb as (228b), but this time it is in a noun phrase, though used as if it were a verb:

- (229) **Ta-kuri sa qato. Ego, sa in-uke**
 PASS-break ART:SG tree well ART:SG NOM-fall

sa ruruhu tiqe pa pepeha tu eko.

ART:SG giant then PRP ground REST lie

'The tree was broken. Well, the giant fell then lay right on the ground.'

I can discern no reason for the use of the nominal form other than stylistic variation. Nominalisations are also used in clausal complements (see 8.5). Most examples are intransitive, but the nominalisation in the following example has an applicative suffix and is used as a clausal complement.

- (230) **Gilali-go rao t<in>oka-ni-rao goe.**
 know.TR-2SG PRO:1SG help<NOM>-AP-1SG PRO:2SG
 'I know that you will help me.'

6 *The clause core*

In this chapter I will be examining the obligatory features of the Hoava clause. Hoava clauses are mainly of two types: (1) nominal clauses consisting of two noun phrases (6.1); and (2) verbal clauses consisting of a verb phrase and its core arguments (6.2). Following Jackendoff (1972) and Foley and Van Valin (1984), I am including the subject NP as a core argument. Jackendoff, however, only allows semantic subcategorisation by a verb for its subject, retaining a structural definition of VP which includes the direct object NP but excludes the subject NP. Foley and Van Valin, whose analysis of the clause I am following, have a layered structure of the clause in which a major distinction is made between the verb and its core arguments, as opposed to non-arguments such as adpositional phrases (Van Valin 1993:5). The differences between subject and object, when relevant, are then relegated to language-specific features. The core of the clause contains the nucleus (verb phrase as defined in Chapter 5) and its core arguments, while the non-arguments form the periphery of the clause. The clause periphery will be discussed in Chapter 7.

A subtype of the verbal clause is the existential clause discussed in 6.2.2 which, although being a verbal clause, has a different structure from other verbal clauses.

The applicative and passive constructions are discussed in 6.3 and 6.4 respectively, and other constructions involving oblique objects in 6.5.

6.1 Nominal clauses

Hoava clauses consisting of two juxtaposed noun phrases are classified as nominal clauses. It is difficult to determine which is the predicate in a Hoava nominal clause since there is no overt marking of a noun phrase predicate. The basic clause pattern for verbal clauses in Hoava is VP SUBJECT, and we could reasonably assume that the same pattern could apply to nominal clauses, so that the first noun phrase would be the predicate and the second would be the subject. However, Hoava employs movement of noun phrases to clause initial position for a range of focusing and emphasis functions (see Chapter 9). As nominal clauses in Hoava are often used in emphatic statements and in discourse requiring focus, such as providing a name, it is therefore difficult to determine for a nominal clause whether we have a basic pattern or a derived pattern of NPs.

A common pattern in nominal predicates is for a name to occur as the second NP. The first NP is usually old information while the second NP provides new information of the name of the person referred to:

- (1) a. [Kalaho te Uilisoni] [se Epi].
 wife POSS U. ART E.
 'Uilisoni's wife is Epi.'
- b. [Tase-na sa nikana Tona heni] [Samusoni Mapu].
 name-3SG ART:SG man Tonga this S. M.
 'This Tongan man's name is Samusoni Mapu.'
- c. [Na loa-na isa] [se Zesi].
 ART spouse-3SG PRO:3SG ART Z.
 'His spouse is Zesi.'

The same pattern is found when other new information is provided in a nominal clause: the new information comes second:

- (2) a. [Na kino pa soloso] [na kino lea-na holapa].
 ART life PRP forest ART life be.good-3SG INTENS
 'Life in the forest is a very good life.'
- b. [Henī] [sa vivine-na sa g<in>ore]
 this ART:SG story-3SG ART:SG go.down<NOM>
 sa lotu pa Hoava].
 ART:SG church PRP H.
 'This is the story of the arrival of the church in Hoava.'
- c. [In-ome tani sa] [na soloso lavata].
 NOM-sight POSS:3SG PRO:3SG ART forest be.big
 'His view was a huge forest.'

However, the reverse pattern is also possible, both with names (3a) and other new information (3b, c), so that the new information is in the first NP, as is found in focusing constructions in verbal clauses.

- (3) a. [Puki] [tase-na].
 P. name-3SG
 'Its name is Puki.'
- b. [Poi kabasa] [ria pu heri].
 ?abandoned house PRO:3PL REL these
 'These are abandoned houses.'
- c. [Sa soana te ruruhu] [sa pu heni=ni].
 ART:SG path POSS giant PRO:3SG REL this=RED
 'This one is the giant's path.'

As the examples in (3b) and (3c) show, this pattern is common when one noun phrase is a pronoun modified by a relative clause containing a demonstrative.

In order to determine the basic pattern of a nominal predicate we can look at clauses which clearly show movement has taken place.

Hoava has a topicalisation strategy using the particle **sagi** (see 9.5). With verbal clauses, **sagi** can be used when a noun phrase is moved in front of the verbal predicate. It is also used in nominal clauses, thereby indicating that a subject has been moved in front of a nominal predicate. In (4) the NP containing new information is the second NP, after the topicaliser **sagi**, which indicates that the second NP is the predicate.

- (4) a. [Na boko isana] **sagi** [na boko manovisi].
 ART pig that TOP ART pig tame
 'That pig, it's a tame pig.'
- b. [Sa hope heni] **sagi** [sa hope te Siangala].
 ART:SG shrine this TOP ART:SG shrine POSS Siangala.
 'This shrine, it's the shrine of Siangala.'
- c. [Sa zale pu taveti-a ria pa Hoava]
 ART:SG jetty REL make.TR-3SG PRO:3PL PRP H.
sagi [na zale magara].
 TOP ART jetty stone
 'The jetty which those from Hoava made, it's a stone jetty.'

Unless we find that **sagi** serves a different purpose in nominal clauses to its purpose in verbal clauses, we can assume from (4) that the new information usually forms the predicate NP while the old information is the NP subject. Therefore, the examples in (1) and (2) represent a non-basic, moved pattern with subject NP first, while (3) is the basic pattern: NP predicate followed by NP subject. In fact, this conclusion accords with traditional notions of subject and predicate, in that, normally, the subject is what is being talked about and the predicate is the comment on the subject, as in the pattern of old information (subject) and new information (predicate) in Hoava nominal clauses.

6.2 Verbal clauses

The minimal verbal clause in Hoava consists only of a verb phrase. Arguments can be elided as long as there is sufficient information, either extra-linguistic or within the linguistic context, to identify them. Verbs subcategorise for one, two or three arguments, including the subject, according to the categories established in Chapter 5.

6.2.1 Single-argument clause structure

The single argument of an intransitive verb follows the VP: VP NP. We can designate the NP as NP₁ or subject. The subject is not usually indexed in the verb phrase, except in two particular constructions, described in 5.3.7.1 and 5.1.1.

For stative verbs of Types I and II (see 5.2.1 and 5.2.2), the subject has the semantic role of patient:

- (5) a. **Gele sa nikana.**
 be.long ART:SG man
 'The man is tall.'
- b. **Rerege sa hore.**
 be.fast ART:SG canoe
 'The canoe is fast.'
- c. **Tuke sa lebotu.**
 be.thrown.away ART:SG bushknife
 'The bushknife is thrown away.'
- d. **Raqa sa soana.**
 be.blocked ART:SG path
 'The path is blocked.'

For Type III verbs (see 5.2.3) the semantic role of the subject is experiencer (6), and the subject is animate, although not necessarily human, unlike the Type I stative verbs, where the subject can be animate or inanimate.

- (6) a. **Tahiko rao.**
 be.frightened PRO:1SG
 'I'm frightened.'
- b. **Tahiko sa siki.**
 be.frightened ART:SG dog
 'The dog is frightened.'
- c. **To sa koburu.**
 alive ART:SG child
 'The child is alive.'

The subjects of verbs of Types IV and V (see 5.2.4 and 5.2.5) are agents.

- (7) a. **Talua sa koburu.**
 leave ART:SG child
 'The child left.'
- b. **Putu ria koburu.**
 sleep ART:PL child
 'The children slept.'

- c. **Koni gilali sa nikana.**
 FUT know ART:SG man
 'The man will know.'
- d. **Soko sa makariva.**
 chop ART:SG boy
 'The boy chopped.'

There is no intransitive form of the only type VI verb **poni** 'give' (see 5.2.6).

6.2.2 Clauses containing the existential verb **ari**

The existential verb **ari** 'exist' is not included in the six verb types defined for Hoava. It forms a particular clause pattern which consists of **ari** and a possessive noun phrase subject.

- (8) a. **Ari sigoto-na sa hore.**
 exist anchor-3SG ART:SG canoe
 'The canoe has an anchor.'
- b. **Ari tu-di ria daki.**
 exist child-3PL ART:PL duck
 'The ducks have young.'

This structure is different from that found with the other existential verb **ko** 'exist, stay', which is a Type IV verb:

- (9) **Ko va-leana eri ka-hike.**
 exist ADV-be.good ART:PL NUM-three
 'The three lived well.'

Ari is used to state the existence of something that is regarded as part of a larger entity, or as belonging to someone. The possessive noun phrase does not have to be the inalienable form, because the exclusive possessive form (see 4.11.3) is also used:

- (10) **ria pu ari dia poata**
 PRO:3PL REL exist POSS:3PL shell.money
 'they who have their shell money'

Ari is negated by the negative particle **kipu**.

- (11) **Kipu ari tama-mi gamu karu.**
 NEG exist father-2PL PRO:2PL two
 'You two do not have a father.'

Ari is clearly a verb as the future tense marker can precede it, and it can be reduplicated.

- (12) a. **Koni ari sigoto-na sa hore.**
 FUT exist anchor-3SG ART:SG canoe
 'The canoe will have an anchor.'
- b. **Kipu ari=ari vivine soku-na sa kabasa.**
 NEG RED=exist story many-3SG ART:SG house.
 'The house does not have many stories.' (i.e. there is not much to say about the house.)

The possessive noun phrase which follows **ari** is not typical of other possessive noun phrase use, and it may be possible to regard part of it as within the verb phrase, giving the following structure:

- (13) **[Ari sigoto-na] [sa hore.]**
 exist anchor-3SG ART:SG canoe
 'The canoe has an anchor.'

I propose this alternative for several reasons. First, the possessive noun phrase has no initial article, suggesting an indefinite interpretation (see 4.3.4). Second, intensifiers usually used with verbs can be placed after the possessum:

- (14) **Kipu ari hore-na puta sa gugusu.**
 NEG exist canoe-3SG INTENS ART:SG village
 'The village has no canoes at all.'

Third, the possessor is topicalised in such constructions. This is not normal for possessive phrases, and I have not recorded any other instances of a topicalised possessor in other possessive noun phrases.

- (15) a. **Sa hore sagi ari sigoto-na.**
 ART:SG canoe TOP exist anchor-3SG
 'The canoe, it has an anchor.'
- b. **Sa beha sagi ari iroso-na.**
 ART:SG basket TOP exist string-3SG
 'The basket, it has a string [handle].'
- c. **Isa qa ari nana gugusu. hera.**
 PRO:3SG REST exist POSS:3SG village here
 'She has her village here.'

Note also the examples in (10) above and (16) below, where the possessum is inside a relative clause. Again, this construction is not recorded for other possessive noun phrases.

- (16) **sa barigese pa Barihi pu ari nana pakupaku**
 ART:SG old.man PRP B. REL exist POSS:3SG necklace
 'the old man of Barihi who has his necklace'

The above points lead me to the conclusion that the verb **ari** has an obligatorily incorporated possessive noun phrase, consisting of a possessum noun and a possessor pronominal. The coreferent possessor noun phrase, which would normally be an optional

part of a possessive noun phrase, is the subject in the clause. We therefore have an existential clause structure of VP NP, where the VP includes an incorporated possessive noun phrase.

6.2.3 Two-argument clause structure

The two core arguments of a transitive verb both follow the verb phrase: VP NP₁ NP₂. The verb carries a transitive suffix that has an object marker which indexes NP₂. We can call NP₂ “object”, and retain the label “subject” for NP₁.

In traditional typology Hoava is a VSO language. There are modifications to this particular pattern for focusing and topicalisation purposes, discussed in Chapter 9, but in typical narratives around 68–75% of clauses are verb first, as in the next examples:

- (17) a. **Vagi-a sa kaleqe sa leboto.**
 take-TR:3SG ART:SG old.woman ART:SG machete.
 ‘The old woman took the machete.’
- b. **Nani paho-e ria ria doluru ninani.**
 eat be.empty-TR:3PL PRO:3PL ART:3PL all food
 ‘They ate up all the food.’

Either or both arguments may be elided so long as they are recoverable from context. Example (18a) has the subject of a transitive verb **pita** ‘seek’ elided, and example (18b) shows the elision of the object of **vagi** ‘take’ in the second sentence, and the elision of both subject and object of the verbs **gona la** ‘throw go’ in the final clause. Noun phrases referring to inanimate entities are more likely to be elided than noun phrases referring to animates, but neither is obligatorily present or obligatorily elided.

- (18) a. **Taloa ria maqoru pa Ramata ra, maqoru**
 leave ART:PL war.canoe PRP R. DEM war.canoe
tadi hinaquru, karua, la pa Podokana, taloa
 POSS:PL girl two go PRP P. leave
pita-e na neba, nari.
 seek-TR:3PL ART cut.nut ngali.nut
 ‘The war canoes left Ramata, war canoes of girls, two (canoes), went to Podokana, went to look for cut nuts, ngali nuts.’
- b. **La ria saputu vagi-a sa botubotu**
 go PRO:3PL grab take.TR-3SG ART:SG bundle
tani sa, na botubotu poko, na
 POSS:3SG PRO:3SG ART bundle clothing ART
poko tani sa v<in>a-qaqiri, na
 clothing POSS:3SG ART:SG CAUSE<NOM>-pack ART

bunibuni tase-na. Vagí-a ria,
bunibuni name-3SG take.TR-3SG PRO:3SG

gona la-ni-a pa kuma.
 throw go-AP-3SG PRP water

'They went and grabbed her bundle, a clothing bundle, clothing of the packing, its name is *bunibuni*. They took it, threw it in the water.'

The semantic roles of the subject and object vary according to the type of verb used. In serial constructions this is in accordance with the last verb in the serial construction (see 5.7).

Type I verbs become transitive by means of the causative prefix in addition to the transitive suffix. They then assign the same semantic roles to their arguments as other causative verbs, as illustrated below (26). Type II verbs become transitive by just taking the transitive suffix, in the same manner as verbs of Types IV and Type V. When a Type II verb is intransitive, its subject has the semantic role of patient. In the transitive form, the subject has the role of agent while the object is now the patient.

- (19) a. **Podo sa koburu.**
 be.born ART:SG child
 'The child was born.'
- b. **Podo-a sa kalaho sa koburu.**
 give.birth-TR:3SG ART:SG woman ART:SG child
 'The woman gave birth to the child.'

With this category of verbs there may be an undefined agent, in which case the subject position is not filled, although the verb remains transitive in form with a patient object in the clause. Compare examples (20a) and (21a) with (20b) and (21b, c).

- (20) a. **Honi sa kabasa.**
 leak ART:SG house
 'The house leaked.'
- b. **Honi-a sa kabasa.**
 leak-TR:3SG ART:SG house
 '(It) leaked into the house'
- (21) a. **Ibu sa kuma.**
 cold ART:SG water
 'The water is cold.'
- b. **Ibu-a sa nikana pana ruku.**
 cold-TR:3SG ART:SG man when rain
 '(It makes) cold a person when (it) rains.'
- c. **Ibu-i-rao.**
 cold-TR-1SG
 '(It makes) me cold.' (i.e. 'I feel cold.')

As discussed in 5.2.4, transitive verbs of Type IV can have an object with a locative role (goal, source, location) replacing a prepositional phrase used with the intransitive verb.

- (22) a. **Polo sa noki pa heleana.**
coil ART:SG snake PRP river
'The snake coiled up in the river.'
- b. **Polo-a sa noki sa heleana.**
coil-TR:3SG ART:SG snake ART:SG river
'The snake coiled in the river.'
- (23) a. **Pato mae taqu rao sa.**
speak come PRP:1SG PRO:1SG PRO:3SG
'He spoke to me.'
- b. **Pato-erao sa rao.**
speak-TR:1SG PRO:3SG PRO:1SG
'He spoke to me.'

Although with most verbs of Type IV the subject has the semantic role of agent and the object has a locative role, with verbs of mental and sensory perception the roles are generally considered to be those of experiencer and stimulus/cause respectively. However, as I have argued in 5.2.4, it is possible to view the object of thought or sensory perception as a goal at which the perception is directed, depending on how volitional Hoava speakers regard the actions of mental and sensory perceptions to be. Whatever roles are ascribed, and semantic roles are always somewhat vaguely defined (Palmer 1994:5), the key point to note is that Hoava syntax groups these verbs together with verbs of motion and posture. The following are two typical examples of these verbs:

- (24) a. **Kipu umani-a goe k<in>ikiu taqu rao?**
NEG hear.TR-3SG PRO:2SG call<NOM> POSS:1SG PRO:1SG
'Didn't you hear my call?'
- b. **Gilali-a sa sa vivine.**
know-TR:3SG PRO:3SG ART:SG story
'She knows the story.'

Transitive verbs of Type V have a subject with the role of agent and an object with the role of patient:

- (25) a. **Soko-a sa makariva sa qato.**
chop-TR:3SG ART:SG boy ART:SG tree
'The boy chopped the tree.'
- b. **Bao-ia sa makariva sa keke igana.**
spear-TR:3SG ART:SG boy ART:SG one fish
'The boy speared the fish.'

Causative verbs have the same transitive construction and assignment of semantic roles as Type V verbs.

- (26) a. **Va-mate-a** **gami** **keke** **boko.**
 CAUSE-be.dead-TR:3SG PRO:1PLEX one pig
 'We killed a pig.'
- b. **Sumi va-dae-g-ia** **ria** **sa poata** **isana.**
 PERF CAUSE-finish-LIG-TR:3SG PRO:3PL ART:SG shell.money that
 'They have made that shell money no longer significant [lit: 'finished'].'

The subject of a transitive verb is, in most cases, an animate being, the main exception being Type II verbs with an elided impersonal subject (20) and (21). When the agent of a verb is of lower animacy than the patient, then the passive form of the verb is preferred (see 6.4).

6.2.4 Object incorporation

Object incorporation is common in Hoava. The verb becomes intransitive, the object marker is not used, and the object NP itself is usually indefinite and non-specific. Examples (27a) and (28a) show a transitive verb with a direct object, while (27b) and (28b) have an incorporated object.

- (27) a. **Hao-i-a** **Amina** **sa** **raro.**
 wash-TR-3SG A. ART:SG pot
 'Amina washed the pot.'
- b. **Korapa hao raro se Amina.**
 IMP wash pot ART A.
 'Amina is washing pots.'
- (28) a. **Bao-i-a** **sa** **makariva** **sa** **keke** **igana.**
 spear-TR-3SG ART:SG boy ART:SG one fish
 'The boy speared the fish.'
- b. **Bao igana sa makariva.**
 spear fish ART:SG boy
 'The boy speared fish.'

The objects in (27b) and (28b) are part of the verb phrase and can be followed by the continuous aspect marker **la qa**, as in (29), or the habitual aspect marker **velo**, as discussed in 5.10.

- (29) **Koni vose leta la qa doluru boni.**
 FUT paddle letter go REST all night
 'We would paddle (carrying) letters all night.'

Most instances of noun incorporation in Hoava correspond to the lexical compounding type of Mithun (1984) and the compounding noun incorporation of Rosen (1989), in that

incorporated objects are commonly single words. However, there is a significant difference in Hoava noun incorporation as the incorporated object can be more complex than one word, with post-nominal modifiers (30), and coordinate noun phrases (31) possible in the incorporated NP.

- (30) a. **Soko qato ra=raro rao.**
 chop tree RED=cook PRO:1SG
 'I chopped firewood.'
- b. **Hiva napo kolo manini ba rao na!**
 want drink water be.hot EMPH PRO:1SG DEM
 'I want to drink hot water!'
- (31) **Tavete parika na tupi eri kahike.**
 make bow and arrow PRO:3PL three
 'They (three) made bows and arrows.'

A noun phrase may also be linked to the incorporated object by a coordinator:

- (32) **Naqala seleta eri karu dae penisolo.**
 carry slate PRO:3PL two and pencil
 'They (two) carried slates and pencils.'

Object incorporation occurs most often with verbs of Type V, as in examples (30) to (32). Some Type IV verbs are also used with incorporated objects, such as verbs of perception:

- (33) **Ome maqo la qa se Pilipi.**
 see spirits go REST ART P.
 'Pilipi kept seeing spirits.'
- (34) **Umana pato Ulusage gamu kerane?**
 hear language Marovo PRO:2PL in.the.olden.days
 'Could you understand Marovo in the olden days?'

Example (34) uses **pato** 'speak' as a noun meaning 'language', as also occurs in the following transitive sentence, where **pato Ulusage** is the object:

- (35) **Goe vera goe dae umani-a pato Ulusage?**
 PRO:2SG where PRO:2SG and hear.TR-3SG language Marovo
 'You were where when you heard Marovo language?'

The incorporated object in (34) is an interesting example of a specific noun, in that position, but incorporated objects are usually non-specific.

Verbs which take a locative object do not usually incorporate their objects, but one example recorded was (36a), which can be compared with (36b), where the locative NP is placed in a prepositional phrase.

- (36) a. **Aro hope ria.**
 perform.ceremonies shrine PRO:3PL
 'They performed ceremonies at shrines.'

- b. **Doluru nikana la aro pa hope.**
 all men go perform.ceremonies PRP shrine
 'All men went to perform ceremonies at shrines.'

Causative verbs, following the same pattern as Type V verbs, can have incorporated objects:

- (37) a. **Mae va-uke buna sa vaka tapuru Merika.**
 come CAUSE-fall bomb ART:SG ship fly American
 'The American aeroplane came and dropped bombs.'
- b. **Boka va-mate nikana sa kasitona?**
 able CAUSE-be.dead man ART:SG thing
 'Can the thing kill men?'

Type III verbs and passive verbs both use the applicative suffix to take an object with the role of cause, as in (38a) and (39a). The applied object can then be incorporated, as in (38b) and (39b) respectively.

- (38) a. **Mabo-ni-a rao sa t<in>avete.**
 be.tired-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG work<NOM>
 'I am tired from the work.'
- b. **Mabo t<in>avete rao.**
 be.tired work<NOM> PRO:1SG
 'I am tired from work.'
- (39) a. **Koni ta-nani-ni-a goe sa siki.**
 FUT PASS-eat-AP-3SG PRO:2SG ART:SG dog
 'You will be bitten by the dog.'
- b. **Tata ta-nani siki rao.**
 close PASS-eat dog PRO:1SG
 'I was almost bitten by a dog.'

6.2.5 Three-argument clause structure

The maximum number of core arguments for a Hoava verb is three. The only ditransitive verb I have found in Hoava is **poni** 'give' (see 5.2.6), since other verbs have other strategies for permitting two object NPs: the applicative suffix (6.3); prepositional phrases for oblique objects (6.5.1); and directional verbs to supply unstated participants (6.5.2).

All three arguments of **poni** follow the verb phrase, but the patient, the gift, is distinguished from the recipient, since only the recipient is indexed by the object marker. As can be seen in (40), the object marker changes according to the number of the recipient NP.

- (40) a. **Poni-a mahu Amina sa koburu.**
 give-TR:3SG sweet.potato A. ART:SG child
 'Amina gave the child sweet potato.'
- b. **Poní mahu Amina ria koburu.**
 give.TR:3PL sweet.potato A. ART:PL child
 'Amina gave the children sweet potato.'

If the subject is NP₁ and the object indexed by the object marker is NP₂, as is the case with transitive verbs, then we can call the patient object NP₃, giving the following construction for the Hoava ditransitive:

- (41) VP NP₃ NP₁ NP₂

Dryer (1986), proposes the term "primary object" for NP₂, and "secondary object" for NP₃, for languages similar to Hoava, which treat the direct object of a transitive verb and the primary object of a ditransitive verb in the same way for certain syntactic rules, such as object marking on the verb.

Compare the monotransitive verb **vale** 'give' illustrated in (42a, b) below with the examples in (40) above. In (42), the object marker indexes the patient, with the recipient in both cases expressed as a prepositional phrase, while in (40) it is the recipient which is indexed by the object marker.

- (42) a. **Sumi valé te Amina rao karua igana.**
 PERF give.TR:3PL PRP A. PRO:1SG two fish
 'I have given two fish to Amina.'
- b. **Vale-a tani sa rao sa boko.**
 give-TR:3SG PRP:3SG PRO:3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG pig
 'I gave the pig to her.'

The alternative analysis, which Dryer rejects, is to call NP₂ an indirect object which has advanced to direct object, as happens with dative movement in English. In a language such as Hoava, this advancement would have to be obligatory, since **poni** is not used with an oblique phrase. As shown in (42), the verb **vale** 'give' requires the recipient to be coded as a prepositional phrase, but **poni** treats the recipient as a direct object. Dryer (1986:812) points out that there is no evidence that the NP in question was ever an indirect object for verbs such as **poni**.

In Dryer's analysis, the object of a monotransitive verb and the NP₂ of a ditransitive verb are both primary objects. Only the NP₃ of a ditransitive verb is a secondary object. In languages which distinguish primary and secondary objects, certain rules are sensitive to the difference between them (Dryer 1986:815). In Hoava, primary and secondary objects are distinguished for object marking, as shown above, and passivisation, which is discussed next (and see 6.4).

When **poni** is in its passive form, NP₂ is the subject of the passive verb.

- (43) **Ta-poni va-kaleana ba gita kahike maneke.**
 PASS-give ADV-be.bad EMPH PRO:1PL.IN three family
 'Our family was given to very badly.'

Note here that the secondary object has been elided, as frequently happens (see (45) below). The gift in (43) is known to be a package of food which turned out to be empty shells.

When the monotransitive verb *vale* 'give' is in passive form, the subject is the former direct object, the patient or gift, and the recipient remains in a prepositional phrase.

- (44) **Koni ta-vale tani sa keke nikana sa poata.**
 FUT PASS-give PRP:3SG ART:SG one man ART:SG shell.money
 'The shell money will be given to the other man.'

With passive verbs, the direct object of monotransitive verbs and NP₂ of ditransitive verbs are treated in the same way, which can be generalised by considering both of them to be primary objects. Dryer provides a functional explanation for the indexing of primary objects of ditransitive verbs. As he notes (1986:842), it is usually the primary object of ditransitive verbs which varies as to person and number, since it is more likely to be a human participant, while the person, if not the number, of the secondary object is usually predictable, as it is more likely to be inanimate. In Hoava the secondary object can often be omitted, as it is the recipient of the gift which is of higher interest.

- (45) a. **Pana kae poni-rao gamu karu rao ...**
 if NEG give-TR:1SG PRO:2PL two PRO:1SG
 'If you don't give (some) to me ...'
- b. **Goe poni-a sa koburu hiku-na.**
 PRO:2SG give-TR:3SG ART:SG child be.last-3SG
 'You gave (some) to the youngest child.'

In the recorded data the primary object is always specific and definite, as shown in all the examples with *poni* above, and the secondary object is always indefinite (see (40) above and (46) below).

- (46) a. **La sa banara poni-a seleni se Biliboa.**
 go ART:SG chief give-TR:3SG money ART B.
 'The chief went and gave money to Biliboa.'
- b. **Poni-a igana rao se Amina.**
 give-TR:3SG fish PRO:1SG ART A.
 'I gave Amina fish.'

There is some formal similarity between the secondary object and the form of the incorporated object. Both are indefinite and do not have articles, but secondary objects may occur with numbers, which is not recorded for incorporated objects:

- (47) **Sumi poni-a karua igana rao se Amina.**
 PERF give-TR:3SG two fish PRO:1SG ART A.
 'I have given Amina two fish.'

6.3 The applicative construction

6.3.1 Introduction

The applicative construction is described by Bresnan and Moshi (1990:148) as arising 'from a derived verb form (the "applied verb") that introduces a new object argument to the basic verb'. Van Valin (1993:70) compares the applicative construction to optional dative shift in English, which turns an oblique object into a direct object. However, in Bantu languages such as Chichêwa and Kichaga (Bresnan & Moshi 1990; Baker 1988a, 1988b), where much of the discussion on the applicative has been concentrated, the applicative construction is the only way of including certain semantic arguments of a verb, such as beneficiary and instrument, in a clause. Prepositions for oblique arguments are either not used or are restricted to particular arguments (Bresnan & Moshi 1990:149).

Baker (1988a:246) defines the two objects found in most applicative verb constructions as the *basic object* (the original direct object in the non-applied version of the verb) and the *applied object* (the object which is added when the applicative suffix is used). He accepts that both the basic and applied objects are arguments of the applied verb, in the same way that some verbs in English, such as eat, can be optionally transitive (1988a:239).

Most studies of applicative constructions have concentrated on its use to include benefactive participants in a clause (e.g. Baker 1988a; Bresnan & Moshi 1990; Chung 1983), although other semantic roles are also possible for the applied object. Baker (1988b) describes the differences between benefactive and instrumental applied objects in Chichêwa. In benefactive constructions only the applied object can be indexed by an object marker, while in instrumental constructions either object can be indexed by the object marker, and thus be accessible to different grammatical strategies. Bresnan and Moshi (1990) broaden this analysis of the benefactive applicative construction to show that in Bantu languages there is a distinction between *asymmetrical* object type languages, in which only one of the objects has primary object properties, and *symmetrical* object type languages, in which either or both objects can have primary object properties such as indexing by object markers, with the consequent potentiality for passivisation, relativisation, and other syntactic strategies.

Discussion of the applicative is usually restricted to its use in deriving ditransitive verbs. Although Baker (1988a) cites examples from Chichêwa of applicatives derived from intransitive verbs, he regards this as generally not possible, with the Chichêwa examples being "idiosyncratic" (1988a:256). He also states that 'it is impossible to form an applicative construction based on a passive verb' (1988a:253). In Baker (1988b), however, he allows that instrumental applicatives may be regularly formed from intransitive verbs. Hoava has an even greater use of the applicative with intransitive verbs than Baker describes for Chichêwa (see 6.3.5), and can use the applicative with passive verbs (not just passives of applicative verbs; see 6.3.8), in direct contradiction to Baker (1988a:253).

Although Baker (1988a and 1988b) and Bresnan and Moshi (1990) restrict their discussions to the benefactive and instrumental applicatives, a number of other semantic roles are also possible with applicatives. Baker (1988a) notes the use of dative/goal and

locative interpretations, while Bresnan and Moshi (1990:149) include ‘motive (reason or purpose)’.

The applicative is not used for benefactive constructions in Hoava. A benefactive participant can be included in a prepositional phrase, as in (48), or in a limited serialisation with the verb **poni** ‘give’ (see 6.3.11).

- (48) **Taveti-a eri kahike sa kura**
 make.TR-3SG PRO:3PL three ART:SG fishtrap
tani sa ruruhu.
 PRP:3SG ART:SG giant
 ‘The three made the fishtrap for the giant.’

In Hoava, as in some of the Bantu languages, the applicative construction is the only way of permitting particular semantic arguments to appear in a clause. For some categories of intransitive verbs it is the only way of forming a transitive verb, and for passive verbs it is one way of stating an agent.

Hoava uses the suffix **-ni** to create the applicative form of a verb. The applicative suffix is followed by the relevant person and number suffix for the object (see 5.1). The applicative suffix has an obvious link to the Proto Oceanic particle ***ni** described by Pawley (1973) and Ross (1988). The implications of this will be discussed below in 6.3.10.

6.3.2 The recipient applicative

Two verbs use the applicative for recipient constructions, **poni** and **vale**, both meaning ‘give’. **Poni** refers to giving that is culturally important as giving a gift, while **vale** is a more general word, covering any type of handing over, even though in elicitation sessions we sometimes used the same objects with both verbs. The applicative version of **poni** (50) alternates with the non-applicative (49), which is also ditransitive (see 6.2.5).

- (49) **Poni-a apolo eri kahike sa beqa.**
 give-TR:3SG apple PRO:3PL three ART:SG beggar
 ‘The three gave the beggar apples.’
- (50) **Poni-ni-a n<in>ani kina-di sa sa tu-na.**
 give-AP-3SG eat<NOM> cook-3PL PRO:3SG ART:SG child-3SG
 ‘She gave her child cooked foods.’

The verb **vale**, on the other hand, alternates between a prepositional recipient (51) and an applicative one (52). The only other verb I found to behave in this way is the pro-verb **gua** (see 6.3.6).

- (51) **Vale-a tadi ria koburu rao sa igana.**
 give-TR:3SG PRP:3PL ART:PL child PRO:1SG ART:SG fish
 ‘I gave the fish to the children.’

- (52) **Vale-ni-a igana rao sa koburu.**
 give-AP-3SG fish PRO:1SG ART:SG child
 'I gave the child fish.'

In both (50) and (52), the object indexed by the object marker is the recipient, while the patient is unindexed. Hoava speakers stated in an elicitation session that the objects could be swapped, so that, given a clear context such as a question, the patient was indexed by the object marker. However, I did not record any objects with the role of patient with these applicative verbs in taped conversations or narratives.

6.3.3 The instrumental applicative with Type V verbs

The applicative construction is used far more frequently for instruments than for recipients. Most verbs of Type V use the applicative to add instrumental arguments, as do causative verbs derived from verbs other than Type IV. As with the ditransitive verb **poni** 'give' (50), in instrumental applicatives the object indexed by the object marker is NP₂, the clause final NP, since the object marker changes in person and number if NP₂ changes, as shown in (53).

- (53) a. **Zito-ni-a mura rao sa bisiketi.**
 cover-AP-3SG sugarcane PRO:1SG ART:SG biscuit
 'I covered the biscuit with sugarcane.'
- b. **Zito-ni mura rao ria bisiketi.**
 cover-AP.3PL sugarcane PRO:1SG ART:PL biscuit
 'I covered the biscuits with sugarcane.'

Usually, the applied object is the secondary, unindexed object, and has the role of instrument. The direct object of the transitive equivalent remains as the basic object of the applicative with primary object indexing:

- (54) a. **Taveti-a Mosi sa lose.**
 make.TR-3SG M. ART:SG room
 'Mosi built the room.'
- b. **Tavete-ni-a kinahe Mosi sa lose. [KUS]**
 make-AP-3SG nipa.palm M. ART:SG room
 'Mosi built the room with nipa palm.'
- (55) a. **Kuboli-a sa sa qato.**
 chop.TR-3SG PRO:3SG ART:SG tree
 'He chopped the log.'
- b. **Kubolo-ni-a malivi sa sa qato.**
 chop-AP-3SG axe PRO:3SG ART:SG tree
 'He chopped the log with an axe.'

- (56) a. **Sidoli-a ria sa maqe.**
 tie.TR-3SG PRO:3PL ART:SG monkey
 'They tied the monkey.'
- b. **Sidolo-ni-a iku ria sa maqe.**
 tie-AP-3SG rope PRO:3PL ART:SG monkey
 'They tied the monkey with rope.'

Although the applied object, NP₃, is usually the instrument, the roles of the primary and secondary objects can be reversed when the instrument is more prominent in the discourse than the patient. In (57b) and (58b) the applied object instrument is in primary object position, as it is more topical than the patient, which is in secondary object position.

- (57) a. **Teqe-ni-a leboto Deni sa qato.**
 cut.down-AP-3SG machete Deni ART:SG tree
 'Deni cut the tree down with a machete.'
- b. **Teqe-ni-a qato Deni sa leboto.**
 cut.down-AP-3SG tree Deni ART:SG machete
 'Deni cut a tree down with the machete.'
- (58) a. **Keri-ni-a kuti Tena sa moqo-na Uza.**
 lance-AP-3SG knife T. ART:SG boil-3SG U.
 'Tena lanced Uza's boil with a knife.'
- b. **Keri-ni-a moqo Tena sa kuti te Amina.**
 lance-AP-3SG boil T. ART:SG knife POSS A.
 'Tena lanced a boil with Amina's knife.'

The secondary object in both the recipient and the instrumental applicatives, as with the secondary object of the ditransitive verb **poni** 'give', resembles an incorporated object in that it does not usually occur with an article. This gives the impression of a generic interpretation, as with incorporated objects. For example, (57a) could be translated as 'Deni machete-chops the tree down.' However, it is difficult to do this with the reversed example (57b): '?Deni tree-chops with the machete.' Also, unlike incorporated objects, the secondary objects in examples such as (59) below and (53) above are referential. The paper (59) and the sugarcane (53) were both present at the time of speaking.

- (59) **Kuti-ni-a pepa Vezi sa leboto.**
 cut-AP-3SG paper V. ART:SG machete
 'Vezi cut the paper with the machete.'

The secondary object in both instrumental and recipient applicatives can also have postnominal modifiers, as in (60a), and restrictive particles (60b).

- (60) a. **Keri-ni-a moqo lavata Tena sa kuti te Amina.**
 lance-AP-3SG boil big T. ART:SG knife POSS A.
 'Tena lanced a large boil with Amina's knife.'

- b. **Poni-ni-a hapu=hapu ta-resi=resi-na qa**
 give-AP-3SG RED=cover PASS-RED=tear-3SG REST
sa koburu sa beqa heni.
 ART:SG child ART:SG beggar this
 'The child gave this beggar just a torn blanket.'

The secondary object NP can also include possessor pronouns or noun phrases, which are not recorded for incorporated objects.

- (61) a. **Tavete-ni-a requ-di qa ria karu**
 make-AP-3SG hand-3PL REST PRO:3PL two
sa horete magara. [KUS]
 ART:SG foodbowl stone
 'The two made the foodbowl with just their hands.'
- b. **La ria nikana pota-ni-a dia beke se Tutu. [KUS]**
 go ART:PL man hit-AP-3SG POSS:3PL spear ART T.
 'The men went and hit Tutu with their spears.'
- c. **Keri-ni-a kuti te Amina Tena sa moqo lavata.**
 lance-AP-3SG knife POSS A. T. ART:SG boil be.big
 'Tena lanced the large boil with Amina's knife.'

The general article **na** is possible with secondary objects when listing items (see 4.3.1).

- (62) **Kipu tavete-ni-a magara na aegana ria**
 NEG make-AP-3SG stone ART iron PRO:3PL
karu sa horete magara heni. [KUS]
 two ART:SG foodbowl stone this
 'The two did not make the foodbowl with stone or iron.'

One example with a definite article for the secondary object was regarded as acceptable in an elicitation session, though I did not record this use in any of the taped material. The more usual form of (63) is the example in (60a).

- (63) **Keri-ni-a sa moqo lavata Tena sa**
 lance-AP-3SG ART:SG boil big T. ART:SG
kuti te Amina.
 knife POSS A.
 'Tena lanced the large boil with Amina's knife.'

Both the primary and secondary object can be fronted for focusing (64), and in this case the common article is possible with the secondary object (64b). In (64a) the instrument 'the pig spears', is the primary object, and is indexed by the object marker, while in (64b) the instrument is now the secondary object, having general article marking only, and is not indexed by the object marker. In (64c) the secondary object is fronted without any article.

- (64) a. **Ria ba=bao boko bao-ni boko ria.**
 ART:PL RED=spear pig spear-AP:3PL pig PRO:3PL
 'With the pig spears they spear pigs.'
- b. **Na ba=bao boko bao-ni-a Sasa sa boko.**
 ART RED=spear pig spear-AP-3SG S. ART:SG pig
 'With a pig spear Sasa speared the pig.'
- c. **Kinahe sagi tavete-ni-a Mosi sa lose. [KUS]**
 nipa.palm FOC build-AP-3SG M. ART:SG room
 'With nipa palm Mosi built the room.'

The secondary object can also be questioned:

- (65) a. **Na sa tavete-ni-a sa tina-qu na?**
 ART what do-AP-3SG ART:SG mother-1SG DEM
 'What are you doing to my mother?'
- b. **Na sa va-zinara-ni-a gamu pi?**
 ART what CAUSE-be.red-AP-3SG PRO:2PL PRO
 'What do you use to turn it red?'

Both primary and secondary objects can be relativised, although very few examples were recorded. In (66) it is the primary object which is relativised, **ria qato** 'the sticks', indexed by the third person plural applicative suffix. In (67) the primary object is **sa horete** 'the foodbowl' and it is the secondary object which is relativised.

- (66) **Sari ria qato pu barabara-ni kabasa.**
 those ART:PL stick REL fence-AP:3PL house
 'Those are the sticks which (we) use to fence a house.'
- (67) **Kako kasitona pu koni boka tavete-ni-a**
 no thing REL FUT able make-AP-3SG
gami karu sa horete. [KUS]
 PRO:1PL.EX two ART:SG foodbowl
 'There is nothing which we can use to make the foodbowl.'

As the above examples show, in focusing, questioning and relativisation the secondary object is treated in the same way as the primary object. This is also true of pro-drop, where either object may be elided. The crucial difference between the primary and secondary object is that only the primary object may be marked by the definite article (with the exception of the elicited example (63)). Therefore, in (68a) it is obvious that the primary object, indexed by the first person singular object marker, has been elided, and in (68b) the definite article on the object shows that the secondary object has been elided.

- (68) a. **"Hapu-ni-rao sasaeri," gua sa. La sa**
 cover-AP-1SG leaf said PRO:3SG go ART:SG

hinaquru hapu-ni-a sasaeri.
 girl cover-AP-3SG leaf
 ‘‘Cover me with leaves,’’ he said. The girl went and covered him with leaves.’

- b. **La sa sege pota-ni-a sa bele-na.**
 go ART:SG crocodile hit-AP-3SG ART:SG tail-3SG
 ‘The crocodile went and hit (it) with his tail.’

Unless the instrument is moved to primary object position, as in (68b), ellipsis of secondary objects is rare, as the transitive form of the verb can be used instead.

With passivisation the behaviour of primary and secondary objects is different. In the following example of an active sentence and a passive equivalent, the primary object of the active sentence is the subject of the passive, while the secondary object remains after the verb in each case. The applicative suffix is deleted in the passive, as it is only used when an agent is present (see 6.4).

- (69) a. **Vegoa pula tavete-ni-a supa gita**
 how if make-AP-3SG roof.edge PRO:1PL.IN
sa kabasa pa Adava?
 ART:SG house PRP A.
 ‘What if we make the house at Adava with a roof edge?’

- b. **Koni boka ta-tavete supa qa sa kabasa pa Adava.**
 FUT able PASS-make roof.edge REST ART:SG house PRP A.
 ‘The house at Adava can be made with a roof edge.’

In the next example, the primary object in the first sentence is the instrument **qato** ‘tree, wood’, as this is the topic. It is the subject of the passive sentence in (70b). The secondary object is **susuti** ‘combs’, which is placed after the verb in both the active and passive sentences.

- (70) a. **Isa qato boka tavete-ni-a susuti.**
 PRO:3SG tree able make-AP-3SG comb
 ‘That is a tree (that you) can make combs from.’
 b. **Isa qato boka ta-tavete-agi susuti.**
 PRO:3SG tree able PASS-make-AGI comb
 ‘That is a tree (that) combs can be made from.’

This last example (70b) shows that Hoava passivisation is more sensitive to the syntactic roles of primary and secondary objects rather than the semantic role of patient, since it is the instrument, the primary object of the active sentence, which is the subject of the passive sentence. Although Hoava treats primary and secondary objects in the same manner for object deletion and relativisation, it is clearly asymmetric in Bresnan and Moshi’s (1990) terms, since only one object can be marked as the primary object by an object marker, and only one object can be passivised.

6.3.4 Causative verbs in applicative constructions

Causative verbs, as with Type V verbs, take the applicative construction in order to have two objects. The applied object has the role of instrument for causative verbs derived from statives:

- (71) a. **Va-mate-a** **sa** **boko.**
 CAUSE-be.dead-TR-3SG ART:SG pig
 'Kill the pig.'
- b. **Va-mate-ni-a** **qato sa** **boko.**
 CAUSE-be.dead-AP-3SG tree ART:SG pig
 'Kill the pig with a stick.'
- (72) **Na sa va-zinara-ni-a** **gamu** **pi?**
 ART what CAUSE-be.red-AP-3SG PRO:2PL PRO:close
 'What do you use to make it go red?'

Causative verbs derived from Type IV verbs of movement, change of direction or posture, take an applied object to provide a location for the action.

- (73) a. **Va-hake-ni-a** **heta** **rao** **sa** **masi.**
 CAUSE-perch-AP-3SG betelnut PRO:1SG ART:SG lighter
 'I put the lighter on top of a betelnut.'
- b. **Va-tiva-ni-a** **magara** **eri** **kahike sa** **koma-na.**
 CAUSE-stand-AP-3SG stone PRO:3PL three ART:SG penis-3SG
 'They (three) stood his penis on a stone.'

The location can alternate between being expressed as a prepositional phrase with a non-applicative verb, or as a secondary object with an applicative verb:

- (74) a. **Va-karovi-a** **rao** **sa** **vivine pa** **tepi.**
 CAUSE-go.across.TR-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG story PRP cassette
 'I recorded the story on cassette.'
- b. **Va-karovo-ni-a** **tepi** **rao** **sa** **vivine.**
 CAUSE-go.across-AP-3SG cassette PRO:1SG ART:SG story
 'I recorded the story on cassette.'

Only one example of a verb of perception in an applicative construction was recorded. In this example, spoken about me to another person, both the subject and the secondary object are ellipsed. The remaining object is the primary object as it has the definite article.

- (75) **Va-ome-ni-a** **sa** **kabasa taqu** **rao.**
 CAUSE-see-AP-3SG ART:SG house POSS:1SG PRO:1SG
 'Show (her) my house.'

In this example the ellipsed applied object is the person to be shown the house, while the primary object is the object to be perceived, as it would be for the non-causative

version of the verb **ome** 'see'. Further work needs to be done in this area to analyse the semantic and syntactic roles with verbs of this type.

6.3.5 *Monotransitive verbs in applicative constructions*

The applicative construction in Hoava is not only used to allow two objects to appear with a verb. It is also used with a wide range of verbs to supply a single object argument. For verbs of Type IV this is as an alternative object to the one that can be used in the transitive construction, while for verbs of Type III the applicative is the only method of providing an object argument. The applied object in both cases behaves in the same manner as a primary object, in that it can be used in focus, topicalisation, and relative clause constructions. Baker (1988b) discusses the use of instrumental applicatives in Chichêwa with verbs that can be optionally transitive. The use of the applicative in Hoava to supply a single object is much wider, however, and, as well as its use with Type III and IV verbs, it is also used with the pro-verb **gua** 'said, did' (6.3.6), plural-marked verbs (6.3.7) and to supply a passive agent (6.3.8, 6.4).

6.3.5.1 *Applicative construction with Type IV verbs*

Verbs of Type IV cover a range of semantic groupings, such as movement, direction, posture, sensory and mental perception, and speech. Despite this, the use of the applicative is similar, in that all verbs of this type use the applicative construction to permit an alternative object to the one allowed by the transitive construction. Recall also that the transitive object can be alternatively expressed in a prepositional phrase, as in example (15) from Chapter 5, repeated here as (76):

- (76) a. **Kae haqala pa kabasa!**
 NEG run PRP house
 'Don't run in the house!'
- b. **Kae haqali-a sa kabasa!**
 NEG run.TR-3SG ART:SG house
 'Don't run in the house!'

The object which can occur in the applicative construction is not the same as the object of the transitive construction in (76), as shown in (77):

- (77) **Kae haqala-ni-a goe sa kuti!**
 NEG run-AP-3SG PRO:2SG ART:SG knife
 'Don't you run with the knife!'

Schütz (1986:134), in writing about Fijian, describes the role of objects such as **sa kuti** 'the knife' in (77) as the 'concomitant', the accompaniment to the action, which he links with the instrumental role, while Arms (1973:512) describes the same role as 'confective'. Arms defines this as the instrument or other component in the action 'by means of or in association with which the action is performed', and uses the term to explain the function

of the disyllabic transitive marker in Fijian. For Arms, concomitant and instrument are subroles of confective, thus unifying the functions of the applicative with both Type IV and Type V verbs.

The concomitant role is clear with verbs of movement:

- (78) a. **Haqala-ni-a igana sa taili.**
 run-AP-3SG fish ART:SG fishing.line
 'A fish 'ran' with the fishing line.'
- b. **Kae toka-ni-rao goe ba rao ni.**
 NEG travel-AP-1SG PRO:2SG EMPH PRO:1SG DEM
 'You did not come with me!'

The applied object also supplies the role of motive for the action, a role recognised by Bresnan and Moshi (1990), although not discussed in that paper. This, too, can be regarded as a subrole of confective, according to Arms' definition.

- (79) a. **Sa in-aso mae-ni-a gami karu?**
 what NOM-walk come-AP-3SG PRO:2PL two
 'What journey do you two come for?'
- b. **Tiva loka-ni-a qa Biliboa.**
 stand wait-AP-3SG REST B.
 'Biliboa just stood and waited for it.'

The same role of motive is present in the applied object when used with the existential verb *ko* 'be, stay':

- (80) **Isa ko-ni-a eri karu pa koreke.**
 PRO:3SG stay-AP-3SG PRO:3PL two PRP moon
 'It's why they (two) stay in the moon.'

When a verb of movement or direction is in a serial verb construction, it is the last verb which determines the type of suffix used. In (81) the applicative is used as this is the only way to indicate a non-locative object with a directional verb. If *naqala* 'carry' was used alone, it would take its transitive form *naqalia* 'carry it' to index the object.

- (81) **Naqala pule mae-ni-a Kalutu sa kasitona isana.**
 carry return come-AP-3SG K. ART:SG thing that
 'Kalutu carried that thing back.'

For verbs of sensory and mental perception and speech, the applicative is used to allow an object with a more circumstantial role than the object indexed by the transitive suffix. For verbs of mental and sensory perception the transitive object is the entity perceived, while for verbs of speech it is the person spoken to. The applied object for both of these groups is the object in association with which the action is performed: the reason for the listening or thinking, or the topic of the speech. The applicative construction is therefore again supplying a confective role for the object. The examples in (82) and (83) show the difference between transitive and applied objects.

- (82) a. **Umani-a ria se Biliboa.**
 hear.TR-3SG PRO:3PL ART B.
 'They heard Biliboa.'
- b. **Umana-ni-a ria se Biliboa pu**
 hear-AP-3SG PRO:3PL ART B. REL
va-mate-na sa boko.
 CAUSE-be.dead-3SG ART:SG pig
 'They heard of Biliboa who had killed the pig.'
- (83) a. **La eri karu, nanasi-a se Masu.**
 go PRO:3PL two ask.TR-3SG ART M.
 'They (two) went and asked Masu.'
- b. **Nanasa-ni-a sa sa meapu.**
 ask-AP-3SG PRO:3SG ART:SG map
 'He asked about the map.'

Compare the following two examples in (84), where in both cases the object is the first person singular but the object in (84a) is the goal, the person spoken to, while in (84b) the applied object is the entity being talked about.

- (84) a. **Pato-erao sa rao.**
 speak-TR:1SG PRO:3SG PRO:1SG
 'He spoke to me.'
- b. **Pula vena pato=pato-ni-rao goe, koni va-gilali rao.**
 if SIM RED=speak-AP-1SG PRO:2SG FUT CAUSE-know PRO:1SG
 'Suppose you were talking about me, I would know.'

The applied object behaves in the same manner as the direct object with verbs of Type IV in that it can be used in other derived constructions in the same way. The applied object may be focussed (85), topicalised (86), or relativised (87).

- (85) **Keke vesi koni kera-ni-a rao.**
 one verse FUT sing-AP-3SG PRO:1SG
 'I will sing one verse.'
- (86) **Isa pato-ni-a tamu goe.**
 PRO:3SG speak-AP-3SG PRP:2 PRO:2SG
 'That's what (I) said to you.'
- (87) **Keke nono qa sa g<in>u=gua pu**
 one same REST ART:SG RED<NOM>=said REL
ko-ni-a gita pa hera.
 stay-AP-3SG PRO:1PL.IN PRP here
 'The reason for which we stay here is just the same.'

6.3.5.2 *Applicative construction with Type III verbs*

Type III verbs primarily describe emotional and physical states of animate beings. They do not take the transitive suffix, and the applicative suffix is used to provide a reason for the state, the circumstantial cause.

- (88) a. **Hode rao.**
be.blind PRO:1SG
'I am blind/shortsighted.'
- b. **Hode-ni-a rao sa vorivori.**
be.blind-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:G dust
'I am blind from the dust.'
- (89) a. **Mabo sa koburu.**
be.tired ART:SG child
'The child was tired.'
- b. **Mabo-ni-a sa koburu sa k<in>ube=kubere.**
be.tired-AP-3SG ART:SG child ART:SG RED<NOM>=write
'The child was tired from the writing.'
- (90) a. **Edo sa hinaquru.**
be.happy ART:SG girl
'The girl was happy.'
- b. **Edo-ni-a sa hinaquru sa hore.**
be.happy-AP-3SG ART:SG girl ART:SG canoe
'The girl was happy because of the canoe.'
[She had just received a new one.]

In the examples above (88)–(90) the object is an inanimate cause but animate objects are also possible as in (91b) below. Although animate, the object does not directly cause the emotion—that is the responsibility of the experiencer alone—but the object provides a reason for the emotion.

- (91) a. **Korakora se Vezi.**
angry ART Vincent
'Vincent is angry.'
- b. **Korakora-ni-a sa se Amina.**
angry-AP-3SG PRO:3SG ART A.
He's angry with Amina.

As with applicative Type IV verbs, it is possible to focus (92), topicalise (93) and relativise (94) the applied object.

- (92) **Sa kabo-ni-a goe?**
what cry-AP-3SG PRO:2SG
'What are you crying for?'

- (93) **Isa hiva-ni-a rao.**
 PRO:3SG want-AP-3SG PRO:1SG
 'That is what I want.'
- (94) **Isa sa pu vioro-ni-a ria Kalena.**
 PRO:3SG PRO:3SG REL be.ill-AP-3SG ART:PL K.
 'It is that which the Kalena people were ill from.'

The applicative verb may also have a clausal complement (see 8.5), as in (95):

- (95) **Hiva-ni-a eri karu de vagi-a sa leta.**
 want-AP-3SG PRO:3PL two COMP take-TR:3SG ART:SG letter
 'They (two) wanted to take the letter.'

6.3.6 The pro-verb *gua*

The pro-verb *gua* 'said, did', used in reporting action or speech, has an applied form to add an object with the role of patient or goal. *Gua* 'said, did' is used in providing names of people, places and objects, in which case it has two objects. The first is placed before the verb in focused position and provides the name, while the second object, if present, follows the verb and is the object under discussion, the patient. This is usually ellipsed since it is already clear from context what is being named. Often there is also no subject but if one is present it is usually a plural pronoun, either first person exclusive, as the speaker is informing an outsider, or third person plural pronoun.

- (96) a. **Hoqi noki gua-ni-a ria.**
 tooth snake said-AP-3SG PRO:3PL
 'Snake tooth, they call it.'
- b. **Kabasa h<in>igala gua-ni-a.**
 house garden<NOM> said-AP-3SG
 'Gardening house, (we) call it.'

The other main use of *gua* is to report speech or action. In this case the speech or action comes first followed by *gua*. The applicative suffix is used when speech is reported as being said to another person. This requires an applied object with the role of goal (97). If action is being reported, then there is no other participant necessary so *gua* remains intransitive.

- (97) a. **"Aso mae goe," gua-ni-rao sa rao.**
 walk come PRO:2SG said-AP-1SG PRO:3SG PRO:1SG
 "'You walk to me," he said to me.'
- b. **"La va-mae-i-a," gua-ni sa**
 go CAUSE-come-TR-3SG said-AP:3PL PRO:3SG

eri karu koburu.
 ART:3PL two child
 ‘‘Go and bring it,’’ he said to the two children.’

The alternative to using the applicative suffix is to use locative case marking for the person spoken to, and this is one of the two cases in Hoava where the applicative alternates with a preposition, the other being with **vale** ‘give’ (6.3.2).

(98) **‘‘La va-mae-i-a,’’ gua la sa tadi eri karu.**
 go CAUSE-come-TR-3SG said go PRO:3SG PRP:3PL PRO:3PL two
 ‘‘Go and bring it,’’ he said to them (two).’

The verb **togasa** ‘order’ appears to be similar to **gua**, although only one applicative example was recorded. In (99), the primary object is the first person singular, as it is indexed on the verb. The secondary object is the content of the order, indicated by the pronoun **sa**.

(99) **sa pu togasa-ni-rao Tamasa**
 PRO:3SG REL order-AP-1SG God
 ‘that which God ordered me (to do)’

6.3.7 Plural-marked verbs in applicative constructions

The prefix **vari-** is used to indicate a number of people acting together, and with this function it is glossed as COLL ‘collective’ (see 5.3.4). The applicative construction is used to include an additional argument in the clause. In (100) the action performed together by the agents is directed at another entity:

- (100) a. **Vari-babana-ni-a sa hore.**
 COLL-tow-AP-3SG ART:SG canoe
 ‘(They) towed the canoe (between them).’
- b. **Vari-zupe=zupele-ni-a ria sa veala.**
 COLL-RED=dunk-AP-3SG PRO:3PL ART:SG child.sacrifice
 ‘They dunked the child sacrifice repeatedly.’

In the next example, the applicative suffix allows an argument which expresses the reason for the action:

- (101) **Sa gua kale vari-vivine-ni-a eri karu?**
 what said side COLL-tell.story-AP-3SG PRO:3PL two
 ‘What are they telling stories about?’

In the following example, the applicative suffix permits the inclusion of a locative participant:

- (102) **Vari-paqaha-ni-a gami sa gugusu.**
 COLL-leave-AP-3SG PRO:1PL.EX ART:SG village
 ‘We left the village.’

6.3.8 Passive verbs with applied objects

The applicative construction is used with a passive verb to enable an agent to be included in a clause. Passivisation of applied verbs was discussed in 6.3.3, and passive verbs are dealt with in more detail below (6.4), so only a few typical examples of passive verbs with applied objects are given here.

- (103) a. **Maki lavati sa pa Solomone gi**
 NEG:WARN be.big PRO:3SG PRP Solomon.Islands and
ta-nani-ni-a gita nikana hupa.
 PASS-bite-AP-3SG PRO:1PL.IN man black
 'Let it [a monkey] not be big in the Solomon Islands and we black men be bitten by it.'
- b. **Ta-gusi-ni-a rao sa siki sani.**
 PASS-bite-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG dog that
 'I was bitten by that dog.'

Only non-human and generic human agents require the use of the applicative construction, while specific human agents are expressed by a prepositional phrase.

- (104) **Kipu boka ta-lupaha-gi taqu rao se Iani.**
 NEG able PASS-leave-AGI PRP:1SG PRO:1SG ART I.
 'Iani cannot be left (abandoned) by me.'

The passive verbs with applied objects are very similar to the Type III verbs with applied objects discussed in 6.3.5.2. The agent of the passive can be regarded as the cause of the event referred to by the verb, in the same manner as the applied object of a Type III verb supplies the indirect cause of the state. Therefore, these two uses of the applicative construction both come under the semantic role of 'reason'.

6.3.9 Incorporated objects derived from applicative constructions

As noted above, (6.3.3), the secondary object of ditransitive applicative constructions, whilst bearing some similarity to incorporated objects, is not itself an incorporated object. Nor does either the primary or secondary object appear to incorporate in Hoava. However, the single applied object of Type III verbs does incorporate as shown in examples (38), repeated here as (105), and in example (106). In the incorporated example, the applicative suffix is no longer present, in the same way as the transitive suffix is not used when the object of a transitive verb is incorporated in the verb phrase.

- (105) a. **Mabo-ni-a rao sa t<in>avete.**
 be.tired-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG work<NOM>
 'I am tired from the work.'

- b. **Mabo t<in>avete rao.**
 be.tired work<NOM> PRO:1SG
 'I am tired from work.'
- (106) a. **Hiva-ni-a rao sa hore tamu goe.**
 want-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG canoe POSS:2 PRO:2SG
 'I want your canoe.'
- b. **Hiva hore rao.**
 want canoe PRO:1SG
 'I want a canoe.'

No examples were recorded of applied objects of Type IV verbs incorporating. Since this category of verb can have incorporated direct objects, this may prevent applied objects incorporating as well.

Plurally marked verbs can incorporate an applied object:

- (107) **Vari-buli kukuru qato ria hinaquru.**
 COLL-throw piece tree ART:PL girl
 'The girls threw pieces of stick.'

Noun incorporation of the agent is possible for passives. These would otherwise be expressed as applied objects (see 6.4).

- (108) a. **Ta-gusi siki rao.**
 PASS-bite dog PRO:1SG
 'I was bitten by a dog.'
- b. **Koburu sava-na sa pu ta-suni tape?**
 child which-3SG PRO:3SG REL PASS-sting stingray
 'Which child was it who was stung by a stingray?'

6.3.10 Origins of the applicative suffix

Pawley (1973:122) regards the verbal suffix **ni** in neighbouring Roviana as derived from POC ***-aki(ni)**, a transitive suffix which allows a variety of argument roles for the object, according to the semantics of the verb. The use of this suffix is widespread in Austronesian languages, although in some, such as Bauan, it has undergone changes in function (Pawley 1973:121). Pawley (p.145) also suggests another particle ***(ki)ni** was a prepositional verb in POC used with an instrumental argument. Ross (1988:379) rejects Pawley's suggestion that New Georgia and Choiseul **-ni** derive from ***-aki(ni)**, preferring a prepositional verb origin. The Western Oceanic languages have changed some prepositional verbs from independent verbs to 'valency-changing enclitics to the verb phrase' (Ross 1988:378), in other words, applicative suffixes. Ross notes that ***ni-** tends to indicate the object has the roles of instrumental, confective and reffective. However neither he nor Pawley appear to describe two object constructions with the applicative

construction. Ross's Roviana example (1988:244) with 'hit' has only a single object, the instrument, while the patient is expressed in an oblique phrase:

- (109) ROV **Seke-ni-a e Gorebule sa huda koa sa siki.**
 hit-AP-3SG ART Gorebule ART stick PREP ART dog
 'Gorebule hit the dog with the stick.'
 Ross's literal trans: 'The stick was hit against the dog by Gorebule'.

The equivalent sentence in Hoava also has the applicative suffix on the verb, but has two objects:

- (110) **Pota-ni-a qato sa makariva sa siki.**
 hit-AP-3SG stick ART:SG boy ART:SG dog
 'The boy hit the dog with the stick.'

Harrison (1982:181) regards POC **aki(ni)* as originally a lexical verb meaning 'to act on/with respect to' that was typically used in serialisations with other verbs, hence its progress from full verb to suffix. He proposes that the object of **aki(ni)* was usually a concomitant or stimulus, with the instrumental role being a later development.

Although there is disagreement over the origins of suffixes related to HOA *-ni*, it is clear that the functions are very similar, in that suffixes such as *-ni* allow an alternative object to be permitted with the verb, in the same manner as the applicative suffix discussed for the Bantu languages.

6.3.11 Valency increasing verb serialisations

Hoava has two verbs which are used in verb serialisations with a similar function to the applicative suffix, in that they increase the valency of a verb phrase. They are therefore included in this section. The two verbs are *teni* 'accompany, take' and *poni* 'give'.

Teni is used as a lexical verb to mean 'take along' and its object is a human or other animate being.

- (111) a. **Rao koni teni-go goe de la pa hinigala.**
 PRO:1SG FUT take-TR:2SG PRO:2SG PURP go PRP garden
 'I will take you to go to the garden.'
- b. **Teni-a tu ria sa hinaquru.**
 take-TR:3SG REST PRO:3PL ART:SG girl
 'They took the girl.'
- c. **Pula hiva hukuagi, na siki koni teni-a.**
 if want hunt ART dog FUT take-TR:3SG
 'If (you) want to go hunting, (you) will take along a dog.'

In serial verb constructions, *teni* has two functions. The first is to permit a comitative participant in the clause, a person or object in association with which an action or event happens.

- (112) a. **Ko teni-a ria sa misianare.**
 stay accompany-TR:3SG PRO:3PL ART:SG missionary
 'They stayed with the missionary.'
- b. **Pule teni-a ria sa kasitona isana.**
 return accompany-TR:3SG PRO:3PL ART:SG thing that
 'They returned with that thing.'
- c. **Koni la tadi ria tasi-qu pu podo teni-rao.**
 FUT go PRP:3PL ART:PL sibling-1SG REL be.born accompany-TR:1SG
 '(You) will go to my siblings who were born with me.'

As an extension of the concomitant function, **teni** can also indicate that one participant is physically alongside another (this interpretation may also apply to (112a)).

- (113) a. **Pule isa, la puta teni-a sa tina-na.**
 return PRO:3SG go sleep accompany-TR:3SG ART:SG mother-3SG
 'She returned, went to sleep beside her mother.'
- b. **Gami pu ko pa soloso, vena tunu**
 PRO:1PLEX REL exist PRP bush SIM sit
teni-a qa gami sa belo.
 accompany-TR:3SG REST PRO:1PLEX ART:SG bell
 'We who were in the bush, it was as if we were sitting right beside the bell.'

If the first verb already has an object, then the applicative suffix is used with **teni** instead of the transitive verb, and the second object, the concomitant, is in secondary object position:

- (114) **Nani teni-ni raesi ria igana.**
 eat accompany-AP:3PL rice ART:PL fish
 'Eat the fish with rice.'

The second function of **teni** in verb serialisations is to enable a participant indicating a reason for an action or state to be added to the clause. In (115) it is used with the reciprocal verb **vari-nani** 'fight each other' to provide the reason for the fight. Note that the additional object can be in direct object position as in (115a), with the transitive suffix on **teni**, or in incorporated position as in (115b) and (115c) with no transitive suffix.

- (115) a. **Vari-nani teni-a sa bisiketi.**
 RECIP-fight accompany-TR:3SG ART:SG biscuit.
 '(They) fought over a biscuit.'
- b. **Vari-nani teni n<in>ani.**
 RECIP-fight accompany eat<NOM>
 '(They) fought over food.'
- c. **Vari-nani teni huke eri kahike**
 RECIP-fight accompany taro.leaf ART:3PL three

maneke.

mother.and.children.

'The mother and two children fought over taro leaves.'

With a passive verb, **teni** also supplies a reason, when the participant who causes the action to happen to the patient is not the person who actually does it. In (116) the threat is that if people look at the coastwatcher Kennedy's mistress, Mangginggo, Kennedy will beat them, not Mangginggo.

- (116) **Ta-pota teni-a ria se Maqiqo na.**
 PASS-beat accompany-TR:3SG PRO:3PL ART Mangginggo DEM
 'They were beaten because of Mangginggo.'

The reason function is also apparent when **teni** is used after a stative verb, as in (117). This example is interesting as the applicative suffix could have been used instead with the same meaning, as in (94) above.

- (117) **Koni vagi-a sa raraga, dakoho-ni-a hera.**
 FUT take-TR:3SG ART:SG vine tie-AP-3SG here
Pana keba nikana, sa koni vioro teni-a.
 if climb man PRO:3SG FUT be.ill accompany-TR:3SG
 '(You) will take the vine, tie it (the tree) with it. When a man climbs, it will cause him to be ill.'

The use of **poni** 'give' as a lexical verb has been discussed in 5.2.6 and 6.2.5. It is a ditransitive verb which gives the recipient role to the primary object and the patient role to the secondary object. When used as in serial verb constructions, it allows a benefactive participant to be added to the clause.

- (118) a. **Teni-a sa kalaho sa tu-na, pita**
 take-TR:3SG ART:SG woman ART:SG child-3SG seek
poni-a vua seri.
 give-TR:3SG fruit cherry
 'The woman took her child, sought cherries for her.'
- b. **Ria pu kae gore la pa heleana heri, koni**
 PRO:3PL REL NEG go.down go PRP river these FUT
siovo poní ria tiqe hele.
 collect.water give.TR:3PL PRO:3PL then wash
 'Those who do not go down to the river, (the others) will collect water for them, then (they will) wash.'

In all the examples recorded with **poni** used in this manner, the beneficiary function is clear, but the action still includes the notion of giving the result of the first action to the beneficiary. **Poni** therefore has not become a beneficiary case marker, as is the case with cognate words in other Oceanic languages (see Lichtenberk 1985), but is possibly at a transitory stage between lexical verb in a serialisation and case marker. Prepositional

phrases can also be used to include a beneficiary participant in a clause (see (48)), and so **poni** is not yet required to fill a syntactic gap.

6.3.12 Conclusion

The applicative construction in Hoava is used to permit a selected range of objects to appear with a verb. The object may be additional to an existing direct object as in the recipient role or the instrumental. Hoava can be described as an asymmetrical language in Bresnan and Moshi's (1990) definition, as it allows only one of the two objects to be primary, through object marking and passivisation. However, Hoava does allow both the secondary and primary objects to be the head of relative clauses, or placed in front of the verb phrase for focus or topicalisation, though not both objects at the same time.

The locative role for the applied object with causative verbs derived from some Type IV verbs is also consistent with the applicative functions described by Baker (1988a) and Bresnan and Moshi (1990).

Most discussions of the applicative focus on the two object constructions, while the discussion of the Oceanic remote or periphrastic transitive is concerned with interpretations of single objects. As discussed in 6.3.5.1, Hoava Type IV verbs have single object constructions with the applicative that accord well with Arms' (1973:512) definition of 'confective'. Likewise, with Type III verbs, the applicative is used to supply a reason argument, which Arms also considers to be confective. Since confective then includes both instrument and concomitant, as well as reason, it is a useful inclusive term for the main functions of the applicative in Hoava, whether it is with one object or two. The implications of the use of the terms confective or applicative for two object constructions in Austronesian languages, other than benefactive or dative, requires further study. Hoava also has a distinctive use of the applicative with the passive, described more fully in 6.4, a construction said to be "impossible" by Baker (1988a:253), although it seems to be quite consistent with the reason function of the applicative. The consequences of this for grammatical theory need further investigation.

6.4 Passive clauses

The presence of the prefix **ta-** signals a passive verb (see 5.3.5). In the majority of occurrences of passive verbs the agent is not expressed in the clause.

- (119) a. **Ta-teqe sa vasileana.**
 PASS-clear ART:SG place
 'The place was cleared.'
- b. **Ta-hoqi rao.**
 PASS-gore PRO:1SG
 'I was gored.'

An agent argument may be included in a passive clause. This is done in two ways according to the status of the agent. For non-human agents, the applicative suffix is used with the object marker indexing the agent.

- (120) a. **Ta-hoqi-ni-a** **rao** **sa** **boko.**
 PASS-gore-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG pig
 'I was gored by the pig.'
- b. **Ta-nani-ni-a** **rao** **sa** **leboto.**
 PASS-bite-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG machete
 'I was cut by the machete.'
- c. **Sa** **siki** **sani** **ta-gusi-ni-a** **rao.**
 ART:SG dog DIST:SG PASS-bite-AP-3SG PRO:1SG
 'I was bitten by that dog.'

The agent in this construction may come directly after the verb phrase, if it is indefinite (121), or it may be fully incorporated in the verb phrase, in which case the applicative suffix is not used (122).

- (121) **Ta-gusi-ni-a** **siki** **rao.**
 PASS-bite-AP-3SG dog PRO:1SG
 'I was bitten by a dog.'
- (122) a. **Ta-nani** **leboto** **sa** **malego** **tani** **sa.**
 PASS-bite machete ART:SG leg POSS:3SG PRO:3SG
 'Her leg was cut by a machete.'
- b. **Ta-suni** **tape** **sa** **koburu.**
 PASS-sting stingray ART:SG child
 'The child was stung by a stingray.'

For human agents, the applicative suffix is not used and the agent is expressed by a prepositional phrase instead, utilising the preposition **ta-** in the Hoava dialect (123) and **ke** in the Kusaghe dialect (124).

- (123) a. **Ta-hakeagi** **te** **Amina** **rao.**
 PASS-look.after PRP A. PRO:1SG
 'I am looked after by Amina.'
- b. **Ta-hakeagi** **tani** **sa** **rao.**
 PASS-look.after PRP:3SG PRO:3SG PRO:1SG
 'I am looked after by her.'
- c. **Ta-hakeagi** **tani** **sa** **q<in>avuna** **Solomone** **gami.**
 PASS-look.after PRP:3SG ART:SG govern<NOM> Solomon PRO:1PLEX
 'We are looked after by the Solomon government.'
- (124) a. **Ta-hakeagi** **rao** **ke** **sa** **kalaho.** [KUS]
 PASS-look.after PRO:1SG PRP ART:SG woman
 'I am looked after by the woman.'

- b. **Ta-hakeagi rao ke isa.** [KUS]
 PASS-look.after PRO:1SG PRP PRO:3SG
 'I am looked after by her.'

If a non-pronominal human agent is in clause initial position the prepositional particles are not used.

- (125) **Sa teni-da qa ba ta-nani gita na.**
 ART:SG relative-1PL.IN REST EMPH PASS-bite PRO:1PL.IN DEM
 'We are being eaten by our relative!'

Occasionally a human agent is expressed using the applicative construction when it is regarded as something less than a real human, such as a witch, as in (126), or when using a pejorative term as in (127).

- (126) **Sa baha sagi koni ta-baha-ni-a goe.**
 ART:SG witch TOP FUT PASS-bewitch-AP-3SG PRO:2SG
 'The witch, you will be bewitched by her.'

- (127) **Ta-nani-ni-a qua sa masala heni.**
 PASS-injure-AP-3SG POSS:1SG ART:SG wretch this
 'I will be injured by this wretch.'

Verbs of Type V, Type VI and causative verbs passivise regularly, with and without agents:

- (128) a. **Koni ta-pota taqu rao gamu karu.**
 FUT PASS-beat PRP:1SG PRO:1SG PRO:2PL two
 'You two will be beaten by me.'
- b. **Ta-poni va-kaleana ba gita kahike maneke.**
 PASS-give ADV-be.bad EMPH PRO:1PL.IN three family
 'Our family was given to very badly.'
- c. **Ta-va-mae sa nikana isana.**
 PASS-CAUSE-come ART:SG man that
 'That man was made to come.'

As noted above in 6.3.3, applicatives of Type V verbs can passivise, in which case the primary object of the active verb becomes the subject of the passive equivalent, and the secondary object remains after the verb phrase (see example (70) above).

Verbs of Type IV fall into two groupings when used in a passive construction. Verbs that denote speech and sensory or mental perception form passives that correspond regularly with their active counterparts.

- (129) a. **Ta-nanasa rao te Vezi.**
 PASS-ask PRO:1SG PRP V.
 'I was asked by Vezi.'

- b. **Kipu ta-gilali sa pu isana.**
 NEG PASS-know PRO:3SG REL that
 'That one is not known.'
- c. **Kae ta-ome sa.**
 NEG PASS-see PRO:3SG
 'It is not visible [able to be seen].'

While verbs of speech and sensory or mental perception have passive equivalents of their transitive forms, verbs of posture and movement appear to only have passive equivalents of their applicative forms. With the verb **aso** 'walk, move', for example, it is not possible to make a passive from the transitive form in (130a).

- (130) a. **Aso-a sa nikana sa sagauru.**
 walk-TR:3SG ART:SG man ART:SG reef
 'The man walked on the reef.'
- b. ***Ta-aso sa sagauru.**
 PASS-walk ART:SG reef
 'The reef was walked on (by the man).'

However, passives are possible as in (131), as long as an applied object is included. In the next examples, the subject has the role of concomitant, the entity being moved along, while the object supplies the cause of the movement. Since the affected entity is a human or higher in animacy than the causer, the passive construction is the preferred way of expressing sentences such as these.

- (131) a. **Ta-aso-ni-a rao sa givu.**
 PASS-move-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG wind
 'I was moved along by the wind.'
- b. **Ta-haqala-ni-a ruruhu sa toloko.**
 PASS-run-AP-3SG giant ART:SG eel
 'The giant was startled (into running) by the eel.'
- c. **Ta-koe-ni-a rao sa minoho [KUS]**
 PASS-stay-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG sickness
 'I am bedridden [be-stayed] by the sickness.'

Stative verbs rarely have passive forms since the subject already has a patient role, but there are a few notable exceptions. The stative verb **homa(na)** 'smell' does not have an active sensory equivalent, and the only way to create one is to use a passive construction. Example (132) is the intransitive form, and (133) is the applicative, while the examples in (134) are passive.

- (132) **Homana hikare sa kokoko.**
 smell horribly ART:SG kokoko.bird
 'The kokoko bird smelt horribly.'

- (133) **“Homa-ni-rao na hibi pa mehaka,”**
 smell-AP-1SG ART cooking.smell PRP saltwater
gua sa ruruhu.
 said ART:SG giant
 ‘“The cooking smells at the shore are smelt by me,” said the giant.’
- (134) a. **Ta-homana sa ruruhu.**
 PASS-smell ART:SG giant
 ‘The giant smells (something).’
- b. **Ta-homa-ni-a siki sa boko.**
 PASS-smell-AP-3SG dog ART:SG pig
 ‘Dogs smell the pig.’

Similar to **homana** are the verbs **deana** ‘be sweet’ and **piriqata** ‘be very loud’ which have similar passives.

- (135) a. **Deana sa bulo.**
 be.sweet ART:SG green.coconut
 ‘The green.coconut is sweet.’
- b. **Ta-deana-ni-a rao sa bulo.**
 PASS-sweet-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG green.coconut
 ‘I like the green coconut.’ [lit: I am be-sweetened by the green coconut.]
- (136) a. **Piriqata sa pazala.**
 be.very.loud ART:SG thunder
 ‘The thunder is very loud.’
- b. **Ta-piriqata-ni-a rao sa pazala.**
 PASS-be.very.loud-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG thunder
 ‘I am startled by the very loud thunder.’

The passive construction allows a patient noun phrase to be more topical in a clause than an agent. Hoava prefers this construction when the patient is higher in animacy than the agent. The following examples use **nani**, a verb which generally means ‘eat’ or ‘bite’, but is also used for injuring, fighting and killing.

- (137) a. **Koni ta-nani-ni-a goe sa leboto.**
 FUT PASS-cut-AP-3SG PRO:2SG ART:SG machete
 ‘You will be cut by the bushknife.’
- b. **Tata ta-nani sege rao.**
 almost PASS-eat crocodile PRO:1SG
 ‘I was almost eaten by a crocodile.’

In the following two examples, animacy of the participants is a factor in determining the constructions used. In the first example (138), both patient and agent are animates and an active construction is used. Since the patient is also topical in the discourse, it is moved in front of the verb phrase for prominence (see 9.1). In the second example (139),

the potential agent is a monkey, of lower animacy than the humans, and so a passive construction is used.

(138) **Kipu mae ria nikana Japani de**
 NEG come ART:PL man Japanese PURP

gami nikana hupa mae nani-gami.
 PRO:1PL.EX man black come kill-TR:1PL.EX
 'The Japanese men did not come to kill us black men.'

(139) **Maki lavati sa pa Solomone gi**
 NEG:WARN be.big PRO:3SG PRP Solomons and

ta-nani-ni-a gita nikana hupa.
 PASS-bite-AP-3SG PRO:1PL.IN man black
 'It won't be good if it [the monkey] grows big in the Solomons and we black men are bitten by it.'

However, discourse requirements can override these animacy preferences. The next two examples are found in one text and both refer to an old man who was swallowed by a crocodile. In the first example (140), the old man is the focus and a passive is used, since he is a higher animate than the crocodile. In the second example (141), the crocodile is the topic of discussion and an active construction is used to emphasise the role of the crocodile as agent.

(140) **sa barigese pu ta-nani**
 ART:SG old.man REL PASS-eat
 'the old man who was eaten'

(141) **sa sege pu nani-a sa barigese na**
 ART:SG crocodile REL eat-TR:3SG ART:SG old.man DEM
 'the crocodile who ate that old man'

A similar choice as to discourse prominence has to be made when both agent and patient are of the same level of animacy. In the following examples, first a passive construction is used to focus on the victims of a raid, then an active construction places focus on the perpetrators.

(142) a. **Ta-nani-ni ria.**
 PASS-kill-AP:3PL PRO:3PL
 'They were killed by them.'

b. **La ria pa Marovo nani ria pa Qerasi.**
 go PRO:3PL PRP M. kill.TR:3PL PRO:3PL PRP Ngerasi
 'Those from Marovo went and killed those from Ngerasi.'

In the majority of passive constructions recorded, the agent is not included in the clause since, by choosing a passive construction, the patient is regarded as more topical than the agent. Passives are commonly used to talk about injuries inflicted by inanimate

objects, as in (137a), and a number of verbs of personal injury occur only in a passive form where the cause is accidental or cannot be attributed to an agent.

- (143) **ta-beluku** 'twist ankle' (**belukia** possible but considered uncommon)
ta-qeasa 'stiff hipped due to injury' ***qeasa**
ta-bulo 'winded' ***buloa**
ta-nonu 'injure toe' ***nonua**
ta-losu 'dislocated' ***losua**
- (144) **Ta-losu sa malego-qu.**
 PASS-dislocate ART:SG leg-1SG
 'My leg was dislocated.'

Passives are also used for potential events (Palmer 1994:139) that are generally applicable.

- (145) a. ... **tiqe ta-tiqu eri karu maneke.**
 then PASS-touch ART:PL two mother.and.child
 '... then the mother and child (can) be touched [by anyone].'
- b. **Kae boka vagi veala pa Vanunu ...**
 NEG able take child.sacrifice PRP Vangunu
koni ta-nani maqo.
 FUT PASS-kill spirit
 '(They) could not take sacrificial children from Vangunu ... (they) would be killed by spirits.'

Passives are also used for events that are generally not possible:

- (146) a. **Kipu ta-gilali sa pu isana.**
 NEG PASS-know PRO:3SG REL that
 'That one cannot be known.'
- b. **Kae ta-ome sa.**
 NEG PASS-see PRO:3SG
 'It cannot be seen.'

6.5 Oblique objects in clauses

Oblique objects in Hoava can function as alternatives to direct objects and applied objects, and may also have comitative and general locative adverbial function. I will examine each of the oblique object functions in this section, leaving the locative adverbial function for Chapter 7. I will also discuss the use of directional verbs to include unstated participants in a clause.

6.5.1 Prepositional phrases as oblique objects

The Hoava dialect uses two prepositions to indicate an oblique object role. The first is a general preposition **pa** which is used with a full noun phrase, but not with pronouns. The preposition indicates that the noun phrase is considered as a location of some sort. Whether it has the semantic role of goal, source, or static location, is determined by prepositional verbs contained in the verb phrase or the context of the clause. **Pa** is used with non-human objects and place names. Articles are omitted from the noun phrase with the result that definiteness, if relevant, can only be inferred from demonstratives or other contextual clues.

The other preposition, **ta-**, is used with human NPs, and occasionally non-human NPs that are marked for definiteness with the definite article, and with pronouns. It is the same as the particle used for the prepositional possessive described in 4.11.4, with separate person and number forms, albeit with some syncretism in the plural forms and the second person, followed by the relevant pronoun or singular/plural articles:

(147)		singular	plural
	first person		
	- inclusive		tadi gita
	- exclusive	taqu rao	tami gami
	second person	tamu goe	tamu gamu
	third person	tani sa	tadi ria

(148) a. *singular noun phrase*

tani sa kalaho
 PRP:3SG ART:SG woman
 'to/from/with the woman'

b. *plural noun phrase*

tadi ria kalaho
 PRP:3PL ART:PL woman
 'to/from/with the women'

With personal names the particle **te** is used, with the plural form **tedi**:

(149) a. **te Midili**
 PRP M.
 'to/from/with Midili'

b. **tedi Devita**
 PRP:PL D.
 'to/from/with Devita's (family)'

The Kusaghe dialect uses the particle **ke** in place of the **ta-/te-** Hoava forms. **Ke** is followed by the relevant pronoun or singular/plural articles:

(150)		singular	plural
	first person		
	- inclusive		ke gita
	- exclusive	ke rao	ke gami
	second person	ke goe	ke gamu
	third person	ke isa	ke ria

(151) a. *singular noun phrase*

ke sa qato
 PRP ART:SG tree
 'to/from/at the tree'

b. *plural noun phrase*

ke ria nikana
 PRP ART:PL man
 'to/from/with the men'

With personal names the singular form **ke** and the plural form **keri** are used, with the same translation as the equivalent Hoava forms: **ke Midili, keri Devita** (see (149) above).

Prepositional phrases are used as oblique objects with the verb **vale** 'give'. With **vale**, the direct object of the verb is the patient, the object being given, and the recipient, who can also be seen as the goal, is expressed as an oblique object (152). The position of the oblique object is not fixed, and it can be placed before or after the subject or object noun phrases.

(152) a. **Vale-a rao tani sa koburu sa zuke.**
 give-TR:3SG PRO:1SG PRP:3SG ART:SG child ART:SG lamp
 'I gave the lamp to the child.'

b. **Valé rao tani sa koburu ria karu zuke.**
 give:TR:3PL PRO:1SG PRP:3SG ART:SG child ART:PL two lamp
 'I gave the two lamps to the child.'

Verbs of perception and communication also use prepositional phrases to indicate the goal of the action, as an optional alternative to using a direct object construction, as shown in 6.2.3 above in example (23a, b), repeated here as (153b, a). As illustrated in example (153b), the main verb is usually followed by a directional verb to indicate the direction of the communication or perception.

(153) a. **Pato-erao sa rao.**
 speak-TR:1SG PRO:3SG PRO:1SG
 'He spoke to me.'

b. **Pato mae taqu rao sa.**
 speak come PRP:1SG PRO:1SG PRO:3SG
 'He spoke to me.'

- (154) **Dolo soto la te Jone Sidi se Iani.**
 stare join go PRP J. S. ART I.
 'Iani stared at Jone Sidi.'
- (155) **Nake isa ke Matakale.** [KUS]
 speak PRO:3SG PRP M.
 'She spoke to Matakale.'

Human pronominal agents used with passive verbs are also expressed prepositionally, without the applicative suffix that is required for other agents, as discussed in 6.4 above.

- (156) **Ta-hakeagi te Amina rao.**
 PASS-look.after PRP A. PRO:1SG
 'I am looked after by Amina.'

6.5.2 The use of directional verbs to indicate participants

Two of the three directional verbs, **atu** 'go to hearer' and **mae** 'come to speaker' play an important role in Hoava in indicating participants without the need to overtly state them. Because they refer to second and first person respectively, they are already quite explicit in their meaning and easily interpreted by the hearer. By using these directional verbs, either on their own or in combination with another verb, Hoava speakers can avoid having to explicitly state a first or second person oblique object as long as it is understood from context, as in (157).

- (157) a. **Naqala mae-ni-a sa beha sani.**
 carry come-AP-3SG ART:SG basket that
 'Bring that basket (to me).'
- b. **Kolo, vesa kae hinoqe mae goe?**
 friend why NEG go.quickly come PRO:2SG
 'Friend, why didn't you come quickly (to me).'
- c. **Sagele atu sa koburu.**
 go.up go ART:SG child
 'The child goes up (to you).'
- d. **Koni atu rao velu.**
 FUT go PRO:1SG tomorrow
 'I will come (to you) tomorrow.'

One of the standard Hoava greetings to other family members is **mae NP** meaning 'give me NP', always using just the directional verb:

- (158) a. **Mae keke heta.**
 come one betelnut.
 'Give me a betel nut.' [lit: one betelnut comes (to me).]

- b. **Mae e-qu.**
 come EDPOSS-1SG
 'Give me mine (for eating).'

Directional verbs are also used in causative form to express bringing and sending:

- (159) a. **La va-mae-ia sa kuti ko pa kabasa.**
 go CAUSE-come-TR:3SG ART:SG knife stay PRP house
 'Go bring the knife in the house (to me).'
- b. **Va-ome mae-ni-a.**
 CAUSE-see come-AP-3SG
 'Show it (to me).'
- c. **Va-atu-a rao sa qua leta.**
 CAUSE-go-TR:3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG POSS:1SG letter
 'I sent my letter (to you).'

The goal of the directional verbs can be stated explicitly in a clause either as an oblique object, as in (160), or as a direct object indexed on the verb, as shown in (161).

- (160) a. **Nanasa mae taqu rao.**
 ask come PRP:1SG PRO:1SG
 'Ask me.'
- b. **Rao koni atu tamu goe ninahite boni.**
 PRO:1SG FUT go PRP:2 PRO:2SG later night
 'I will come to you later tonight.'
- (161) a. **Mae-g-irao ria koburu.**
 come-LIG-TR:1SG ART:PL child
 'The children came to me.'
- b. **Koni atu-go keke pele.**
 FUT go-TR:2SG one more
 'One more will go to you.'

The other directional verb, *la* 'go (to third person)', has a much wider range of potential referents and so is more likely to have an explicit object or prepositional phrase. Verbs of perception commonly take the directional verb *la* on its own to indicate that an entity has been sighted, but speakers usually immediately follow it up with a clause containing a reference to the entity sighted, as in (162).

- (162) **Ome la gua eri karu, ome-a sa sege na.**
 see go did PRO:3PL two, see-TR:3SG ART:SG crocodile DEM
 'They (two) looked, saw that crocodile.'

6.5.3 Prepositional phrases with comitative function

One further use of prepositional phrases within the clause is to signal a comitative role. There is no special marking for this, other than the prepositions **ta/ke** [KUS] (the comitative NP is human in all instances recorded), and the usual presence of another prepositional phrase containing the goal or other location.

- (163) a. **Toka sagele la pa h<in>igala tani sa se Amina.**
 travel go.up go PRP garden<NOM> PRP:3Sg PRO:3SG ART A.
 'Amina went up to the garden with her.'
- b. **Va-mae-gi keke misianare, mae ko ke**
 CAUSE-come-AGI one missionary come stay PRP
gami pa Kusage. [KUS]
 PRO:1PL.EX PRP K.
 'Make a missionary come, come and stay with us at Kusage.'
- c. **Ko nana ke Matakale sa kalaho. [KUS]**
 stay POSS:3SG PRP M. ART:SG woman
 'The woman stayed with Matakale.'

Further discussion of prepositional phrases is given in Chapter 7.

7 *The clause periphery*

In this chapter I will look at the optional elements of the clause: location in space; location in time; sentential negation; and adverbials conveying doubt and certainty.

7.1 Spatial location

Spatial location can be expressed in Hoava through deictic adverbs and prepositional phrases. It can also be expressed by means of demonstratives as described in 4.8, and directional verbs in 5.2.4. Prepositional phrases have been mentioned previously in this description of Hoava, as modifiers of nouns (4.9), as prepositional possessive phrases (4.11.4), and as oblique objects (6.5.1). In this section I will examine the use of prepositional phrases with the function of optional adverbials in a clause, and look in more detail at how different locational possibilities are expressed in Hoava.

7.1.1 *Location expressed by deictic adverbs*

Hoava has three deictic adverbs of location, and makes use of a relative clause construction to express endophoric deixis. The deictic adverbs correspond to the three positions of the demonstratives: **hera** ‘close to speaker, here’; **tana** ‘near to hearer, nearby’; **huara** ‘distant from speaker and hearer’.

Hera ‘here, close to speaker’ can be used in its simple form (1), or it can be reduplicated (2) to indicate a contrasting close location.

- (1) **Mae ko varigara hera eri karu.**
come stay gather here ART:PL two
‘The two of them stayed together here.’
- (2) **Hera sa kakatuana, hera=hera la ko ria nikana.**
here ART:SG stone.oven RED=here go stay ART:PL man
‘Here is the stone oven; over here the men stay.’

Hera can also be modified by the proximate demonstrative **ni**, emphasising the closeness of the location. The following examples were recorded while the speaker was pointing out parts of a house.

- (3) a. **Pula ko keke hera ni, sa vavarata**
 if exist one here DEM ART:SG *vavarata*
gu-ni-a sa pu isa, mi kakoa hera ni.
 said-AP-3SG PRO:3SG REL PRO:3SG but none here DEM
 'If one is here, it is called the *vavarata*, but there is none here.'
- b. **Podalae hera ni, tiqe la hera ni, sipata tase-na.**
 begin here DEM then go here DEM *sipata* name-3SG
 'Begin here, then go here, its name is *sipata*.'

The following example also shows **hera** being combined with the demonstrative **ni** to stress the immediacy of the location.

- (4) **Loka-ni-rao goe hera ni.**
 wait-AP-1SG PRO:32SG here DEM
 'You wait for me right here.'

Hera can also follow the preposition **pa**:

- (5) **Mae sa nikana pa hera ni, pa Hoava.**
 come ART:SG man PRP here DEM PRP H.
 'The man comes to here, to Hoava.'

Hera can have endophoric reference, referring to previously mentioned places:

- (6) **Vesala, Nulu, kakele-na pa Qalakana, hera**
 V. N. side-3SG PRP Guadalcanal here
sagi vagi veala.
 TOP take child.sacrifice
 'Vesala, Nulu, coast of Guadalcanal, (from) here (they would) take children for sacrifice.'

Tana is used to indicate a location near the hearer, as in (7):

- (7) **Isa qa toka mae-ni-a gamu karu**
 PRO:3SG REST follow come-AP-3SG PRO:2PL two
sa pu de mae zokoro-mi qa tana gua? [KUS]
 PRO:3SG REL PURP come do.nothing-2PL REST there thus
 'Did you two come with (us) just in order to come and do nothing there?'

While (7) clearly shows a location close to the hearers, other recorded examples of **tana** referred to a location that was nearby, but not necessarily near the hearer or speaker. In (8) the speaker is pointing out a place that is distant both from himself and his hearer, who is fishing in the same canoe, and they have to leave their present position to reach the place referred to.

- (8) **“Kakele la tu tana ko topa,” gua Vezi.**
 side go REST there exist *topa.fish* said V.
Taloa toka pule gami kahike pa Oto.
 leave travel return PRO: IPL.EX three PRP O.
 ‘‘There are *topa* at the other side there,’’ said Vezi. We three left and canoed back to Oto.’

In the next example, the speaker is telling the hearer about the location of an island that is not even visible from where we were talking:

- (9) **Kolokolo-na isana ko pa Bakala gami,**
 time-3SG that stay PRP B. PRO: IPL.EX
keke tusu, kale la gua tana.
 one island side go thus there
 ‘At that time we lived at Bakala, an island, over the other side there.’

The following example shows the use of **tana** for relative position, and occurred when a person was pointing out the figures of three men on a drawing. Note in this example the use of the demonstrative **heni** this to mean ‘here’ (see also 4.8), which could be a shortened form of **hera ni**.

- (10) **Keke koni la henii, keke ko henii, tana tiva**
 one FUT go this one stay this there stand
sa nikana.
 ART:SG man
 ‘One will go here, one stays here, there the man stands.’

Tana is also used endophorically to refer to previously mentioned places, although the relative clause construction is used more often in this case (see below).

- (11) **La rao, la eko huara ... Tiva mae**
 go PRO:1SG go lie.down over.there stand come
rao pu eko-qu tana so.
 PRO:1SG REL lie.down-1SG there PAST
 ‘I went, went and lay down over there ... I, who was lying down there, stood up and approached (it).’

Huara refers to locations distant from the speaker and hearer. In all three of the examples below (12), the locations referred to were outside the immediate village district in which the speech was taking place, and were not visible.

- (12) a. **Q: Tama-mu pa vera?**
 father-2SG PRP where
A: Pa huara tu, pa Dekurana.
 PRP over.there REST PRP D.

'Q: Your father was from where?

A: From over there, from Dekurana.'

- b. **La tiqa pa ovuku lavata huara.**
 go arrive PRP river big over.there
 '(They) arrived at the big river over there.'
- c. **Ko qa tikeli la huara kiqa vasina?'**
 exist REST inland go over.there some places
 'Are there some places inland over there?'

Neither **tana** nor **huara** had many mentions in the corpus of recorded material, probably because the distal and remote demonstratives convey much the same information.

Hoava uses a relative clause structure for endophoric deixis in order to refer to a place earlier mentioned in a conversation or narrative. This consists of the relative particle for place **tala** 'where' followed by the applicative form of the verb **gua** 'said, did', which is used in reporting action or speech (see 6.3.6). In this case, it is referring back to an earlier mention of a place: 'where (I) said'.

- (13) a. **Tiqe la pa miho Tuki keke vasina sagi**
 then go PRP point T. one place TOP
gore ria Japani tala gu-ni-a.
 go.down ART:PL Japanese where said-AP-3SG
 'Then go to Tuki point...it's a place, the Japanese went down there.'
- b. **Ko pa Burono. Doresi vagi-a, heuki-a**
 stay PRP Burongo D. take-TR:3SG plant.TR-3SG
tala gu-ni-a.
 where said-AP-3SG
 '(It's) at Burongo. Doresi took it, planted it there.'

7.1.2 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases are used in Hoava to express the static location of an entity, or the goal or source to or from which movement or action is directed. However, directionality is not part of the prepositional phrase, but is specified by the verb phrase (this is discussed in 7.1.4 below). The prepositional phrase only contains the location, and the relationship of that location to any other participants is expressed through the verb phrase.

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition, **pa**, **ta-** (HOA) or **ke** (KUS), followed by a noun phrase, as described in 6.5.1. The noun phrase does not have an article if it follows the preposition **pa**. The use of the preposition **pa** is restricted to non-human entities and place names.

- (14) a. **Koni la gami pa hinigala.**
 FUT go PRO:1PLEX PRP garden
 'We will go to the garden.'
- b. **Noqolo keke qato pa ravuravuana.**
 sprout one tree PRP grave
 'A tree sprouts on the grave.'
- c. **La hodoko pa Patutiva.**
 go land PRP P.
 'Go and land at Patutiva.'

The preposition **ta-** is followed by person and number indicators as described in 4.11.4 and 6.5.1, while the particle **te** is used with names. **Ta-** is followed either by a pronoun or a full noun phrase, and it is used mainly with noun phrases that refer to humans. Note in (15e) that the noun for ancestor spirits is treated as if it were a name, taking the **te** preposition.

- (15) a. **Aso la tani sa nikana Japani.**
 walk go PRP:3SG ART:SG man Japanese
 'Walk towards the Japanese man.'
- b. **La tu tadi karu vavane-mu.**
 go REST PRP:3PL two brother-2SG
 'Go to your two brothers.'
- c. **Ripoti la te Kenedi pa Sege.**
 report go PRP K. PRP Seghe
 'Report to Kennedy at Seghe.'
- d. **...gua se Midili, nanasa mae taqu rao.**
 say ART M. ask come PRP:1SG PRO:1SG
 '... said Midili, asking me.'
- e. **Q: Te se varavara la?**
 PRP who pray go
A: Te tomate. Varavara la te tomate.
 PRP ancestor.spirit pray go PRP ancestor.spirit
 Q: 'Who did you pray to?'
 A: 'To the ancestor spirit. Pray to the ancestor spirit.'

The preposition **ta-** is also used with non-humans to allow a noun phrase to be definite. Since definite articles are not used following **pa**, the noun phrase can be interpreted as indefinite or generic, even when it is clearly referring to a specific location, as in (14b) above, where one particular grave was being referred to. By using the **ta-** preposition, the noun phrase can be clearly marked as definite.

- (16) a. **La ome tani sa maqe.**
 go look.at PRP:3SG ART:SG monkey
 'Go and look at the monkey.'
- b. **La tiqa qa ria, mae tata mae qa**
 go reach REST PRO:3PL come close come REST
tani sa miho.
 PRP:3SG ART:SG headland
 'They arrived, came close to the headland.'

Pa and **ta-** can also co-occur in Hoava, as in (17):

- (17) **ria pu tata mae pa tani sa qato**
 PRO:3PL REL close come PRP PRP:3SG ART:SG tree
 'they who come close to the tree'

The preposition **ta-/te** is used in adverbial prepositional phrases only in the Hoava dialect. Kusaghe dialect uses the preposition **ke** for adverbial prepositional phrases followed by either a pronoun or a lexical noun phrase. As with **ta-**, **ke** is used primarily with humans, but is used with non-humans when definite reference is important for the discourse.

Human:

- (18) a. **Kikiu la isa ke sa hinaquru.** [KUS]
 call go PRO:3SG PRP ART:SG girl
 'He called to the girl.'
- b. **Rao koni toka ke goe.** [KUS]
 PRO:1SG FUT follow PRP PRO:2SG
 'I will follow you.'
- c. **Nake isa ke Bubu.** [KUS]
 speak PRO:3SG PRP B.
 'She spoke to Bubu.'

Non-Human:

- (19) a. **La vari-likoho ke sa heta.** [KUS]
 go COLL-go.around PRP ART:SG betelnut
 '(They) surrounded the betelnut tree.'
- b. **Holapa la isa ke sa kakia.** [KUS]
 pass go PRO:3SG PRP ART:SG cockatoo
 'He passed by the cockatoo.'
- c. **La ke sa napo.** [KUS]
 go PRP ART:SG drink
 'Go to the drink/water.'

Pa is always used with place names in Kusaghe, as in Hoava: **pa Duke; pa Kusage.**

7.1.3 Position of prepositional phrases in a clause

There is no fixed position for prepositional phrases. They may be positioned directly after intransitive verb phrases, before the subject:

- (20) a. **Pato la te Uilisoni rao.**
 speak go PRP U. PRO:1SG
 'I spoke to Uilisoni.'
- b. **La pa Adava isa.**
 go PRP Andava PRO:3SG
 'She went to Andava.'
- c. **Ko nana ke Matakale sa kaleqe. [KUS]**
 stay POSS:3SG PRP M. ART:SG old.woman
 'The old woman stayed with Matakale.'

The prepositional phrase can also be placed after the subject:

- (21) a. **Ko holapa se Siangala pa Hoava.**
 stay pass ART Siangala PRP H.
 'Siangala stayed behind in Hoava.'
- b. **Haqala gore Bubu ke sa heta. [KUS]**
 run go.down B. PRP ART:SG betelnut
 'Bubu ran down to the betelnut tree.'

When the verb phrase is transitive, the prepositional phrase generally comes between the subject and the direct object:

- (22) a. **La pitá ria pa Piono Lavata sa sege na.**
 go seek.TR:3SG PRO:3PL PRP Piongo L. ART:SG crocodile DEM
 'They went to seek the crocodile in the Piongo Lavata.'
- b. **Vale-a Nuke te Devita sa poata heni.**
 give-TR:3SG N. PRP D. ART:SG shell.money this
 'Nuke gave this shell money to Devita.'

When the prepositional phrase follows the direct object, it is sometimes ambiguous as to whether the prepositional phrase is a location for the event in the clause, or a modifier of the direct object noun phrase, as in the next two examples:

- (23) a. **La ome-a sa sege pa Piono Lavata.**
 go see-TR:3SG ART:SG crocodile PRP Piongo L.
 '(He) went to see the crocodile in/of the Piongo Lavata.'
- b. **Taloa sa Pakupaku, pita-e ria**
 leave ART:SG P. seek-TR:3PL ART:PL

doluru sege pa doluru vasina na.
 all crocodile PRP all place DEM
 'The Pakupaku leaves, seeks all the crocodiles in/from all places.'

In (24) the prepositional phrase is clearly a noun phrase modifier, since it forms part of the crocodile's name in the adjunct phrase.

- (24) **La sa, la ome-a sa sege lavata**
 go PRO:3SG go see-TR:3SG ART:SG crocodile be.big
pa Hura na, Matungu pa Hura.
 PRP H. DEM Matungu PRP H.
 'He goes, goes to see the big crocodile of Hura, Matungu of Hura.'

With applicative verb phrases with one object, the same pattern is followed: the prepositional phrase tends to be placed between the subject and the direct object.

- (25) a. **Naqala taloa la-ni-a ria pa kakele-na**
 carry leave go-AP-3SG PRO:3PL PRP side-3SG
la gua sa b<in>aṅara.
 go did ART:SG be.chief<NOM>
 'They carried away to the other side the chiefly things.'
- b. **E se naqala-ni-a pa Hoava sa sanu**
 ART who carry-AP-3SG PRP H. ART:SG whatsit
gua, sa poata?
 said ART:SG shell.money
 'Who carried the whatsit, the shell money, to Hoava?'
- c. **Vivine-ni-a qa Devita taqu rao**
 tell-AP-3SG REST D. PRP:1SG PRO:1SG
sa poata isana.
 ART:SG shell.money that
 'Devita told me about that shell money.'

Clauses with applicative verb phrases and two objects generally have the prepositional phrase at the end of the clause, although as either the subject or object, or both, are frequently ellipsed, it is difficult to be precise about this.

- (26) **La sa hinaquru, hapu-ni-a sasaeri pa kabasa raro.**
 go ART:SG girl cover-AP-3SG leaf PRP house cook
 'The girl went and covered him with leaves in the kitchen.'

The placement of prepositional phrases before the verb for focusing is discussed in Chapter 9.

7.1.4 Direction expressed through verbs

The prepositions have no directional meaning and merely indicate location. Directional information is conveyed by the verbs of general direction, as in (27), and by the directional verbs for direction to or from participants (see (29) and (30)).

- (27) a. **vura pa sadana**
 go.out PRP river.mouth
 'go out of the river mouth'
- b. **karovo pa Toqere**
 go.across PRP Tonggere
 'go across Tonggere (mountain)'
- c. **Haqala gore se Bubu ke sa heta.** [KUS]
 run go.down ART B. PRP ART:SG betelnut
 'Bubu ran down to the betel nut tree.'

Other verbs of spatial direction include:

- (28) **nuquru** 'go in, enter'
sagele 'go up'
sua 'go in front'
hiku 'go behind'
opo 'go over'
hake 'go onto'
holapa 'go past, go through'
kapa 'go beside'

The directional verbs supply information about the direction of movement towards or away from a participant when this is not clear from other information in the clause. **La** expresses direction to a third person, glossed as 'go', **mae** expresses direction towards the speaker, glossed as 'come', and **atu** expresses direction towards the hearer, which is glossed as either 'come' or 'go' depending on context. The directional verbs can be placed before or after the main verb or verbs in the verb phrase, as described in 5.2.4.2, or can be used on their own. It is very common for the directional verbs to follow or precede the verbs of general direction in order to clarify the direction towards or away from participants.

The semantic roles of a prepositional phrase or noun phrase vary according to interpretation of the rest of the clause and the context. **La** invariably indicates a goal as it signals movement away from the speaker, towards another entity:

- (29) a. **Ta-va-taloa pule la pa gugusu vaka**
 PASS-CAUSE-leave return go PRP village ship
ria nikana vaka-di.
 ART:PL man ship-3PL
 'The Europeans were made to go back to European villages.'

- b. **La isa pa Duke.** [KUS]
 go PRO:3SG PRP Kolombangara
 'She went back to Kolombangara.'
- c. **Pato la te Uilisoni rao.**
 speak go PRP U. PRO:1SG
 'I spoke to Uilisoni.'

Atu and **mae** may also express a goal, when a second- or first-person participant is the endpoint:

- (30) a. **Koni naqala atu-ni-a tamu goe.**
 FUT carry go.to.you-AP-3SG PRP:2 PRO:2SG
 '(I) will carry it to you.'
- b. **Koni pule mae goe pa nada kabasa.**
 FUT return come PRO:2SG PRP POSS:1PL.IN house
 'You will come back to our house.'
- c. **... nanasa mae taqu rao**
 ask come PRP:1SG PRO:1SG
 '... ask me'

The source role of a noun phrase is indicated by the use of **mae** or **atu** and the particular context of a clause. For instance, in example (31a) we need to know that Ulusage (Marovo) is not where the speaker is, while in (31b) the relative clause tells us that 'the valley' is where the snake has gone earlier, therefore it must be interpreted as 'source'.

- (31) a. **Mae pa Ulusage sa vaka tapuru.**
 come PRP Marovo ART:SG ship fly
 'The aeroplane came from Marovo.'
- b. **Sagele sa noki, sagele atu qa**
 go.up ART:SG snake go.up go.to.you REST
heni=he ke sa lolomo pu la gua heni=ni.
 this=RED PRP ART:SG valley REL go did this=RED
 'The snake went up, this one went up from the valley where this one had gone.' [KUS]

Without a directional verb, the context of the clause or the meaning of the verb have to provide enough information to determine a source role for a prepositional phrase. In (32) context is needed, while in (33) the verb **taloa** 'leave' indicates the role of source for the prepositional phrase.

- (32) **Toka pa Muda sa Tдания.**
 travel PRP Munda ART:SG T.
 'The *Tadania* travelled from Munda.'

- (33) **Taloo pa Honiara sa ami Merika.**
 leave PRP H. ART:SG army America
 'The American army left from Honiara.'

With verbs that do not take a goal or source argument, the prepositional phrase indicates the static location of an event or action.

- (34) a. **Puto ria koburu pa teqe.**
 sleep ART:PL child PRP mat
 'The children slept on mats.'
- b. **Polo sa noki pa heleana.**
 coil ART:SG snake PRP river
 'The snake coiled up in a river.'

However, the main way of indicating static location at a place is to use the existential verb **ko** 'exist, stay, be.at'. This is used with any static location, as shown in (35):

- (35) a. **Sa kuti ko pa tevolo.**
 ART:SG knife exist PRP table
 'The knife is on the table.'
- b. **Ko pa korapa kabasa isa.**
 exist PRP middle house PRO:3SG
 'She is in the house.'
- c. **Sa nahu-na sa beke te Roqae sagi**
 ART:SG point-3SG ART:SG spear POSS Ronggae TOP
korapa ko nana qa ke sa magara. [KUS]
 IMP exist POSS:3SG REST PRP ART:SG stone
 'The point of Ronggae's spear, it is still in the stone.'

There are very few examples of prepositional predicates in Hoava as nearly every clause describing a static location uses the verb **ko**. Two exceptions to this that were recorded are shown in (36), but these are unusual.

- (36) a. **Pa kakele-na pa deri sa mavuana.**
 PRP side-3SG PRP pole ART:SG mavuana.tree
 'The **mavuana** tree is beside the pole.'
- b. **Mina sa gugusu tadi karu koburu heni**
 but ART:SG village POSS:3PL two child PROX:SG
sagi pa dinigopepeha tu.
 TOP PRP forest REST
 'But the village of these two children, it was in a forest.'

7.1.5 Locational nouns in prepositional phrases

In order to show the placement of one object in relation to another, Hoava uses locational nouns. Locational nouns can optionally take the inalienable possessive marker to index a following noun phrase.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (37) | pa korapa-na sa beha | 'inside the basket' |
| | pa kakele-na sa beha | 'beside the basket' |
| | pa susua-na sa beha | 'in front of the basket' |
| | pa hari-na sa beha | 'behind the basket' |
| | pa hari-na sa bokese | 'on top of the box' |
| | pa vunasa-na sa kabasa | 'on top of the house' |
| | pa talipeka-na sa ropoto | 'below the roof' |
| | pa peka-na sa tevolo | 'under the table' |

Without the possessive marker, the noun phrase has an indefinite interpretation:

- | | | | |
|------|----|---------------------------------------|--|
| (38) | a. | pa korapa beha | |
| | | PRP middle basket | |
| | | 'middle basket' i.e., inside a basket | |
| | b. | pa kakele kabasa | |
| | | PRP side house | |
| | | 'side house' i.e., beside a house | |

The reciprocal prefix **vari-** is used with the noun **korapa** 'middle' with the meaning 'between':

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (39) | pa vari-korapa-na sa buka dae sa beha | |
| | PRP RECIP-middle-3SG ART:SG book and ART:SG basket | |
| | 'between the book and the basket' | |

Locational nouns can also be used alone to indicate a general location, with reference to the position of some other entity, usually the speaker's position:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| (40) | pa noka | 'up high, above' |
| | pa tikeli | 'higher up, further inland' |
| | pa peka | 'down low, closer to the shore' |
| | pa kapa | 'close up, alongside' |
| | pa seo(na) | 'far away' |

Kakele 'side' is specified further using the adjectives **gede** 'left' and **baroso** 'right', and the directional verbs **la** and **mae** used as nominal modifiers.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| (41) | pa kakele gede | 'left side' |
| | pa kakele baroso | 'right side' |
| | pa kakele la | 'side go: the other side' |
| | pa kakele mae | 'side come: this side' |

7.1.6 Prepositional phrases for modes of transport

Hoava uses prepositional phrases to describe modes of transport. The prepositional phrase referring to a mode of transport follows a prepositional phrase of location, if present, but it is otherwise placed in the same positions as other prepositional phrases.

- (42) a. **Toka pa vaka rao.**
 travel PRP ship PRO:1SG
 'I travelled by ship.'
- b. **La pa Honiara pa Iuminao isa.**
 go PRP H. PRP I. PRO:3SG
 'She went to Honiara on the *Iuminao*.'
- c. **La pa Adava pa hore isa.**
 go PRP Andava PRP canoe PRO:3SG
 'She went to Andava in a canoe.'

7.2 Temporal location

7.2.1 Grammatical tense

Grammatical tense is regarded by Foley and Van Valin (1984) as being outside the nucleus of the verb phrase, since they view it as operating at clause level. In Hoava, most expressions of temporal location occur as peripheral operators, as will be discussed below. As discussed in 5.5.1, however, the future tense marker **ma-** appears to be unable to be separated from the verb phrase. As will be shown below, another future tense marker, **koni**, can be separated from the verb phrase, suggesting that it should not be considered a part of the verb phrase.

Hoava makes a two-way tense distinction between future and non-future. The unmarked verb phrase is non-future, covering past, present and immediate future, such as in imperative clauses.

- (43) a. **Aso sa koburu.**
 walk ART:SG child
 'The child walks/walked.'
- b. **Aso mae goe.**
 walk come PRO:2SG
 'You come here/you came.'

If it is important that a distinction be made between past and present, then time adverbials will be used, such as **velu** 'yesterday', **kerane** 'before, in the olden days', **pirae** 'now', **pa rane ninoroe** 'to this day' (see 7.2.2). Otherwise, aspectual markers also convey present or past relevance as discussed in 5.4, and the demonstrative **so** has a clear past tense function, as shown in 4.8.2.3. In narratives, the use of time adverbials, such as

keke rane 'one day' or **kerane** 'in the olden days', are enough to supply the past-time setting of the narrative.

Future tense is generally marked by the particle **koni** (see 5.5.1 for another way of marking future tense):

- (44) a. **Gami ka-made koni taloa valusa.**
 PRO:1PLEX NUM-four FUT leave fish.for.bonito
 'We four will go fishing for bonito.'
- b. **Sa koni taveti-a gamu karu?**
 what FUT do.TR-3SG PRO:2PL two
 'What will you two do?'
- c. **Koni buma sa kuma pula vale-a**
 FUT be.green ART:SG water if give-TR:3SG
goe sa dae buma.
 PRO:2SG ART:SG dye green
 'The water will be green if you put in the green dye.'

Conditional clauses, marked by **pula** 'if' as in the second clause in example (44c) above, do not contain a future particle.

It is difficult to determine if **koni** is within the verb phrase or immediately in front of it. If we accept Foley and Van Valin's (1984) theory of clause organisation, as I have been doing so far, then tense is theoretically placed outside the verb phrase at the periphery level. This is supported by examples in Hoava which clearly show **koni** positioned before a fronted noun phrase, and at distance from the verb phrase.

- (45) a. **Koni isa boka surani-go.**
 FUT PRO:3SG able load.on.boat.TR-3SG
 'It will be able to embark you.'
- b. **Pula ko manue, koni manue sagi ta-sulu pa hope.**
 if stay possum FUT possum TOP PASS-burn PRP shrine
 'If there's possum, it will be possum that is burnt at the shrine.'

Koni can also occur twice in a clause, once before the fronted noun phrase and once before the verb phrase:

- (46) a. **Koni kiqa kasitona koni tavete-ni-a sa.**
 FUT some thing FUT do-AP-3SG PRO:3SG
 'There will be some things that he will do with it.'
- b. **Koni boko koni gore mae.**
 FUT pig FUT go.down come
 'It will be pigs that will come down.'
- c. **Koni vaqavaqasa koni gore ria.**
 FUT dawn FUT go.down PRO:3PL
 'At dawn they will go down.'

Other than these examples, there is nothing in the description to justify placing tense outside the verb phrase. It may also be that **koni** is part of the verb phrase, with the option of being moved in front of the verb phrase for focusing and topicalisation functions. However, movement of verb phrase items to positions external to the verb phrase does not normally occur in Hoava, other than in this case. Therefore, on the limited present evidence, I will accept Foley and Van Valin's categorisation of tense at the periphery level for the future tense marker **koni** and the time adverbials. The future tense marker **ma-**, on the other hand, has been classified as part of the verb phrase in this grammar, because it takes a subject marker and does not move from its position in front of the verb. However, its use is very limited, being restricted to the first person singular and first person plural inclusive forms only, with an exhortative function. The future tense marker **ma-** is discussed in 5.5.1 above.

7.2.2 Time adverbials

Time adverbials in Hoava consist of a time word which may be modified by a directional verb, or it may be combined with another time word. Time adverbials usually come at the beginning or end of a clause.

The day is broken up into the following periods:

(47)	vaqavaqasa	'dawn'
	tatavola	'morning'
	korapa rane	'midday'
	veluvelu	'afternoon, early evening'
	boni	'night'
	katupu	'dark, night'

Time can be expressed using clock time, although this is not very important in Hoava culture.

(48)	kolokolo	'o'clock, time'
	zuapa kolokolo	'seven o'clock'
	miniti	'minutes'
	lima miniti	'five minutes'

Days relative to the point of speaking are expressed using terms such as 'today', 'yesterday':

(49)	ninoroe	'today'
	velu	'yesterday'
	tavola	'tomorrow'
	risa	'day after tomorrow'
	pana hike	'in three days' time'
	risoe	'day before yesterday'

hiké	'three days ago' (distinguished from híke 'three' by stress on the last vowel)
tavola risa	'this week, next week, sometime'

Other general time words also refer to time in relation to the point of speaking:

(50)	pirae	'now'
	ninahite	'later today, soon'
	kerane	'before, in the olden days, pre-European contact'

There are also several expressions for referring to a particular point in time:

(51)	keke rane	'one day'
	kolokolo(na) isana	'at that time'
	keke kolokolo-na	'one time, then'

Days of the week are expressed using terms derived from English or Solomon Islands Pijin combined with **rane** 'day'. The word for 'Sunday' **lotu** may be a Fijian borrowing.

(52)	Rane Made	'Monday'
	Rane Tiusde	'Tuesday'
	Rane Turu	'Thursday'
	Rane Sarere	'Saturday'
	Rane Lotu	'Sunday, church day'

The word for 'week' is also derived from English/SI Pijin: **uiki**.

The lunar calendar is important to Hoava people and the periods of the moon are named:

(53)	kisi koreke	'new moon' lit: small moon
	ena koreke	'half moon'
	hobe gava	'full moon' lit: change sun

The names for traditional seasons of the year are no longer retained and Hoava now uses months derived from English/SI Pijin:

(54)	Zanuare, Peburore, Masi, Epereli, Me, Zuni, Zulae, Oqesti, Sepiteba, Okotoba, Noveba, Diseba.
------	--

These can be combined with the word **koreke** 'moon': **koreke Me** 'May'.

The word for year is **buruburu**, which also refers to the canarium nut (**neba**), a nut which has an annual fruiting cycle and which was the basis of the older seasonal calendar.

(55) a.	Sa	buruburu	pu	gore	Mista	Qoldi
	ART:SG	year	REL	go.down	Mr	Goldie
	sa	lotu	pa	Hoava	sagi keke	tina
	ART:SG	church	PRP	H.	TOP	one thousand

sia gogoto manege lima.
 nine hundred ten five
 'The year when Mr Goldie brought the church to Hoava, it was nineteen hundred and fifteen.'

- b. **Buruburu keke tina sia gogoto kaoqe**
 year one thousand nine hundred twenty
mae tiqa-gi pa Vahole ria nikana heri.
 come reach-AGI PRP V. ART:PL man these
 'These men arrived in Vahole in nineteen hundred and twenty.'

Kusaghe speakers also use the word **vuaheni** for 'year', a Roviana word associated with the fruiting time of the canarium nut.

Time adverbials can be used without modifiers:

- (56) a. **Tatavola koni atu.**
 tomorrow FUT go.to.you
 'Tomorrow I will come to you.'
- b. **Vari-korakora-e se Josua ri Deni velu.**
 RECIP-be.angry-TR:3PL ART J. and D. yesterday
 'Josua and Deni were angry with each other yesterday.'
- c. **Kipu kera hokara rane ninoroe sa**
 NEG sing true day today ART:SG
k<in>era-na sa
 sing<NOM>-3SG PRO:3SG
 'The singing of it is not sung properly today.'

Time words can be modified by intensifiers (57) and demonstratives (58) to stress the exactness or certainty of the time reference.

- (57) **Tatavola hokara koni atu qa.**
 tomorrow true FUT go.to.you REST
 'Tomorrow for sure I will come to you.'
- (58) **Boni heni sagi sikulu-ni-a ria sa keke k<in>era**
 night this TOP school-AP-3SG PRO:3PL ART:SG one sing<NOM>
 'This night they taught one song.'

The directional verbs **mae** 'come' and **la** 'go' are used as modifiers to convey 'next' and 'last' respectively, with optional addition of the third person nominal indexing suffix **-na** on **mae** 'come', but not on **la** 'go'.

- (59) **buruburu la** 'last year'
buruburu mae(na) 'next year'
uiki mae(na) 'next week'
uiki la 'last week'
boni mae(na) 'next night'

boni la 'last night'
keke rane maena 'one day to come'

Time references using time adverbials in Hoava can refer to both punctual time (60) and durational time (61).

- (60) a. **Pirae mae ba rao ni.**
 now come EMPH PRO:1SG DEM
 'I am coming now!'
- b. **Sumi ome-a rao isa velu.**
 PERF see-TR:3SG PRO:1SG PRO:3SG yesterday
 'I saw her yesterday.'
- (61) a. **Nina keke, karua koreke poni-ni-a n<in>ani**
 possibly one two month give-AP-3SG eat<NOM>
kina-di sa sa tu-na.
 cook-3PL PRO:3SG ART:SG child-3SG
 'Maybe for one or two months she gave her child cooked food.'
- b. **Rao heni keke buruburu qa tiqe dae.**
 PRO:1SG this one year REST then finish
 'I for just one year (signed on) then finished.'

Time phrases for punctual and durational time can be included in a prepositional phrase with the preposition **pa**.

- (62) a. **Sa horete heni korapa ko pa hope**
 ART:SG pudding.bowl this IMP stay PRP shrine
pa Maqala pa rane ninoroe. [KUS]
 PRP Manggala PRP day today
 'This pudding bowl is at Manggala shrine to this day.'
- b. **Pa keke buruburu qa saena rao.**
 PRP one year REST sign.on PRO:1SG
 'I signed on for just one year.'

In order to show the duration of an event over a long period of time the verb **seona** [HOA], **saonae** [KUS] 'be for a long time' is used.

- (63) **Saonae na k<in>o.**
 long.time ART live<NOM>
 'The life was long.'
- (64) **Se=seona ko gami karu.**
 RED=long.time stay PRO:1PL.EX two
 'We two stayed for a long time.'

7.2.3 Prepositional phrases for temporal location

Prepositional phrases can also be used to express the durational temporal setting of an event. In this case, the head of the noun phrase in the PP is a nominalised verb, with the original subject expressed as a possessive phrase. All types of possessive phrases are used in this construction, except the edible possessive.

- (65) a. **Pa r<in>odokiko tani sa boni, tata**
 PRP be.dark<NOM> POSS:3SG ART:SG night close
mae-g-irao Ban̄ara.
 come-LIG-TR:1SG Lord
 'In the darkness of the night, the Lord comes close to me.'
- b. **Pa p<in>odalae na sa t<in>avete koni lotu paki.**
 PRP begin<NOM> 3SG ART:SG work<NOM> FUT pray first
 'At the beginning of the work, (we) will pray first.'
- (66) a. **Ke sa dia k<in>o tala gu-ni-a**
 PRP ART:SG POSS:3PL stay<NOM> where said-AP-3SG
sagi, lavati sa koburu. [KUS]
 TOP be.big ART:SG child
 'In their stay there, the child grew big.'
- b. **Ke sa dia <in>aso gore la sani**
 PRP ART:SG POSS:3PL <NOM>move go.down go that
sagi nake sa ban̄ara. [KUS]
 TOP speak ART:SG chief
 'On that journey going down of theirs, the chief spoke.'

In the following example, the nominalisation is the modifier of a locational noun, **korapa** 'middle'.

- (67) **Pa korapa-na sa r<in>apata tadi**
 PRP middle-3SG ART:SG fight<NOM> POSS:3PL
ria, koni la vagi-a ria keke koburu.
 PRO:3PL FUT go take-TR:3SG PRO:3PL one child
 'In the middle of their fighting, they would take a child.'

7.3 Sentential negation

Hoava employs four types of sentential negation, all of which are particles placed before the predicate.

7.3.1 The negator kipu

Kipu is the negator used to express factual negation, in which the speaker asserts that what he or she is saying is true. It is used with past and present events, which are known to be true (68) and with future events which are expected to be true (69). Note that the negative particle **kipu** can both precede and follow the future particle.

- (68) a. **Kipu gilalí rao vivine-di ria ra.**
 NEG know.TR:3PL PRO:1SG story-3PL PRO:3PL DEM
 'I don't know the stories of them.'
- b. **Saonae kipu pule sa loa-na.** [KUS]
 long.time NEG return ART:SG spouse-3SG
 'Her husband did not return for a long time.'
- c. **Kipu isa qa sa pakupaku.**
 NEG PRO:3SG REST ART:SG necklace
 'It's not the necklace.'
- (69) a. **Pula ve, koni kipu ta-va-mate.**
 if like FUT NEG PASS-CAUSE-be.dead
 'If so, (he) will not be killed.'
- b. **Kipu koni tavetí ria ba sara.**
 NEG FUT make.TR:3PL PRO:3PL EMPH those
 'They will not make *those*.'

In the next example, **kipu** follows the definite article of a nominal predicate:

- (70) **Se Matakale sagi na kipu tu-na sa nikana so.**
 ART M. TOP ART NEG child-3SG ART:SG man PAST:SG
 'Matakale, he was not a son of a man.'

If a noun phrase is fronted before the verb phrase or noun phrase predicate, **kipu** is not fronted, as shown in (71) and (72):

- (71) **Ria pa Vareso, ria kipu naní sa.**
 PRO:3PL PRP V. PRO:3PL NEG eat.TR:3PL PRO:3SG
 'Those from Vareso, them he did not eat.'
- (72) **Na koburu isana kipu tiqu-a hinaquru.**
 ART child that NEG touch-TR:3SG girl
 'That child, girls didn't touch him.'

Kipu is also used with imperative clauses:

- (73) a. **Veko-a, kipu ilisoqo-a.**
 leave-TR:3SG NEG hurt-TR:3SG
 'Leave him, don't hurt him.'

- b. **Kipu isara-ni-a gamu, ome=ome hokara.**
 NEG laugh-AP-3SG PRO:2PL RED=see true
 'You don't laugh at it, just look.'

7.3.2 The negator kae

Kae, which is occasionally shortened in Kusaghe to **ke**, is a negator used for events and states that are not possible, not permitted or which run counter to the usual state of affairs.

The use of **kae** to mark events and states that are not possible because of some factor stopping their occurrence is shown in (74):

- (74) a. **Isa sa pu kae dugili-ni-a Pilipi.**
 PRO:3SG PRO:3SG REL NEG be.deaf-AP-3SG P.
 'That's what stops Pilipi from being deaf.'
- b. **Sa qeto sumi mae mi kae boka**
 ART:SG warparty PERF come but NEG able
likohi-a ria sa toa.
 go.around.TR-3SG PRO:3PL ART:SG stronghold
 'The war party had come but it was unable to go around the stronghold.'

In (75) both types of negative are used, the first **kae**, to show that something is unable to be known, the second **kipu** to show that it is a fact that the speaker does not know.

- (75) **Sa toqerana pu gore la pa Beu, sa**
 ART:SG mountain REL go.down go PRP B. PRO:3SG
kae ta-gilali. Ko qatu tase-na mi kipu gilali-a rao.
 NEG PASS-know stay REST name-3SG but NEG know-TR:3SG PRO:1SG
 'The mountain which goes down to Beu, it cannot be known. There is a name for it, but I don't know it.'

Prohibitions generally use **kae**. This includes imperatives, particularly the everyday imperatives used with children, although as noted above, **kipu** may also be used with imperatives.

- (76) a. **Kae kabo.**
 NEG cry
 'Don't cry.'
- b. **Kae do=dola la-ia nina goe**
 NEG RED=stare go-TR:3SG possibly PRO:2SG
se Maqiqo na.
 ART Mangginggo DEM
 'Don't you go staring at that Mangginggo.'

- c. **Kae mae goe, na vavane-qu.**
 NEG come PRO:2SG ART brother-1SG
 'Don't you come, (you're) my brother.'

Prohibitions using **kae** can also refer to traditional observations:

- (77) a. **Kae ta-nani, hope-na.**
 NEG PASS-eat taboo-3SG
 '(It) cannot be eaten, it's taboo.'
- b. **Garo gita kae boka vagi veala.**
 probably PRO:1PL.IN NEG able take child.sacrifice
 'Probably we could not take children for sacrifice.'

The third use of **kae** is when an event or state is not the expected one. For example, in (78) the events were expected to happen but did not.

- (78) a. **Kae atu velu ba rao so.**
 NEG go.to.you yesterday EMPH PRO:1SG PAST:SG
 'I did not come to you yesterday.'
- b. **Kae to sa masi.**
 NEG be.alive ART:SG lighter
 'The lighter does not work.'

In the next example (79), it was required of the Solomon Islanders in Kennedy's defence force that they kill any Japanese they found, but contrary to this expectation they did not want to. This example also includes the negative **kipu** used to express a factual negative that the speaker believes to be true.

- (79) **Kae hiva va-mate-a sa sa**
 NEG want CAUSE-be.dead-TR:3SG PRO:3SG ART:SG
- Japani, puna kipu mae ria nikana**
 Japanese because NEG come ART:PL man
- Japani de gami nikana hupa mae nani-gami.**
 Japanese PURP PRO:1PL.EX man black come eat[kill].TR-1PL.EX
 'He did not want to kill the Japanese, because the Japanese men had not come to kill us black men.'

Kae is also used for hypothetical events that are not necessarily expected to happen.

- (80) a. **Pula vena kae ta-poka labete, doluru**
 if SIM NEG PASS-be.nailed board all
- kasitona heri, koni uke qa sa kabasa.**
 thing these FUT fall REST ART:SG house
 'If boards, all these things, are not nailed, the house will fall.'

- b. **Puna kae ta-gona ria, koni la opo pa darumu.**
 if NEG PASS-shoot PRO:3PL FUT go go.over PRP oildrum
 ‘If they (the Japanese) were not shot (by Solomon Islanders), (the Solomon Islanders) would go over the oildrum [referring to coastwatcher Kennedy’s method of beating Solomon Islanders].’

Connected to the idea of negating expected events or states, is the use of **kae** to express a contradictory statement, as in (81). This example refers to a totemic crocodile which can turn itself into a necklace.

- (81) **“Sege huala ba atu na”, gua**
 crocodile wild EMPH go.to.you DEM said
eri karu. “Sege huala kae ba sana,”
 PRO:3PL two crocodile wild NEG EMPH that
gua sa barigese. “Isa sa pakupaku.”
 said ART:SG old.man PRO:3SG ART:SG necklace
 “‘A wild crocodile is approaching you,’ they (two) said. ‘That’s not a wild crocodile,’ said the old man. ‘It’s the necklace.’”

Contradiction is often expressed using the phrase **kae gua** ‘not so, not as stated’, as well as the negator **kari** ‘no’ (see 9.4.2).

- (82) a. **“Vegoa, solodia goe ni?” gua isa.**
 how soldier PRO:2SG DEM said PRO:3SG
“Kari, solodia kae gua.”
 no soldier NEG said
 “‘What, are you a soldier?’” he said. “No, (I’m) not a soldier.”
- b. **La kuzu-a ria sa veala.**
 go drown-TR:3SG PRO:3PL ART:SG child.sacrifice
Kuzu-a kae gua, zoro ria pa kuma,
 drown-TR:3SG NEG said jump PRO:3PL PRP water
vari-zupe=zupele-ni-a.
 RECIP-RED=push.down-AP-3SG
 ‘They go to drown the *veala*. Not to drown him. They jump in the water, push him under over and over [but take him out before he is dead].’

There is some overlap between **kipu** and **kae**, particularly with prohibitions where either may be used. Also, in the statement ‘I don’t know’ both **kae** and **kipu** are used.

It is possible that **kae** is a verb rather than a clausal particle since it is found in one instance in a nominalisation.

- (83) **sa k<in>ae noso tadi ria koburu**
 ART:SG NEG<NOM> be.still POSS:3PL ART:PL child
 ‘the not-being-still of the children’

7.3.3 The negator *kahi*

Kahi ‘not yet’ is a negative particle used to express the expectation that an event or state will happen, although it has not yet taken place at the point in time referred to. As with the other negative particles, **kahi** precedes the verb phrase.

- (84) a. **Kipu hana nani pu kahi varavara,**
 NEG anyhow bite COND not.yet pray
mi varavara paki tu tiqe nani qa.
 but pray first REST then bite REST
 ‘(You) don’t eat if have not yet prayed, but pray first and then eat.’
- b. **Mina kahi mae pa Patutiva sa Japani,**
 but not.yet come PRP P. ART:SG Japanese
korapa ko pa Viru.
 middle stay PRP V.
 ‘But the Japanese had not yet come to Patutiva, (they) were still at Viru.’

7.3.4 The modal negative *maki*

The modal particle **maki** expresses the desire of the speaker that negative consequences of an event do not occur. It is placed immediately before the verb phrase.

- (85) a. **Maki ta-nani lebotu.**
 NEG:WARN PASS-bite machete
 ‘Don’t be hurt by the machete.’
- b. **Maki uke goe.**
 NEG:WARN fall PRO:2SG
 ‘Don’t you fall.’

7.4 General clausal modifiers

There are three further types of clausal modifiers in Hoava: epistemic modal adverbs expressing uncertainty (7.4.1); restrictive particles for expressing restriction or contrast (7.4.2); and the sequential adverb **pele** ‘next, another’ (7.4.3).

7.4.1 Epistemic modal adverbs

Hoava has three epistemic modal adverbs: **garo** ‘probably’; **nina** ‘possibly’ and **mako** ‘(I) wonder’. These express varying degrees of uncertainty about an event. The adverbs expressing certainty, such as **hokara** ‘true’, are placed within the verb phrase (see 5.8.1), but the adverbs of uncertainty occur outside the verb phrase at clause level.

7.4.1.1 The epistemic modal **garo**

The epistemic modal adverb **garo**, glossed as ‘probably’, indicates that the speaker is proposing a statement without being fully committed to it. This allows for the possibility that he or she may be wrong, but on the present evidence, the speaker believes the statement to be true. For example, in (86) the speaker puts forward his theory on the noise that has been heard, but as it is his opinion only, he uses **garo**.

- (86) **Kipu sa kaleqe mi na nohoko, na voku.**
 NEG ART:SG old.woman but ART bird ART voku
Gar ome ruku so kabo.
 probably see rain SEQ cry
 ‘It’s not the old woman but (it’s) a bird, a *voku*. (It) probably saw rain so (it) cried.’

In the following exchange (87), the second speaker believes that the genealogies have been written down, but since he is not absolutely certain of this, he uses **garo** (in reduplicated form) to preface the clause.

- (87) **Q: Ko qa te Jone isa, tututi, ao?**
 stay REST PRP J. PRO:3SG genealogy yes
A: Garo=garo kubere la qa Jone ...
 RED=probably write go REST J.
 Q: ‘It is with Jone, a genealogy, yes?’
 A: ‘Probably Jone is writing it ...’

The reduplication of **garo** in (87) may be due to intensification, and it could suggest that **garo** is a verb. However, if it were a verb in a serial construction, I would normally expect both verbs to be reduplicated, rather than just one. Since **garo** occurs outside the verb phrase, preceding other clausal modifiers such as location and time phrases (88) and other epistemic modals (101), I do not consider it to be a verb.

- (88) a. **Ei, garo hera ko sa nikana.**
 EXCL probably here stay ART:SG man
 ‘Ei, probably the man is here.’
 b. **Bululu v<in>a-hike sa ruruhu.**
 blow.bubble CAUSE<NOM>-three ART:SG giant
“Gar o pirae mate si goe-o, ...” gua eri karu.
 probably now be.dead ? PRO:2SG-VOC said PRO:3PL two
 ‘The giant blew bubbles a third time. “Probably you are now dead ...” they(two) said.’

Gar o can also precede a fronted noun phrase, in which case its scope is more focused on the noun phrase rather than on the clause as a whole. The rest of the clause is assumed to be factual, while the element that cannot be totally verified is the noun phrase modified

by **garo**. In (89a) it is not doubted that someone carried the axe, nor in (89b) that something remains.

- (89) a. **Gar**o isa qa naqali-a sa lebot**o**.
 probably PRO:3SG REST carry.TR-3SG ART:SG machete
 'Probably *she* carried the machete.'
- b. **Gar**o vasi-na kisi ko.
 probably piece-3SG small stay
 'Probably there's a little bit left.'

7.4.1.2 The epistemic modal **nina**

Nina is an epistemic modal adverb used when a speaker is offering a suggestion for what they think is possibly true. By using **nina** the speaker allows the possibility of other options. I have glossed it as 'possibly' as it has a weaker sense of probability than **garo**, but more certainty than **makoa** (see 7.4.1.3). It usually occurs at the beginning of a clause, as shown in (90).

- (90) a. **Kipu** ta-gilali sa pu **nani-a** sa.
 NEG PASS-know PRO:3Sg REL eat-TR:3SG PRO:3SG
Nina nani sasaeri, nani pepeha na, nani lopo na.
 possibly eat leaf eat earth DEM eat frog DEM
 'What he ate was not known. Possibly (he) ate leaves, ate earth, ate frogs.'
- b. **Nina** koni taveti-a rao.
 possibly FUT make.TR-3SG PRO:1SG
 'I will possibly make it.'

Nina follows a fronted noun phrase (91), but can also precede the fronted noun phrase if that is the item that has some element of doubt (92).

- (91) **Palamena** mi **nina** haqala la.
 P. but possibly run go
 'But possibly Palamena ran away.'
- (92) **Nina** keke tina vagi eri karu.
 possibly one thousand take.TR:3PL PRO:3PL two
 'It was perhaps one thousand they caught.'

Nina is used for the non-committal phrase in (93), which is said by Hoava speakers to show a lack of interest in a topic.

- (93) **Nina** ve qa.
 possibly SIM REST
 'It might be like that.'

When a negator is used, **nina** is usually placed after the verb as in (94) and (95), when its scope is the event in the verb phrase.

- (94) a. **Kipu boka va-mate-a nina goe sa ruruhu.**
 NEG able CAUSE-be.dead-TR:3SG possibly PRO:2SG ART:SG giant
 'You possibly cannot kill the giant.'
- b. **Pana rahi, kipu la nina gita pa toba.**
 when rough NEG go possibly PRO:1PL.IN PRP barrier.islands
 'When it's rough, we might not be able to go to the barrier islands.'
- (95) a. **Maki loga=loga nina.**
 NEG:WARN RED=lie possibly
 'It's not good if you are telling fibs.'
- b. **Maki va-mae-ia nina, na**
 NEG:WARN CAUSE-come-TR:3SG possibly because
tasi-qu rao na.
 sibling-1SG PRO:1SG DEM
 'It's not good if (you) make him come, he's my brother.'

Nina can also follow straight after the negative particle as in (96), in which case its scope is the whole clause, as it is when **nina** precedes a non-negative clause.

- (96) a. **Pula kakoa sa ema sagi kipu nina**
 if none ART:SG vine CONJ NEG possibly
hevae sa kabasa.
 strong ART:SG house
 'If there's no vine, perhaps the house will not be strong.'
- b. **Gamu karu kipu nina sola sagele la pa toqerana Pazua.**
 PRO:2PL two NEG possibly join go.up go PRP mountain P.
 'You two possibly won't join in going up Pazua mountain.'

When **nina** is used with prohibitions, it expresses the possibility that the event may occur, but that is not a desirable event. The speaker is proscribing what he or she thinks the addressee may be wanting or intending to do.

- (97) a. **Kae isara nina gamu.**
 NEG laugh possibly PRO:2PL
 'Don't you laugh (although you may want to).'
- b. **Kae do=dola la-ia nina goe se**
 NEG RED=stare go-TR:3SG possibly PRO:2SG ART
Maqiqo na.
 Mangginggo DEM
 'Don't you go staring at that Mangginggo (even if you want to).'

7.4.1.3 The epistemic modal **makoa**

Makoa expresses uncertainty, either when something is unknown or when there is considerable doubt that an event will occur. I have glossed it as ‘uncertain’, but its meaning also corresponds to ‘I wonder’ in English. It usually follows whatever is the uncertain element in the clause which, because of Hoava’s focusing strategies, is often clause initial (see 9.1).

- (98) **Koni la makoa pa toba gami.**
 FUT go UNCERT PRP barrier.islands PRO:1PL.EX
 ‘We might go to the barrier islands.’

In (98) we may go to the barrier islands, but it is by no means certain that we will. At this stage it is only something we are thinking about as a possibility. In (99) the fact of the dog being dead is unquestioned—its body has just been found, but the identity of who killed it and why is unknown at present.

- (99) **E se makoa va-mate-a sa siki?**
 ART who UNCERT CAUSE-be.dead-TR:3SG ART:SG dog
 ‘Who would have killed the dog?’

Makoa is used most often in questions. Here it can follow the element that is uncertain (100a, b), or it can follow the verb phrase or the whole clause (100c), if its scope is wider than one element.

- (100) a. **Sa makoa si?**
 what UNCERT PRO:INVIS:SG
 ‘What is it?’
- b. **Heleana pa vera makoa?**
 river PRP where UNCERT
 ‘Where is the river?’
- c. **Sa poata isa makoa?**
 ART:SG shell.money PRO:3SG UNCERT
 ‘Is it the shell money?’

The epistemic modal adverbs discussed in 7.4.1 can be combined together as shown in (101), recorded when there was doubt about the arrival of the local ship due to a cyclone warning. Here, **makoa** is placed at the end of the clause to indicate that the whole suggestion is uncertain.

- (101) **Garo koni kipu nina mae sa vaka makoa.**
 probably FUT NEG possibly come ART:SG ship UNCERT
 ‘(I) wonder if probably the ship might not come.’

7.4.2 The restrictive particles

There are three restrictive particles in Hoava: **qa**, **tu** and **qatu**. They are used after phrases to stress that the action or entity referred to is the only one possible. They therefore also serve as markers of certainty, in contrast to the “uncertainty” adverbials of **garo**, **nina** and **makoa**. There is usually only one restrictive particle per clause.

7.4.2.1 The restrictive particle **qa**

Qa is a restrictive particle that can occur after noun phrases (see 4.7), after verb phrases and, less commonly, after prepositional phrases.

With noun phrases, **qa** restricts the range of possible entities to the one named.

- (102) a. **Puna kako mi vinetunu vaka, tavete-ni vogeā qa.**
 because none POSS:2PL fishhook ship make-AP:3PL wire REST
 ‘Because there were none of your European fishhooks, (we) made them just from wire.’
- b. **Q: Se naqala mae-ni?**
 who carry come-AP:3PL
A: Ria nikana vaka qa.
 ART:PL man ship REST
 ‘Q: Who brought them?
 A: Only the Europeans.’

Restrictive particles are often used with noun phrases placed clause initially for topicalisation or focus (see Chapter 9), since the speaker is also wishing to emphasise that this participant, and no one else, is the entity referred to.

- (103) a. **Eri karu qa teqe-a sa pa Burono.**
 ART:PL two REST cut.down-TR.3SG PRO:3SG PRP B.
 ‘The two of them (and no one else) cleared the land at Burongo.’
- b. **Na sege qa poqala kapa nana pa kapa hore.**
 ART crocodile REST float go.beside POSS:3SG PRP side canoe
 ‘It was a *crocodile* floating alongside the canoe.’
- c. **Ema qa, isa keke kasitona tavete kabasa.**
 vine REST PRO:3SG one thing make house
 ‘Vine, that’s one thing for house building.’

With verb phrases, **qa** is cliticised to the end of the verb phrase after any object markers. It indicates that the action has been performed, and no other action occurred instead at that point.

- (104) a. **Mae qa sa ruruhu, mae nani paho-a**
 come REST ART:SG giant come eat empty-TR:3SG

qa sa kakatuana.

REST ART:SG stone.oven

'The giant came, came and completely ate up (the contents of) the stone oven.'

b. **Va-soto kapa la-g-ia qa ria sa supa.**

CAUSE-join go.beside go-LIG-TR:3SG REST PRO:3PL ART:SG roof.edge

'They just make the roof edge join alongside.'

c. **Vivine-ni-a qa Devita taqu rao**

tell.story-AP-3SG REST D. PRP:1SG PRO:1SG

sa poata isana.

ART:SG shell.money that

'Devita did tell me about that shell money.'

Qa follows an incorporated object in a verb phrase. In the next example, the incorporated object is the applied object **supa** 'roof edge':

(105) **Koni boka ta-tavete supa qa**
FUT able PASS-make roof.edge REST

sa kabasa pa Adava.

ART:SG house PRP Andava

'The house at Andava will be able to have a roof edge made.'

Qa follows a possessive pronoun used as a subject marker (see 5.11).

(106) **Koni penekala nana qa.**
FUT be.muddy POSS:3SG REST

'It will be muddy by itself.'

Qa is rarely used with prepositional phrases, as these generally use the particle **tu** instead (see 7.4.2.2). When **qa** does occur with a prepositional phrase, it again has a restrictive function. In the following example, the extent of a traditional land area is delineated, with **qa** being used with the prepositional phrase denoting the precise terminating point:

(107) **... tiqe la pa heleana Beu, tiqe gore**
then go PRP river B. then go.down

pule sa, tiqe pa sadana Beu qa.
return PRO:3SG then PRP rivermouth B. REST

'... then goes to the Beu river, then it goes back down, then just to Beu rivermouth.'

In the next example, **qa** is used with a contrastive function when one location is proposed in place of another suggested location for a wharf.

(108) **"Pa Viko koleo," gua ria ... Pato ria**
PRP V. be.good said PRO:3PL speak ART:PL

kiqa: “kari, pa Odono qa koleo ...” gua ria.
 some no PRP Odongo REST be.good said PRO:3PL
 “‘At Viko is good,’ they said ... Some spoke: ‘no, just at Odongo is good ...’
 they said.’

The use of **qa** with prepositional phrases to emphasise a precise location is again shown in (109), where the restrictive intensifier **hokara** ‘true’ is also used.

(109) **Mae ko nana pa Sia, pa Zae hokara qa heni.**
 come stay POSS:3SG PRP S. PRP Z. true REST this
 ‘She comes to stay at Sia, just right at this (place) Zae.’

7.4.2.2 The restrictive particle **tu**

Tu is a restrictive particle that is very similar to **qa** in function, but has some differences in its distribution. Like **qa**, **tu** is a clause level particle as it can occur with noun, verb and prepositional phrases, and it is only used once in a clause.

With noun phrases, **tu** is used to contrast one noun phrase with another (compare (110a) with (103b) above). **Tu** occurs far less often than **qa** with noun phrases.

- (110) a. **“Ve sa pakupaku,” gua sa barigese.**
 where ART:SG necklace said ART:SG old.man
“Ei, kolo, na sege tu ba ko la na.”
 EXCL friend ART crocodile REST EMPH stay go DEM
 “‘Where is the necklace?’” said the old man. “‘Ei, friend, a crocodile is there instead.’”
- b. **Isa g<in>ua-na kipu tanini-a Nuke**
 PRO:3SG mean<NOM>-3SG NEG hold.TR-3SG N.
sa pu ko hera, mi Zakia tu.
 PRO:3SG REL stay here but Z. REST
 ‘That’s the reason Devita didn’t hold the one which is here, but Zakia did.’

After a verb phrase, **tu** seems to have the same restrictive function as **qa**, by restricting the action to that stated in the verb phrase and not allowing any other possibility or doubt:

- (111) a. **Eri karu ruruhu pule, la nani pule-a**
 ART:PL two giant return go eat return-TR:3SG
tu keke gugusu banara.
 REST one village chief
 ‘The two giants return, just eat up another chief’s village.’
- b. **Koni boka vioro tu sa nikana.**
 FUT able be.ill REST ART:SG man
 ‘The man will be sick (for sure).’

- c. **Kolo, na vari-nani tu ba gami na.**
 friend NA RECIP-eat REST EMPH PRO:1PL.EX DEM
 'Friend, we were just fighting! (and not doing anything else)' [KUS]

Tu can also emphasise a verb phrase which is contrary to expectations, as in the following examples:

- (112) a. **La-eg-ia ria koburu sa barigese**
 go-LIG-TR:3SG ART:PL child ART:SG old.man
mina taloa nana tu. [KUS]
 but leave POSS:3SG REST
 'The children went to the old man but he had left.'
- b. **Mi kipu hana nani nina, koni varavara paki tu.**
 but NEG anyhow eat possibly FUT pray first REST
 'But (we) won't eat disrespectfully, (we) will pray first.'

Tu is also used to form polite requests or permission, a function that it does not share with **qa**.

- (113) a. **Mae pule tu e-qu.**
 come return REST EDPOSS-1SG
 'Give me my food again.'
- b. **Piala tu goe.**
 smoke REST PRO:2SG
 'You may smoke.'
- c. **Taloe tu goe, maki vari-baha-e.**
 leave REST PRO:2SG NEG:WARN RECIP-bewitch-TR:3PL
 'You should leave, lest we bewitch each other.'

With prepositional phrases, **tu** is used in preference to **qa**, but still shares the same restrictive function. In this case, the range of possible places is emphasised as being restricted to the one stated and marked by **tu**.

- (114) a. **Q: Vera la Amina?**
 where go A.
A: Pa toqerana tu.
 PRP mountain REST
 'Q: Where has Amina gone?
 A: Just up the hill.'
- b. **Keba la pa batu qato tu rao.**
 climb go PRP head tree REST PRO:1SG
 'I climbed right to the top of the tree.'
- c. **Pa Hoava tu ko ria, koni aso ria**
 PRP H. REST stay PRO:3PL FUT walk ART:PL

la pa Nono Ulu tu.
 go PRP N. U. REST

'They lived in Hoava, they would walk right to Nono Ulu.'

Apart from the distributional differences there is little difference in function between **qa** and **tu**, other than the politeness function. There was a suggestion from a Kusaghe speaker that **tu** was used more with verbs by older speakers, but I found little evidence for this as even the youngest person recorded (eight years old) used **tu**, although less often than he used **qa**. **Tu** is also a Roviana word, while **qa** is not, so there may be some influence from Roviana in the use of **tu**, especially in Kusaghe.

7.4.2.3 The restrictive particle **qatu**

Qatu combines the two restrictive particles **qa** and **tu** to form a stronger restrictive particle than either one used alone, which also has an emphatic function. **Qatu** is a clause level particle as it can occur after noun phrases, verb phrases or prepositional phrases.

After noun phrases:

(115) a. **Isa qatu ba sana.**
 PRO:3SG REST EMPH that
 'That's really her!'

b. **Q: Sa sa pa Tivuana.**
 what PRO:3SG PRP T.

A: Keke toqerana qatu isana.
 one mountain REST that

'Q: What is it at Tivuana?

A: That's certainly a mountain.'

c. **Vagi-a keke magara, keke magara**
 take-TR:3SG one stone one stone

gele=gele-na qatu.

RED=be.long-3SG REST

'(He) took a stone, a truly long stone.'

After verb phrases:

(116) a. **Koni vari-nani-ni qatu ria kasitona riara.**
 FUT RECIP-eat-AP:3PL REST ART:PL thing those
 '(They) will fight with those things.'

b. **Gilali-a qatu goe sa poata?**
 know-TR:3SG REST PRO:3SG ART:SG shell.money
 'Do you really know the shell money?'

- c. **“Hokara hiva ome-a mua sa maqe?”**
 true want see-TR:3SG POSS:2SG ART:SG monkey
gua isa. “Ao, hiva ome-a qatu
 said PRO:3SG yes want see-TR:3SG REST
gami puna kahi ome-a,” gua gami.
 PRO:1PLEX because not.yet see-TR:3SG said PRO:1PLEX
 “‘Do you really want to see the monkey?’” he said. “‘Yes, we do want to see it
 because we have not yet seen it,’ we said.’

With prepositional phrases:

- (117) a. **Pa rane qatu isana la te Devita rao.**
 PRP day REST that go PRP D. PRO:1SG
 ‘On that very day I went to Devita.’
- b. **Podalae pita pa Piono Lavata dae tiqe la mae**
 begin search PRP Piongo L. and then go come
pa doluru heleana qatu.
 PRP all river REST
 ‘(He) began to search at Piongo Lavata and then came to every river.’

7.4.3 The adverb *pele*

Pele is a clause level adverb as it occurs in the same positions as the restrictive particles, following noun, verb and prepositional phrases. With noun phrases, **pele** means ‘next’, ‘another’:

- (118) a. **Na bekoto sagi keke kasitona pele pu ari lae-na.**
 ART *bekoto* TOP one thing next REL have importance-3SG
 ‘A *bekoto* [house construction part] is another thing which has importance.’
- b. **Sa pele kiqa vivine?**
 what next some story
 ‘What are some more stories?’
- c. **Keke rane pele koni vagi pele kiqa vivine.**
 one day next FUT take.TR:3PL next some story
 ‘On another day (we) will again take some stories.’

Pele has the same meanings of ‘next’ or ‘another’ when used with prepositional phrases:

- (119) **Tiqe la gore gi la tu pa katukatu**
 then go go.down and go REST PRP *katukatu*.fish

pele, la pita muziki gami ka-made, pita katukatu.
 next go seek bait PRO:1PL.EX NUM-four seek *katukatu*
 ‘Then (we) went down and went to the *katukatu* [small bait fish] next, we four
 went to look for bait, look for *katukatu*.’

When **pele** is used after verb phrases, it signals that an action is being repeated (118d), (120), although there may be a different participant performing the action (120b), or it may be affecting different objects (120c).

- (120) a. **Nanasa pule pele sa ruruhu.**
 ask return next ART:SG giant
 ‘The giant asked again in response.’
- b. **Umani-a pele sa hiku toka la tani**
 hear.TR-3SG next ART:SG last follow go PRP:3SG
sa hiku-na ...umana pele sa pu sua-na na.
 ART:SG last-3SG hear next PRO:3SG REL be.first-3SG DEM
 ‘The second to youngest heard it next ... the one who was oldest heard next.’
- c. **Ego, dae lupaha sa siki, la pele**
 well finish leave ART:SG dog go next
sa boko, hoqi-a pele sa keke siki.
 ART:SG pig gore-TR:3SG next ART:SG one dog
 ‘Well, after the dog left, the pig went again and gored another dog.’

8 *Multi-clause sentences*

In this chapter I will cover the range of multiclausal sentences in Hoava: clause linking and serialisation, relative clauses, adverbial subordinate clauses, clausal complements and similative clauses.

8.1 Clause linking

The recorded narratives from Hoava overwhelmingly use sequences of clauses linked by conjunctions or by juxtaposition, with less than 16% of clauses in oral narratives being dependent clauses.

Hoava may link several clauses with conjunctions. The conjunctions may serve also as hesitation fillers, often followed by a pause. Clauses may also be linked merely by juxtaposition, without any conjunctions.

8.1.1 *The conjunction gila*

Gila ‘and’ is the most common conjunction in Hoava narratives. It generally links consecutive or consequential events or states.

- (1) a. **Va-qaqiri ria taloa gila surana pa hore.**
CAUSE-pack PRO:3PL leave and embark PRP canoe
‘They packed to leave and boarded a canoe.’
- b. **Sa bulo sagi pa noka holapa gila kae ta-vagi.**
ART:SG coconut TOP PRP high INTENS and NEG PASS-take
‘The coconut is very high up and cannot be taken.’

A shortened form of the conjunction, **gi**, is also used:

- (2) a. **Gila zoro qa huani gi vose taloa ria.**
and jump REST REMOTE:SG and paddle leave PRO:3PL
‘And that one jumped, and they paddled away.’

- b. **Gore pule eri karu koburu gi**
 go.down return ART:PL two child and
naqali-a sa sege lavata.
 carry.TR-3SG ART:SG crocodile big
 'The two children went back down and carried the big crocodile.'

Gi can be followed by the verb **la** 'go', as in the next example (3), which raises the possibility that **gila** is derived from **gi** plus **la**. In 5.2.4.2 I described the use of the directional verb **la** 'go' as a clause linker (see example (31) in Chapter 5). However, in example (3), and the one following (4), **gila** 'and' can also be followed by **la** 'go', which suggests that **la** is not regarded as part of the conjunction **gila** by Hoava speakers.

- (3) **Gila keke kolokolo-na sa, gila la se**
 and one time-3SG PRO:3SG and go ART
Ebolo Qasi, tasi-na Pilipi ...
 E. Nggasi sibling-3SG P.
 'And another time, and Ebolo Nggasi went, Pilipi's brother ...'
- (4) **Pule eri kahike gila la pa kabasa.**
 return ART:PL three and go PRP house
 'The three returned and went to the house.'

8.1.2 The conjunction *dae*

Dae is a verb meaning 'be finished', and it is used in this sense quite often in Hoava, as in the following examples:

- (5) a. **Dae sa vivine-na sa.**
 be.finished ART:SG story-3SG PRO:3SG
 'The story of it is finished.'
- b. **Dae puta sa t<in>avete-na sa gugusu heni.**
 be.finished INTENS ART:SG work<NOM>-3SG ART:SG village this
 'The work of this village was totally finished.'

As a conjunction, **dae** 'and' is used to link two sequential clauses:

- (6) a. **Mamaqa sa nuzu-na sa noki dae**
 open.wide ART:SG mouth-3SG ART:SG snake and
nani-a sa kutu.
 eat-TR:3SG ART:SG rat
 'The mouth of the snake opened wide and (it) ate the rat.'
- b. **Vura la pa kakele-na la, pa Kalena, dae sagele pule.**
 go.out go PRP side-3SG go PRP K. and go.up return
 'Go out from the other side, from Kalena, and go back up.'

Its function as a conjunction can be regarded as a consequence of its verbal meaning of 'finish', since one action is carried out before the other. Clauses using **dae** as a main verb are also used as temporal adverbials to indicate a preceding event (see 8.4.4) and in sequences of action there are often combinations of both these uses of **dae**. In (7) the first two uses of **dae** could be either the verb 'be finished' or the conjunction. I have chosen to label them as 'and', since they are used to link two verb phrases in each case. The third use of **dae** is clause initial with a clear verbal meaning.

- (7) **Teosi-a dae kokoti-a Rami-a dae**
 split.in.half.TR-3SG and tear.TR-3SG heat-TR:3SG and
resi-a. Dae resi-a heni, popoli-a.
 split-TR:3SG be.finished split-TR:3SG this roll.up.TR-3SG
 'Split it in half and tear it. Heat it and split it. Finish splitting this one,
 roll it up.'

Both uses of **dae** are also apparent in the next example. The first occurrence of **dae** is clause initial, as a verb, while the second use is with the conjunction **tiqe** 'then'.

- (8) **Dae hele=hele isa, dae tiqe sagele pule isa.**
 be.finished RED=wash PRO:3SG and then go.up return PRO:3SG
 'He finished washing, and then he went back up.'

The clause **dae isana** 'that one is finished', used as a conjoining phrase, is a related way of showing that one event or state follows another.

- (9) **Sikulu se Kalutu pa Bilua, dae isana,**
 school ART K. PRP B. be.finished that
pule mae sa pa Raro.
 return come PRO:3SG PRP R.
 'Kalutu went to school in Bilua, that one was finished, he came back to Raro.'

Dae as a conjunction on its own is not common, and it is more often found in combination with the sequencer **tiqe** 'then' or the conjunction **gila** 'and'.

- (10) a. **Va-mate-a eri kahike sa**
 CAUSE-be.dead-TR:3SG ART:PL three PRO:3SG
dae tiqe kokoti-a eri kahike batu-na.
 and then cut.TR-3SG ART:PL three head-3SG
 'The three killed him and then the three cut off his head.'
- b. **Doluru nikana pa Ulusage qaqiri dae gila**
 all man PRP Marovo pack and and
mae puta pa Burongo.
 come sleep PRP Burongo
 'All the men from Marovo packed and came to sleep at Burongo.'

The coordinating function of **dae** is further exemplified by the fact that, unlike **gila**, **dae** is also used to link two noun phrases (see 4.12) as in the following examples. It has therefore been grammaticised as a general conjunction, while still retaining its lexical meaning in verb phrases.

- (11) a. **Naqala seleta eri karu dae penisolo.**
 carry slate PRO:3PL two and pencil
 'They (two) carried slates and pencils.'
- b. **Va-to-ia sa hinaquru, se Lusi, dae**
 CAUSE-live-TR:3SG ART:SG girl ART L. and
se Qulateko.
 ART Nggulateko
 'They revived the girl, Lusi, and Nggulateko.'

8.1.3 The sequencer *tiqe*

Tiqe is a sequencing conjunction and can be glossed as 'then'. It shows that one event follows another in time.

- (12) a. **Tatavola sa, ada ria, tiqe buki-a**
 morning PRO:3SG wake PRO:3PL then blow-TR:3SG
ria sa buki.
 PRO:3PL ART:SG conchshell
 'It was morning, they woke, then they blew the conchshell.'
- b. **Koni va-katu puga, kina pole, tiqe ruza=ruza.**
 FUT CAUSE-burn fire cook taro.root then RED=mash
 '(They) will light a fire, cook taro root, then mash (it).'

Tiqe is frequently used in combination with **la** 'go'. There is often a pause after **la**, suggesting that **la** is part of the conjunction rather than part of the following clause, as shown in the next examples:

- (13) a. **Mate sa sege isana, tiqe la,**
 be.dead ART:SG crocodile that then go
vari-paqahi pule ria doluru sege.
 RECIP-leave return ART:PL all crocodile
 'That crocodile was dead, then, all the crocodiles separated and went back.'
- b. **Lavati sa nikana heni, tiqe la, nani**
 be.big ART:SG man this then go eat
paho-e sa ria doluru nikana
 empty-TR:3PL PRO:3SG ART:PL all man

pa Hoeze na Maqela.

PRP H. ART Manggela

'This man grew big, then, he ate up all the men in Hoeze and Manggela.'

As noted above (8.1.2), **tige** is often preceded by **dae**, as shown in (10a).

8.1.4 The sequencer *sogi*

Sogi is another sequencing conjunction that links consequential clauses. It is used in either its full form **sogi** (14) or the shortened form **so** (15).

- (14) a. **Mate paho ria sogi hoqa taloa ria.**
 be.dead INTENS PRO:3PL SEQ flee leave PRO:3PL
 'They were all dead so they (the others) ran away.'

- b. **Tahiko-ni-a nikana sogi toka-ia qa**
 be.afraid-AP-3SG man SEQ follow-TR:3SG¹ REST

sa lo te Kenedi.

ART:SG law POSS Kennedy

'Men were afraid of it [punishment] so (they) followed Kennedy's law.'

- (15) a. **"Maki mae sa ruruhu nani-a sa**
 NEG come ART:SG giant kill-TR:3SG ART:SG

kaleqe," gua sa hiku-na, so taveti-a
 old.woman said ART:SG last-3SG SEQ make.TR-3SG

eri kamade sa keke rogaroga gele.

ART:PL four ART:SG one ladder long

'"The giant must not come and kill the old woman," said the youngest, so the four made a long ladder.'

- b. **Mi la qa teqe tani sa ruruhu so**
 but go REST cut.down POSS:3SG ART:SG giant SEQ

kabo pule sa kaleqe.

cry return ART:SG old.woman

'But the cutting of the giant continued so the old woman cried again.'

Hoava **so** is very close in meaning to English **so**, and it is possible that it has been borrowed from English/Solomon Islands Pijin and combined with Hoava **gi** to form the sequencer.² The use of **so** in Hoava may also have been influenced by the demonstrative

¹ This is the Roviana form of the transitive suffix for this verb. The Hoava form is usually **toká**. The verb **toka** is also found in Roviana (Waterhouse 1949).

² A similar example of such borrowing is described by Thompson and Longacre (1985:204) for Mexican Indian languages influenced by Spanish.

with past tense marking **so** (see 4.8.2.3), and sometimes it is difficult to determine if the sequencer **so** or the past tense determiner **so** is being used, as in example (15b) above. However, (16) below shows that **sogi** can be used in combination with the future tense particle **koni**. Often there is also a pause before **so(gi)** as in example (15a) above, showing that **so(gi)** is not part of the first clause.

- (16) **Puna kae ta-gona ria, koni opo**
 because NEG PASS-shoot PRO:3PL FUT go.over
pa daramu gi koni pota, sogi gona kiqa nikana hupa.
 PRP oildrum and FUT beat SEQ shoot some man black
 ‘Because (if) they were not shot, (the Solomon Islanders) would go over the oildrum and (he) would beat (them), so some black men shot (them).’

Sogi is also used in combination with **la**, and here it is difficult to determine if the sequence is **so gila** or **sogi la** or a combination of all three: **sogila**.

- (17) **Tiqe la gore qa sa boni**
 then go go.down REST ART:SG night
sogi la /so gila /sogila taloa qa sa qeto.
 SEQ go SEQ and SEQ leave REST ART:SG warparty
 ‘Then nightfall descended so the warparty left.’

8.1.5 The contrasting coordinator *mina*

The coordinator **mina**, with a short form **mi**, is used to link two contrasting clauses and is glossed as ‘but’.

- (18) a. **La-eg-ia ria koburu sa barigese**
 go-LIG-TR:3SG ART:PL child ART:SG old.man
mina taloa nana tu. [KUS]
 but leave POSS:3SG REST
 ‘The children went to the old man, but he had left.’
- b. **Nani=nani sa ruruhu mi kae putiri.**
 RED=eat ART:SG giant but NEG be.sated
 ‘The giant was eating but was not sated.’
- c. **La habu eri karu mi sa ruruhu eko**
 go hunt ART:PL two but ART:SG giant lie
ko tu pa dinigopepeha.
 stay REST PRP forest
 ‘The two went hunting but the giant just stayed lying in the forest.’

There seems to be no difference between the long and short forms of **mina**. **Na** is also found with the ‘reason’ particle **puna** (8.4.2), and there are also a number of unexplained

uses of **na** before a verb phrase which raises the possibility of **mi** and **na** actually being two separate particles, but this requires further investigation.

Note also the use of **mi** (never **mina**) as a contrastive fronting marker, discussed in 9.2.

8.1.6 The alternative coordinator **ba**

The coordinator **ba** 'or' is used to coordinate clauses suggesting alternative possibilities:

- (19) a. **Kolokolo pu uke gore rao, kipu**
 time REL fall go.down PRO:1SG NEG
gilali-a rao pu to rao ba mate rao.
 know-TR:3SG PRO:1SG COMP be.alive PRO:1SG or be.dead PRO:1SG
 'At the time when I fell down, I did not know whether I lived or if I died.'
- b. **Va-nahu-a, va-labe-a,**
 CAUSE-be.sharp-TR:3SG CAUSE-be.flat-TR:3SG
ba teqe va-boboko?
 or cut CAUSE-be.round
 'Make it pointed, make it flat, or cut in a round shape?'

The following two examples show **ba** is also used to link noun and prepositional phrases.

- (20) a. **Nikana Hoava ba nikana Maqela ba nikana Dekurana?**
 man H. or man Manggela or man D.
 'Hoava man or Manggela man or Dekurana man?'
- b. **Pa Qerasi ba pa Ramata?**
 PRP Nggerasi or PRP R.
 'From Nggerasi or from Ramata?'

8.1.7 The surprise coordinator **kela**

The particle **kela** is used to signal surprise at an unexpected event sequential to the preceding one. It differs from an exclamation of surprise or shock in that there is usually no pause after it, and it is included in the intonation pattern of the whole clause.

- (21) a. **Gore la, la ome-a sa pakupaku,**
 go.down go go see-TR:3SG ART:SG necklace
gua. Kela na sege sa pu hake-na
 did SURP ART crocodile PRO:3SG REL be.on-3SG

pa magara tala pu hake veko-a sa pakupaku.
 PRP stone where REL be.on leave-TR:3SG ART:SG necklace
 '(They) went down, went to see the necklace. A crocodile it was, that was on
 on the rock where (he) left the necklace!'

- b. **Ome la gua, kela keke sa ko tala gu-ni-a.**
 see go did SURP one PRO:3SG exist where said-AP-3SG
 '(He) looked, one was there!'

8.2 Clause serialisation

Clause serialisation describes a common structure in Hoava involving the directional verbs in particular, but also other verbs of motion and general direction. In this structure there are two juxtaposed clauses, the first consisting of a directional verb or, less often, another verb of movement or general direction and a subject NP, the second consisting of a verb phrase and any other object arguments and locative phrase, but no subject. The subjects in the two clauses are identical. The examples in (22a, b) show a directional verb used in the first clause in each case, while example (22c) has a verb of movement in the first clause. These examples illustrate the type of juxtaposed clauses under discussion in this section.

- (22) a. **Mae ria igana toqi-a qa sa kura.**
 come ART:PL fish butt-TR:3SG REST ART:SG fishtrap
 'The fish came and butted the fishtrap.'
- b. **La sa boko nani va-maté ria**
 go ART:SG pig bite CAUSE-dead.TR:3PL ART:PL
nikana pa keke gugusu banara.
 man PRP one village chief
 'The pig went and killed the men in one chiefly village.'
- c. **Taloa eri karu la hukuagi pa dinigopepeha.**
 leave PRO:3PL two go hunt PRP forest
 'They (two) left to go and hunt in the forest.'

In the sequencing of the two clauses in sentences such as (22), there is a strong resemblance to purposive constructions such as those illustrated in (23), which use a purposive particle *de* (see 8.4.1).

- (23) a. **La se Pita de barabara-na sa kabasa.**
 go ART P. PURP fence-3SG ART:SG house
 'Pita went to fence the house.'
- b. **Mae ria Merika de geso-di ria.**
 come ART:PL America PURP block-3PL PRO:3PL
 'The Americans come to block them.'

However, note in (23) the change in verb morphology when a purposive clause is transitive with the same subject as its preceding clause. As happens in other dependent clauses (see 8.3, 8.4.1) and fronting strategies (Chapter 9), the adnominal suffix agreeing in person and number with the object (see 5.3.7) is used instead of the relevant transitive object marker (see 5.3.1). This does not happen in the clause sequences in (22). From this I conclude that we have a structure of clause linking that is different from purposive clauses using the particle *de*, and is not merely an omission of the purposive particle. It must be noted that the use of adnominal suffixes in the purposive clauses only occurred in elicited examples, not in narrative text. However, adnominal suffixes were still never used in a clause sequence structure as in (22), whether elicited examples or examples taken from oral narratives, confirming that this type of clause sequencing is unlikely to be merely a reduced form of a purposive structure.

A better explanation is provided by the concept of core layer serialisation. Following Foley and Van Valin (1984), we can regard each clause in this structure as a 'core layer', that is, a verb phrase and its obligatory arguments. Core layer serialisation is described by Foley and Olsen (1985:47) as when 'two cores, each with their own nucleus and corresponding arguments, are joined together to form a larger complex core.' They share any peripheral layer arguments such as location and time, and the peripheral features of tense and negation. They must also share a common core argument, either Actor or Undergoer. The Hoava construction of clause sequencing fits this exactly. The directional verb in the first clause and the general verb in the second clause share a common subject which is only overtly stated in the first clause (24).

- (24) a. **La ria poni-a seleni se Biliboa.**
 go PRO:3PL give-TR:3SG money ART B.
 'They went and gave money to Biliboa.'
- b. **La Sasa bao-g-ia sa boko.**
 go S. spear-LIG-TR:3SG ART:SG pig
 'Sasa went and speared the pig.'

If a tense or negative particle is used, it occurs at the beginning of the clause and is not repeated before each verb:

- (25) a. **Koni la sa nani va-mate-gita.**
 FUT go PRO:3SG bite CAUSE-be.dead-TR:1PL.IN
 'He will go and kill us.'
- Not ***Koni la sa koni nani va mate-gita.**
- b. **Maki mae Japani ome-gita.**
 NEG:WARN come Japanese see-TR:1PL.IN
 'Don't let the Japanese come and see us.'
- Not ***maki mae Japani maki ome-gita.**

Since tense and negation are peripheral layer operators in Foley and Van Valin's (1984) system (see also Van Valin 1993), they are expected to be outside the core layer

(see 7.2). This further supports the idea that this structure is core layer serialisation, rather than a simple juxtaposition of two clauses.

8.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Hoava are postnominal external relatives (Keenan 1985:143) with a relative clause marker **pu** linking the head noun and the relative clause. The relative clause marker does not vary for person or number. It has the same form as the emphatic distant demonstrative **pu** (see 4.8.3), and the complementiser **pu** (see 8.5), and all three probably have the same origin. There is, however, no plural form of the relative clause marker (nor of the complementiser), as there is for the emphatic demonstrative pronoun: **puru**. The relativised noun is marked by a gap in the relative clause in most instances as shown in (26). There is no difference in form between restrictive relative clauses, as in (26), and non-restrictive relative clauses, as in (28b) and (34c) below.

- (26) a. **sa zale pu taveti-a ria pa Hoava**
 ART:SG stone.wall REL make.TR-3SG PRO:3PL PRP H.
 'the stone wall which they from Hoava made.'
- b. **sa sege na pu la tani sa barigese**
 ART:SG crocodile DEM REL go PRP:3SG ART:SG old.man
 'the crocodile which went to the old man'
- c. **sa pu heni**
 PRO:3SG REL this
 'this one' [lit: 'it which is this']

This last example (26c) is a common method of modifying a pronoun with a demonstrative or other pronoun.

A pronominal form, coreferent with the head noun, may be used in the relative clause for emphasis, in which case the emphatic versions of demonstrative pronouns (27) and pronouns (28) are used (see 4.8.3, 4.2.2).

- (27) a. **sa banara pu pitá gita ba pi**
 ART:SG old.man REL seek.TR:3SG PRO:1PL.IN EMPH PRO:PROX
 'the old man who we seek (him)'
- b. **gugusu pu kakoa n<in>ani ba sara**
 village REL none eat<NOM> EMPH PRO:DIST
 'village (in) which there is no food'
- (28) a. **kasitona kisi pu ko pa noka isa**
 thing small REL exist PRP high PRO:3SG
 'small thing which (it) is up high'
- b. **se Biliboa pu isa qa va-mate-na sa boko**
 ART B. REL PRO:3SG REST CAUSE-be.dead-3SG ART:SG pig
 'Biliboa, who it was that killed the pig'

Example (28b) above shows the optional nominalising strategy that can be used when the head noun is the subject of the relative clause. This is discussed in 8.3.2 below.

8.3.1 Nominal relative clauses

Nominal relative clauses may have the following forms:

(i) *head noun plus full noun phrase*

- (29) a. **'Ropoto'** sa pu kasitona lavati-na.
 roof PRO:3SG REL thing big-3SG
 'It which is the big thing is 'roof'.'
- b. sa kaleqe pu tina-di ri e Zakia so
 ART:SG old.woman REL mother-3PL ART:PL ART Z. PAST
 'the old woman who was Zakia and the others' mother'

(ii) *head noun plus pronoun*

- (30) a. **'Teqoriqa'** sa pu isa.
 tenggoringga PRO:3SG REL PRO:3SG
 'That one [lit: it which is it] is 'tenggorinna' [small house beam].'
- b. Isa pu tanini tomate sa pu
 PRO:3SG REL hold ancestor.spirit PRO:3SG REL
 sa, koni varavara la-ia.
 PRO:3SG FUT pray go-TR:3SG
 'He who holds an ancestor spirit, that one [lit: he who it is], will pray to it.'

(iii) *head noun plus demonstrative*

- (31) a. **Kala** sa ria pu heri?
 colour what PRO:3PL REL these
 'What colour are these ones [lit: they which are these]?'
- b. **Koni** ko pa korapa kuma, pa hore, sa
 FUT stay PRP middle water PRP canoe ART:SG
 hahao pu heni.
 coconut.leaf REL this
 '(It) will stay in the water, in a canoe, the coconut leaf which is this.'

(iv) *head noun plus place name*

- (32) sa pu Lauru heni
 PRO:3SG REL Choiseul this
 'this [lit: it which is this] Choiseul'

8.3.2 Verbal relative clauses

When the head of a relative clause is the subject of an intransitive verb in the relative clause, the clause usually remains unchanged except for the gapped NP, as in (33):

- (33) a. **nikana pu la pa v<in>arigara**
 man REL go PRP gather<NOM>
 'men who go to a gathering'
- b. **ria pu ko pa Tonima**
 PRO:3PL REL exist PRP T.
 'they who were at Tonima'

The optional nominalisation strategy mentioned in 8.3 that can be used with this structure consists of affixing the nominal indexing suffix, which agrees with the subject in person and number, to the end of the verb phrase. Compare (34a) below with (33b) above, where the same verb *ko* 'stay, exist' is used, but (34a) employs nominalisation and (33b) does not.

- (34) a. **Ria pu koe-di pa h<in>igala hoqa.**
 PRO:3PL REL exist-3PL PRP garden<NOM> flee
 'They who were in the gardens fled.'
- b. **Vura mae sa vaka suvu pu koe-na pa korapa kuma.**
 go.out come ART:SG ship dive REL exist-3SG PRP middle water
 'The submarine which was in the water surfaced.'
- c. **Tiva mae rao pu eko-qu tana so.**
 stand come PRO:1SG REL lie-1SG there PAST
 'I, who was lying there, stood up.'

Nominalisation of the verb phrase is also used when the head of the relative clause is the subject of a transitive verb.

- (35) a. **ria pu nani-na nikana**
 PRO:3PL REL eat-3SG man
 'they who ate a man'
- b. **nikana pu tavete-na sa kabasa**
 man REL make-3SG ART:SG house
 'man who makes the house'
- c. **ria nikana pu tago-di ria kasitona heri**
 ART:PL man REL own-3PL ART:PL thing these
 'the men who own these things'

Givón (1995:664) describes nominalisation strategies for relative clauses as possibly serving as a 'case recoverability strategy in relativisation', in that it allows a distinction between subject and object relativisations. This appears to be relevant to Hoava, since nominalisation in relative clauses is used only with subject heads of relative clauses. It is

used only occasionally with subjects of intransitive relative clauses, since there is only one argument of the verb present, and there is really no possibility of confusion. The far more frequent use of nominalisation with subjects of transitive relative clauses allows the hearer to distinguish the subject and object arguments in the relative clause.³ Relative clauses with direct object heads have normal verbal morphology.

- (36) a. **sa zale pu taveti-a ria pa Hoava**
 ART:SG stone.wall REL make.TR-3SG PRO:3PL PRP H.
 'the stone wall which they from Hoava made.'
- b. **sa nana kinu pu kebá eri kahike**
 ART:SG POSS:3SG cut.nut REL climb.TR:3SG ART:PL three
 'his cut nut tree which the three climbed'
- c. **kako kasitona pu naqali-a gami karu**
 none thing REL carry.TR-3SG PRO:1PL.EX two
 'no thing which we two carried'

Nominalisation of the verb phrase in a relative clause is optional both for subjects of intransitive verbs, and for subjects of transitive verbs, since many instances are recorded of non-nominalised verbs. The examples in (37) are from one narrative and the examples in (38) are by another speaker, but again in one narrative. The first speaker is an older man while the second speaker is a young woman.

- (37) a. **La sa Matunu pa Hura nani kokoti-a sa sege**
 go ART:SG Matungu PRP H. eat cut.TR-3SG ART:SG crocodile
huala pu nani-na sa barigese pa Barihi.
 wild REL eat-3SG ART:SG old.man PRP B.
 'Matungu of Hura bit into pieces the wild crocodile which ate the old man of Barihi.'
- b. **Gasa vura sa sege pu nani-a sa barigese.**
 jump go.out ART:SG crocodile REL eat-TR:3SG ART:SG old.man
 'The crocodile which ate the old man jumped out.'
- (38) a. **Vari-umani-a ria pu podo teni-na sa kalaho.**
 DEP-hear.TR-3SG PRO:3PL REL be.born COM-3SG ART:SG woman
 'They who were born with the woman were able to hear it.'
- b. **Koni la tadi ria tasi-qu pu podo teni-rao.**
 FUT go PRP:3PL ART:PL sibling-1SG REL be.born COM-TR:1SG
 '(You) will go to my siblings who were born with me.'

³ Ross (1988:244-246) describes the same situation in Roviana for relativised subjects of transitive clauses, in which the transitive object marker is replaced by an adnominal suffix. He calls this an anti-passive as Roviana has an ergative structure. However, Corston (1993:39) considers the same structure in Roviana to be a nominalisation, as used in Hoava.

The same possibility of variation is found with other uses of this nominalisation (see 8.4.1, 9.1, 9.5). Some of the occurrences of nominalisation in relative clauses indicate a habitual function, for example (35) above and (39) below.

- (39) **sa nikana pu gilali-na tago-na sa kasitona isana**
 ART:SG man REL know-3SG own-3SG ART:SG thing that
 ‘the man who knows the owning of that thing [magic]’

Other examples are clearly not habitual as they describe single events that have taken place, for example (34c) and (37a), so a habitual explanation is not the only reason for the use of nominalisation.

When the relative clause contains an applied verb, nominalisation is not used when the subject is the head of the relative clause:

- (40) a. **Sa pu banara-ni ria**
 PRO:3SG REL chief-AP:3PL PRO:3PL
 ‘it which ennobles them’
- b. **Pa vivine tadi ria pu vivine-ni-a**
 PRP story PRP:3PL PRO:3PL REL story-AP-3SG
ria sa vivine-na Devita ...
 PRO:3PL ART:SG story-3SG D.
 ‘In the story of those who told Devita’s story ...’

When the head of the relative clause is the object of an applied verb, there is again no change to the verb phrase in the relative clause. The following examples show applied verbs with single objects.

- (41) a. **Keke nono qa sa g<in>ua-na pu**
 one sameness REST ART:SG mean<NOM>-3SG REL
ko-ni-a gita pa hera.
 stay-AP-3SG PRO:1PL.IN PRP here
 ‘The reason for which we stay here is the same.’
- b. **Isa sa pu kae duguli-ni-a Pilipi ba si.**
 PRO:3SG PRO:3SG REL NEG be.deaf-AP-3SG P. EMPH PRO
 ‘That’s why Pilipi is not deaf.’ [lit: it which Pilipi is not deaf from it.]

The next two examples of applied verbs with two objects are repeated from Chapter 6, (66) and (67), as there are few examples recorded in the data of relative clauses with this structure. In the first example (42), the primary object is the head of the relative clause, and in (43) the secondary object is the head of the relative clause.

- (42) **Sari ria qato pu barabara-ni kabasa.**
 those ART:PL stick REL fence-AP:3PL house
 ‘Those are the sticks which (we) use to fence a house.’
- (43) **Kako kasitona pu koni boka tavete-ni-a**
 no thing REL FUT able make-AP-3SG

gami karu sa horete. [KUS]
 PRO:1PLEX two ART:SG foodbowl
 'There is nothing which we can use to make the foodbowl.'

Passive verbs do not become nominalised in relative clauses when the subject is the head. Usually there is no agent present, as in (44) and so there is no possibility of confusion.

- (44) a. **ria pu kae ta-nani**
 PRO:3PL REL NEG PASS-eat
 'they who are not eaten'
- b. **ria qato pu ta-geri=geri-agi**
 ART:PL tree REL PASS-RED=collect-AGI
 'the trees which are collected'

Passive agents, when present, can also be heads of relative clauses. In (45), the agent is 'those in the cave' and the patient, the passive subject, is the third person plural pronoun in the relative clause, that is the people being killed by 'those in the cave'.

- (45) **Pato la tadi ria pa bae pu**
 speak go PRP:3PL PRO:3PL PRP cave REL
ta-nani-ni ria.
 PASS-kill-AP:3PL PRO:3PL
 '(He) who they were killed by spoke to them in the cave.'

No examples were recorded of relativisation of subject heads of passive clauses which also contained agents.

8.3.3 Relative clauses with prepositional predicates

Relative clauses with prepositional predicates are possible in Hoava, although prepositional clauses are not commonly found in the language. Clauses referring to location use the existential verb **ko**, as discussed in 7.1.4.

- (46) a. **Sa kuti ko pa tavolo.**
 ART:SG knife exist PRP table
 'The knife is on the table.'
- b. **Ko gami pa Burono.**
 exist PRO:1PLEX PRP Burongo
 'We were at Burongo.'

Relative clauses with prepositional predicates, in contrast, do not need to use **ko**.

- (47) a. **Isa sa pu pa Nono isa.**
 PRO:3SG PRO:3SG REL PRP N. PRO:3SG
 'It is it which (it) is at Nono.'

- b. **kekele-na pu pa Hoava.**
side-3SG REL PRP H.
'its side which is at Hoava'
- c. **sa pu pa Beu.**
PRO:3SG REL PRP B.
'it which is at Beu'

8.3.4 Placement of relative clauses

Relative clauses are most frequently found at the end of a clause or following a fronted noun. They therefore often modify subjects of intransitive clauses (48) or objects of transitive clauses (49).

- (48) **Gasa vura sa sege pu nani-a**
jump go.out ART:SG crocodile REL eat-TR:3SG
sa barigese na
ART:SG old.man DEM
'The crocodile which ate the old man jumped out.'
- (49) a. **Ome la gua eri karu, ome-a sa**
see go did ART:PL two see-TR:3SG ART:SG
sege na pu la tani sa barigese.
crocodile DEM REL go PRP:3SG ART:SG old.man
'The two looked, saw the crocodile which went to the old man.'
- b. **La sa haqala kokoti-a sa pu pa Suba.**
go PRO:3SG run cut.up.TR-3SG PRO:3SG REL PRP S.
'He went, ran and cut up it [the passage] which is at Suba.'

Subjects of transitive verbs tend to have relative clauses only if they are fronted before the verb phrase.

- (50) a. **Sa nikana pu govu-na sa kapa koni**
ART:SG man REL dirty-3SG ART:SG cup FUT
hao-ia qatu.
wash-TR:3SG REST
'The man who dirties a cup will have to wash it.'
- b. **Isa pu tanini tomate, sa**
PRO:3SG REL hold ancestor.spirit PRO:3SG
pu sa, koni varavara la-ia.
REL PRO:3SG FUT pray go-TR:3SG
'He who holds an ancestor spirit, he who it is, will pray to it.'

Subjects of intransitive verbs can also have relative clauses when they are fronted.

- (51) **Ria pu koe-di pa h<in>igala hoqa.**
 PRO:3PL REL exist-3PL PRP garden<NOM> flee
 'They who were in the gardens fled.'

No examples of a relative clause with the subject of a transitive verb following the verb phrase were recorded, but an example of the similar situation with an applied verb is shown in (52).

- (52) **Tahiko-ni-a sa siki pu ko holapa sa boko.**
 be.afraid-AP-3SG ART:SG dog REL stay pass ART:SG pig
 'The dog which stayed behind was afraid of the pig.'

Relative clauses are also used with topic nouns (53) and adjuncts (54).

- (53) **Sa kaleqe pu tina-di ri**
 ART:SG old.woman REL mother-3PL ART:PL
e Zakia so, isa qa ari nana gugusu hera.
 ART Z. PAST PRO:3SG REST exist POSS:3SG village here
 'The old woman who was Zakia and the others' mother, she had her village here.'
- (54) **Garo hera ko sa nikana, sa**
 probably here exist ART:SG man ART:SG
barigese pu ta-nani.
 old.man REL PASS-eat
 'Probably here is the man, the old man who was eaten.'

A relative clause can also modify a possessor inside a noun phrase following the possessum, as in the following example.

- (55) **... gua sa v<in>aravara tani sa pu**
 said ART:SG pray<NOM> POSS:3SG PRO:3G REL
va-v<in>a-hake-na sa
 CAUSE-CAUSE<NOM>-go.on.top-3SG ART:SG
d<in>iuku sovasa na.
 wrap<NOM> ? DEM
 '... went the prayer of him who placed on top the *sovasa* parcel (in a ceremony at a shrine).'

The time noun phrase **kolokolo(na)** 'time' is commonly followed by a relative clause to provide an adverbial clause of time.

- (56) a. **Kolokolo-na pu kae boka pato sa,**
 time-3SG REL NEG able speak PRO:3SG
tige naqali-a ria.
 then carry.TR-3SG PRO:3PL
 'The time when he is not able to speak, then they carry him.'

- b. **Uilisoni, na kolokolo pu toka rao na,**
 U. ART time REL set.out PRO:1SG DEM
vura pa bae Uilisoni.
 go.out PRP cave U.
 'Uilisoni, the time when I set out, Uilisoni came out from a cave.'

There can be a sequence of relative clauses, each modifying a noun in the preceding relative clause:

- (57) **La sa Matunu pa Hura nani kokoti-a**
 go ART:SG Matungu PRP H. eat cut.TR-3SG
[sa sege huala pu nani-na [sa
 ART:SG crocodile wild REL eat-3SG ART:SG
barigese pa Barihi pu ari [nana
 old.man PRP B. REL exist POSS:3SG
pakupaku pu sa sege na]]].
 necklace REL ART:SG crocodile DEM
 'Matungu of Hura went and bit into pieces the wild crocodile, which ate the old man of Barihi, who had his necklace, which was the crocodile.'

There can also be a sequence of relative clauses which all refer back to one head noun, as shown in (58).

- (58) **Kupa dae-i batu-di kalaho,**
 cut.off finish-TR:3PL head-3PL woman
kalaho tadi [ria pu taloa], [pu la rapata].
 woman POSS:3PL PRO:3PL REL leave REL go fight
 '(They) cut off the heads of the women, wives of those who left, who went to fight.'

In the next example, there is a combination of both of these strategies: some of the relative clauses are used directly after their head nouns, and one is headless, but still referring back to one of the nouns ('my father') in the sentence.

- (59) **[Keke vivine pu vagi-a rao tala**
 one story REL take-TR:3SG PRO:1SG where
ko [sa tama-qu pu podo-erao]],
 exist ART:SG father-1SG REL born-TR:1SG
[pu va-umani-a sa taqu rao],
 REL CAUSE-hear.TR-3SG PRO:3SG PRP:1SG PRO:1SG

[sa pu gua hera], na poata b<in>anara.
 PRO:3SG REL said here ART shell.money chief<NOM>
 'One story, which I took from where my father, who fathered me, was, who made it be heard by me, it which is said here, the shell money of the chieftainship.'

The relative clause marker can be omitted:

- (60) a. **Tuni-di, maqe-di, ropoto-di, savala,**
 piglet-3PL sow-3PL young.pig-3PL boar
vabobe, gua [ria boko
 pregnant.female.pig be.thus ART:PL pig
omé eri karu].
 see.TR:3PL ART:PL two
 'Piglets, sows, young pigs, boars, pregnant sows, thus are the pigs which they saw.'
- b. **Kipu ari hore-na puta [sa gugusu koe-ia ria].**
 NEG have canoe-3SG INTENS ART:SG village stay-TR:3SG PRO:3PL
 'The village which they stayed at had no canoes at all.'

8.3.5 The relative marker tala

The relative marker for place is **tala** 'where', which can be optionally followed by the relative marker **pu**. By far the most common use of **tala** is in the headless relative clause with the applicative verb **gua-ni-** 'said': **tala gu-ni-a** 'where (I) said it' or 'there', which makes reference to some place previously mentioned in a narrative (see 7.1.1).

- (61) a. **La goe pa vura-na puta sa soana,**
 go PRO:2SG PRP exit-3SG INTENS ART:SG path
la veko-e tala gu-ni-a.
 go leave-TR:3PL where said-AP-3SG
 'You go right to the end of the path, go and leave them there.'
- b. **Haqala isa gi la pa bui heleana**
 run PRO:3SG and go PRP lost river
... La nuquru isa tala gu-ni-a.
 go enter PRO:3SG where said-AP-3SG
 'He ran and went to the underground river ... He went in there.'

Tala is also often followed by the existential verb **ko**, to refer to a place where someone or something is known to be:

- (62) a. **La tiqa la tala ko eri karu.**
 go arrive go where exist ART:PL two
 '(He) went and arrived at where the two were.'
- b. **Na soloso isana, isa qa tala**
 ART forest that PRO:3SG REST where
ko-ia sa ruruhu.
 exist-TR:3SG ART:SG giant
 'That forest, it's where the giant is.'

Tala is also used with other verbs of posture and movement to create a clause specifying a place:

- (63) a. **La veko-a pa nana kokoana**
 go leave-TR:3SG PRP POSS:3SG staying.place
sa sege, tala opo=opo-a sa.
 ART:SG crocodile where RED=go.over-TR:3SG PRO:3SG
 '(They) went and left the crocodile in its resting place, where it rolls over.'
- b. **... pa Malangohara tase-na, tala tiva tala gu-ni-a.**
 PRP Malangohara name-3SG where stand where said-AP-3SG
 '... at Malangohara its name, where (he) stood there.'
- c. **Keba sageli-a sa sa qato,**
 climb go-up.TR-3SG PRO:3SG ART:SG tree
tala tiqa sa sa qoviri.
 where reach.TR:3SG PRO:3SG ART:SG hole
 'He climbed up the tree, where he reached the hole.'

Tala can be followed by the relative clause marker **pu**, in which case it may be functioning as a noun, such as 'place', although I have continued to gloss it as 'where':

- (64) a. **Isa sa tase-na sa tala pu**
 PRO:3SG ART:SG name-3SG PRO:3SG where REL
ko sa kinu.
 exist ART:SG cut.nut
 'It is the name of where the cut nut is.'
- b. **Kabasa h<in>igala gu-ni-a sa kabasa**
 house garden<NOM> said-AP-3SG ART:SG house
ko pa tala pu higa=higala.
 exist PRP where REL RED=garden
 'Gardening house (we) call the house (which) is at where (we) go gardening.'

- c. **Mati sa tala pu zoro sa kaleqe.**
 be.low.tide PRO:3SG where REL jump ART:SG old.woman
 'It was low tide where the old woman jumped.'

8.4 Adverbial subordinate clauses

Adverbial subordinate clauses are introduced by a number of different particles according to the function of the subordinate clause: the purposive particle **de**; the reason particle **puna/na**; and the conditional particles **pana** and **pula**. There are also a number of temporal adverbial clauses which show the temporal relationships between two events.

8.4.1 The purposive particle **de**

The particle **de** has two functions. As a particle used with adverbial subordinate clauses, it introduces purposive clauses, and is glossed as 'PURP'. It is also used as a marker of some complement clauses (see 8.5), where it is glossed as 'COMP'.

De introduces purposive clauses which follow the main clause. The subject of the main clause is most commonly the subject of the dependent clause, in which case the subject of the second clause is usually ellipsed:

- (65) a. **Aria, ma-da gita kahike la**
 exhort FUT-1PL.IN PRO:1PL.IN three go
de pitá sa toloko.
 PURP look.for.TR:3SG ART:SG eel
 'Come on, we three will go to look for the eel.'
- b. **Vagi-ni-a qato ria de zoma-e vua-na.**
 take-AP-3SG stick PRO:3PL PURP poke.down-TR:3PL fruit-3SG
 'They took sticks to poke down its fruit.'
- c. **Podalae rao de taveti-a sa t<in>avete.**
 begin PRO:1SG PURP work.TR-3SG ART:SG work<NOM>
 'I began to do the work.'

The subject can also be retained in the second clause:

- (66) **Koni la gua gita de boka vena**
 FUT go did PRO:1PL.IN PURP able SIM
rapata gita heni.
 fight PRO:1PL.IN this
 'We went in order for us to be able to fight.'

When the purposive clause has a different subject to the main clause, then it is necessary to have an overt subject in the dependent clause:

- (67) a. **La eko loka goe de va-haqala**
 go lie wait PRO:2SG PURP CAUSE-run
atu-a gami karu sa toloko.
 go.to.you-TR:3SG PRO:1PLEX two ART:SG eel
 'You go and lie in wait for us to make the eel run to you.'
- b. **La ria va-bu=bui-a se Amina**
 go PRO:3PL CAUSE-RED=forget-TR:3SG ART A.
de hiko-a Lisa sa baeka tabu.
 PURP steal-TR:3SG L. ART:SG bag tabu.shell
 'They go and make Amina forget in order for Lisa to steal the bag of *tabu* shell.'

In elicitations, the nominalisation strategy that is used with relative clauses (see 8.3.2) was always used after the purposive particle **de** when the purposive clause was transitive and subjects of the main clause and the transitive dependent clause were the same. The nominal indexing suffix indexes the object of the verb in the purposive clause.

- (68) a. **Ria la de bao-di ria boko.**
 PRO:3PL go PURP spear-3PL ART:PL pig
 'They went to spear the pigs.'
- b. **Mae ria Merika de geso-di ria.**
 come ART:PL American PURP block-3PL PRO:3PL
 'The Americans came to block them.'

However, in less formal data gathering, such as the recording of narratives and conversations, nominalisation was never used (69). I am therefore unsure as to the reason for the use of the nominalisations in the elicited examples, other than as an optional stylistic variation.

- (69) a. **Hiva la sikulu gami karu de**
 want go school PRO:1PLEX two PURP
gilali-a sa kasitona heni.
 know-TR:3SG ART:SG thing this
 'We two want to go to school to know this thing.' (*gilali-na)
- b. **Kipu mae ria nikana Japanese de gami**
 NEG come ART:PL man Japanese PURP PRO:1PLEX
nikana hupa mae nani-gami.
 man black come kill-TR:1PLEX
 'The Japanese men did not come to kill us black men.' (*nani-mami)
- c. **Mae kamo qa sa qeto pu gore**
 come arrive REST ART:SG war.party REL go.down

toka mae de vagi-a sa kalaho.
 follow come PURP take-TR:3SG ART:SG old.woman
 'The war party which came down to take the old woman arrived.' (*vagi-na)

8.4.2 The reason particle puna/na

Puna introduces a clause of explanation. Generally, it follows a main clause (70a, b), but it can also precede it, as in (70c).

- (70) a. **Hiva ome-a qatu gami puna kahi ome-a.**
 want see-TR:3SG REST PRO:1PLEX because not.yet see-TR:3SG
 'We did want to see it because we had not seen it before.'
- b. **Na koburu isana, kipu tiq-a hinaquru,**
 ART child that NEG touch-TR:3SG girl
hope-na, puna isana sagi nana sa banara.
 taboo-3SG because that TOP POSS:3SG ART:SG chief
 'That child, girls could not touch him, it was taboo, because that one was the chief's.'
- c. **Puna ta-nani-ni ria kerane, la**
 because PASS-kill-AP:3PL ART:PL before go
ria Marovo nani ria pa Qerasi.
 ART:PL M. kill.TR:3PL PRO:3PL PRP Nggerasi
 'Because they had been killed by them before, the Marovo killed those from Nggerasi.'

A clause introduced by **puna** can also occur on its own as an afterthought:

- (71) **"Koleo qa," gua Masu. Puna isa sa**
 good REST said M. because PRO:3SG ART:SG
banara pa Hoava e Masu.
 chief PRP H. ART M.
 "'Good,'" said Masu. Because he is the chief of Hoava, Masu is.'

Puna has a short variant **na**:

- (72) a. **Ria pu ruasa, kuzu, na kipu boka**
 PRO:3PL REL swim drown because NEG able
ruasa ba sari.
 swim EMPH those
 'They who swam, drowned, because those ones were not able to swim.'
- b. **Ko holapa gami, na mae tiqa**
 stay pass PRO:1PLEX because come arrive

sa pu pa Rabolo sa Janani.
 PRO:3SG REL PRP Rabaul ART:SG Japanese
 'We stayed behind, because the Japanese had reached Rabaul.'

Puna plus **na** also occur, which raises the possibility that **na** has another function. This is perhaps as a residual subject marker, since **na** is also a third person indicator in the adnominal suffixes and is used as a subject particle with the optative marker: **o-na** 'optative: third person singular' (see 5.5.2).

- (73) a. Sa qeto sumi mae mi kae boka
 ART:SG war.party PERF come but NEG able
 likohi-a sa toa puna na ko-ia nikana.
 go.around.TR-3SG ART:SG stronghold because NA be-TR:3SG man
 'The war party had come but could not go around the stronghold because there were men in it.'
- b. Pa keke buruburu qa saena rao tiqe
 PRP one year REST sign.up PRO:1SG then
 dae rao, puna na mabo-ni-a qua
 finish PRO:1SG because NA be.tired-AP-3SG POSS:1SG
 sa t<in>avete.
 ART:SG work<NOM>
 'I signed up for one year, then I finished because I was tired from the work.'

8.4.3 Conditional particles

Pana and **pula** introduce conditional clauses. **Pana** is used for conditions that are considered likely to happen, while **pula** is used for more hypothetical conditions. **Pana** is glossed as 'when' or 'if' according to context, and **pula** as 'if'. Both particles occur at the head of the dependent clause which usually precedes the superordinate clause.

Examples with **pana** are shown in (74).

- (74) a. Pana gona la gita hera koni la sa
 if shoot go PRO:1PL.IN here FUT go ART:SG
 karu maqoru heni nani-gita.
 two war.canoe this kill-TR:1PL.IN
 'If we here shoot, these two war canoes will kill us.'
- b. Pana 'koleo' gua se Masu, koleo qa.
 when be.good said ART M. be.good REST
 'When Masu says 'good', (it) is good.'

Examples with **pula** are shown in (75).

- (75) a. **Pula pule mae goe pa Honiara,**
 if return come PRO:2SG PRP H.
koni mae ome-rao.
 FUT come see-TR:1SG
 'If you came back to Honiara, (you) would come to see me.'

- b. **Pula vari-heni eri kahike, isa koleo**
 if COLL-mix ART:PL three PRO:3SG be.good
sa, koni vura mae sa ora.
 PRO:3SG FUT go.out come ART:SG red.juice
 'If the three are mixed together, that is good, the red juice will come out.'

Only one example was found where **pula** follows its superordinate clause, but this is in a hymn where clause structure is modified to suit the rhyme and rhythm.

- (76) **Hakeagi-ni-rao Jisu ba rao ni, pula**
 care.for-AP-1SG Jesus EMPH PRO:1SG DEM if
ta-mamati bulo-qu.
 PASS-be-heavy heart-1SG
 'Jesus cares for me, if my heart is heavied.'

The conditional particles can be followed by the simulative particle **vena** (see 8.6), which emphasises that the conditional clause is an illustrative example.

- (77) a. **Pula vena manue vagi-a, katu sa puga**
 if SIM possum take-TR:3SG be.lit ART:SG fire
gi tioni-a pa hope qatu.
 and bake.TR-3SG PRP shrine REST
 'Suppose (they) took possum, the fire was lit and (they) baked it right at the shrine.'
- b. **Pana vena gerigeri-ni-a sa kabasa gua,**
 when SIM prepare-AP-3SG ART:SG house be.thus
sagi t<in>avete susua pa g<in>erigeri
 CONJ work<NOM> be.first PRP prepare<NOM>
kabasa koni la pita deri.
 house FUT go look.for post
 'Suppose (you) prepare (to build) a house, the first work in house preparation will be to look for posts.'

Both **pana** and **pula** can be used after the particle **de**:

- (78) a. **Taloa pita-e na neba, nari**
 go look.for-TR:3PL ART neba.nut ngali.nut

na ve, de pana mae tiqa pule ria
 ART SIM PURP when come arrive return ART:PL

palabatu pu la qeto minate pa Bugotu,
 headmen REL go war.party people PRP Bugotu

de poní, gua.
 PURP give.TR:3PL be.thus

‘(They) went to look for *neba* nuts, ngali nuts, and the like, in order that when the headmen who went warpartying to Bugotu arrived back to give them, so.’

- b. **Sa baha sagi koni ta-baha-ni-a**
 ART witch TOP FUT PASS-be.witch-AP-3SG

goe de pula vena korakora sa.
 PRO:2SG COMP if SIM be.angry PRO:3SG

‘The witch, you will be bewitched by him if, for example, she is angry.’

The particle **sagi**, usually used to mark a fronted noun phrase (9.5), can be used to link a conditional clause to the resulting clause.

- (79) a. **Pana ome-a goe sa keke gologao**
 when see-TR:3SG PRO:2SG ART:SG one vine

lavata sagi koni rikisi-a goe.
 big CONJ FUT pull.down-TR:3SG PRO:2SG

‘When you see one big vine, you will pull it down.’

- b. **Pula kakoa sa ema sagi kipu**
 if not.exist ART:SG *ema.vine* CONJ NEG

nina hevae sa kabasa.
 possibly be.strong ART:SG house

‘If there is no *ema* vine, possibly the house will not be strong.’

8.4.4 Temporal adverbial clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses are used to show the relative temporal locations of two events, whether concurrent or sequential.

In order to show that one event is happening during the occurrence of another, the continuing event is encoded with progressive aspect (see 5.4.2). This can be either the imperfective particle **korapa** (80) or reduplication (81).

- (80) **Korapa valusa eri kamade, gi umani-a**
 IMP fish ART:PL four and hear.TR-3SG

ba ve na kabo na.
 EMPH SIM ART cry DEM

‘The four were fishing and heard something like a cry.’

- (81) a. **Ko qa Sou, do=dola la pa mati.**
 stay REST Heron RED=stare go PRP beach
 'Heron stayed, staring at the beach.'
- b. **Mae sa ruruhu, mae agiri,**
 come ART:SG giant come open.oven
om=ome-ni-a qa Koba sa.
 RED=see-AP-3SG REST Hermit.Crab PRO:3SG
 'The giant came, came to open [the oven], Hermit Crab was watching him.'

As mentioned in 5.4.2, both types of progressive aspect can be used at the same time in one clause:

- (82) a. **Korapa tunu=tunu tala gu-ni-a sa**
 IMP RED=sit where said-AP-3SG ART:SG
palabatu, la vura rao.
 headman go go.out PRO:1SG
 'While the head man was sitting there, I went out.'
- b. **Korapa vose=vose gore gami karu,**
 IMP RED=paddle go.down PRO:1PL.EX two
aso rarusu ria siki.
 walk go.along.shore ART:PL dog
 'While we were paddling down, the dogs walked along the shore.'

A prepositional structure using a nominalised verb is used to provide a temporal setting for an event by indicating that it takes place at the same time as another, as described in 7.2.3. Two examples are repeated here.

- (83) a. **Pa korapa-na sa r<in>apata tadi**
 PRP middle-3SG ART:SG fight<NOM> POSS:3PL
ria, koni la vagi-a ria keke koburu.
 PRO:3PL FUT go take-TR:3SG PRO:3PL one child
 'In the middle of their fighting, they would take a child.'
- b. **Ke sa dia k<in>o tala gu-ni-a**
 PRP ART:SG POSS:3PL stay<NOM> REL said-AP-3SG
sagi, lavati sa koburu. [KUS]
 TOP be.big ART:SG child
 'During their stay there, the child grew big.'

To indicate that one event happens after another, generally conjunctions are used (see 8.1), but in order to emphasise that one event has been completed before another, two methods are used. First, as mentioned in 8.1.2, the verb **dae** 'be finished' may be placed before a verb:

- (84) a. **Dae lupaha sa siki, la pele**
 be.finished leave ART:SG dog go again
sa boko, hoqi-a pele sa keke siki.
 ART:SG pig gore-TR:3SG again ART:SG one dog
 'After the dog left, the pig went again, gored again another dog.'
- b. **Dae va-katu-ni-a goe**
 be.finished CAUSE-be.alight-AP-3SG PRO:2SG
sa kakatuana, koni la goe tioni-a.
 ART:SG stone.oven FUT go PRO:2SG bake.TR-3SG
 'After you light the (fire on the) oven, you will bake it.'

The clause **dae isana** 'that one is finished' can also be used to sequence two events, as shown in example (9) in 8.1.2 above.

Second, a prepositional phrase beginning with **pa hari-** 'at the back, after' is also used for an event completed before another takes place.

- (85) a. **Pa hari-na sa Second World War,**
 PRP back-3SG ART:SG S. W. W.
keke nikana, tase-na e Viqa,
 one man name-3SG ART Vingga
hele-a isa sa kolo. [KUS]
 wash-TR:3SG PRO:3SG ART:SG water
 'After the Second World War, one man, his name was Vingga, he washed in the water.'
- b. **Pa hari-na sa qeto pu taloa pule**
 PRP back-3SG ART:SG warparty REL leave return
sagi tiqe mae vura pule ria kahike
 CONJ then come go.out return ART:PL three
tatamana pa dia kabasa.
 father.and.child PRP POSS:3PL house
 'Behind the war party which had left to go back, then the father and two children came back out to their house.'

To show that one event precedes another Hoava uses the adverb **paki** 'first' or the verb **sua** 'be first' in the verb phrase denoting the prior event.

- (86) a. **La paki pa Marovo isa dae tiqe pule mae isa.**
 go first PRP M. PRO:3SG and then return come PRO:3SG
 'She went first to Marovo and then she came back.'
- b. **Pula la qa pa hope sagi su=sua**
 if go REST PRP shrine CONJ RED=be.first

koni va-vura pule pakí se Hiama ria batu.
 will CAUSE-go.out return first.TR:3PL ART priest ART:PL head
 'If going to a shrine, what is first is the priest will first take out the heads.'

The time word **kerane** 'in the olden days' can also be used as in the following example, where it does not mean quite so long ago, rather just some time previous or 'earlier'.

- (87) **Kerane nani-a guhe sa, gila soba sa.**
 earlier eat-TR:3SG beetle PRO:3SG and be.holed PRO:3SG
 'Earlier, beetles ate it (the betel nut tree) and it was holed.'

8.5 Clausal complements

A small number of verbs in Hoava have clausal complements. With one exception (**tozi-nia** 'tell someone'), a clausal complement is indicated by the presence of a third person object marker on the verb phrase that indexes the complement clause.

- (88) a. **Rove=rove-a rao garo koni mae keke nikana.**
 RED=predict-TR:3SG PRO:1SG probably FUT come one man
 'I am predicting that probably a man will come.'
- b. **Balabalá rao garo isa qa.**
 think.TR:3SG PRO:1SG probably PRO:3SG REST
 'I think that probably (it's) him.'
- c. **Kae gilali-a rao sa sege**
 NEG know-TR:3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG crocodile
mae pa kapa hore.
 come PRP beside canoe
 'I did not know the crocodile came up beside the canoe.'

The complementisers **de** and **pu** are used to introduce some complement clauses. With a verb such as **pode** 'try', the transitive form of the verb is used, again with the third person singular object marker to index the complement clause.

- (89) a. **Pode-a rao de va-soto**
 try-TR:3SG PRO:1SG COMP CAUSE-join
pule-a sa ezini.
 return-TR:3SG ART:SG engine
 'I tried to put the engine back together again.'
- b. **Koni boka pode-a rao de**
 FUT be.able try-TR:3SG PRO:1SG COMP

hiku=hiku atu.

RED=be.last go.to.you

'I will be able to try to follow after you.'

The Type III verbs **hiva** 'want' and **haku** 'be tired, bored' use the applicative suffix in order to supply a reason for the state. Here too, the complement clause is indexed by the third person singular object marker, and the complementiser **de** introduces the complement clause.

- (90) a. **Hiva-ni-a ria de pule mae sa qeto.**
 want-AP-3SG PRO:3PL COMP return come ART:SG warparty
 'They wanted the war party to come back.'
- b. **Haku=haku-ni-a ria de naqali-a.**
 RED=be.tired.of-AP-3SG PRO:3PL COMP carry.TR-3SG
 'They were tired of carrying it.'

The verb **tozi** 'tell' can also use the applicative suffix, but in this case the object marker encodes the person spoken to, while the complement clause follows or precedes the main clause without any indexing. The complementiser **de** is only used when the complement clause follows the main clause, as in (91a) and (b).

- (91) a. **Tozi-ni-a e Iani se Zenesi de la qevi**
 tell-AP-3SG ART I. ART Z. COMP go weed
pa h<in>igala.
 PRP garden<NOM>
 'Iani told Zenesi to go and weed in the garden.'
- b. **Tozi-ni-a sa nikana sani de pule nana.**
 tell-AP-3SG ART:SG man that COMP return POSS:3SG
 'Tell that man to return.'
- c. **"Kina-e ria pole," tozi-ni qatu**
 cook-TR:3PL ART:PL taro.root tell-AP:3PL REST
isa ria karu tu-na. [KUS]
 PRO:3SG ART:PL two child-3SG
 "'Cook the taro roots," he told his two children.'

If the applicative suffix is not used with **tozi**, then the object marker indexes a third person pronoun which refers to the message told, not the person spoken to:

- (92) **Tozi-a ria sa pu tala ko se**
 tell-TR:3SG PRO:3PL PRO:3SG REL where be who
la ko pa Saikile sa poata na?
 go stay PRP S. ART:SG shell.money DEM
 'Did they tell with whom the shell money stayed at Saikile?'

The complementiser **pu** can be used in the same manner as **de**, with the complement clause indexed by the object marker on the verb phrase in the main clause:

- (93) **Kipu gilali-a rao pu to rao**
 NEG know-TR:3SG PRO:1SG COMP be.alive PRO:1SG
ba mate rao.
 or be.dead PRO:1SG
 'I did not know that I was alive or (if) I were dead.'

However, **pu** is usually used after the third person singular pronoun **sa**, as if it were marking a relative clause, in the same manner as with **tozi-a** 'tell it' in (92).

- (94) a. **Kipu gilali-a rao sa pu**
 NEG know-TR:3SG PRO:1SG PRO:1SG REL
ta-hoqini-a rao sa boko.
 PASS-gore-AP-3SG PRO:1SG ART:SG pig
 'I did not know that I was gored by the pig.'
- b. **Nanasa-ni-a eri karu sa pu hiva**
 ask-AP-3SG ART:PL two PRO:3SG REL want
vagi misanare gua.
 take missionary did
 'The two requested that they wanted to take a missionary (to Hoava).'
- c. **Nake-ni-a rao sa pu la isa**
 say-AP-3SG PRO:1SG PRO:3SG REL go PRO:3SG
goná sa siki. [KUS]
 pelt.TR:3SG ART:SG dog
 'I said that he went to pelt the dog.'

A further strategy for including a clausal complement in a sentence is to turn it into a nominalisation. While the verb or verbs become nominalised, the subject can be unchanged in form, as in (95a), or it can become a possessive form as in (95b).

- (95) a. **Kipu gilali-a rao h<in>aqala sa boko.**
 NEG know-TR:3SG PRO:1SG run<NOM> ART:SG pig
 'I did not know the pig ran.'
- b. **Sa lae-na sa mua t<in>oka**
 ART:SG result-3SG ART:SG POSS:3SG follow<NOM>
h<in>iva teqe-a goe sa malego-mu.
 want<NOM> cut-TR:3SG PRO:2SG ART:SG leg-2SG
 'The result of your following (your own) wishes (is that) you cut your leg.'

In the next example, the nominalised verb is an applicative which retains its arguments unchanged.

- (96) **Gilali-go rao t<in>oka-ni-rao goe.**
 know-TR:2SG PRO:1SG help<NOM>-AP-PRO:1SG PRO:2SG
 'I know you help me.'

Clausal complements, whether verbal or nominalisations, are uncommon in Hoava since much the same effect can be obtained using verb serialisation when both subjects are the same.

8.6 The simulative particle *ve(na)*

The particle **ve(na)** is used to provide comparisons between items or events perceived as similar, or to provide an example of the topic under discussion. The term 'simulative' with which I have labelled the particle is from Lichtenberk (1983:372). A minor function is its use with subordinating particles which is discussed below (8.6.3). **Ve(na)** is used to introduce an adjunct clause which post-modifies nouns (8.6.1) or verbs (8.6.2).

It is evident that **ve** is a verb, as well as a clausal particle, since it can be used with a noun phrase as if it were a stative verb 'be like' as shown in (97), and be reduplicated (98).

- (97) a. **Ve isa sa vivine-na sa kabasa.**
 SIM PRO:3SG ART:SG story-3SG ART:SG house
 'The story of the house is like that.'
- b. **Ve na dereni heni? Ao ve na dereni sani,**
 SIM ART drain this yes SIM ART drain that
nana lolomo.
 POSS:3SG channel
 'Is (it) like this drain? Yes, like that drain, its channel.'
- (98) **Kae ve=ve na dekuru.**
 NEG RED=SIM ART log
 '(It) is not like a log.'

More importantly, it can also be used with the applicative suffix, as shown in (99).

- (99) a. **Vari-likoho ve-ni-a qa heni.**
 DEP-go.around SIM-AP-3SG REST this
 '(It) can go around like this.'
- b. **Sa sanu tani sa kabasa, pana**
 ART whatsit POSS:3SG ART:SG house when
ve=ve-ni-a isa qa ...
 RED=SIM-AP-3SG PRO:3SG REST
 'The whatsit of the house, when (it) is like that ...'

It is possible that there are two functions of **ve(na)**, one being as a simulative particle, and the second as a verb 'be.like' with presumably the former derived from the latter.

Although I refer to the particle as **ve(na)**, it often occurs just as **ve**, and it is unclear whether or not examples with **vena** should in fact be **ve** followed by the particle **na**. This would result in a number of instances of **na** being used in front of verbs, as was also noted with the reason particle **puna** (see 8.4.2). One unambiguous example that clearly uses **vena** is shown in (100), although the second use of **ve/vena** in this example is not so certain.

- (100) **Koni naqali qatu goe ria mua**
 FUT carry.TR:3PL REST PRO:2SG ART:PL POSS:2SG
n<in>aqala, vena na vinetunu, sa pu de
 carry<NOM> SIM ART hook PRO:3SG REL PURP
vena rita-na sa toloko.
 SIM hook-3SG ART:SG eel
 'You will carry your belongings, such as a hook which is for hooking the eel.'

A further example, (101), is of a less common use of a plural form, **veri** followed by an article, although this number distinction in the use of **ve** is not often made, and the example in (102), with **vena** followed by the plural article, is much more common.

- (101) **Dogolo, palakoli, ... kanana, veri ria qato**
 floor.joists beams floorboards SIM:PL ART:PL wood
pa kakele-na pa pade.
 PRP subject-3SG PRP floor
 'Floor joists, beams, floorboards, like the woods in the subject of the floor.'
- (102) **Pita deri, deri-na sa kabasa, deri peka,**
 look.for post post-3SG ART:SG house post below
deri tiva, deri pade, gua, vena ria
 post stand post floor be.thus SIM ART:PL
v<in>a-tiva-na sa kabasa.
 CAUSE<NOM>-stand-3SG ART:SG house
 'Look for posts, posts of the house, under posts, standing posts, floorposts, thus, such as the things which make the house stand.'

8.6.1 The post-nominal similative adjunct

Ve(na) is used to introduce an adjunct clause, following a noun phrase, to provide an example of another noun which is regarded as being similar:

- (103) a. **Roverove sagi ve na poropesa, na saientist.**
 predicting TOP SIM ART professor ART scientist
 'Predicting is like a professor, a scientist.'

- b. **Kalu-mu goe keke nono ve kalu-na Uza.**
 hair-2SG PRO:2SG one same like hair-3SG U.
 ‘Your hair is the same as Uza’s hair.’

The similitive particle is also used to provide examples of the topic under discussion:

- (104) a. **Koni ta-vagi pele ria kiqa qato, vena**
 FUT PASS-take next ART:PL some wood SIM
vavarata, botini, tutuvu.
beams botingi tutuvu
 ‘Next some wood will be taken [to make house parts], such as *beams, botingi, tutuvu.*’
- b. **Kabasa k<in>oe gu-ni-a sa vena**
 house stay<NOM> said-AP-3SG PRO:3SG SIM
kabasa putaputana heni.
 house sleeping.place this
 ‘“Staying house” we call it, like this sleeping house.’

Ve(na) is frequently used with demonstratives or pronouns when objects are being pointed out (105a), or when the reference is obvious (105b), or when the reference is cataphoric (105c).

- (105) a. **Ria vavarata, barabarana, kiqa kasitona ve riara**
 ART:PL beam fenced.place some thing SIM those
 ‘The beams, fenced places, some things like those.’
- b. **Doluru boni ve heni, mi koni vose la qa.**
 all night SIM this but FUT paddle go REST
 ‘All nights like this, but (we) would paddle continuously.’
- c. **P<in>utagita taqu rao sagi ve heni.**
 dream<NOM> POSS:1SG PRO:1SG TOP SIM this
 ‘My dream was like this.’

The similitive phrase can also be a relative clause modifying a noun:

- (106) a. **Sipata tase-na sa pu ve heni.**
sipata name-3SG PRO:3SG REL SIM this
 ‘*Sipata* is the name of that which is like this.’
- b. **Keke kasitona pu ve=ve na koe heri.**
 one thing REL RED=SIM ART *koe*.fruit these
 ‘One thing which is just like these *koe* fruits.’

8.6.2 The postverbal similative phrase

Phrases introduced by **ve(na)** following verb phrases are much the same syntactically as those following noun phrases.

- (107) a. **Deana ve na zipale.**
 be.sweet SIM ART honey
 '(It) is sweet like honey.'
- b. **Tiqe tuu eri karu, tuu ve Helena heni=ni.**
 then sit ART:PL two sit SIM H. this=RED
 'Then the two sit, sit like Helena here.'

The similative phrase can also follow the complementiser **pu** after verbs:

- (108) **Rao tiva pu ve=ve hera. Inoke tiva**
 PRO:1SG stand COMP RED=SIM here I. stand
makele ve=ve heni.
 side RED=SIM this
 'I was standing as if here. Inoke was standing to the side like this.'

8.6.3 Subordinating particles and **ve(na)**

When **ve(na)** follows the conditional particles **pana** 'when, if' and **pula** 'if', the effect is to weaken the likelihood of the possibility of the event in the conditional clause taking place. It is instead offered as an example of what might take place. Two examples are shown in (109) (see also 8.4.3).

- (109) a. **Pula vena kae ta-poka labete, doluru**
 if SIM NEG PASS-be.nailed board all
kasitona heri, koni uke qa sa kabasa.
 thing these FUT fall REST ART:SG house
 'If boards, all these things, are not nailed, for example, the house will just fall.'
- b. **Pana vena va-kahapi-a ria gi**
 if SIM CAUSE-be.emptied.TR-3SG PRO:3PL and
pitá ed-i bea ... koni la
 look.for.TR:3SG EDPOSS-3PL shrimps FUT go
ria va-gore tuke-a qa.
 PRO:3PL CAUSE-go.down go.away-TR:3SG REST
 'If, for example, they made it [the water] be emptied and looked for their shrimps ... they would just take it [the wall] away.'

A shortened form of **pula vena**, **pu vena**, is also used:

- (110) a. **Kolo, kasitona lea-na holapa, pu vena**
 friend thing be.good-3SG INTENS if SIM
pato la pa teni-na, ria leta heri,
 talk go PRP relative-3SG ART:PL letter these
na ABC tase-na.
 ART ABC name-3SG
 'Friend, a very good thing, suppose (you) want to talk to your relative, these letters, it's called ABC.'
- b. **Ria soana, pu vena aso gore la pa**
 ART:PL path if SIM walk go.down go PRP
heleana heri=ri, ria hopeke dia soana.
 river these=RED ART:PL different POSS:3PL path
 'The paths, if, for example, these ones walked down to a river, their paths were different.'

Vena can also follow the complementiser **de** to provide an example of a desired event:

- (111) **Rao hiva-ni-a keke misanare de vena**
 PRO:3SG want-AP-3SG one missionary COMP SIM
kube=kubere ria tu-qu.
 RED=write PRO:3PL child-1SG
 'I want a missionary in order for my children to write, for example.'

9 *Focus and topicalisation*

The unmarked word order for Hoava clauses is VP (NP₃) NP₁ (NP₂), as discussed in Chapter 6, with the number of NP arguments depending on the valency of the verb in the verb phrase. Variation from the unmarked word order takes place when one or two NPs are placed in front of the verb phrase. This is done in order to place focus on an NP for contrasting purposes, or to mark an NP as a topic. As well as the placing of arguments before the verb phrase, non-arguments may also be fronted for the same reasons. It is therefore more correct to talk of clause initial placement of phrases in general.

In addition to clause initial position, a number of other particles may be used between the fronted phrase and the rest of the clause. In this chapter I will first discuss the function of clause initial placement without additional particles (9.1). Then I will describe the roles of the contrastive particle **mi** (9.2) and the emphatic particles **ba** and **go** (9.3). Interrogative clauses (9.4) involve focus on particular elements of a clause when question words are used (9.4.1). Although yes/no questions do not generally involve a change from the unmarked word order, I have included them in this section (9.4.2).

The overlap between focus and topic is evident in the functions of the particle **sagi**, discussed in 9.5. I will conclude this chapter with the topicalisation functions of left and right dislocation (9.6).

9.1 Clause initial focusing without particles

Clause initial placement of a phrase, without any other marking, is generally used to show that the phrase is the focus of contrast. It may be given or new information, but in either case clause initial position is being used to show that, of the possible set of entities which could satisfy the truth of a presupposition, the focused constituent is the only correct one (Chafe 1976:34, see also Aissen 1992:50). The examples in (1) show given information that is placed in clause initial position for contrast.

- (1) a. **Goe** **koni** **ko** **holapa.** **Gami** **kamade**
 PRO:2SG FUT stay pass PRO:1PLEX four

koni taloa pule.
 FUT leave return
 'You will stay behind. We four will leave again.'

b. **Rao kipu tahiko-ni-a sana.**
 PRO:1SG NEG be.afraid-AP-3SG DIST:SG
 'I am not afraid of that.'

c. **Garo isa qa naqali-a sa lebotu.**
 probably PRO:3SG REST carry.TR-3SG ART:SG machete
 'Probably just he carried the machete.'

In (2) the clause initial noun phrases provide new information, but these still have the function of focus of contrast, since they assert that there is only one possible referent (or set of referents) in each case.

- (2) a. **Seleni taqu rao ta-hiko.**
 money POSS:1SG PRO:1SG PASS-steal
 'My money was stolen.'
- b. **Mamalaini umani-a sa koburu.**
 voice hear.TR-3SG ART:SG child
 'A voice the child heard.'
- c. **Keke igana lavati-na naqali-a ria.**
 one fish big-3SG carry.TR-3SG PRO:3PL
 'One big fish they carried.'

Double focusing is possible when two phrases are placed in front of the verb phrase. In (3) both noun phrases carry the contrast function. The first noun phrase is contrasting with people who live in other places, such as by the sea, while the second noun phrase contrasts with other types of fish:

- (3) **Ria pu ko pa heleana, igana heleana**
 PRO:3PL REL exist PRP river fish river
- koni vagi ria.**
 FUT take.TR:3PL PRO:3PL
 'They who live by rivers, river fish they will catch.'

In the next example, the first noun phrase contrasts with other items that may be taken on a hunting trip, and the second phrase contrast with other time possibilities, such as 'once or twice' or 'never':

- (4) **Sa siki doduru kolokolo koni teni-a.**
 ART:SG dog all[ROV] time FUT take-TR:3SG
 'The dog every time (you) will take.'

Any noun phrase in a clause may be placed in focus position. Example (1a) above shows the subject of an intransitive verb in clause initial position, while (2a) shows the

subject of a passive verb in focus position. When the subject of a transitive verb is fronted for focusing, the transitive object marking on the verb may remain unchanged, as in (5):

- (5) a. **Rao koni teni-go goe.**
 PRO:1SG FUT take-TR:2SG PRO:2SG
 'I will take you.'
- b. **Sa nikana rikisi soku igana.**
 ART:SG man pull.in.TR:3PL many fish
 'The man pulled in many fish.'

However, nominal indexing suffixes may also be used instead of the transitive suffix to index the object, giving a nominalised form of the verb, with no apparent difference in meaning (see 5.3.7.2). The examples in (6) were regarded as having the same meaning by Hoava speakers, despite the possible ambiguity of (6a) in which either the boy or the girl could be the agent. There is no such ambiguity in (6b) since the boy is the patient, as shown by the use of the nominal indexing suffix.

- (6) a. **Sa hinaquru gevá sa makariva.**
 ART:SG girl delouse.TR:3SG ART:SG boy
 'The girl deloused the boy.'
- b. **Sa hinaquru geva-na sa makariva.**
 ART:SG girl delouse-3SG ART:SG boy
 'The girl deloused the boy.'

Other examples of the nominal indexing suffix in this construction are shown in (7). As with other uses of this nominalisation, these sentences can have a habitual interpretation (see 5.3.7.1).

- (7) a. **Sa kaistona koni nani-di ria.**
 ART:SG thing FUT kill-3PL PRO:3PL
 'The thing [magic rather than weapons] will kill them.'
- b. **Ria la bagere-di ria manue.**
 PRO:3PL go hunt-3PL ART:PL possum
 'They went to hunt the possums.'
- c. **Kiqa ria va-deo-di ria vasina heri.**
 some PRO:3PL CAUSE-clam-3PL PRO:3PL place these
 'Some of them catch clams in these places.'

The object of a transitive verb may be placed in focus position as in (2b, c) above and (8) below.

- (8) **Soku makasi vagi eri kamade.**
 many bonito take.TR:3PL ART four
 'Many bonito the four caught.'

The subject (9) or object (10) of an applicative verb phrase with one object can be focused.

- (9) **Pato vaka kipu sikulu-ni-a gami kerane.**
 speak ship NEG learn-AP-3SG PRO:1PLEX in.the.older.days
 'English, we did not learn in the olden days.'
- (10) **Keke vesi koni kera-ni-a rao.**
 one verse FUT sing-AP-3SG PRO:1SG
 'One verse I will sing.'

All arguments of an applicative verb phrase with two objects can be focused by fronting (although examples in the data were rare): the subject (11), the primary object (12) and the secondary object (13). Example (13) has the same referents as (12), but the primary and secondary objects have been swapped (see 6.3.3). In (12) the instrumental argument, **ria babao boko** 'the pig spears', is the primary object, while the instrumental argument in (13), **na babao boko** 'a pig spear', is the secondary object.

- (11) **Goe teni-ni-a nikana sa qua balugu.**
 PRO:2Sg take-AP-3SG man ART:SG POSS:1SG pepper.leaf
 'You take (the) man to my pepper leaf (bush).'
- (12) **Ria babao boko bao-ni boko ria.**
 ART:PL spear pig spear-AP:3PL pig PRO:3PL
 'With the pig spears they speared pigs.'
- (13) **Na babao boko bao-ni-a Sasa sa boko.**
 ART spear pig spear-AP-3SG S. ART:SG pig
 'With a pig spear Sasa speared the pig.'

Other non-argument phrases can also be focused, such as the prepositional phrase in the second clause of (14), and both prepositional phrases in (15).

- (14) **Rao na kipu do=dola la te Kenedi,**
 PRO:1SG NA NEG RED=stare go PRP Kennedy
te Maqiqo tu do=dola la qua rao.
 PRP Mangginggo REST RED=stare go POSS:1SG PRO:1SG
 'I was not staring at Kennedy, (it was) Mangginggo I was staring at.'
- (15) **Pa Tomoko ruta keke, pa Tomoko tikeli keke.**
 PRP T. taro.garden one PRP T. higher one
 'At the Tomoko taro garden there is one, by the Tomoko (river) higher up there is one.'

9.2 The contrastive focus particle *mi*

The contrastive particle **mi** 'but' is used to focus a noun phrase that has a predicate contrasting with the normal state of affairs. In example (16) it is not normal to have snakes in one's hair, while in example (17) the addressee is being insulted by the speaker saying he has an unusually large number of sores.

- (16) **Noki mi ko qa pa kalu, puna na ruruhu.**
 snake but exist REST PRP hair because ART giant
 'Snakes were in his hair, because (he was) a giant.'
- (17) **Kolo, kae pato=pato. Na nuzu-mu mi**
 friend NEG RED=talk ART mouth-2SG but
tubu, na gole-mu mi tubu.
 have.sores ART backside-2SG but have.sores
 'Friend, don't say anything. Your mouth has sores, your backside has sores.'

The above examples are both fronted subjects of intransitive verbs. Objects of transitive verbs can be fronted (18), but no examples were recorded of subjects of transitive verbs focused in this way. In (18), the implied expectation is that the person being talked about would have gone to Hoava.

- (18) **Hoava mi kipu lae-g-ia sa.** [KUS]
 H. but NEG go-LIG-TR:3SG PRO:3SG
 'Hoava, though, he did not go to.'

In (19) the taking of food is emphasised to show the total destruction of a village, rather than the more usual less destructive raid.

- (19) **E-di n<in>ani mi la vagi ria.**
 EDPOSS-3PL eat<NOM> but go take.TR:3SG PRO:3PL
 'Their food they [the enemy] took it.'

Non-core arguments are able to be focused using **mi** as in example (20), where a noun phrase functioning as an adverbial time phrase is focused, since it is unusual to paddle a canoe all night, as people did during the Second World War to carry messages.

- (20) **Doluru boni mi koni vose qa.**
 all night but FUT paddle REST
 'All night (we) would paddle.'

9.3 The emphatic particles *ba* and *go*

The emphatic particles **ba** and **go** place emphasis on the phrases which precede them. **Ba** may be used after both clause initial phrases and verb phrases, while **go** is only used following the verb phrase.

9.3.1 The emphatic particle *ba*

The emphatic particle **ba** is used for clause initial focus of fronted noun phrases, and to emphasise verbal and nominal predicates, and subject noun phrases. In clause initial focus, a noun phrase is placed before the verb phrase and is followed by the emphatic marker **ba**:

- (21) **Sa masi ba to qa ni.**
 ART:SG lighter EMPH live REST DEM
 'The lighter works!'

The use of **ba** is often contrastive, since it is emphasising one noun phrase as opposed to something else:

- (22) a. **Doluru gami ba gore dae qa.**
 all PRO:1PL.EX EMPH go.down finish REST
 'All of us have given birth (but not you) [lit: finished going down].'
- b. **Na voku qa ba kabo na.**
 ART voku.bird REST EMPH cry DEM
 'Just a *voku* bird cried out (not anything else).'

When the subject of a transitive verb is fronted, adnominal suffixes are used on the verb (23), as with relativisation and topicalisation (see 8.3 and 9.5).

- (23) a. **Mosi ba tavete-na sa lose.**
 M. EMPH build-3SG ART:SG room
 'Mosi built the room.'
- b. **Tena ba asa-na sa tile.**
 T. EMPH grate-3SG ART:SG pearl.shell
 'Tena grated the pearl shell.'

Neither clauses fronting objects of transitive verbs nor clauses fronting objects of applicative verbs were regarded as acceptable when used with **ba** (24). However, this type of fronting is quite possible when the particle **ba** is not used (see 9.1) or when the particle **sagi** is used (9.5). Compare the examples in (24) with those in (110) and (118b) below.

- (24) a. ***Sa lose ba taveti-a Mosi.**
 ART:SG room EMPH build.TR-3SG M.
 *'The room Mosi built.'
- b. ***Kinahe ba tavete-ni-a Mosi sa lose.**
 nipa.palm EMPH build -AP-3SG M. ART:SG room
 *'Nipa palm Mosi built the room with.'

I recorded one example where the agent of a passive phrase was fronted in this structure, but no applicative suffix was used on the verb:

- (25) **Sa teni-da qa ba ta-nani gita na.**
 ART:SG relative-1PL.IN REST EMPH PASS-kill PRO:1PL.IN DEM
 'Our relative we are killed by.'

One further example was recorded where both subject and object of an applicative verb were fronted. In (26) the subject is followed by **ba** and functions as a topic, while the object is fronted without **ba** and functions as the focus of contrast, since European money, coins, is being contrasted with traditional shell money.

- (26) **Isana ba poata nikana vaka tu koni hakeagi-ni-a.**
 that EMPH money man ship REST FUT look.after-AP-3SG
 'That one, European money (he) will look after.'

Time adverbials (see 7.2.2) can be fronted using **ba** (27), as can other deictic adverbs (28).

- (27) a. **Tavola ba koni atu rao ni.**
 tomorrow EMPH FUT go.to.you PRO:1SG DEM
 'Tomorrow I will come to you.'
- b. **Pirae heni ba teni-a ria sa**
 now this EMPH take-TR:3SG PRO:3PL ART:SG
veala so.
 child.sacrifice DEM:PAST
 'Now they took the child sacrifice.'
- (28) **Hera qa ba kura gami karu ni.**
 here REST EMPH trap.fish PRO:1PL.EX two DEM
 'Right here we two trap fish.'

In addition to placing emphasis on fronted phrases, the emphatic particle **ba** is also used to emphasise a verbal predicate. In order to do this, **ba** is placed immediately after the verb phrase, but it is cliticised to the following noun phrase. Main stress in the clause falls on the main verb, and the whole clause acquires an assertive or even aggressive tone. If accompanied by very strong stress on the main verb, the use of **ba** indicates that the speaker is rather impatient with the addressee, as in (29), and is implying "Why are you bothering me with these questions?" or "I've already said that to you—you should listen!"

- (29) **Koni atu qa ba rao ni.**
 FUT go.to.you REST EMPH PRO:1SG DEM
 'I will come to you (for sure) [stop asking me!].'

In the following exchange, the speaker somewhat sarcastically uses the emphatic form when he feels the answer should have been obvious to the questioner:

- (30) **Q: Kolomao, mae goe?**
 friend come PRO:1SG
- A: Ao, mae ba rao ni.**
 yes come EMPH PRO:1SG DEM
- 'Q: Friend, have you come?
 A: Yes, I have come.'

In a similar way, the phrase **gua ba rao** is used when a speaker has to repeat something he or she has already said, and which the addressee should have taken notice of. In (31) the giant has already told the addressee, a girl, to shut the door. As she did not do it, he repeats the phrase:

- (31) **Tukeli-a sa ririana gua ba rao.**
 close.TR-3SG ART:SG door said EMPH PRO:1SG
 'Close the door, I said!'

A familiar sequence of increasing force used to tell children to stop swimming in the river is shown in (32). In the first instance, the verb alone is used. In the second command, the pronoun is added to emphasise who the command is directed at, and in the third, the phrase **gua ba rao so** 'I have said' is used to emphasise that this is a repetition of an order, and it is time the children did as they were told!

- (32) a. **Sagele!**
 go.up
 'Get out (of the water)!'
- b. **Sagele gamu kahike!**
 go.up PRO:2PL three
 'Get out you three!'
- c. **Sagele gua ba rao so!**
 go.up said EMPH PRO:1SG DEM:PAST
 'Get out, I said!'

With less emphatic stress, the use of **ba** indicates that the speaker is asserting the truth of what he or she is saying, as in (33).

- (33) a. **Puta nana ba se Pepe na!**
 sleep POSS:3SG EMPH ART P. DEM
 'Pepe is sleeping!'
- b. **Koni paho ba e-mami ri!**
 FUT be.empty EMPH EDPOSS-1PLEX DEM
 'Ours will be empty!'

Ba also occurs after the verb phrase when it is used to emphasise a subject noun phrase that is followed by an object. **Ba** comes after the subject noun phrase, but here again it cliticises to the following object noun phrase, while main stress is still on the verb phrase.

- (34) a. **Kipu koni taveti ria ba sara!**
 NEG FUT make.TR:3PL PRO:3PL EMPH PRO:3PL
 'They will not make them!'
- b. **Hakeagi-ni-rao Jisu ba rao ni!**
 look.after-AP-1SG Jesus EMPH PRO:1SG DEM
 'Jesus looks after me!'
- c. **Bui-ni-a gami karu ba gava na!**
 forget-AP-3SG PRO:1PLEX two EMPH sun DEM
 'We two forgot about the sun!'

The restriction of **ba** to emphasising subjects, and its non-occurrence with objects has also been noted above, in the use of **ba** with fronted subjects.¹ **Ba** can also not be used immediately after verb phrases when followed by both subject and object noun phrases. In (35), **ba** follows the subject noun phrase, but cannot be placed after the verb phrase.

- (35) a. **Koni ta-nani-ni-a goe ba sa siki!**
 FUT PASS-bite-AP-3SG PRO:2SG EMPH ART:SG dog
 'You will be bitten by the dog!'
- b. **Soko-ni-a qato isa ba sa leboto vaquru-na!**
 chop-AP-3SG wood PRO:3SG EMPH ART:SG machete new-3SG
 'He chopped wood with the new axe!'

Placement of **ba** directly after the verb phrase and before a direct object is only possible when the subject noun phrase is ellipsed:

- (36) a. **La ruruhu gi nani paho-egami ba**
 go giant and kill empty-TR:PRO:1PL.EX EMPH
gami ni!
 PRO:1PL.EX DEM
 'The giant went and killed all of us!'
- b. **Kuti kokoti-a ba rua-na!**
 cut slice.TR-3SG EMPH neck-3SG
 'They cut through his neck!'
- c. **Keba gami karu dae tiqe vagi ba sara!**
 climb PRO:1PL.EX two and then take.TR:3PL EMPH PRO:DIST:PL
 'We climbed and then took them!'

As can be seen in (37), **ba** is also often used in conjunction with the short demonstrative particles (see 4.4.2):

- (37) a. **Ko ba sana, sege na.**
 exist EMPH PRO:DIST crocodile DEM
 'There it was, a crocodile.'
- b. **Hiva ta-geva ba rao ni. Geva-erao**
 want PASS-delouse EMPH PRO:1SG DEM delouse-TR:1SG

¹ It is possible that the occurrence of **ba** after subject noun phrases provides evidence for a core clause structure which includes the subject, but which only includes objects as incorporated objects (see 6.2.4) or pronominal object markers (see 5.3.1). Therefore, when **ba** is used after the subject, it may, in fact, be emphasising the clause core.

The NP object would therefore be a peripheral external element, used only when the object needs to be overtly stated in the discourse. Ross (1988:243) proposes an original clause-final topic for the neighbouring language of Roviana to explain its present day ergative structure. The placement of **ba** suggests that, for emphatic purposes at least, Hoava still retains a clause final topic or focus structure for direct objects that is not yet fully integrated into the clause.

tu gamu karu.
 REST PRO:2PL two
 'I want to be deloused. Delouse me you two.'

The long demonstratives are also used (38), but demonstratives are not obligatory with **ba**, as illustrated in (39). However, a noun phrase, whether pronominal or nominal *must* follow **ba**.

(38) **Lavati-na ba sa kabasa sani!**
 be.big-3SG EMPH ART:SG house that
 'That house is big!'

(39) **Nara ba sa lebotu!**
 be.blunt EMPH ART:SG machete
 'The machete is blunt!'

When the emphatic demonstrative pronouns are used, **sana** 'PRO:DIST' is regarded as 'stronger', that is, more emphatic than **pi** 'PRO:PROX' or **si** 'PRO:INVISIBLE'. For example (40b) was provided as a stronger way of saying (40a):

(40) a. **Rao qa ba pi!**
 PRO:1SG REST EMPH PRO:PROX
 'It's just me!'

b. **Rao qa ba sana!**
 PRO:1SG REST EMPH PRO:DIST
 'It's just me!'

Likewise, of the following two examples in (41), (41b) was regarded as more emphatic, although the visible/invisible difference may have played a part here:

(41) a. **Isa qa ba si!**
 PRO:3SG REST EMPH PRO:INVIS
 'It's just him!'

b. **Isa qa ba sana!**
 PRO:3SG REST EMPH PRO:DIST
 'It's really him!'

The combination **ba si** may also have become weakened through its idiomatic use, as it is also used to underline statements regarded as obvious or already known to the addressee:

(42) a. **Mina na kipu na tu-na nikana ba**
 but ART NEG ART child-3SG man EMPH
si, na tu-na na noki.
 PRO:INVIS ART child-3SG ART snake
 'But he was not the son of a man, of course, (he was) the son of a snake.'

- b. **Rodokiko mina dia gugusu ba si,**
 be.dark but POSS:3PL village EMPH PRO:INVIS
so aso sagele sa.
 SEQ walk go.up PRO:3SG
 '(It) was dark but it was their village, of course, so she walked up.'
- c. **Nina vagí ria, puna na qeto ba si.**
 maybe take.TR:3PL PRO:3L because ART warparty EMPH PRO:INVIS
 'Maybe they took them, because (they were) a warparty, of course.'

Ba si can also be used as an additional exclamation on the end of a clause, again when stating the obvious, and when the pronominal **si** does not have an independent referent:

- (43) **Nikana pa Eono ba sa ba si!**
 man PRP Eongo EMPH PRO:3SG EMPH PRO:INVIS
 'He was a man from Eongo, of course!'

Ba sana is also used as an extra phrase in a clause without a referent, with the same function of underlining the obvious:²

- (44) **Kipu isa qa sa pakupaku ba sana.**
 NEG PRO:3SG REST ART:SG necklace EMPH PRO:DIST
 'It is not the necklace, of course (it is a crocodile, and we already know that).'

Nominal clauses use **ba**, as in (40) and (41) above and (45) below. In these examples the new information is placed in clause initial position for focus. In (45) one boy is being pointed out as the particular boy being referred to, therefore the demonstrative pronoun is the new information.

- (45) **Sani ba sa makariva.**
 that EMPH ART:SG boy
 'That's the boy.'

² Waterhouse (1949) also notes the use of similar phrases in Roviana as expletives which he describes as often implying 'of course':

Ele taloa bisa. 'He has gone.' (p.15); **Lopu ele noma bari.** 'They are not yet large.' (p.13).

Note also the Roviana use of **ba** in a similar construction to Hoava usage in the following (Waterhouse 1949):

Mumuerekemu koamu ba goi 'said of a person well acquainted with the language and customs of a country by long custom therein (p.76).'

Qote, bakora ba rau! 'Oh, I'm injured!' (and I'm already aware of the fact) (p.101).

9.3.2 The emphatic particle *go*

Go is very similar in function to *ba*, being used to emphasise a preceding verbal or nominal predicate. In contrast to *ba*, *go* is not used after fronted noun phrases. The example in (46b) is used as a reprimand if someone has spilt the sugar.

- (46) a. **Sagele go gami na.**
 go.up EMPH PRO:1PL.EX DEM
 'We go up.'
- b. **Garo koni hiva napo kolo manini go goe na!**
 probably FUT want drink water hot EMPH PRO:2SG DEM
 'You will probably want to drink hot water! [but there won't be any sugar left]'

The noun phrase following *go* is always a pronoun, and most occurrences of *go* involve the emphatic demonstrative pronouns, as shown in (47):

- (47) a. **Keke tusu go sana!**
 one island EMPH PRO:DIST
 'It is an island!'
- b. **Ria maqoru pu la pita ninani go sara.**
 ART:PL war.canoe REL go look.for food EMPH PRO:DIST:PL
 'They were the canoes which went looking for food.'

Go is also used with the pronominal *si* with the same function as *ba si* (see 9.3.1) to mean 'of course':

- (48) **Na hanahana koburu go si.**
 ART custom child EMPH PRO:INVIS
 'It is the way of a child, of course.'

As with *ba si* and *ba sana*, extra exclamatory-type uses of *go sana/go sara* are possible:

- (49) a. **Isa, tiqe ta-tiqu eri karu**
 PRO:3SG then PASS-touch ART:PL two
maneke, gua ria kerane go sara.
 mother.and.child did ART:PL in.the.older.days EMPH PRO:DIST:PL
 'It is so, and then the mother and child (can be) touched, thus they did in the older days.'
- b. **Pa boni isana sagi ripoti gami go sana.**
 PRP night that TOP report PRO:1PL.EX EMPH PRO:DIST
 'That night we reported.'

There was no noticeable difference in the functions of *ba* and *go*, and both are possible in responses such as the following:

- (50) Q: **Kolokolo sa koni mae si?**
 time what FUT come PRO:INVIS
- A: **Pirae mae go sana or Pirae mae ba sana!**
 now come EMPH PRO:DIST now come EMPH PRO:DIST
- 'Q: What time will she come?
 A: Now she comes!'

A Kusaghe counterpart of *go* is *hego*:

- (51) a. **Gasa vura ria pu Kusage, gila**
 jump go.out ART:PL REL Kusaghe and
toka-e hego sana. [KUS]
 follow-TR:3PL EMPH PRO:DIST:PL
 'The Kusaghe jumped out and followed them.'
- b. **Horu vura se Pirikutikuti gila**
 jump[ROV] go.out ART P. and
mono-a hego sana. [KUS]
 squeeze-TR:3SG EMPH PRO:DIST
 'Pirikutikuti jumped out and squeezed him.'

9.4 Interrogative clauses

In this section I will examine the use of question words in clauses which bring into focus a particular element of the clause, usually by clause initial positioning of the phrase containing the questioned element. I have also included yes/no questions in this section on interrogatives, although these do not involve change in word order, nor focus on one particular noun phrase.

9.4.1 Question word questions

Question words are used to question particular parts of a clause. The question word is usually placed in clause initial position but can also remain after the verb phrase, particularly when questioning optional elements of a clause. The question words *sa* 'what?' (9.4.1.1), *sava-* 'which?' (9.4.1.2) and *se* 'who?' (9.4.1.3) all function as nouns. *Ka-visa* 'how many?' questions quantity (9.4.1.4), while *vera/ve* 'where?' questions location (9.4.1.5). There are three different methods of questioning 'when?' (9.4.1.6). The question words *vegoa* and *vesa* 'how, why?' function as verbs (9.4.1.7).

9.4.1.1 The question word *sa*

Sa is used to question non-human NPs or parts of NPs and is glossed as ‘what?’. It is homonymous with the third person singular pronoun **sa** but is probably not derived from the same source. The question word **sa** is a noun, not a pronoun, since it can be preceded by the general article **na** (see 4.3.1). Ross (1988:224) regards Hoava **sa** ‘what?’ and other New Georgia equivalents as being an innovation from POC ***sapa**, which became ***saqa** in the New Georgia group of languages instead of expected ***sava**. However, **sava** also exists in Hoava, being used for the question word ‘which?’ (9.4.1.2), so possibly there was a split into two different question words from the same origin.

Sa ‘what?’ is usually clause initial, whether in nominal clauses as in (52), or in verbal clauses as in (53):

- (52) a. **Sa si?**
 what PRO:INVISIBLE
 ‘What is it?’
- b. **T: Gore la sa pa Rararaga.**
 go.down go PRO:3SG PRP R.
- V: Sa sa pa Rararaga?**
 what PRO:3SG PRP R.
 ‘T: The one at Rararaga goes down.
 V: What is the one at Rararaga?’

- (53) a. **Sa taveti-a gamu karu?**
 what do.TR-3SG PRO:2PL two
 ‘What are you two doing?’
- b. **Na sa habu velo-ni gamu?**
 ART what fish(V) usually-AP.3PL PRO:2PL
 ‘What do you usually fish with?’

Sa can occur inside another noun phrase, following the head noun, when asking for more details, but the whole noun phrase still occurs in clause initial position.

- (54) a. **P<in>ato sa sa kukuqi?**
 speak<NOM> what ART:SG *kukunggi*
 ‘What language is *kukunggi*?’
- b. **Kala sa ria pu heri?**
 colour what PRO:3PL REL these
 ‘What colour are these ones?’ [lit: they which are these.]

The general article **na** (see 4.3.1) is used optionally with **sa**:

- (55) a. **Na sa makoa pi?**
 ART what UNCERT PRO:CLOSE
 ‘What perhaps is it?’

- b. **Na sa karu=karumae-ni gamu kerane?**
 ART what RED=trawl-AP PRP:2PL before
 'What did you trawl with before?'

There is no plural form of **sa**. The following examples contain questions referring to plural items, but **sa** is invariant.

- (56) a. **Na sa ria igana pu ko pa heleana?**
 ART what ART:PL fish REL exist PRP river
 'What are the fish which live in rivers?'
- b. **Sa ria pinesu tamu gamu?**
 what ART:PL staple.accompaniments POSS:2 PRO:2PL
 'What are your foods that go with the staples?'

Sa is used as a question word for both transitive (57) and applied objects (58):

- (57) a. **Sa taveti-a gamu karu?**
 what do.TR-3SG PRO:2PL two
 'What are you two doing?'
- b. **E-mi n<in>ani sa nani gamu karu?**
 EDPOSS-2PL eat<NOM> what eat.TR:3PL PRO:2PL two
 'What is your food that you two are eating?'
- (58) a. **Sa tavete-ni-a ria pi?**
 what make-AP-3SG PRO:3PL PRO:CLOSE
 'What are they making it with?'
- b. **Qato sa ria heoku velo-ni ria?**
 stick what PRO:3PL plant usually-AP:3PL PRO:3PL
 'What stick do they usually plant them with?'

Sa is rarely found functioning as a subject, since subjects are often human agents, requiring the question word **se** 'who?' (9.4.1.3). One example recorded of a subject questioned using **sa** is shown in (59):

- (59) **Na sa veko-e ria sasaeri heri?**
 ART what leave-TR:3PL ART:PL leaf these
 'What left these leaves here?'

9.4.1.2 The question word **sava-**

Sava- is very similar in meaning to **sa**, and it is possible they are both derived from POC ***sapa** 'what?' (see 9.4.1.1). While **sa** is used as a general request for information, **sava-** is a request for further distinguishing information. I gloss **sava-** as 'which?', although it functions as a noun, not an adjective, and can follow the general article **na**. It takes a nominal indexing suffix agreeing with the following noun.

- (60) a. **Sava-na sa kolekole virihokoto?**
 which-3SG ART:SG river.fish *virihokoto*[fish sp.]
 'Which is the *virihokoto* river fish?'
 b. **Na sava-mu goe se Dokasi?**
 ART which-2SG PRO:2SG ART D.
 'Which of you [your relatives] is Dokasi?'

As with *sa* 'what?', *sava-* 'which?' can also be used following a head noun:

- (61) a. **Ezini sava-na sana?**
 engine which-3SG that
 'Which engine is that?'
 b. **Tape sava-na sa pu ta-suni-ni-a**
 stingray which-3SG PRO:3SG REL PASS-sting-AP-3SG
sa koburu?
 ART:SG child
 'Which stingray was it that the child was stung by?'
 c. **Koburu sava-na sa pu suni-a tape?**
 child which-3SG PRO:3SG REL sting-TR:3SG stingray
 'Which child was it that the stingray stung?'

The similar functions of *sa* and *sava-* are shown in the following two examples in (62), which were given as equivalents while eliciting the demonstratives:

- (62) a. **Na ezini sa huani?**
 ART engine what that:DIST
 'What engine is that over there?'
 b. **Ezini sava-na pu?**
 engine which-3SG that:DIST
 'What/which engine is that over there?'

9.4.1.3 The question word *se*

Se is used to question human participants, and I gloss it as 'who?'. It is homonymous with the personal article *se* but most probably has its origin in POC **sai* 'who?' (Ross 1988:91). *Se* is a proper noun since the proper noun article *e* is optionally used with it. *Se* is placed in clause initial position.

- (63) a. **Se naqala mae-ni?**
 who carry come-AP:3PL
 'Who carried them to me?'
 b. **E se podo-a e Pilipi?**
 ART who give.birth-TR:3SG ART P.
 'Who gave birth to Pilipi?'

The plural article **eri** is used optionally with **se** when the questioner assumes that there is more than one possible referent:

- (64) **Eri se mae?**
 ART:PL who come
 'Who came?'

Plurality can also be expressed in a nominal predicate, by means of the plural definite article **ria**, without being indicated in the question noun phrase:

- (65) **E se ria koburu sikulu tamu gamu?**
 ART who ART:Pl child school POSS:2 PRO:2PL
 'Who were your school children?'

Like **sa** and **sava-**, **se** can be used after another noun to request further clarification, as in (66), but it can also precede a pronoun for the same function, as in (67):

- (66) a. **Saku se?**
 S. who
 'Saku who?'
- b. **Gamu se sa pu mae ko susua hokara?**
 PRO:2PL who PRO:3SG REL come stay be.first true
 'Which of you was the one who was truly the first to come and stay?'

- (67) a. **Se gamu vagi-a?**
 who PRO:2PL take-TR:3SG
 'Which of you took it?'
- b. **E se gita koni koe turu?**
 ART who PRO:1PL.IN FUT stay stand
 'Who of us will stay and stand?'

Se is used to question a possessor in a noun phrase, in which case the whole NP is fronted:

- (68) **Batu-di eri se ria pu**
 head-3PL ART:PL who PRO:3PL REL
va-via-gi isana
 CAUSE-clean-TR:3PL that
 'Whose heads were they which that one (the priest) made clean?'

Se is also used after the preposition **te** whether this is for possession (69) or location (70). When questioning a possessor, **se** may be either before or after the possessum.

- (69) a. **Koburu te se?**
 child POSS who
 'Child of who?'
- b. **Q: Te se karu hore sari?**
 POSS who two canoe those

A: Te Iani.
POSS I.

'Q: Whose are those two canoes?

A: Iani's.

- (70) **Te se varavara la?**
PRP who pray go
'Who did you pray to?'

If **te se** is used to question ownership, the separate possessive pronoun (see 4.11.3) can still be used in the response:

- (71) **Q: Te se emata?**
POSS who former.garden

A: Nana Quresi.
POSS:3SG Nnguresi

'Q: Whose garden was it?

A: Nnguresi's.'

In verbal clauses, **se** is mainly used as a subject, as in (63) above and (72) below.

- (72) a. **Se vale-a sa tase-na Hoeze na?**
who give-TR:3SG ART:SG name-3SG H. DEM
'Who gave that name of Hoeze?'

- b. **E se va-molu-a kalaho?**
ART who CAUSE-be.pregnant-TR:3SG woman
'Who made the woman pregnant?'

Se can also be an object, as in (73), but this is often avoided by using a nominal clause with an embedded relative clause, as in (68) above, or by using a passive form, as in (74) below.

- (73) **E se qa ome-a goe?**
ART who REST see-TR:3SG PRO:2SG
'Who did you see?'

- (74) **Eri se ria ta-pausu?**
ART:PL who PRO:3PL PASS-adopt
'Who were they who were adopted?'

Although in most instances recorded there was no change in the suffix of a transitive verb when a subject was questioned, it is possible for a nominal indexing suffix to be used instead of the transitive suffix to index the object, creating a nominalised form of the verb as shown in (75). This is also found in other subject fronting strategies (see 5.3.7, 8.3, 9.5).

- (75) **E se asa-na sa tile?**
 ART who grind-3SG ART:SG pearl.shell
 'Who ground the pearl shell?'

The transitive and nominalised forms are regarded as equivalent, as shown in (76) where the speaker uses both forms. The use of the nominalisation in the second sentence may indicate a slight emphatic role for the nominalisation.

- (76) **Se tago-e ria hope ra? Se tago-di ria hope?**
 who own-TR:3PL ART:PL shrine DEM who own-3PL ART:PL shrine
 'Who owns those shrines? Who owns the shrines?'

9.4.1.4 Quantity questions

Ka-visa 'how many?' is used with countable items to question number. It is used either alone when the context is understood, or in front of the noun which is being questioned. The whole NP is usually fronted as in (77) but it can remain in place as shown by (78).

- (77) a. **Ka-visa qa ria igana vagí goe?**
 NUM-how.many REST ART:PL fish take.TR:3PL PRO:2SG
 'How many fish did you catch?'
- b. **Ka-visa ria poata ko taqu rao?**
 NUM-how.many ART:PL shell.money exist PRP:1SG PRO:1SG
 'How many [pieces of] shell money are in my possession?'
- (78) **Ta-hakei tadi ria ka-visa poata?**
 PASS-look.after PRP:3PL PRO:3PL NUM-how.many shell.money
 'How many [pieces of] shell money are looked after by them?'

9.4.1.5 Locative questions

The question word **vera** questions a location or direction and is glossed as 'where?':

- (79) a. **Vera ko sa bae na?**
 where exist ART:SG cave DEM
 'Where is that cave?'
- b. **Vera la goe?**
 where go PRO:2SG
 'Where are you going?' (a common greeting phrase)
- c. **Vera veko-a goe?**
 where leave-TR:3SG PRO:2SG
 'Where did you leave it?'

Vera can also be used after the preposition **pa**:

- (80) a. **Pa vera tase-na sa pu tala**
 PRP where name-3SG PRO:3SG REL where
pu kuqi sana?
 REL beat.water PRO:DIST
 'What name is it where that one beat the water?' [lit: at where is the name of it where ...]
- b. **Sa poata pa vera sa pu isana?**
 ART:SG shell.money PRP where PRO:3SG REL that
 'The shell money from where, that one?'
- c. **Pa vera sa hetahetana la-g-ia gamu?**
 PRP where ART:SG betelnut.plantation go-LIG-TR:3SG PRO:2PL
 'Where is the betelnut plantation you went to?'

Vera, or the phrase containing **vera**, is often placed in clause initial position, as in (79) and (80) above, although it is not restricted to this position, and may occur clause finally:

- (81) a. **Tama-mu pa vera?**
 father-2SG PRP where
 'Your father is from where?'
- b. **Kukui nikana vera ni?**
 K. man where DEM
 'Kukui is a man from where?'

A shorter form, **ve**, is often used, particularly when asking the whereabouts of humans, although the longer form is also used:

- (82) a. **Ve Iani ni?**
 where I. DEM
 'Where is Iani?'
- b. **Vera ko se Iani ni?**
 where exist ART I. DEM
 'Where is that Iani?'

Another variant is **veni**, said by Hoava speakers to be used when something is known to be present. This can also be shortened to **ve**:

- (83) a. **Veni sa kuti?**
 where ART:SG knife
 'Where is the knife (that was right here)?'
- b. **Ve sa kuti?**
 where ART:SG knife
 'Where is the knife?'

The use of **vera** may be a recent introduction to the language, since the oldest Hoava speaker recorded, Philip Rono of Tamaneke, who was a young man when the missionaries

arrived in 1905, used the phrase **pa sa na gava** ‘at what is the sun?’ in a story. A man in his fifties, telling the same story which he had learnt from Philip, used the phrase **vera sa gava** ‘where is the sun?’.

9.4.1.6 Questioning time

There are three ways of questioning the time of an event in Hoava. **Panavisa** is used for future time, **visoroe** for past time and **kolokolo sa** ‘what time?’ for either past or future. **Panavisa** ‘when?’ contains the same question element **visa** as **ka visa** ‘how many?’.

- (84) a. **Panavisa pule mae se Varina?**
 when:FUT return come ART V.
 ‘When will Varina come back?’
- b. **Panavisa koni la goe pa Honiara?**
 when:FUT will go PRO:2SG PRP H.
 ‘When will you go to Honiara?’

Visoroe has the final **-oe** vowels that are also found in other time words, such as **minoroe** ‘today’, and **risoe** ‘three days ago’ (cf. **risa** ‘three days hence’).

- (85) **Visoroe taloa se Varina?**
 when:PAST leave ART V.
 ‘When did Varina leave?’

Kolokolo ‘time’ is usually used with past time reference (see 7.2.2), but in questions it can have past or future reference:

- (86) a. **Kolokolo sa la pa Honiara goe?**
 time what go PRP H. PRO:2SG
 ‘What time did you go to Honiara?’
- b. **Kolokolo sa koni tiqa pa Gizo goe?**
 time what FUT arrive PRP G. PRO:2SG
 ‘What time will you arrive at Gizo?’

9.4.1.7 The question words **vegoa** and **vesa**

Two words are used to request an explanation, **vegoa** and **vesa**. Both can be glossed as ‘how?, why?, what about?’, according to context. They are always used at the beginning of a clause.

- (87) a. **Vegoa pa kakele-na mae gua, pa Beu na?**
 what.about PRP side-3SG come thus PRP B. DEM
 ‘What about this side, by Beu (river)?’

b. **Vegoa sa ruruhu pa Oto ni?**
 what.about ART:SG giant PRP O. DEM
 'What about this giant from Oto?'

c. **Vegoa oromari?**
 what.about cassava
 'What about cassava?'

(88) **Vesa kae hinoqe mae goe?**
 why NEG be.quick come PRO:2SG
 'Why didn't you come quickly?'

Both words can also be reduplicated, suggesting that they may be verbs, as in (89). In (89b) the question word is followed by a pronoun subject before the conjunction, further supporting a verbal interpretation of the question word.

(89) a. **Vego=vegoa sa meapu na?**
 RED=what.about ART:SG map DEM
 'What about that map?'

b. **Vesa=vesa gamu karu tiqe vagi**
 RED=how PRO:2PL two then take.TR:3PL
e-mi n<in>ani?
 EDPOSS-2PL eat<NOM>
 'How did you two then take your food?'

A common construction using these particular question words is to place a conjunction after them, linking the question words to the rest of the sentence:

(90) a. **Vegoa dae koni boka taveti-a goe?**
 how and FUT be.able make.TR-3SG PRO:2SG
 'And how will you be able to make it?'

b. **Vegoa so mate sa boko?**
 how so be.dead ART:SG pig
 'So how did the pig die?'

c. **Vegoa tiqe to sa veala?**
 what.about then live the child.sacrifice
 'Then what if the child sacrifice lived?'

d. **Vesa dae la pa Gizo goe?**
 how and go PRP G. PRO:2SG
 'And how did you go to Gizo?'

The conjunction may be omitted leaving a pause, and then the question word functions as an interjection, since the main question is in the following clause.

- (91) a. **Vegoa, boka la vagi rao?**
 what.about be.able go take.TR:3PL PRO:1SG
 'How about it, will I be able to take them?'
 b. **Vegoa, solodia goe ni?**
 what.about soldier PRO:2SG DEM
 'What, are you a soldier?'

9.4.2 Yes/no questions

Yes/no questions in Hoava have the same form as declarative sentences but with a rising intonation at the end.

- (92) a. **Q: So sa poata pa Vahole sagi ko**
 so ART:SG shell.money PRP V. TOP exist
nana pa Vahole?
 POSS:3SG PRP V.
A: Ko nana pa Vahole.
 exist POSS:3SG PRP V.
 'Q: So the shell money of Vahole, it is in Vahole?
 A: It's in Vahole.'
 b. **Q: Umani-a goe kiqa vivine-di ria?**
 hear.TR-3SG PRO:2SG some story-3PL PRO:3PL
A: Kari, kipu gilali-a rao.
 no NEG know-TR:3SG PRO:1SG
 'Q: Have you heard some stories of them?
 A: No, I don't know it.'

Ao 'yes' can be added at the end of the question if that is the expected answer:

- (93) **Q: Hoqi noki, gua-ni-a ria ao?**
 tooth snake said-AP-3SG PRO:3PL yes
A: Ao, sa pu lavata nananana.
 yes PRO:3SG REL be.big INTENS
 'Q: Snake tooth, they call it, yes?
 A: Yes, the very big one.'

If agreement is wanted but not certain, then a more persuasive **ao kolo** 'yes friend' is added to the question:

- (94) **Q: Puna isa sa kipu ta-vioro-ni-a**
 because that PRO:3SG NEG PASS-be.sick-AP-3SG

ria nikana varane pu gu-ni-a, ao kolo?
 ART:PL man warrior REL did-AP-3SG yes friend

A: Isa, tavete ria, barakale.
 PRO:3SG make PRO:3PL *barakale*

'Q: Because that's what didn't make the warriors who did it sick, yes friend?

A: That's it, they made [it], the *barakale* [cure].'

An affirmative response to a question asserts agreement with what has been stated. The affirmative response may be **ao** 'yes' (95), or a repetition of part of the question (96), or a combination of both (97).

(95) **Q: Tavete sikulu tadi ria pa Burono?**
 make school PRP:3PL PRO:3PL PRP Burongo

A: Ao.
 yes

'Q: (Did you) make a school for them at Burongo?

A: Yes.'

(96) **Q: Nani-a guhe kerane?**
 eat-TR:3SG beetle earlier

A: Nani-a guhe.
 eat-TR:3SG beetle

'Q: Did a beetle eat it earlier?

A: A beetle ate it.'

(97) **Q: Tige naqala la tani sa zale?**
 then carry go PRP:3SG ART:SG stone.wall

A: Ao, naqala la tani sa zale.
 yes carry go PRP:3SG ART:SG stone.wall

'Q: Then (did they) carry (it) to the stone wall?

A: Yes, (they) carried it to the stone wall.'

If the respondent disagrees with what has been stated in the question, he or she will use the negative response **kari** 'no', as in (98), and may provide a negation of the question (99) or supply an alternative answer (100).

(98) **Q: Pa pepeha Maqela tu?**
 PRP land Mangela REST

A: Kari.
 no

'Q: (Was it) on Mangela land?

A: No.'

- (99) Q: **Ome-a qa goe?**
 see-TR:3SG REST PRO:2SG
 A: **Kari, kipu ome-a rao.**
 no NEG see-TR:3SG PRO:1SG
 'Q: Did you see it?
 A: No, I did not see it.'
- (100) Q: **Koni v<in>ihe-na sa pepeha?**
 FUT select<NOM>-3SG ART:SG soil
 A: **Kari, koni hana keru vagi-a qa.**
 no FUT anyhow dig take-TR:3SG REST
 'Q: Will the soil be chosen [from a particular place]?
 A: No, (they) will dig (it) up from anywhere.'

If a respondent agrees with the proposition of a negative sentence, he or she will reply *ao* 'yes', and may repeat the relevant part of the question, as in (101b):

- (101) a. Q: **Kae mabo poki=poki, ao?**
 NEG be.tired RED=weed yes
 A: **Ao.**
 yes
 'Q: (You) were not tired weeding, yes?
 A: Yes'
- b. Q: **Sa viriviri hokoto-na kipu na lavati-na?**
 ART:SG fish.sp. complete-3SG NEG ART be.big-3SG
 A: **Ao, kipu lavati-na.**
 yes NEG be.big-3SG
 'Q: The *viriviri hokotona* is not the big one?
 A: Yes, not the big one.'

If the respondent disagrees with the proposition contained in the negative question, then he or she will use a negative response:

- (102) Q: **Kipu ome-a goe?**
 NEG see-TR:3SG PRO:2SG
 A: **Kari, ome-a qa rao.**
 NEG see-TR:3SG REST PRO:1SG
 'Q: You did not see it?
 A: No, I did see it.'

Answers to yes/no questions are usually with affirmative or negative, and Hoava speakers prefer to say 'I don't know' rather than to reply with a doubtful response. The

only doubtful response recorded is (103), which is used to show a lack of interest in the question, rather than any intention of providing an accurate answer.

- (103) **Nina ve qa.**
possibly SIM REST
'(It is) possibly so.'

9.5 The particle *sagi*

Aissen (1992:47) distinguishes two types of topics in Mayan, a family of verb initial languages, as is Hoava: (1) internal topics, in which the topic is part of the basic clause, although it is positioned in front of the verb, since the topic is an argument of the clause; and (2) external topics which are outside the clause. In Hoava, I consider topics marked by *sagi* to be mainly internal topics, although external topics are also possible, while right and left dislocation (see 9.6) both create external topics.

In order to indicate an internal topic in Hoava, the topicalised phrase is positioned in front of the verb phrase and the topic marker *sagi* is placed after the topicalised phrase. Generally, Hoava topics are definite and referential, and relate to information that has already been given, in accordance with most definitions of topic (e.g. Foley & Van Valin 1984:355). However, as Chafe (1976:49) notes, what are often described as topics can also have the function of focus of contrast. In Hoava, *sagi* can be used with new information that is the focus of contrast, in addition to its function of marking given information as the topic. Since *sagi* can have both focus and topic marking functions, I have glossed it as 'FOC' or 'TOP' where appropriate. In the following two examples (104), both NPs in clause initial position are new information and, as such, they are focused NPs rather than topics:

- (104) a. **Keke ruta lavati-na sagi sa pa Rinopa.**
one taro.garden big-3SG FOC PRO:3SG PRP R.
'One big taro garden is the one at Rinopa'
- b. **E Manua Dama sagi ko susua hokara.**
ART M. D. FOC stay be.first true
'Manua Dama was the very first to stay [at Burongo].'

In the next examples, the clause initial NP in each is given information and I consider it to be a topic, although it also has the function of contrasting with other possible referents. In (105) 'this shrine' is contrasted with other shrines, while in (106) the head of a giant is contrasted with his other body parts which are elsewhere.

- (105) **Sa hope heni sagi hope te Siangala.**
ART shrine this TOP shrine POSS Siangala
'This shrine is the shrine of Siangala.'
- (106) **Sa batu-na sa sagi ko pa hope.**
ART:SG head-3SG PRO:3SG TOP exist PRP shrine
'His head is in the shrine.'

Other examples with **sagi** show less concern for contrast and merely indicate that the clause initial NP is the topic:

- (107) **Ego, sa vivine-na sa z<in>akara.**
 well ART:SG story-3SG ART:SG betel.chew<NOM>
Z<in>akara sagi keke kasitona leana holapa.
 betel.chew<NOM> TOP one thing be.good INTENS
 'Well, the story of betel chewing. Betel chewing is a very good thing.'

Sagi is frequently used with nominal clauses in order to highlight the subject as the topic under discussion, as opposed to the predicate which is usually supplying new information.

- (108) a. **Sa vivine heni sagi vivine pa Qerasi dae Ramata.**
 ART story this TOP story PRP Nggerasi and R.
 'This story is a story from Nggerasi and Ramata.'
- b. **Sa nikana tarae sagi Boazi Suna.**
 ART man preach TOP B. Sunga
 'The preacher was Boazi Sunga.'

Topicalisation and focus marking with **sagi** in verbal clauses can affect both core arguments and peripheral phrases of time and location. With fronting of the core arguments, there is a distinction in changes to verbal morphology to indicate whether the subject or object is fronted. For example, (109) is a basic clause using unmarked word order:

- (109) **Taveti-a Mosi sa lose.**
 build.TR-3SG M. ART:SG room
 'Mosi built the room.'

In (110) the object is fronted and the verb morphology is unchanged:

- (110) **Sa lose sagi taveti-a Mosi.**
 ART:SG room TOP build.TR-3SG M.
 'The room Mosi built.'

In (111), the subject is fronted and the verb suffix changes from the transitive object marker to the adnominal suffix, although still indicating the object, creating a nominalised form of the verb.

- (111) **E Mosi sagi tavete-na sa lose.**
 ART M. TOP build -3SG ART:SG room
 'Mosi built the room.'

The optional nominalisation strategy used when a subject occurs in clause initial position has already been noted in other functions (see 5.3.7, 8.3) and is also found with other focusing strategies (see 9.1, 9.3.1). With **sagi**, as in the other uses, nominalisation occurs when the subject of both transitive (112) and intransitive verbs (113) is in clause initial position.

(112) a. **Mere sagi asa-di ria oromari.**
 M. FOC grate-3PL ART:PL cassava
 'Mere grated the cassava.'

b. **Eri karu sagi tave=tavete-na sa**
 ART:PL two TOP RED=do-3SG ART:SG
t<in>avete isana, sa ABC.
 work<NOM> that ART:SG ABC
 'The two were doing that work, the ABC.'

(113) a. **Na voku qa sagi kabo-na.**
 ART voku.bird REST FOC cry-3SG
 'Just a voku bird cried out.'

b. **Balugu sagi pa nobonoboana tu koe-na.**
 pepper.leaf TOP PRP forest REST exist-3SG
Heta qa sagi koe-na pa via.
 betelnut REST TOP exist-3SG PRP clear
 'Pepper leaf is just in the forest. Betelnut is in the cleared land.'

As with other similar uses of the adnominal suffix, there are also examples where the suffix is not used when a subject is in clause initial position:

(114) a. **Soku nikana pa Hoava sagi gilali toká**
 many man PRP H. TOP know follow.TR:3SG
sa p<in>ato.
 ART:SG speak<NOM>
 'Many men from Hoava knew to follow the words.'

b. **Sa koburu hiku-na sagi umani-a**
 ART:SG child be.last-3SG TOP hear.TR-3SG
sa pu na kabo tana nikana.
 PRO:3SG REL ART cry POSS:GEN man
 'The youngest child heard the cry of a man.'

As the examples in (115) show, fronting of direct objects with **sagi** causes no change to the verb phrase.

(115) a. **Na keke v<in>arigara sagi taveti-a ria pa Bareke.**
 ART one gather<NOM> FOC make.TR-3SG PRO:3PL PRP B.
 'One gathering, the ones from Bareke made.'

b. **Sa siki dae gamu karu sagi paosu**
 ART:SG dog and PRO:2PL two TOP be.adopted
dae-g-igamu qa rao.
 finish-LIG-TR:2PL REST PRO:1SG
 'The dog and you two, I completely adopted you.'

The primary or secondary objects of applied verbs can also be fronted using *sagi*. The examples in (116) are clauses with only one object, indexed by the object marker following the applicative suffix:

- (116) a. **Sa opo pa daramu sagi tahiko-ni-a nikana.**
 ART:SG go.over PRP oil.drum TOP be.afraid-AP-3SG man
 'The going over the oil drum [to be beaten], men were afraid of it.'
- b. **Sa b<in>inubinu tadi ria hinaquru**
 ART:SG apply.lime<NOM> POSS:3PL ART:PL girl
sagi kekere-ni-a ria kalu-di ria.
 TOP be.grey-AP-3SG ART:PL hair-3PL PRO:3PL
 'The girls' applying lime [to their hair] has caused their hair to become grey.'

Passive verbs using the applicative suffix can also have clause initial objects marked by *sagi*:

- (117) **Sa baha sagi ta-baha-ni-a goe.**
 ART:SG witch TOP PASS-bewitch-AP-3SG PRO:2SG
 'The witch, you are bewitched by her.'

When there are two objects in an applicative clause, the secondary object may also be in clause initial position (118). I have not recorded any clear examples of primary objects marked by *sagi*.

- (118) a. **Na qato rararo sagi soko-ni-a isa sa**
 ART wood cooking FOC chop-AP-3SG PRO:3SG ART:SG
leboto vaquru-na.
 machete new-3SG
 'The fire wood he chops with the new machete.'
- b. **Kinahe sagi tavete-ni-a Mosi sa lose. [KUS]**
 nipa.palm FOC build-AP-3SG M. ART:SG room
 'Nipa palm Mosi builds the room with.'

Prepositional phrases can be fronted and marked by *sagi*:

- (119) a. **Pa kulikuliana sagi kokoana tani sa rumu.**
 PRP mossy.place FOC resting.place POSS:3SG ART:SG dugong
 'By the mossy place is the resting place of the dugong.'
- b. **Pa kabasa te Vezi sagi taveti-a Mosi sa lose.**
 PRP house POSS V. FOC build.TR-3SG M. ART:SG room
 'In Vezi's house Mosi built the room.'

Prepositional predicates are possible through topicalisation of the subject. Normally prepositional predicates are not possible, since clauses concerning location require the use of the existential verb *ko* with the prepositional phrase (see 7.1.4), but if the subject NP is topicalised, *ko* can be left out (120), as also happens with relative clauses (see 8.3.3).

- (120) a. **Sa bulo sagi pa noka holapa.**
 ART:SG green.coconut TOP PRP high INTENS
 'The green coconut is very high up.'
- b. **Sa beha sagi pa peka-na tevolo.**
 ART:SG basket TOP PRP under-3SG table
 'The basket is under the table.'

Time adverbials, whether noun phrases or prepositional phrases, can also be focussed and topicalised with **sagi**:

- (121) a. **Velu sagi taveti-a Mosi sa lose.**
 yesterday FOC build.TR-3SG M. ART:SG room
 'Yesterday Mosi built the room.'
- b. **Ninahite sagi koni mae gore ria.**
 soon FOC FUT come go.down PRO:3PL
 'Soon they will come down.'
- c. **Kolokolo-na isana sagi vura mae sa vaka suvu.**
 time-3SG that TOP go.out come ART:SG ship dive
 '(At) that time the submarine surfaces.'
- d. **Pa boni isana sagi ripoti gami.**
 PRP night that TOP report PRO:1PL.EX
 'That night we reported.'

One example was noted where the negative **kipu** was topicalised. As this is a peripheral element (see 7.3.1), it accords with the topicalisation of other peripheral phrases, such as location and time adverbials.

- (122) **Kipu sagi kabo hokara ba sana.**
 NEG TOP cry true EMPH that
 'That's *not* true crying.'

Possessor phrases are generally not topicalised except with the existential verb **ari** (see 6.2.2).

- (123) a. **Sa hore sagi ari sigoto-na.**
 ART:SG canoe TOP exist anchor-3SG
 'The canoe has an anchor. [lit: the canoe, its anchor exists]'
- b. **Sa beha sagi ari iroso-na.**
 ART:SG basket TOP exist string-3SG
 'The basket has a string [handle] [lit: the basket, its string exists.]'

Although **sagi** is used most often with internal arguments of a clause, it can also be used to mark external topics. In this case, the topic NP may be repeated inside the comment clause:

- (124) a. **Sa heleana isana sagi nikana nuquri-a**
 ART:SG river that TOP man enter.TR-3SG
sa heleana isana.
 ART:SG river that
 'That river, a man enters that river.'
- b. **Sa p<in>ato pu umani-a sa koburu sagi**
 ART speak<NOM> REL hear.TR-3SG ART:SG child TOP
toká sa koburu sa pinato sani.
 follow.TR:3SG ART:SG child ART:SG speech that
 'The speech which the child heard, the child followed that speech.'

A resumptive pronoun may also be used with **sagi**. This may follow the verb phrase, as in (125), or it may be fronted in the clause following **sagi** (126), in much the same manner as left dislocation (9.6).

- (125) **Eri karu nikana heri sagi la**
 ART two man these TOP go
va-naqiti-a eri karu pirae hera.
 CAUSE-be.safe-TR:3SG ART two now here
 'These two men, the two went and made it safe here now.'
- (126) **Sa poata heni sagi isa qa**
 ART:SG shell.money this TOP PRO:3SG REST
sa pu banara pa Koqu Kalena.
 PRO:3SG REL chief PRP bay K.
 'This shell money, *it* is the one which (signifies the) chieftainship of Kalena bay.'

The resumptive pronoun can itself be placed before **sagi**. In (127) the first noun phrase is new information functioning as the focus of contrast (with other possible islands), while the pronoun **isa** coreferences this NP as the topic of the following comment:

- (127) **Keke tusu lavata, isa sagi tusu tani sa ruruhu.**
 one island big PRO:3SG TOP island POSS:3SG ART:SG giant
 'One big island, it's an island of the giant.'

The topic marked by **sagi** may be completely external to the main clause, without any resumptive pronoun, particularly in cases where the comment clause provides an explanation about the topic.

- (128) a. **Sa pu t<in>aloha rao pa Hoava**
 PRO:3SG REL leave<NOM> PRO:1SG PRP H.

sagi vasi pa Burono ko rao.
 TOP INTENS PRP Burongo exist PRO:1SG
 ‘As for my leaving Hoava, I was right at Burongo [i.e., I went straight to Burongo].’

- b. **Sa vivine te Pilipi sagi naqali-a**
 ART:SG story POSS P. TOP carry.TR-3SG
ria sa poata heni taloa.
 PRO:3PL ART:SG shell.money this leave
 ‘As for Pilipi’s story, they carried the shell money away.’

Sagi is also used as a coordinator to link clauses:

- (129) a. **E Manua Dama sagi ko susua hokara, sagi**
 ART M. D. TOP stay be.first true CONJ
teqe-na sa gugusu.
 clear-3SG ART:SG village
 ‘Manua Dama was the very first to stay and he cleared [the site of] the village.’
- b. **Pule taloa sa misionare sagi hobehobe**
 return leave ART:SG teacher CONJ replace
misionare qa rao.
 teacher REST PRO:1SG
 ‘(When) the teacher went back, I stood in for the teacher.’

9.6 Left and right dislocation

Left dislocation in Hoava consists of a noun phrase to the left of a clause and a coreferential resumptive pronoun in the clause. The pronoun is placed in front of the verb phrase and indexes the number and person of the topic. In all examples recorded, the topic was third person. When this is singular, the focal form of the third person singular pronoun *isa* is used, but in the plural there is no focal form and the pronoun used is *ria* ‘third person plural’ (see 4.2.2).

There is no restriction on which NPs can occur in left dislocated position, although they are still related to the clause through the resumptive pronoun, which is clause internal. However, the pronoun can mark a noun phrase which is either a core argument of the clause or a peripheral element of the clause.

In (130) the resumptive pronoun is the subject and, in contrast to topicalised subjects with *sagi*, adnominal suffixes are not used since the pronoun refers to a clause external topic.

- (130) a. **Ria nikana heri, ria vagi soku holapa igana.**
 ART:PL man these PRO:3PL take.TR:3PL many INTENS fish
 ‘These men, they caught very many fish.’

- b. **Nikana ari batu-na, isa koni boka**
 man exist head-3SG PRO:3SG FUT be.able
vagi-a sa poata b<in>anara.
 take-TR:3SG ART:SG shell.money be.chief<NOM>
 'A man who has heads [skulls], he will be able to take the shell money of
 chieftainship.'

In the next example the resumptive pronoun is the object of the clause:

- (131) a. **Sa lipa heni, isa vagi-a**
 ART:SG lipa.fish this PRO:3SG take-TR:3SG
eri karu velu.
 ART:PL two yesterday
 'This *lipa*, it's what the two caught yesterday.'
- b. **Ria karua hoqi kisi ra, ria kipu gilali rao.**
 ART:PL two teeth small DEM PRO:3PL NEG know.TR:3PL PRO:1SG
 'The two small teeth, those I don't know.'

Example (132) has a topicalised NP referring to the single object of an applicative verb phrase:

- (132) **Sa k<in>ae noso tadi ria,**
 ART:SG not<NOM> be.still POSS:3PL PRO:3PL
isa rovo-ni-a ria.
 PRO:1SG be.hungry-AP-3SG PRO:3PL
 'Their not-being still, it has hungered them.'

In (133) the left dislocated phrase is a prepositional phrase, still with a resumptive pronoun referring to it:

- (133) **Pa Vapide, isa ko sa.**
 PRP V. PRO:3SG stay PRO:3SG
 'At Vapide, it's where he stayed.'

Nominal clauses also use left dislocation, as in (134):

- (134) **Bou qa, isa keke qato hevae-na.**
 bou REST PRO:3SG one wood strong-3SG
 'Bou, it's one strong wood.'

Instead of a resumptive pronoun, the noun phrase can be repeated in its normal place in a verbal clause (135), as can also occur with external topics marked by *sagi* (cf. (124)):

- (135) **Sa boko isana, ta=tahikoe nananana holapa**
 ART:SG pig that RED=be.afraid INTENS INTENS

sa boko isana.
 ART:SG pig that
 'That pig, that pig was absolutely terrified.'

The topic can be complex, containing a relative clause as in the next example:

- (136) a. **Sa kaleqe pu tina-di qa ri e Zakia**
 ART:SG old.woman REL mother-3PL REST ART ART Z.
so, isa qa ari nana gugusu hera.
 DEM:PAST PRO:3SG REST exist POSS:3SG village here
 'The old woman who was mother of Zakia and the others, she had her village here.'
- b. **Sa pu gore toloro mae qa tala ko**
 PRO:3SG REL go.down go.straight come REST where exist
sa kaistonā heni, isa gilali-a rao.
 ART:SG thing this PRO:3SG know-TR:3SG PRO:1SG
 'That which came straight down to me where this thing is, it I know.'

Both left and right dislocation are considered by Foley and Van Valin (1984:355) and Andrews (1985:79) to be topicalisation, although right dislocation is also considered to be more of an afterthought by Givón (1976:154), who describes it as 'afterthought topic shift'. In the Hoava examples where right dislocation is used, the main clause contains a pronoun coreferential with the right-dislocated NP. The right-dislocated NP is a topic since it has been mentioned previously in the discourse, as shown by the use of the pronoun.

- (137) a. **Kasitonā kisi pu ko pa noka isa, sisiqala.**
 thing small REL exist PRP high PRO:3SG house.part
 'It is a small thing which is up high, a *sisinggala*.'
- b. **Isa qato boka ta-tavete-agi susuti, sa bou.**
 PRO:3SG wood be.able PASS-make-AGI comb ART:SG *bou.tree.sp.*
 'It is wood combs can be made from, the *bou*.'
- c. **Sikulu-ni-a gami sa pu isana, sa meapu.**
 learn-AP-3SG PRO:1PLEX PRO:3SG REL that ART:SG map
 'We learnt about that, the map.'

Both left and right dislocation can occur in the same sentence:

- (138) **Q: Vegoa lopuhu?**
 what.about wild.yam
- A: Lopuhu ra, na isa n<in>ani koe-na ni, lopuhu.**
 wild.yam DEM ART PRO:3SG eat<NOM> old-3SG DEM wild.yam
- 'Q: What about wild yam?
 A: Wild yam, it is old food, wild yam.'

References

- Aissen, Judith L., 1992, Topic and focus in Mayan. *Language* 68:43–80.
- Allan, Colin, 1957, *Customary land tenure in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate: Report of the Special Lands Commission*. Honiara: Western Pacific High Commission.
- Andrews, Avery, 1985, The major functions of the noun phrase. In Shopen, ed. 1985:62–154.
- Arms, David G., 1973, Whence the Fjian transitive endings? *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:503–558.
- Baker, Mark C., 1988a, *Incorporation: a theory of grammatical function changing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1988b, Theta theory and the syntax of applicatives in Chichewa. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6:355–389.
- Bennet, Judith A., 1987, *Wealth of the Solomons*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Biggs, Bruce, 1959, Rotuman vowels. *Te Reo* 2:24–26.
- Bradshaw, Joel, 1982, Word order change in Papua New Guinea Austronesian languages. PhD dissertation, University of Hawaii.
- Bresnan, Joan and Lioba Moshi, 1990, Object asymmetries in comparative Bantu syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21:147–185.
- Burnett, Frank, 1909, *Through Polynesia and Papua: wanderings with a camera in southern seas*. London: Francis Griffiths.
- Capell, A., 1943, Notes on the Islands of Choiseul and New Georgia, Solomon Islands. *Oceania* 14:20–29.
- 1968, Lexicostatistical study of the languages of Choiseul Island, BSI. In A. Capell and A.J. Schütz, eds *Papers in the linguistics of Melanesia*, no. 1, 1–25. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Chafe, Wallace L., 1976, Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and points of view. In Li, ed 1976:25–55.
- Chung, Sandra, 1983, An object creating rule in Bahasa Indonesia. In David Perlmutter, ed. *Studies in relational grammar, volume I*, 219–271. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Comrie, Bernard, 1976, *Aspect: an introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Corston, Simon H., 1993, Ergativity in Roviana. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Auckland.
- Crowley, Terry, 1987, Serial verbs in Paamese. *Studies in Language* 11:35–84.
- Davis, Karen, 1991, *Vivinei Ruruhu Pa Hoava: custom stories from Hoava*. Gizo: Western Province Government.
- Dixon, R.M.W., 1977, Where have all the adjectives gone? *Studies in Language* 1:19–80.
- Dryer, Matthew S., 1986, Primary objects, secondary objects, and antitativity. *Language* 62:808–845.
- Dyen, Isidore, 1965, *A sketch of Trukese grammar*. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society.
- Early, Robert J., 1982, *Language use and intelligibility survey in the Central Islands of Western Province*. Honiara: Solomon Islands Translation Advisory Group.
- Foley, William A. and Mike Olsen, 1985, Clausehood and verb serialization. In Johanna Nichols, ed. *Grammar inside and outside the clause: some approaches to theory from the field*, 17–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foley, William A. and Robert D. Van Valin Jr., 1984, *Functional syntax and universal grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Givón, Talmy, 1976, Topic, pronoun, and grammatical agreements. In Li, ed. 1976:149–188.
- 1984, *Syntax: a functional-typological introduction, volume I*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Publishing Co.
- 1995, *Functionalism and grammar*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Grace, George W., 1955, Subgrouping in Malayo-Polynesian: a report of tentative findings. *American Anthropologist* 57:337–339.
- Halim, Amran, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds, 1982, *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, volume 1: currents in Oceanic*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Hamel, Patricia J., 1985, *A grammar of Loniu*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International.
- Harrison, S.P., 1982, Proto-Oceanic *aki(ni) and the Proto-Oceanic periphrastic causative. In Halim, Carrington and Wurm, eds 1982:179–230.
- Harwood, Frances Hine, 1971, The Christian Fellowship Church: a revitalization movement in Melanesia. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Chicago.
- Hocart, A.M., 1931, Warfare in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands. *Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Journal* 61:301–324.
- MS. Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 60, number 16.
- Jackendoff, Ray, 1972, *Semantic interpretation in generative grammar*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Jackson, K.B., 1978, Tie Hokara, Tie Vaka: a study of the New Georgia Group to 1925. Unpublished PhD thesis, Australian National University, Canberra.

- Keenan, Edward L., 1985, Relative clauses. In Shopen, ed. 1985:Volume II, 141–170.
- Kemmer, Suzanne, 1993, *The middle voice*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Lanyon-Orgill, P.A., 1953, The Papuan languages of the New Georgian Archipelago, Solomon Islands. *Journal of Austronesian Studies* 1:122–138.
- Li, Charles N., ed., 1976, *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press.
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek, 1983, *A grammar of Manam*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.
- 1984, *To'amba'ita language of Malaita, Solomon Islands*. Working Papers in Anthropology, Archaeology, Linguistics, Maori Studies, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland.
- 1985, Syntactic category change in Oceanic languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 24:1–84.
- 1991, Reciprocal and deponentives in To'aba'ita. In Robert Blust, ed. *Currents in Pacific Linguistics: papers on Austronesian languages and ethnolinguistics in honour of George W. Grace*, 171–183. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- Mithun, Marianne, 1984, The evolution of noun incorporation. *Language* 60:847–894.
- Palmer, F.R., 1994, *Grammatical roles and relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Parker, Russell, 1994, *Maekera: the life story of Chief Nathan Kera and the Saikile community of the Solomon Islands*. Honiara: Solomonesia Productions.
- Pawley, Andrew, 1973, Some problems in Proto-Oceanic grammar. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:103–188.
- Reeve, Rowland, 1989, Recent work on the prehistory of the Western Solomons, Melanesia. *Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Bulletin* 9:44–67.
- Rosen, Sara Thomas, 1989, Two types of noun incorporation: a lexical analysis. *Language* 65:294–317.
- Ross, Malcolm, 1982, The development of the verb phrase in the Oceanic languages of the Bougainville region. In Halim, Carrington and Wurm, eds 1982:1–57.
- 1988, *Proto Oceanic and the Austronesian languages of Western Melanesia*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Schütz, Albert J., 1986, *The Fijian language*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.
- Shopen, Timothy, ed., 1985, *Language typology and clause structure, volume II: Clause structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Somerville, B.T. and S.C. Weigall, (Lieuts), 1896, *A vocabulary of the various dialects used in New Georgia, Solomon Islands*. [HMS Penguin 1893–5]. London: Hydrographic Department, Admiralty.
- Sperlich, Wolfgang B., 1993, Serial verb construction in Namakir of Central Vanuatu. *Oceanic Linguistics* 32:95–110.
- Tedder, Margaret M. with Susan Barrus, 1976, Old Kusaghe. *The Journal of the Cultural Association of the Solomon Islands* 4:40–95.

- Thompson, Sandra A. and Robert E. Longacre, 1985, Adverbial clauses. In Shopen, ed. 1985:171–234.
- Tryon, D.T. and B.D. Hackman, 1983, *Solomon Islands languages: an internal classification*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Tuza, Esau, 1977, Silas Eto of New Georgia. In Gary Trompf, ed. *Prophets of Melanesia* 65–87. Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies.
- Van Valin, Robert D. Jnr, 1993, A synopsis of role and reference grammar. In Robert D. Van Valin Jnr, ed. *Advances in role and reference grammar* 1–164. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Waterhouse, J.H.L., 1931, The Kazukuru language of New Georgia. *Man* 31:123–126.
- 1949, *A Roviana and English dictionary*. Revised and enlarged by L.M. Jones. Sydney: Epworth Printing and Publishing House.
- Zelenietz, M., 1977, The end of headhunting in New Georgia. In Margaret Rodman, ed. *The pacification of Melanesia* 91–107. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.